A Critical Edition of Six Occasional Sermons by Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667)

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Title of Thesis A CRITICAL EDITION OF SIX OCCASIONAL SERMONS BY JEREMY TAYLOR (1613-1667

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This thesis contains a critical old-spelling edition of six occasional sermons by Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) together with commentary and introductory chapters. The sermons are: the three funeral sermons for Frances, Lady Carbery (1650), Sir George Dalston (1658) and John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh (1663); *A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops* (1661); *A Sermon preached at the Opening of the Parliament of Ireland (1661* and *Via Intelligentiae: A Sermon Preached to the University of Dublin (1662)*. Full bibliographical descriptions and notes of textual variants are given. The commentary and introductory chapters cover a variety of topics relevant to the edited sermons, which themselves deal with topics of seminal interest to Taylor and his contemporaries. There is a chapter on Taylor's epistemology which demonstrates his affinity with the Great Tew circle. Material in the commentary demonstrates a debt to the Cambridge Platonists. A chapter on the biographical background discusses Taylor's Cambridge education, his role in the Anglican "resistance" in the London of the 1650's and his removal to Ireland. Taylor's attitudes to preaching are discussed and the commentary gives detailed information about his sources.

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NON MAGNA LOQ VIMVR. SED VIVIMVS
NIHIL OPINIONIS GRATIA. OMNIA
CONSCENTIÆ FACIAM

Preface

This thesis provides a critical, old-spelling text of six occasional sermons by Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) together with a commentary and introductory essays on Taylor's life and thought. No critical old-spelling edition of a work by Taylor has yet been published. The last, and only, *critical* edition of any work by Taylor was that of Charles Page Eden in his admirable revision of Bishop Reginald Heber's *The Whole Works of Jeremy Taylor* which was published between 1847 and 1854 in ten volumes. Eden's was a modernised edition of Taylor's works with some short notes on sources and textual variants. There is no account of the texts other than the latter and the only explanatory material is given in Heber's speculative and highly unreliable "Life" in the first volume of the set. While still valuable, the Eden edition of Taylor's works cannot satisfy the demands of modern scholarship.[1]

The six occasional sermons have been chosen not only because three of them, the funeral sermons for Lady Carbery and Archbishop Bramhall and *Via Intelligentiae*, are among the finest pieces he produced, but also because all six are representative of Taylor's thinking as a whole. They are also representative of a wider group of thinkers: the members of the Great Tew and Cambridge Platonist circles, with which, the thesis shows, Taylor had great affinity.

Profuse thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. Jonquil Bevan, for her advice and meticulous attention to all aspects of my work. Thanks also to Professor Alastair Fowler and Lynne Brown for getting me started on the project and for giving me a good grounding in Renaissance Literature. I very much appreciate the advice and encouragement offered to me by Dr. Tony Lopez. Professor E. K. Borthwick and Mr. Allan Hood of the Edinburgh Classics Department have provided generous and invaluable help with Latin and Greek translations and identification of some sources. I am indebted to many librarians in London, Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin, but most particularly to the staff of the National

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[1] N.B. all references in the text of the thesis to Taylor's works, where these are not any of the six occasional sermons, are to the Eden edition. It should also be noted that all dates given are New Style, except where stated.

Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library. My friend Julia Trueman has been of more help than she realises, not least in proof-reading.

This thesis has been produced on a Xerox X2700 laser printer using the text-formatting program SCRIBE via the Edinburgh Multi-Access System (EMAS). Many thanks to Roger Hare of the Computing Service for the very useful asset of his THESIS database and for help generally. Thanks also to Jeff Phillips who has borne the brunt of many, sometimes uncivil, enquiries.

I dedicate this thesis to my mother. Without her unquestioning loyalty and attention to those unsung tasks of domestic life which women are so often left to do, this thesis would not have been completed.

I hereby declare that the main body of this thesis is my own work.

ERRATA: Page 113 is misplaced between pages 115 and 116. Pages 274-79 are misplaced between pages 266 and 267.

The biographical background, 1645-67.

This chapter is not a biography of Jeremy Taylor: it is intended to provide relevant biographical details to the readers of Taylor's occasional sermons. It will focus on the relation between Taylor and his patrons, the Earl of Carbery and Lord Conway, and his episcopal career. Despite the plethora of Taylor biographies, there are remarkably few contemporary documents from which facts can be drawn and many aspects of Taylor's life remain a mystery. Most of Taylor's biographers have failed (or in some cases, notably Heber's, not even attempted) to restrain themselves from filling the gaps fancifully. Also, the documentation of most of the biographies has been poor. The best comprehensive account of Taylor's life is probably that of C.J.Stranks, with valuable pieces also by F. R. Bolton and Marjorie H. Nicolson.[2] Heber is valuable almost solely for his publication of Taylor's letters.[3] However, in this chapter I aim to reduce speculation to a minimum and to challenge a few received truths.

Jeremy Taylor was christened on 15 August 1613 at Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge. The same parish register records his parents' marriage and the christenings of four siblings. The next record of his existence occurs in the admissions register of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The entry reads:

> Tailor, Jeremy; son of Nathanael Tailor, barber. Born at Cambridge. At school, under Mr. Lovering, ten years. Age 15. Admitted, Aug. 18, 1626, sizar of his surety, Mr. Bachcrofts.[4]

The age given here is probably, although not certainly, incorrect. Some biographers have expressed surprise that Taylor could have been admitted to the college at the age of thirteen, as his christening date would avow. However, the admissions register shows that this was perfectly possible and

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[2] Charles J. Stranks, *The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1952). Frederick R. Bolton, *The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland, with Particular Reference to Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1958). Marjorie H. Nicolson, *Conway Letters* (Oxford,1930). ----------,"New Material on Jeremy Taylor", *Philological Quarterly* 7,(1929), 321-36.

[3] Reginald Heber, *The Life of Jeremy Taylor* is in volume one of both his own edition of Taylor's works (London, 1822) and in the Eden revision (London, 1854).

[4] *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge, March 1558/9 to Jan. 1678/9*, edited by John Venn and Susanna Carnegie Venn (London,1887),p. 164.

not especially rare. For example, two boys of this age were admitted in the year previous to Taylor's.[5] However, if Taylor was thirteen on admission to Caius and the statement about his schooling is correct then he must have begun school at an early age. Further, he must have obtained some of his education outwith the Perse School, Cambridge, with which he is usually associated. The key to Taylor's schooling is the Mr. Lovering mentioned in the admissions register. Thomas Lovering graduated B.A. from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in 1615. He " ... was not long afterwards appointed headmaster of the King's College School, where he continued until his appointment to the Perse", that is, Michaelmas 1618.[6] The Perse School itself opened on the date of Lovering's appointment as Master. If Taylor had been at school for ten years under Lovering then he must have attended the King's College Choir School and must therefore have been a chorister since that school was not opened to non-choristers until the eighteenth century.[7] However, it is just as likely that Taylor reported having been at school since he was five and the registrar, thinking he was fifteen, entered ten years in the admissions book. If the latter is the case then the whole of Taylor's schooling was got at the Perse School.

As the register says, Taylor was admitted as a sizar to his tutor and surety "Mr. Bachcrofts", that is to say, to Thomas Batchcroft, then Bursar of the college. On 21 October 1626, two months after Taylor's admission, the Master, Dr. John Gostlin, died and Batchcroft was elected his successor the following day. Taylor shared his sizar's duties with one other student; Robert Richer, a gentleman's son from Bexwell, Norfolk who later became a clergyman. Aubrey gives a brief glimpse of Batchcroft's character:

> [He] ... would visit the boyes' chambers, and see what they were studying; and Charles Scarborough's genius led him to the mathematics, and he was wont to be reading of Clavius upon Euclid. The old Dr. had found in the title ... *e Societate Jesu* and was much scandalized at it. Sayd he, "By all meanes leave off this author and read Protestant mathematicall books." [8]

Batchcroft was born on 14 October 1572 in Bexwell, Norfolk. He was admitted

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[5] *Admissions*, p.154 & 155.

[6] John Milner Gray, *A History of the Perse School, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1921), p.27.

[7] *Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, edited by L.F. Salzmann, Victoria History of the Counties of England, 8 vols. (London, 1948-82), II.336.

[8] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, edited by Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898), I.95.

to Gonville and Caius College on 10 March 1589/90 when Dr. Thomas Legge was the Master and Stephen Perse was a Fellow. It appears from the register that he was educated at the Ely Cathedral School. He received his doctorate in 1628 and had been a fellow of the college since 1595. We can conclude from Aubrey's comments that Batchcroft did not share the Romanist sympathies of John Caius and his appointed sucessor, Thomas Legge. John Caius who became Master of Gonville Hall and re-founded it as Gonville and Caius College, never formally became a Protestant. While he was Master the college was raided at the behest of Archbishop Sandys and "much popish trumpery" was removed.[9] Caius was forced to resign but Legge continued the college's reputation for Roman sympathies. At one point he was charged by the Fellows of the college, possibly including Batchcroft, with "abetting and supporting" the Counter- Reformation.[10] Under Legge's rule four members of the college became priests and martyrs, seven became Jesuits. Legge died in 1607 and Venn claims that the college's reputation as pro-Roman did not re-emerge under subsequent Masters.

Taylor took his B.A. in 1630/1 and his M.A. in 1634. John Venn also shows that Taylor was made a scholar at Michaelmas 1628 and held a fellowship from Michaelmas 1633 to January 1635. He was nominated for both of these by Stephen Perse's executor, his kinsman Martin Perse.[11] Stephen Perse had left instructions in his will that six scholarships and six fellowships at Gonville and Caius College were to be founded along with the grammar school and college buildings that bear his name. The scholars and Fellows were to be pupils of the Perse School. Taylor was also appointed Rhetoric Praelector, that is, lecturer in Rhetoric, by Batchcroft, which position he held from Michaelmas 1633 to Michaelmas 1635.

The curriculum at Gonville and Caius at this time did not differ radically from that of any other Cambridge college. Taylor would have spent most of his first four years in pursuit of a fluent Latin style fitted to both oral and written composition. Rhetoric, logic and ethics were the three heads under which he would have developed his ability in the classical languages. One peculiarity of

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[9]Mark H. Curtis. *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642* (Oxford,1959), p.168.

[10]John Venn, *Caius College*, Cambridge College Histories (London, 1901), p.79.

[11]*Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1349-1897*, compiled by John Venn, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1897), I.278.

Caius was a statute that decreed "all bachelors should attend the Hebrew lectures, and that no-one should be admitted to the B.A. who had not attended these lectures for one year".[12] The science curriculum, which aimed to provide the matter on which rhetorical style was put to work, consisted of metaphysics, physics, mathematics and cosmography. However, W. T. Costello shows that maths and cosmography were greatly neglected at Caius.[13] It was only as a graduate that Taylor would have studied Theology as such. Costello and Venn both give evidence that services in the college chapel were somewhat slapdash.[14] On 23 September 1636, for example, a report on the condition of the Cambridge college chapels was sent to Archbishop Laud. The report complained of "unliturgical Cambridge" and cited Caius as one of the colleges where church forms were utterly neglected.

It was Laud who encouraged Taylor to leave Caius for Oxford. On 20 October 1635, Taylor was elected fellow, amid much controversy, at All Souls' College. He received his D.D. on 1 November 1642 from Brasenose College. He became rector of Uppingham, Rutland in 1638 and was sequestered therefrom during 1643. He was already a chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I and some biographers have claimed that he was variously at Oxford and Nottingham with the King. The next place we hear of him is in Wales.

It is at this point that Taylor's biography becomes particularly relevant to the occasional sermons, most notably *A Funerall Sermon Preached at the Obsequies of the Right Honourable and most vertuous Lady, the Lady Frances, Countesse of Carbery*. How Taylor came to be acquainted with the Carbery family and what position he held at their house, called Golden Grove, is not entirely clear. His time at Golden Grove is generally thought of as being his purple period. For example, Stranks speaks of "Taylor's greatest period, the wonderful years between 1647 and 1655".[15] A glance at the Checklist of Taylor's works included in the Appendix will show that his productivity was high at this time and that certainly his most popular works were completed at Golden Grove: his Ἐνιαυτός, *Holy Living, Holy Dying* and his devotional

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[12] Venn, *Caius College*, p.95.

[13] William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

[14] Costello, pp.125-26 and Venn, *Caius College*, p.113.

[15] Stranks, p.125.

manual *The Golden Grove*. The motive for these works will be discussed later in the chapter. It remains to be asked, how did Taylor become acquainted with the Earl of Carbery's family?

It is generally believed that Taylor had been imprisoned by the Parliamentarians in Cardigan Castle, having been captured during the battle for that town. The consensus of opinion among Taylor's biographers is that Richard Vaughan, second Earl of Carbery, was instrumental in obtaining Taylor's release from prison and subsequently made him a private chaplain to the Vaughan family at Golden Grove. These two things may be true but they may not have been approximate in time. The evidence for Taylor's imprisonment lies only in the presence of the name "Dr.Taylor" on a list of prisoners taken by Rowland Laugharne at Cardigan Castle in January 1645. That Carbery rescued him is usually construed from a passage in the Epistle Dedicatory of *The Liberty of Prophesying*:

> In this great storm which hath dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, I have been cast upon the coast of Wales, and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quiet which in England in a greater I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor; and here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that he who stilleth the raging of the sea, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy (VII.364).

Although probably clear to his contemporaries, Taylor's mode of reference here is sufficiently oblique to have confounded his biographers. A good deal has been written on the identity of the "noble enemy". Some have identified him as Rowland Laugharne, assuming that he was compliant in Taylor's release from Cardigan Castle, others have surmised that it must have been the Earl of Carbery, due to his ambiguous political position at that time. While Taylor's imprisonment cannot be demonstrated by fact, it can at least be reasonably believed to have taken place. His release was evidently swift and probably effected by influential friends. I would prefer to think that the "noble enemy" was Laugharne simply from the point of view that it was he who was in a *position* to bestow "gentleness and mercies". I would therefore doubt that Taylor was already in debt to Carbery's kindness.

The exact date of Jeremy Taylor's arrival in the vicinity of Golden Grove and the beginning of his association with the Vaughan family is unknown. Taylor was ejected from his living of Uppingham in Rutland some time in 1643.[16] A contemporary newspaper reports that he then went back to Oxford, where the king either had, or was in the process of, summoning Parliament.[17] As I have said, the fall of Cardigan Castle took place in January 1645. It was about this time that Taylor set up a school with his friends William Nicholson and William Wyatt; whether before or after his imprisonment is unknown. William Nicholson became Bishop of Gloucester after the Restoration and is described by Bosher as "a thorough-going High Churchman".[18] Wyatt was a contemporary of Taylor's at Oxford. The prefatory letter signed by Wyatt to *A New and Easie Institution of Grammar* (1647) styles the school "Collegium Newtoniense", but its whereabouts is unknown even though the letter is designated as being written at Golden Grove. Golden Grove, the Vaughan family estate, and the village of Llanfihangel Aberbythych merge together and there is room for confusion in nomenclature.[19] Wyatt's letter does not necessarily imply any proximity to the house of Golden Grove or any connection with the Vaughan family at this stage.

Distinct evidence that no close acquaintance between Taylor and Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery existed at this time can be found in *The Liberty of Prophesying* and *The Great Exemplar*. The former was entered in the Stationers' Register on 28 June 1647. In the Epistle Dedicatory Taylor says:

> I have been gathering a few sticks to warm me, a few books to entertain my thoughts and divert from me the perpetual meditation of my private troubles and the public dyscracy: but those which I could obtain were so few and so impertinent, that I began to be sad upon new stock ... (V.341).

The "private troubles" were presumably the facts of his destitution: Taylor was married with about three children. His "perpetual meditation" of these circumstances conflicts with any idea of his being patronised by Carbery.

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[16] A.G.Matthews, *Walker Revised; Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60* (Oxford, 1948) p.302.

[17] *Mercurius Britannicus*, No.54, and see p.219 of the commentary.

[18] Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (London, 1951) p.183.

[19] Edmund Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, English Men of Letters (London, 1904) p.36.

Further, there is a conflict between the lack of books mentioned and the fact that the library at Golden Grove was reported to be a good one. [20] Unless Taylor was trying to insult his patron, unlikely in view of the "private troubles", it can only be concluded that Taylor was not on intimate terms with the Vaughan family at this time.

The Great Exemplar was entered in the Stationers' Register on 26 October 1648. It is generally assumed to belong to the canon of Golden Grove works produced under Carbery's patronage. However, the evidence of the Epistles Dedicatory, one for each of the three parts, is not commensurate with this theory. None of the dedications is to Carbery. Only the third part carries a dedication to Frances, Lady Carbery. Like *The Liberty of Prophesying, The Great Exemplar* is principally dedicated to Christopher, Lord Hatton who had hitherto been Taylor's patron. However, by August 1648 Hatton had retired to France and was presumably not in a position to help Taylor. The dedication to Frances, Lady Carbery implies an association newly formed:

> ... I must beg your pardon, that I have opened the sanctuary of your retired virtues; but I was obliged to publish the endearments and favours of your noble lord and yourself, towards me and my relatives ... (II.503)

It would not be unreasonable to suppose, then, that Taylor's association with the Vaughan family did not start until mid-1648. This means that he would probably have lived in the vicinity of Golden Grove before Carbery's patronage was forthcoming. The latter may have been prompted to act by Hatton's departure for France . Or perhaps he found patronage of Taylor an acceptable way to restore his failing reputation among the Loyalists.

The house of Golden Grove, which no longer exists in its original form or position, was situated by the River Towy, between the village of Llanfihangel Aberbythych and the town of Llandeilo Fawr in the county of Carmarthen. Llandeilo had been William Nicholson's parish before his sequestration and it does not seem unlikely that it was he who instigated the school at which Taylor came to teach. There is a representation of the house at Golden Grove, built in or around 1565, in the frontispiece of *The Golden Grove* (1655), which is used again in the 1657 edition of *Polemical Discourses*. However, given the

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[20] Francis Jones, "The Vaughans of Golden Grove", *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1963) 46-145, 223-50 and *ibid.* (1964) 167-222, p.97.

emblematic nature of the frontispiece, the representation is probably not an accurate one. Richard Vaughan, second Earl of Carbery, resided there with his family at the time of Taylor's arrival in Wales. Carbery was born ca. 1600 and lived until 1686. A surviving portrait shows a rotund man with typically cavalier dress and moustache.[21] He inherited his earldom from his father John Vaughan and was given the title "Baron Vaughan of Emlyn" in 1643, the circumstances of which honour, as his whole career, are shrouded in ambiguity.

Vaughan excited a great deal of enmity in his career. He was ousted from his position as President of Wales in 1672, a position he had gained after the Restoration. Among numerous deeds contributary to that event was that of severing the hands and tongues of some estate workers.[22] On the outbreak of the Civil War Vaughan had been appointed commander of the King's forces in West Wales, which comprised Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire and the staunchly Royalist Carmarthenshire. During the months of March and April 1644, whilst holding this command, Vaughan lost the whole of Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire and even most of Carmarthenshire. A local historian puts it charitably when he says "... the ease with which the tables were turned on the Royalists did not enhance the military reputation of Carbery and his lieutenants".[23] The same historian relates that many towns were given up without a fight, and the subsequent favourable treatment he received from the Parliamentarians has led to many accusations of treachery: for example, in a Civil War pamphlet entitled *The Earl of Carberyes Pedegree* in which he is characterised as "Tell-All".[24] Another interesting source is the Earl's own work, his "Advice to his Son".[25] It would be a mistake to extract biographical implications from this work, as it is obviously governed by the rules of courtesy literature, but it is perhaps noteworthy that Carbery passes on the following advice:

> ... because Common-Wealths have theire shelves and Rockes, therefore gett the Skill of Coasting and shifting your Sayles, I

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[21] There is a reproduction of this portrait in *A History of Carmarthenshire*, edited by John Everard Lloyd, 2 vols. (Cardiff, 1935 & 1939) II.26.

[22] "The Vaughans of Golden Grove", pp.122-25.

[23] *A History of Carmarthenshire*, II.25.

[24] (London, 1646) Wing E71; there is a copy in the Thomason collection which was dated 3 October 1646.

[25] "Richard, Earl of Carbery's Advice to his Son", edited by Virgil B.Heltzel, *Huntington Library Bulletin*, II (1937)pp.72-105.

> mean to arrive at your Ends by Compassings and an honest complyance ...

and goes on to discuss the art of dissembling in detail.[26] The son for whom all this was recorded was Francis Vaughan, heir to his father's title. He died on 17 March 1667, nearly twenty years before his father, and the title passed to his brother John. Both boys are assumed to have been educated by Taylor but, if this is the case, the association does him no great credit. Carbery's "Advice" represents Francis as a boy not given to temperance or discipline. John, the third Earl, had a notable career as a politician and businessman, but Samuel Pepys noted that " ... this Lord Vaughan that is so great against the Chancellor [Clarendon], is one of the lewdest fellows of the age, worse than Sr. Ch. Sidly ...". [27]

Taylor's only direct statement about his position occurs in the dedication of *XXV Sermons*. He likens his situation to St. Paul's in saying:

> Like him, I have a trade, by which, as I can be more useful to others, and less burdensome to you; yet to you also, under God, I owe the quiet and the opportunities, and circumstances of that, as if God had so interweaved the support of my affairs with your charity, that he would have no advantages pass upon me, but by your interest ... (IV.5).

The identity of the "trade" is a problem. It is not impossible it could imply teaching. St.Paul's trade was tent-making, necessary because Rabbis were not permitted to make money out of teaching the Law. If Taylor's analogy is a strict one we might assume that Taylor's trade must have supplied some form of financial support independent of Carbery. The "trade" could then most feasibly be schoolteaching. However, the need for "quiet and ... opportunities" would seem more relevant to Taylor's copious writing at this time. The phrase "as I can be more useful to others" also seems to me to be indicative for Taylor was not writing for the joy of it: he wrote to further the Anglican cause. R.S.Bosher has demonstrated that the High Church party placed great importance on the maintenance of a steady flow of Anglican publications.[28] Bishop Duppa wrote that "Certainly there was never more need of the press, than when the pulpits

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[26] "Advice", pp.91.

[27] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London, 1970-83) VIII, p.532-33.

[28] Bosher, pp.37-39.

... are shut up ... Let all good sons of the Church go on in their duty, and when they can no longer preach to the ears of men, let them preach to their eyes".[29] Bearing this in mind, it comes as no surprise to read the full title of Taylor's volume of sermons: Ενιαυτος: *A Course of Sermons for all the Sundaies of the Year; Fitted to the great Necessities and for the supplying the Wants of Preaching in many parts of this Nation.* The most popular works of this period are purely practical works for the practising Anglican. *The Great Exemplar, Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* are designed for meditational purposes. *The Golden Grove* is a manual of set forms that could safely replace the banned *Book of Common Prayer* while retaining the latter's principle.[30] According to Duppa's demand, Taylor was a good son of the Church going on in his duty. His recognition of "having scarce any other possibilities left of doing alms" (III.264), that the people "do want such assistances of ghostly counsel" (III.2), and his concern that " we must now take care that the young men who were born in the captivity may be taught to worship the God of Israel after the manner of their fathers" (VII.589) spurred him to take up the pen in the faith's defence. It is not the private chaplain but the minister of a public institution who declares:

> ... it is reward enough, if by my ministry God will bring it to pass that any soul shall be instructed and brought into that state of good things, that it shall rejoice for ever (VII.589).

Clearly, Taylor did act as chaplain to the Vaughan family. But if Carbery was looking to re-establish himself with the Royalist party, patronage of Taylor's writing alone might have attained his goal. I simply wonder whether Taylor's association with the Vaughan family was as close as some biographers would have us believe. Many have also assumed a great regard for Frances, Lady Carbery. Even Stranks, the most disciplined of Taylor's biographers, says that "he speaks of her as one who had shown him the fullest and deepest friendship".[31] But all the biographers fail to take into account the conventions of the funeral sermon, as they do of the Epistle Dedicatory. I would suggest that not all Taylor's addresses to the Vaughan family are unequivocal.

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[29] Bosher, p.37.

[30] A letter from Henry Hammond to Gilbert Sheldon of 23 May 1654 is interesting in this respect. Hammond writes "... I hear concerning a report made to the Bp. of Ro[chester, i.e. Warner], by Dr. Jer. T[aylor], concerning the clergy's desire to have the com[mon] pr[ayer] taken off, and some other forms made, I cannot but wish you were here to interpose your judgement and authority." See "Illustrations of the State of the Church during the Great Rebellion", *The Theologian and Ecclesiastic*, XV (1853),p.184.

[31] Stranks, p.109.

Quite what the cause of Taylor's departure from Golden Grove and his subsequent need to find a new patron might be is unclear. It certainly seems that by the early 1650's Taylor was beginning to think, or be persuaded, that he could better serve the Church in London. Later in the decade, it seems, Carbery removed his family from Golden Grove to London: a warrant of the Protector and Council gave a licence, dated 11 February 1656/7 "For the Earl of Carbery and family, to come to stay in London on business, the late Proclamation notwithstanding".[32] In 1655, new legislation was made against the keeping of private chaplains and tutors by noble families. However, Taylor's activities as a preacher and his participation in the Anglican community in London began much earlier than this.[33]

John Evelyn notes in his diary that he heard Taylor preach in London as early as 15 April 1654, long before his family removed from Golden Grove, for it is not until 19 July 1656 that we have evidence of his desire to settle in London. He writes to Evelyn:

> ... I doe continue in my desires to settle in London ... and when I am there, I shall expect the daily issues of the Divine Providence to make all things else well; because I am much persuaded that by my abode in the voisinage of London, I may receive advantages of society and bookes to anable mee better to serve God and the interest of soules. I have no other designe but it ...[34]

The "designe" was probably the beginning of his great work of casuistry, *Ductor Dubitantium*. Henry Hammond notes in a letter of 4 January 1652/3 that " ... Dr. Taylor ... lately told me of his entering on a Work of Cases, which will require great length."[35] Evelyn would have been particularly interested in this since he had adopted Taylor as his "Ghostly Father", that is, his personal adviser in matters of conscience and faith.[36] Also at the time of Evelyn's adoption, Taylor was reported to have met Bishop Duppa and put forward his plan for writing *Unum Necessarium* as an introduction to *Ductor Dubitantium*.

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[32] *CSPD*, 1656-57, p.587.

[33] A description of the Anglican "resistance" during the Commonwealth years may be found in chapter one of Bosher's *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*.

[34] Reprinted in Heber's *Life*, I.lii.

[35] *The Theologian and Ecclesiastic*, 13 (1851), p.325.

[36] See Evelyn's *Diary* for 31 March 1655.

However, writing cannot have been the sole activity in which Taylor intended to engage. He is clearly associated with the prominent Anglican preacher and disputer Peter Gunning during the years 1657 and 1658. On 2 June 1657, Taylor wrote to Evelyn of Gunning,

> I secretly wish he would be less censorious and apt to discourage those who refuse no labour to serve God and obey their superiors; he is a good man and an able man, but when he is a writer he will be more sparing in finding faults (I.lxvi).

The tone here implies the familiarity of some time. The important thing about the association of Taylor and Gunning is that the latter was one of the most active Anglican preachers and disputers during the Commonwealth period. His preaching at the Duke of Rutland's private chapel at Exeter House gathered a congregation nicknamed "the Grand Assembly" of the Church of England and from as early as 1653.[38] Evelyn mentions his preaching often from 1657 onwards: Taylor is noted by him as having preached at Exeter House chapel only on 7 May 1654. Proof that Gunning and Taylor must have worked in harness to some extent comes from an item in the State Papers, dated 22 December 1657, advising

> ... His Highness to send for Mr. Gunning and Dr. Taylor, and require an account of the frequent meetings of multitudes of people held with them, and cause the Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer to be enforced.[39]

On 19 December 1657 Taylor wrote to Gilbert Sheldon:

> I do not know whether we shall have cause to fear this parliament or no: for I suppose we shall be suppressed before the Parliament shall sit; we are every day threatened, we are fiercely petitioned against by the presbyterians, we are agitated against at the Council Table; only we yet go on, and shall till we can go on no longer (I.lxx).

"We" clearly referred to the partnership with Gunning and that which was to "go on" was the preaching and ministering to the Anglican faithful.

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[37] Letter from Duppa to Dr. Richard Bayly dated 26 October 1655, Tanner MSS.52, reprinted Eden, I.xlii.

[38] *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 396.

[39] *CSPD*, 1657-58, p.226.

The above quotations clearly show not only that Taylor was in partnership with Gunning and active in perpetuating the Anglican form of worship, but that the authorities were beginning to take extreme displeasure in his doings. Taylor had been in prison twice: during 1655, in Chepstow Castle, and again in the Tower of London. The latter incident is known only through a letter of Evelyn's dated "From Greenwich, 14 Jan 1656/7".[40] The letter is addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower and says: "... I speak in behalf of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his printer ... ". The usual reason given by biographers for Taylor's detainment is that a picture of Christ kneeling had been placed before his *Collection of Offices*. However, if the date of Evelyn's letter is correct, this cannot be true since the *Collection of Offices* was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 16 June 1657. The evidence for his imprisonment at Chepstow is contained in a letter of Taylor's to Evelyn dated 21 November 1656.[41] The usual reason given by his biographers for the detainment is that he had offended the authorities by his strongly worded preface to *The Golden Grove*. Again, this is not convincing since Thomason's copy of *The Golden Grove* was dated 13 December, 1654. However, if Taylor was preaching in London all the while, there must have been numerous grounds on which he could be arrested. In September 1655, parliament decreed that after 1 November no Royalist was to keep a chaplain or tutor, no clergyman was to preach or perform ministerial duties according to the Anglican rite, with increased penalties for offenders. The comparative leniency of the early years of the Commonwealth was abandoned as Cromwell became more and more anxious about Anglican resistance to his reforms. It was during 1657 that he became almost paranoid about the possibility of a Royalist invasion, and then that the Humble Petition and Advice served to underline the hatred of popery and prelacy. On Christmas Day 1657, shortly after the advice to Cromwell quoted above, Taylor's friend Gunning was involved in a famous incident, described by John Evelyn.

> Mr. *Gunning* preaching in Excester Chappell on 7: *Micha* 2. Sermon Ended, as he was giving us the holy sacrament, the Chappell was surrounded with Souldiers: All the Communicants and Assembly surpriz'd & kept Prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away:

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[40] John Evelyn, *Diary*, edited by W.Bray, 3 vols.(London, 1906), I.227.

[41] Bray, III.223.

If Evelyn's letter of 14 January 1656/7 was dated wrongly and the correct date was 14 January 1657/8, this would fit the pattern of events at this time. That is to say that Taylor's imprisonment in the Tower was desirable to the authorities and the "mistake of his printer" may simply have been a means to an end. Interestingly, Taylor's publisher, Richard Royston, seems to have been instrumental in maintaining the resistance of the Anglican community at this time. The publication of Taylor's funeral sermon for Sir George Dalston in late 1657 was not entrusted to him and there is evidence that an association with him at this time was not advantageous. This evidence is discussed in the commentary on p.219-21.

Further to the pressures applied by the Cromwellian government, Taylor was not at all in favour with many of his own party at this time. The cause of his unpopularity was his doctrine of original sin as put forward in his *Unum Necessarium* (1655) and inculcated in *Deus Justificatus* (1656). It is not really necessary to go into the controversy in depth. In *Unum Necessarium* Taylor put forward a view of original sin that opened him to the charge of being a Pelagian. His view, briefly, was that a just God could not and would not damn a man for something which he had no control over. Man is guilty of Adam's sin only by imputation: he is not actually guilty of it although his fallen state gave him a propensity to sin. So, as man is not actually guilty of original sin no man is damned until he actually commits a sin unrepentantly. Taylor maintained that his view was a legitimate interpretation of Article 9 of the Church which holds that "Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of every man, that naturally is ingendered in the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit". However, his opinion horrified the Anglican establishment, most notably the older divines: Duppa, Warner and Sanderson. It is Sanderson who gives us the best account of the reaction to Taylor's writing on this topic among his own party. There are a number of letters from him to Thomas Barlow, then in charge of the Bodleian Library, on the topic. Barlow was an opponent of the liberal Anglican churchmen and would doubtless have been pleased to receive evidence of Sanderson's

disapproval of Taylor.[42] The first of Sanderson's letters expressing his displeasure, and urging Barlow to undertake an answer to Taylor, is dated from Botheby Paynell 28 September 1656. The last is dated 17 September 1657 and is the most strongly worded:

> I am sorry Dr. Taylor is so peremptory and pertinacious of his error, as not to hearken to the sober advises of his grave, reverend and learned friends: if not ingenuously to retract the whole (which would best become him, but hath not been his manner hitherto in any thing) yet at least to qualify it by some such explications, as might tolerably reconcile it with the received opinion. Which although I confess can hardly be done, so as to give satisfaction to the judgment of a rational and considering man ... yet might it be done so as to prevent some of the scandal and evil effects his former writings might have, either with the enemies of our Church, or with his admirers. Especially considering how expert he is and versute in that artifice of drawing any thing, though apparently never so distant therefrom, to a seeming compliance with his own tenents; a specimen whereof he hath given us in his endeavours to reconcile his opinion concerning Original Sin with the Articles of our Church concerning the same: between which there is as much affinity, as between light and darkness.[43]

Sanderson's tone here gives adequate testimony to the fact that Taylor was being viewed as an inadvertent fifth-columnist by many of his own side. In fact, his views were not very much at odds with the general tenets of Arminianism and it would be interesting to find out what the Hammonds and Haleses thought about it all. The controversy over original sin is yet another factor to be taken into account when considering Taylor's position at this time.

Amid this atmosphere of harassment and insecurity it is not suprising Taylor began to lose interest in staying in London. His letter to Sheldon of 19 December 1657, mentioned above, goes on to say:

> I have some thoughts of retiring from noise and company, and going to my studies in a far distant solitude, but not to Wales. This place is expensive of my no money and my little time ...

Whether this is a vague wish or founded upon some definite plan, and how long he had had the inclination to retire to the country we can only guess. Neither do we know exactly when his family removed to London from Golden

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[42] *The Works of Robert Sanderson*, edited by William Jacobson, 6 vols. (London, 1854), VI.381-89.

[43] *Works*, VI.386.

Grove. Carbery's licence for removal was dated 11 February 1657. In a letter to Evelyn dated 22 February 1657, Taylor writes:

> It hath pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boyes; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, ...(l.lxi).

The implication is that Taylor had not yet removed permanently from Wales, and this is substantiated by George Rust's funeral sermon for him, which implies the death of his sons occurred before his going to London (l.1-24). However, it is clear that Taylor was not long resident in London before he began to think about leaving.

Taylor's letter to Sheldon, quoted above, is the first indication that he may have had some plans to go to Ireland. Possibly the "far distant solitude" was but an ideal; it is more likely that he had some definite plan in mind. The instrument of his removal was Edward, third Viscount Conway. How Taylor came to meet Conway and his wife Anne is unknown but they could well have heard him preach in London. For most of the Commonwealth period either Conway or his wife Anne was resident at Kensington House, now Palace, Lady Conway's parental home. Something needs to be said of the Conways themselves. Edward's father Edward, second Viscount Conway, had a notable political career and was also a man of letters. The State Papers contain much of his correspondence to a wide range of people. He was particularly interested in philosophy and literature. His grandmother was Fulke Greville's daughter. The second Viscount often corresponded with his daughter-in-law Anne, nee Finch, on philosophical subjects. She herself had a distinguished circle of correspondents, most notably Henry More, and published a work on metaphysics.[44] The second Viscount died in 1655, leaving his title to his son, also Edward. There is an interesting account of the Conways in the *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*. On 22 November 1645 the case of Edward, second Viscount Conway and his son Edward, Taylor's patron, was first put before the committee. Of the elder Conway, the case states that he "sat unwillingly" at the Oxford parliament of 1643 as a member of the House of Lords. It also says that he "has two sons in arms for Parliament". On 29

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[44] These letters, along with a good deal of biographical material on the Conways, are published in Marjorie H. Nicolson, *The Conway Letters* (Oxford, 1930).

October 1646, Conway was fined #3000 against which he appealed. On 8 December 1652 it was stated that he, with his son, was now a "Protestant of Ireland, where a great deal of his estate lay". On 7 January 1653, the Irish estate, previously sequestered, was restored to the Conways. The family seat of the Conways was Ragley Hall in Warwickshire where Edward, third Viscount, spent a good deal of time after his father's death. He rarely visited Ireland and his estate near Lisburn, or Lisnegarvey as it was then known, which was named Killultagh, was managed for him by Major George Rawdon who was married to Conway's sister. Both Rawdon and Conway had learnt the art of living with the Cromwellian government and plans for the estate, in which Conway took a great interest, proceeded generally unhindered. One of these plans was clearly the instatement of Jeremy Taylor as a resident.

I have said that the letter to Sheldon of 19 December 1657 may hint that Taylor had already been approached by Conway. While no demonstration of such an approach is possible, there is certainly some evidence that Conway was thinking in terms of sending over some clergymen to the Irish estate, probably men more agreeable to the apparent episcopalian leanings thereabout. His plans may have begun as early as summer 1657. The correspondence between Conway and Rawdon is a prime source for Taylor's Irish period. Taylor is first mentioned by name in a letter of 23 January 1658:

> As to yr. Lordship's purpose to Doctor Tailor your sister and I are exceedingly joyed therewith and by the hope we have of much comfort and benefit by such a neighbourhood.[45]

If Rawdon was replying on 23 January it is likely Conway's letter was written one or two weeks beforehand, not long after Taylor's letter to Sheldon, but whether he had approached Taylor directly at this point is another matter. From Rawdon's letters we can conclude that Conway's plans underwent a number of transformations due to circumstances. The story really begins with Rawdon's letter of 29 August 1657 in which he adds as a postscript: "Yr lordshipps title of presentation to Glenavy and Aghalee and Lisnegarvey is more cleere then to Ballenderry or any of the rest ... ".[46] Some explanation is required: it seems that the government, on 27 March 1656, had put out instructions for the enlargement or reduction of all Irish parishes, with the end of extracting a

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[45] Public Record Office, SPIreland, 287,96a. See also *CSPI* 1647-60, p.661

[46] SPIreland, 287,58. See also *CSPI* 1647-60, p.645.

suitable living for the ministers solely from the lands under their care. Recommendations for the new boundaries and new incumbents were to be made by a number of selected commissioners. One of these commissioners was George Rawdon. Clearly, having been informed of his right of presentation to the new parishes on his estate, Conway was in a good position to install who he wished. He had influence not only over Rawdon, but over a good many prominent men, as will be seen later. It is hardly tenable that even Conway could have thought of presenting Taylor to one of these livings; however, he may well have been in the process of creating an environment sympathetic to the Episcopalian cause.

St.John Seymour shows, in his book *The Puritans in Ireland, 1647-61*, that Episcopalian activity was tolerated, within limits, in Ireland at this time.[47] There were a good number of Episcopalian clergy drawing salaries from the government and incidents of the use of *The Book of Common Prayer* were not in the least unknown. In 1659, Henry Leslie, the then Bishop of Down and Connor, published *A Discourse of praying with the Spirit ... Preached in two sermons at Hillsborough* (1659). Prefixed to it was a letter of Taylor's which said of the sermons: "You preached them in a family in which the public liturgy of the church is greatly valued and diligently used ..." (V.255). The "family" was presumably that of Colonel Arthur Hill, neighbours and relations to Rawdon and Conway, and in whose house of Hillsborough, near Lisburn, Taylor stayed when he first arrived in Ireland. Furthermore, it may well be worth relating the case of Philip Tandy, as an illustration of the government's pliability and Conway's influence. In his letter of 29 August 1657, Rawdon wrote:

> I writt lately to yr lordshipp about Mr.Tandy and that you can receave satissfaction that hee will be of a conformable and sober carriage, I think you cannot be better fitted here ...

In subsequent letters, Rawdon continues to press Conway to send Tandy as a replacement for a troublesome anabaptist minister named Andrew Wyke, with whom Rawdon was "upon ill Termes".[48] Tandy was an Episcopalian who became an Anabaptist some time after his arrival in Ireland; between June and October 1658. In his letter of 15 October 1658 Rawdon reports that "Mr.Tandy

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[47] St.John Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland, 1647-61*, Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, XII (Oxford,1921),pp.147-78 and Appendix.

[48] Letter of 30 January 1658. SPIreland, 287,98.

is accounted a rare preacher in these partes, and is much liked by the parish ...".[49] It is, of course, notable that Tandy was an Episcopalian; more noteworthy is the background to his departure for Ireland. According to the *CSPD* 1654-58, Tandy was a registrar accountant at the Treasury, involved in the sale of delinquents' lands. He was stripped of his post following the discovery of his perpetual fraud. That Conway and Rawdon eventually managed to have him installed as an approved minister is a tribute to their powers. Such powers were again needed in abundance to effect the migration of Taylor to Conway's Irish estate.

In the first instance, it looks as though Conway considered giving Taylor the tenancy of a farm at Ballinderry. The Rawdon correspondence contains a good deal of discussion about the possible departure of the present tenant and the amount of revenue the tenancy might bring. On 2 April 1658, Rawdon reprimanded Conway for allowing Taylor to think he could expect £200 a year, saying that the rents could never amount to that. On 26 May 1658, Rawdon mentions that he has had "the ill waye paved from the Mill at Ballinderry to the house, that Doctor Tailor may passe in wynter".[50] In a postscript to the same letter he says that he has just had conference with a Mr. Tailer, a local churchman, who speaks on behalf of his brethren in fearing that Taylor had been presented to the living of Lisnegarvey. The presbyterians probably knew that strings were being pulled over the presentation to that living and they were not to know that it was Tandy, not Taylor, whom Conway intended for it. Rawdon "told him the Doctor will meddle with nobody but live retyredly at his studyes". However, this was not enough to calm the storm and on 2 June Rawdon dealt a severe blow to Conway's plans:

> Since I wrote to yr lordshipp last weeke, I have heard very much of Doctor Taylors coming over. It was much dislyked by all the ministers in their assembly here lately ... Dr.Harrison ... told mee how much offence seemed to be taken at it: ... yr lordshipp may consider of this generall crossness amongst the ministers and they are of all diverse opinions that were concerned yet it seems agreed in this, and Doctor Worth esteemed a very moderate man ... spoke much against it ... If hee [Taylor] come as I suppose it is to[o] fully resolved to alter, [see] that he be well provided with his Highnesse passe and some other, that he may not be subject

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[49] SPIreland, 287,133. *CSPI* 1647-60, p.673.

[50] SPIreland 287,116. *CSPI* 1647-60 p.667.

to the trouble of petulant spirits.[51]

The inclusion of Dr. Worth amongst the objectors is notable: he became Bishop of Killaloe and was consecrated at the same service as Taylor. Clearly, Taylor must have been considered a controversial man indeed. However, he was already expecting to depart for Ireland. What was to be done? It is worth quoting Conway's letter to Rawdon of 15 June 1658 in full.

Dear Brother

> That which you writ me in your letter of the 2nd of this month concerning Dr.Taylor was sufficient to have discouraged him and all his friends from any farther thoughts of that country; but I thank God, I went upon a principle not to be repented of, for I had no interest or passion in what I did for him but rather some reluctancy. What I pursued was to do an act of piety towards him, and an act of piety towards all that are truly disposed to virtue in those parts, for I am certain he is the choicest person in England appertaining to the conscience, and let others blemish him how they please, yet all I have written of him is true. He is a man of excellent parts and an excellent life, but in regard that this is not powerful to purchase his quiet, I shall tell what is done in relation to that. Dr. Petty hath written by him to Dr. Harrison and several others, and promist to provide him with a purchase of land at great advantage, and many other intimate kindnesses wherein your advice will be asked. Dr. Cox, a physician, and a very ingenious man, who hath married the Chancellor's sister, hath written in his behalf very passionately, and some of as near relation to my Lord Peepes hath recommended him to him. Sergeant Twisden, one of the eminentest lawyers in England, who married Sir Matthew Thomlinson's sister, hath written to him very earnestly, and so hath his wife also. Mr. Hall, an understanding man, and always one of the knights for Lincolnshire, hath recommended him to his friend Mr. Bury, and so hath Mr. Bacon, one of the Masters of Request, done for him to my Lord Chief Baron; but, besides all this, my Lord Protector hath given him a pass and a protection for himself and his family, under his sign manual and privy signet. So that I hope it will not be treason to look upon him.[52]

This letter is a testament to Conway's Influence: what is important is not who wrote the letters but who they were written *to* The recipients indicated are: Dr.Thomas Harrison; William Steele, Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Richard Pepys, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland; Matthew Thomlinson; William Bury and Miles Corbett, "my Lord Chief Baron". Five of these men were the usual

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[51] SPIreland 287,117.

[52] *Conway Letters*, pp.150-51.

signatories to most Council business in Ireland. The sixth man, Dr. Thomas Harrison, was a personal friend and religious advisor to Henry Cromwell, then the effective ruler of Ireland. With regard to Oliver Cromwell: the *State Papers Domestic* record a decision of Council, taken in Cromwell's absence on 10 June 1658, that a request for Taylor's pass to Ireland was "not fitt to be graunted".[53] Quite what Conway did to effect Cromwell's personal pass can only be guessed. However, it is clear that a considerable amount of leverage was required on Conway's part to overturn the opposition and secure Taylor's peace in Ireland.

Taylor probably began his journey in June. On 21 June 1658 he was staying with Lady Chaworth at Annesly in Nottinghamshire having "performed thus much of my journey".[54] The next report of him is in a letter from Rawdon to Conway, dated 15 October 1658, in which it is said that "Dr. Taylor preached excellently this morning".[55] Quite where Taylor was living and what the nature of his occupation was cannot be shown certainly. He was clearly not living at Ballinderry, as mooted in the early Rawdon letters, although this does not mean he was not drawing rents from there. Rawdon's letter of 15 October indicates that Taylor was a guest of the Hills at Hillsborough. Subsequent letters of Taylor's are written from Lisnegarvey or Portmore, where Conway's own residence was situated. Taylor seemed quite satisfied with his new life at first. On 26 February 1659 he wrote to Conway: " ...since my coming to Ireland by God's blessing and your Lordship's favour I have had plenty and privacy, opportunities of studying much and opportunities of doing some little good ...". [56] On 9 April he wrote a further letter to Conway expressing further gratitude and on the same day he also wrote to John Evelyn (the latter was from Lisnegarvey, the former from Portmore) but communicates no notable joy in his new abode. Another letter to Evelyn of 4 June 1659 intimates:

> ... I feare my peace in Ireland is likely to be short; for a presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man for their religion; and for using the signe of the crosse in baptisme. The worst event of the information which I

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[53] Vol.CLXXI,f.78,683.

[54] *Rutland MSS.* Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part 5, 4 vols. (London, 1889), II,5.

[55] *CSPI* 1647-60, p.673.

[56] Stranks, p.191. This letter existed as a transcript to which Stranks alone had access and which apparently does not exist any more.

> feare, is my returne into England; which although I am not desirous it should be upon these terms, yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled. (I.lxxxiii)[57]

"A presbyterian and a madman" has usually been assumed to be the same person, that is, Philip Tandy. However, Tandy was not a presbyterian and the grammar of the sentence surely indicates two people. Despite orders to the contrary, Taylor did not appear before the commissioners in Dublin that summer. His account of the affair appears in a letter to Evelyn of 10 February 1660. He says that he was arrested at Christmas 1659 and "... I had beene in the worst of our winter weather sent for to Dublin by our late anabaptist commissioners; and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill: but in my return, had my ill re-doubled and fixed" (I.xc). We cannot know what happened to Taylor between Christmas 1659 and February 1660. However, between these dates, Monck began his march into England which was to usher in a new era not only for England and Ireland, but also for the Church of England and Jeremy Taylor in particular.

In March 1660 Taylor was in London and added his signature to the declaration of Loyalists published on 24 April, supporting Monck's measures. It is not ridiculous to think that he was a witness to Charles II's triumphant return on 29 May. Official records cite 6 August 1660 as the date on which the soon to be bishops-elect of Ireland were given their nominations, in which Taylor was nominated to the see of Down and Connor.[58] Bosher, however, argues that the nominations were decided by 23 June.[59] The consecration of the bishops did not take place until 27 January 1661. Quite why there was such a delay is not clear. It is, however, clear that the delay allowed some furious campaigning by the anti-episcopalians, not least against Taylor himself.

Charles II's Declaration from Breda of April 1660, his "Act of free and generall pardon, indemnity and oblivion" of June 1660 and his personal reassurances led the presbyterians and other non-conformist groups to false assumptions: they seemed to believe that their churches would remain intact, that no attempt would be made to make them submit to episcopal government. The Declaration

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[57] See also Conway to Rawdon, 14 June 1659, *Conway Letters*, p.159.

[58] *A New History of Ireland*, edited by T.W.Moody, F.X.Martin and F.J.Byrne, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1980-), IX.

[59] Bosher, p.157.

of Breda was a particular bone of contention. It said,

> ... because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions on religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other ... we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.[60]

The phrase "liberty for tender consciences" was the cause of frequent debate, as Taylor's parliament sermon would testify. As I have said, it led the presbyterians, particularly in Taylor's diocese of Down, to believe that their own system of church government should remain unharmed. Thus, they found it natural that they should set about the destruction of episcopacy, notably in Down and in Taylor's own person, without fear of suppression. A letter amongst the State Papers gives a detailed account of the campaign against Taylor.[61] The letter was addressed to Taylor and informed him that the presbyterians had had a meeting "in which it was concluded that articles should be drawn against you". The charge being "that you were a Socinian, that you denied Original Sin, and that you were an Arminian and so a heretic in grain". The letter goes on to say that if the brethren had no success in Dublin, they would take their case to the King, " and in the meantime all of them to preach vigorously against Bishops and the Book of Common Prayer". Taylor conveyed the letter to two Privy Councillors, Sir Charles Coote, Earl of Mountrath, and Sir William Bury who wrote to Secretary Nicholas in England that "we expect a speedy account thereof, in order that we may take steps to stop any further public inconvenience of this kind".[62] Whatever steps were taken, Taylor was sufficiently upset to write an unusually emotional letter to Ormonde on 19 December 1660 deploring the behaviour of the presbyterians in his diocese and pleading for translation to another see.

> ... I perceive myself thrown into a place of torment. The country would quickly be very well if the Scotch ministers were away; at least some of the prime incendiaries. They have for these four months past solemnly agreed, and very lately renewed their

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[60] *The Stuart Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, edited by John P.Kenyon (Cambridge, 1966), pp.357-58.

[61] *CSPI* 1647-60, p.673.

[62] *CSPI* 1647-60, pp.128-29.

> resolution, of preaching vigorously and constantly against episcopacy and liturgy; ... they talk of resisting unto blood, and stir up the people to sedition, doing things worse than can be expressed by any but themselves.

Taylor goes on to outline his measures to deal amicably with his enemies, "but they refuse to speak with me; they have newly covenanted to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons". Relating further the charges against him, Taylor points out that the issue is of concern to the whole Irish episcopacy, not just himself: the episcopal order could not be left to fight sedition alone.

> ... my humblest petition to your excellency is, that you will be pleased to remove from me this insupportable burden, or to support me under it, and that you will be pleased to acquaint his sacred Majesty with my sad condition. They threaten to murder me; they have studiously raised reports that I was destroyed by the Scots; they use all the arts they can to disgrace me, and to take the people's hearts from me, and to make my life uncomfortable, and useless to the service of his Majesty and the church. ... if I may be assisted by the secular arm, his Majesty's ministers civil or military, I will as cheerfully as I can stand in this gap, though they discharge all their ordinance against me alone, bitter words, and horrid threatnings. It were better for me to be a poor curate in a village church than a bishop over such intolerable persons (I.ci).

F. R. Bolton has produced some interesting material on the subject of Taylor's translation at this time. Three days after the the consecration of the bishops on 27 January 1661, Michael Boyle, then Bishop of Cork, recommended Taylor for the see of Meath should the present octogenarian bishop, Henry Leslie, die. Leslie did die on 7 April 1661 and Bramhall, Primate of all Ireland, thought Taylor very suitable for the vacant see but his judgment was that Taylor's translation "would hinder the reformation of that schismatical part of the country". Thus Taylor remained as Bishop of Down and Connor and on 21 June 1661 had the see of Dromore united with his own.[63]

On Sunday 27 January 1661, Taylor, nine other bishops and two archbishops were consecrated in St.Patrick's Cathedral. It was the most magnificent occasion seen in Ireland since the time of Strafford's government, and Taylor preached the sermon.[64] However, the course to be steered by the new bishops

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[63] F.R. Bolton, p.270-71.

[64] Details of the occasion can be found in the Commentary on the consecration sermon.

was a narrow one, flanked as they were by the threat of Catholic rebellion on one side and presbyterian resistance on the other, although the latter were clearly the greatest thorn in the flesh in the early years of restoration. The general situation is given apt expression by Lord Charlemont, In a letter to Archbishop Bramhall of 22 October 1660:

> My Lord, never had the Church more need of ... a champion than now that the looseness of the late times hath been the occasion of so many schisms, and given opportunity to such a numberless number of heresies to creep in amongst us that not many days ago it was hardly possible to find two of one religion. And therein are those unhappy northern quarters most miserable, abounding with all sorts of licentious persons; but those whom we esteem most dangerous are the Presbyterian factions, who do like publicly to put up the authority of the kirk above that of the crown and our dread sovereign ... .[65]

Given the hostility of the non-conformists to his original coming over to Ireland, his brush with the commissioners in 1659-60 and the agitation before the episcopal consecration, Taylor cannot have viewed the coming tasks of discipline with much relish. He would doubtless have sympathised entirely with George Wild, bishop-elect of Derry, a diocese only marginally less troublesome than Down and Connor. He wrote to Sheldon on 2 January 1661 that the consecration would be "... a day, which of all my brethren I have least reason to wish for when I consider [what] it brings with it. But when I look upon my Mother, I humbly submit and shall rejoice in it, ...".[66] It is doubtful whether Taylor rejoiced in the mantle of authority now placed upon his shoulders. Indeed, it is not fanciful to suppose that his last years in Ireland were entirely unsuited to his temperament and that his early death was not unconnected with this.

However, Taylor was now firmly entrenched in Irish public life. On 2 January 1661 he had been installed as Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin. In May he was to take his place in the Irish House of Lords. But between these two events, in February, Taylor presided at his first episcopal visitation: an episode which graphically demonstrates his difficulties at that time. It was perhaps the greatest storm he had yet been called upon to weather in Ireland. The most

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[65] *History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, edited by Walter A. Phillips, 3 vols. (London, 1933), III.119.

[66] *The Tanner Letters: original documents and notices of Irish affairs in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1943) p.399.

detailed account of the visitation is given by the presbyterian Patrick Adair.[67] Adair allows his colours to be shown by calling Taylor "a man pretending civility and some courteous carriage" and accuses that "he had sucked in the dregs of much of Popery, Socinianism and Arminianism, and was a heart enemy not only to Non-conformists, but to the Orthodox". Adair's account of Taylor's attempts to make the ministers accept episcopal jurisdiction and ordination is too detailed for the present purpose. It is enough to use it as demonstration of Taylor's unenviable position in his diocese.

Before the visitation was due to be held, a party of presbyterian ministers visited Taylor "at his house in Hillsborough". A summons from Taylor had been issued to all ministers to appear at the visitation but, the party told Taylor, "they could not appear in answer to that summons - neither as submitting themselves to episcopal jurisdiction, nor at all, in the public visitation". Thereafter, a private conference took place between the same party and Taylor on the subject of whether presbyterian government was *jure divina*, that is, of divine law. The ministers affirmed that it was and "they said it was a truth whereof they were persuaded in their consciences, and could not relinquish it, but must profess it as they were called". Taylor put it to them that this and their refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, recognising the monarch as head of the church, was not conformable to law. "He said also, he perceived they were in a hard taking, for if they did conform contrary to their consciences they were but knaves, and if not, they could not be endured contrary to law: he wished them therefore *deponere conscientem erroneam* [to put aside the erroneous conscience]." None of the ministers appeared at the visitation the next day. A further deputation approached Taylor at his house and met with fierce denunciation and retribution for their not appearing.

> One said, it was the awe of God and conscience that made them not appear. He replied, a Jew or a Quaker would say so much for their opinions, and everybody would use that argument for the vindication of their erroneous courses.

Adair confirms that Taylor gave "great offers of kindness and preferment" to some ministers in exchange for conformity, "but he obtained not his purpose". Thus, Taylor declared thirty-six livings vacant and began to procure new parish

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[67] Patrick Adair, *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1623-70*, introduction and notes by W. D. Killen (Belfast, 1866), pp.247-52.

priests. Contrary to Killen's judgement that Taylor was an exceptionally hard persecutor, Adair adds: "The rest of the brethren in other dioceses were dealt with in the same manner in the end, though not with so great haste and violence".

There are two published relics of Taylor's first visitation. One is "The Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine", published as part of *Seven Sermons* in 1663. The other is *Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocese of Down and Connor*, published before 16 November 1661 if Evelyn's letter of that date is accurate (I.cvii). Neither lends convincing evidence to the concept of Taylor as arch-persecutor. The twenty-ninth rule of the latter work reads:

> Receive not the people to doubtful disputations: and let no names of sects or differing religions be kept amongst you, for the disturbance of the public peace and private charity: and teach not the people to estimate their piety by their distance from any opinion, but by their faith in Christ, their obedience to God and the laws, and their love to all Christian people, even though they may be deceived (I.105).

Here, and at other places in the work, Taylor's view of dissent is clear: a view wholly in sympathy with that expressed in the Parliament sermon. On 28 March 1661 Taylor again wrote to Ormonde about the possibility of a translation to the see of Meath. He also gave his own view of the battle between himself and the "brethren".

> Here I am perpetually contending with the worst of the Scotch ministers. I have a most uncomfortable employment, but I bless God, I have broke their knot, I have overcome the biggest difficulty, and made the charge easy for my successor (I.xcix).

Alas, there was to be no "successor" for Taylor in his lifetime, but he did not bear his yoke alone. Bramhall, as Archbishop of Armagh; George Wild, Bishop of Derry; John Leslie, Bishop of Dromore until 21 June 1661: all these men were in a similar position to Taylor. Indeed, a Proclamation of 22 January 1661 showed that dissent was a problem all over Ireland. It was stated that

> ... sundry unlawful assemblies have ... been held by Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers and other fanatical persons meeting in great numbers, who meet in hundreds or thousands under the pretended authority of some foreign jurisdiction or of some local presbytery ... At these meetings they speak evil of dignities, cast dirt in the face of lawful magistrates and usurp the essential rights of sovereignity

itself.[68]

It is scarcely surprising that the coming parliament was to be made up of men who would toe the line of episcopal interests. As early as 22 June 1660 "The Committee of Ireland proposed to have a Parliament called consisting of his Majesty's Protestant subjects only".[69] On 8 May 1661, the day of the opening ceremony of parliament, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, noted in a letter to Ormonde that "but one papist and one anabaptist" had been returned to parliament and that he was " ... very confident, that much the major number of the house of commons are faithful servants to his majesty and friends to the church ...".[70] The House of Lords consisted of loyal noblemen and bishops with the notable exception of John Clotworthy, Lord Massareene, who was one of the larger figures involved in Laud's execution and was also a friend and neighbour of Conway and Rawdon. It is not surprising that Patrick Adair complained that the parliament was selected "to overturn the work of reformation, declare it all rebellion, and re-establish episcopacy and liturgy".[71]

The opening ceremony of the Irish Parliament, which included Taylor's sermon, took place on 8 May 1661 and was another splendid occasion.[72] A day later, the Convocation of the Church of Ireland also met in St.Patrick's Cathedral. The sessions of the parliament were as follows: 8 May-31 July 1661; 6 September 1661-22 March 1662; 17 April 1662-15 April 1663; 26 October 1665-7 August 1666. On 7 August 1666 the parliament was dissolved and a new one was not called until 1692. With his position in the House of Lords and his Vice-Chancellorship of Trinity College, in which he was very active, it must be concluded that Taylor spent substantial amounts of time in Dublin. There was plenty of absenteeism in the House and the proxy system was frequently used but both Taylor and his patron Conway appear to have been unusually diligent in attendance.[73] It is not necessary here to give a detailed account of Taylor's parliamentary career but a little needs to be said of his role in drawing up the initial policies against the non-conformists: it seems to have been a

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[68] *CSPI* 1660-62, p.191.

[69] *CSPI* 1660-62, p.2.

[70] *A Collection of the State Letters of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, the first Earl of Orrery* (London, 1742),pp.17-18.

[71] *True Narrative*, p.239.

[72] For details of the ceremony see the Commentary on the parliament sermon.

[73] *Journals of the House of Lords in the Parliament of Ireland* (Dublin, 1779).

major one. On 14 May 1661 an order was made that a "Declaration of this House be drawn up, requiring all the subjects of this Kingdom to conform to Church Government by Episcopacy, and to the Liturgy, as it is established by Law".[74] Taylor appears to have played a large part in the drawing up of this declaration. On 17 May, it was ready for printing and ministers were ordered to read it from their pulpits. On 25 May, a further declaration was made, again with Taylor's name cited in the drawing up, against the Solemn League and Covenant. The latter was deemed "against the Laws of God, and the fundamental Constitution of this Kingdom; and [we] therefore order that it be burn'd in all Cities, Towns Corporate and Market-Towns, within this Kingdom, by the hand of the Common Hangman ... ". [75] Even allowing that Taylor's authoritarianism was always greater than has been generally recognised, as is demonstrated in Chapter Three, one would prefer to think that Taylor was a passive signatory to this declaration, that he was a model of obedience in supporting these first attempts to extinguish the non-conformist ascendancy.

The last seven years of Taylor's life were spent on episcopal and parliamentary duties. However, he never gave up the hope that he might escape his "place of torment" and be given a bishopric away from Ulster. On 25 May 1665 he wrote, somewhat melodramatically, to Sheldon:

> ... I humbly desire that your grace will not wholly lay me aside, and cast off all thoughts of removing me; for no man shall with a greater diligence, humility, and observance endeavour to make up his other disabilities, than I shall. For the case is that the country does not agree with my health as it hath done formerly, till the last Michaelmas; and if your grace be not willing I should die immaturely, I shall still hope you will bring me to or near yourself once more (I.cxix).

But Sheldon was unmoved and Taylor remained in Down for the rest of his life. After 1664 he wrote only *The Second Part of the Dissuasive from Popery* (1667) and this more out of necessity than will. On 14 August 1667 Rawdon wrote to Conway, "That which I feared ... is come to passe, my Lord of Downe dyed about three yesterday afternoone, and hath left a sad Family ...". [76] Although it is the period of Taylor's life about which we know most, his life in Ireland had

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[74] *Journals of the House of Lords*, I.234.
[75] *Journals of the House of Lords*, I.240.
[76] *Conway Letters*, p.287.

not been a happy one. When the sum of his troubles is examined it is perhaps not difficult to see why the tone of the Irish occasional sermons lacks some of the gentleness usually associated with him. Perhaps like most writers, he found the life of action so much more difficult than the life of reflection.

A General Introduction to the Six Occasional Sermons

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the six occasional sermons presented in this volume. Discussions of "Jeremy Taylor's preaching" have hitherto almost always concentrated on the sermons printed in Ἐνιαυτός: *A Course of Sermons For All the Sundaies Of the Year* (1653). Furthermore, such discussions have almost always taken up a particular critical position in their preoccupation with matters of Taylor's style, his imagery and his "poetic fancy". In this chapter I intend to show that Ἐνιαυτός presents Taylor's preaching in unusual circumstances. At the end of the chapter I will look at some of the critical assessments that have been made of Taylor's prose. The bulk of the chapter will be taken up with a general analysis of the method and content of the six occasional sermons. However, I would like to begin the chapter with an examination of the general theory of preaching as it appears in Taylor's works.

The period of Jeremy Taylor's writings spans some of the most radical social changes in British history. During the years between 1638, the date of Taylor's first published work, and 1667, the date of his death, almost every aspect of society had been challenged by the rise of the Parliamentary power, the rise of the religious sects, and radical developments in philosophy. It is hardly surprising that attitudes to literature also changed, and no literary form was more argued over than the sermon. Discussions of attitudes to preaching tend to interpret in terms of the over-generalised polarities of "Puritan" and "Anglican". On the "Puritan" side, preaching was intended to be a means of teaching Christian doctrine as it appears in the divinely inspired words of God, the Bible. In analysing a text, the preacher was meant to keep "profane" learning to a minimum lest the spirit be hindered from drawing the truth out of those inspired words. Rhetoric, as a product of deliberate art and of a pagan culture was frowned on. Many Puritan preachers preached *ex tempore*, that is, without notes or any written word in front of them. The spirit, it was thought, could speak more clearly when unhindered by the corruptions of human art. This is an extreme view and does not actually reflect the practice of many Puritan preachers. On the "Anglican" side, the polarity defines a theory that relies heavily on the art that was despised by the "Puritans", classical oratory. The "Anglican" sermon is typified by ornate style and a mass of learned quotation. Once again, the truth is far more complex than this and an adequate discussion of it cannot be entered into here. It is perhaps more profitable to

look at what Taylor himself says about preaching.

Taylor discusses preaching in five places. These are the Epistles Dedicatory to *XXV Sermons* and *XXVIII Sermons*; the constituent parts of Ενιαυτος; the *Clerus Domini* which is included in Ἐνιαυτός (1653); *Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocesse of Down and Connor* (1661) and *The Whole Duty of the Clergy in Life, Faith and Doctrine*, two sermons included in the 1667 edition of *Ten Sermons*. The epistles in Ἐνιαυτός are largely concerned with the particular circumstances of that work but the epistle before the *XXVIII Sermons* aims to tell the auditor "how they ought to entertain sermons". Taylor's main point is to decry the habit of assessing the preacher's ability as though he were some virtuoso looking for applause.

> ... it were well if men would not inquire after the learning of the sermon, or its deliciousness to the ear or fancy, but observe its usefulness; not what concerns the preacher, but what concerns themselves; not what may take a vain reflection upon him, but what may substantially serve their own needs; that the attending to his discourses may not be spent in vain talk concerning him or his disparagements, but may be used as a duty and a part of religion, to minister to edification and instruction.

It should be noted however, that Taylor does not say that preachers shouldn't *use* learning or "deliciousness to the ear or fancy" but simply that the sermon should not be approved or disapproved of on those grounds. For, "To admire a preacher is such a reward of his pains and worth, as if you should crown a conqueror with a garland of roses ... it is an indecency, it is no part of the reward, which could be intended for him". Taylor then inveighs against a sister vice to that of admiring a preacher, envy. Finally, he concludes:

> He that despises his preacher, is a hearer of arts and learning, not of the word of God; and though, when the word of God is set off with advantages and entertainments of the better faculties of our humility, it is more useful and of more effect; yet, when the word of God is spoken truly, though but read in plain language, it will become the disciple of Jesus to love that man whom God sends, and the public order and the laws have employed, rather than to despise the weakness of him who delivers a mighty word.

It should be clear from this that Taylor is actually defending his own use of rhetoric against those who demanded plainness. Rhetoric sets off the word of God "with advantages and entertainments of the better faculties". That is, without the oratorical arts God's word cannot be impressed upon the mind of the hearer. Therein lies one of the major tenets of Taylor's attitude to

preaching: he absolutely denies the premiss that the word of God has some magical ability to affect the soul of man. He rather thinks that the arts of man are the gift of God through which that word can be transmitted. This will be discussed more fully later.

Taylor's works concerning the duties of the clergy deal with the sermon from the preacher's point of view. The earliest of these works was *Clerus Domini; Or, A Discourse of The Divine Institution, Necessity, Sacredness, and Separation, of the Office Ministerial.* This was first published alongside *XXVIII Sermons* In 1651, but the words "Written By The Special Command of King Charles I" on the title-page indicate an earlier date of composition. Taylor's argument really belongs alongside *Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy* for in both works he argues that ordained clergy and bishops were universally employed by the primitive church and that those reformers who claim greater participation for lay persons at that time are mistaken and have no grounds for instigating such a practice. Among the special offices that are fit only for the ordained clergyman to perform is preaching. It has to be remembered that not all the sequestered Anglican clergymen were replaced by men of superior morals and integrity and many of the approved ministers were severely undereducated.[1] In *Clerus Domini* Taylor constructs a convincing argument against the layperson as a preacher. Preaching, Taylor considers, is a power of divine institution. He quotes Matthew 28.19,20: "All power is given to me in heaven and earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you". Therefore, only God's ministers, those who have been ordained, can be inheritors of that power. However, later in his argument Taylor produces some purely practical arguments.

> ... I consider that either to preach requires but an ordinary or an extraordinary ability: if it requires an extraordinary, they who are illiterate and unlearned persons, are the unfittest men in the world for it; if an ordinary sufficiency will discharge it, why cannot they suppose the clergy of a competency and strength sufficient to do that, which an ordinary understanding and faculties can perform? ... Although as homilies to the people are now used according to the smallest rate, many men more preach

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[1]There is a story, probably apocryphal, that Taylor's replacement at Uppingham was one of the less able of the approved ministers. The anecdote has it that on entering the church during his first service the minister picked up the communion cup, shouted "here's to ye all" and downed the contents in one draught.

> than should, yet besides that to preach "prudently, gravely, piously, and with truth", requires more abilities than are discernible by the people, such as make even a plain work reasonable to wise men, and useful to their hearers, and acceptable to God; besides this, I say, the office of teaching is of larger extent than making homilies, or speaking prettily enough to please the common and undiscerning auditors.

Taylor goes on to say that a preacher without exemplary life and faith cannot be a good teacher. His argument is an analogue of the classical one that a good orator is always a good man, since otherwise he would not be able to affect his audience. Furthermore, Taylor clearly sees preaching as part of the wider function of "cure of souls" which includes casuistry and pastoral care.

In *Rules and Advices* Taylor lays down twenty-four maxims for the guidance of the parish priest in his preaching duties. Taylor concentrates mainly on the content of sermons, how to reprove sin and how to keep controversy to a minimum. None of his advices here is particularly interesting or unusual but it is perhaps worth noting that he prescribes adherence to the literal sense of the Bible and that clergymen are to avoid the use of "new, fantastical or schismatical" language. The most interesting among the works concerning the ministerial office is *The Whole Duty of the Clergy,* sometimes referred to as "The Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine". These two sermons were preached "At So Many Several Visitations" of the parishes in his dioceses of Down, Connor and Dromore. The first of these sermons, on Titus 2.7, deals with the minister's life, the second with doctrine and the teaching of that doctrine. Taylor begins the latter by stressing the need to draw doctrine from the Bible alone: "Whatsoever is not in, and taken from, the Scriptures, is from a private spirit, and that is against Scripture certainly". The next part of the discussion centres on the problems of scriptural interpretation. Taylor had already discussed the pitfalls of exegesis in *The Liberty of Prophesying* but in that work he was more interested in the consequences than the method. Here, in "The Minister's Duty" he is interested only in demonstrating the surest rules of interpretation for the use of his clergy. Taylor is aware that many of the latter may not be very gifted:

> Because it is not to be expected, that every minister of the word of God should have all the gifts of the Spirit, and every one to abound in tongues, and in doctrines, and in interpretations; you may, therefore, make great use of the labours of those worthy persons, whom God hath made to be lights in the several generations of the world, that a hand may help a hand, and a father may teach a brother, and we all be taught of God.

Taylor goes on to give recommendations about the best works of exegesis and the best rules of exegesis. He gives particular authority to the *De Doctrina Christiana* of St. Augustine. Taylor does not comment on the method of preaching itself but he does devote a good deal of time to what may legitimately be drawn from Scripture and taught to a congregation. The most important points in relation to preaching are his insistence on the literal sense of the Bible and his deprecation of the mystical sense. The literal sense only is the source of doctrine, but Taylor's interpretation of "literal sense" is interesting for "not only the grammatical or prime signification of the word is the literal sense".

> ... he that understands nothing but his grammar, and hath not conversed with men and books, and can see no farther than his fingers' ends, and makes no use of his reason, but for ever will be a child; he may be deceived in the literal sense of scripture, but then he is not fit to teach others: but he that knows words signify rhetorically as well as grammatically, and various proper significations, and which of these is the first is not always of itself easy to be told; and remembers also that God hath given him reason, and observation, and experience, and conversation with wise men, and the proportion of things, and the end of the command, and the parallel places of scripture in other words to the same purpose, will conclude, that since in plain places all the duty of man is contained, and that the literal sense is always true, and (unless men be wilful or infortunate) they may with a small proportion of learning find out the literal sense of an easy moral proposition (VIII.522-23).

Two things are particularly interesting here. First, Taylor is decrying that method of exegesis which is the hallmark of a certain type of preaching, the type where intense concentration on the text forms the bulk of it. Secondly, he is saying that a doctrine wrought from such a concentration alone cannot be just because it does not take in the whole context. The more knowledgeable the exegete is about not only the Bible but also the whole arts and history of man the more likely he is to make a just interpretation. His view here is linked with his attitude to the mystical sense of scripture. The mystical or spiritual sense, says Taylor, is contentious and wholly unprofitable because it proceeds from the undemonstrable. Those who habitually use the mystical sense of scripture "expound all the articles of our faith, all the hopes of a Christian, all the stories of Christ, into such a clancular and retired sense, as if they had no meaning by the letter, but were only an hieroglyphic or a Pythagorean scheme, and not to be opened but by a private key, which every man pretends to be borrowed from the spirit of God, though made in the forges here below". This

is a most revealing passage; here, Taylor distances himself from the habit of mind that sought another, mystical meaning behind the concrete world of everyday human experience. There is often the sense that when Taylor speaks of "the Spirit of God" he means something more material than mysterious. To him, the "Spirit" was manifested in human terms, in gifts of the intellect and moral actions, rather than in mystical revelation and ecstasies.

It may be objected that "The Minister's Duty" was one of Taylor's latest works. But much of what he says in the latter work was also expressed in one of his earliest, *An Apology for Authorised and Set Forms of Liturgie: against the Pretense of the Spirit* (1649). This is one of Taylor's most interesting works to the modern reader since it is the closest thing we have to a literary theory by him. The tract was a reworking of the the 1646 *A Discourse Concerning Prayer Ex Tempore*, and intended as an argument for the "Set Forms" of the *Book of Common Prayer* as opposed to prayer "with the spirit" as laid down in the newly published *Christian Directory*. Unfortunately, it is not really relevant to discuss the work in detail here. However, it is worth noting that many of the controversies about set forms had elements in common with the controversy about preaching, since preaching *ex tempore* and praying *ex tempore* were advocated as a result of the same belief in an irresistible, mysterious Spirit of God which could fill the souls of his servants. In the *Apology* Taylor inveighs vehemently against such a belief in similar terms to those used against the mystical interpretation of scripture.

> It is one of the privileges of the gospel and the benefits of Christ's ascension, that the Holy Ghost is given unto the church, and is become to us the fountain of gifts and graces. But these gifts and graces are improvements and helps of our natural faculties, of our art and industry, not extraordinary, miraculous, and immediate infusions of habits and gifts.

And just to inculcate this point he then says that "the gifts of the Spirit are not ecstasies and immediate infusions of habits, but helps from God, to enable us, upon the use of the means of His own appointment, to believe, to speak, to understand and to pray (V.265)". One other point that comes from the *Apology* is worth noting. This is is Taylor's ideal of composition, taken from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*.

> ... in making our orations and public advocations, we must write what we mean to speak, as often as we can; when we cannot, yet we must deliberate and study; and when the suddenness of the accident prevents both these, we must use all the powers of

> art and care, that we have a present mind, and call in all our first provisions, that we be not destitute of matter and words fit for the employment (V.278).

These considerations are vital to an understanding of the method of Taylor's preaching. Taylor's view was that the arts of man were wholly suitable to serve God because they were given by God. It is a mastery of these arts that is the hallmark of Taylor's prose in general and his sermons in particular.

At the beginning of this chapter I stated that Taylor's collection of sermons entitled Ἐνιαυτός: *A Course of Sermons for all the Sundaies Of the Year* was unusual in the circumstances of its production. The difference between this volume and the occasional sermons is one of both audience and purpose. It is only the sermons included in the 1667 supplement to Ἐνιαυτός, the *Ten Sermons*, that were preached to a public auditory. The six occasional sermons included herewith, the *Three Sermons* of 1663 and the two sermons that make up the *The Whole Duty of the Clergy* are the only sermons preached within a public service of the Anglican Church. The *Three Sermons* were preached in Christ Church, Dublin. Taylor states in his epistle that the Duchess of Ormonde, to whom the sermons are dedicated, had requested that the first of these sermons, "The Righteousness Evangelical Describ'd", be printed and that he had included two others to make up a volume of reasonable size. As I have mentioned already, *The Whole Duty of the Clergy* comprises two sermons preached at Taylor's visitations. The other sermon, apart from the six printed in this thesis, is *A Sermon Preached in Saint Maries Church in Oxford, Upon the Anniversary of the Gunpowder-Treason* (1638). The six occasional sermons edited herewith encompass a wider period (1650-63) and greater variety of approaches than Ἐνιαυτός. As such they are probably a more representative selection.

Ἐνιαυτός: *A Course of Sermons for All the Sundaies of the Year* is a neat and saleable idea. But one oddity of this collection is that there aren't enough sermons to go round "All the Sundaies". There are properly only twenty-two sermons in this volume; eleven have been divided into two parts, ten into three and one, the funeral sermon for Lady Carbery, remains as a whole. It was not unusual for preachers to preach a number of sermons on one text. An example would be Donne's three sermons on Psalms 38.4 preached at Lincoln's Inn in 1618. But these sermons were complete in themselves, they stood as an oratorical unit. Taylor's divided sermons in Ἐνιαυτός do not. Each part is very

much a part and depends upon another for sense. It would be difficult to make real sense of a second or third part of one sermon unless the preceding part(s) had been read, or at least summarised in the case of oral transmission. The only contemporary structure of this type that I have seen is in the *Book of Homilies*. The full title of this work is *Certaine Sermons or Homilies appoynted to be read in Churches*. Book One was first published during Edward VI's reign in 1547, Book Two was a product of the Elizabethan church settlement published in 1563. In the preface, the purpose of the collection is made plain. Seeing that "... all they which are appointed ministers, have not the gift of preaching sufficiently to instruct the people, which is committed unto them, whereof great inconveniences might rise, and ignorance still be maintained, if some honest remedy be not speedily found and provided", the homilies were appointed to be read in churches by Elizabeth I. Their authorisation continued with subsequent monarchs and was revived after the Restoration. If no sermon was prepared by the parish priest a homily was to be read. The book was to be worked through in sequence and when finished should be begun again. The style of the *Book of Homilies* is plain. The homilies cover topics deemed essential to the "godliness and virtue" of the auditory. Each has a title; there are sermons "Of the true and lively Feiyth", "Of the declining from God", "Of Christian love and charity", "Of good workes" as well as "Against Gluttony and Drunkenness", "An exhortation to obedience", "An exhortation against the feare of death" and sermons appropriate to the great festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. Each sermon is divided into two or three parts.

The division of sermons is not the only way in which Ἐνιαυτός resembles the *Book of Homilies*: there is the distinct possibility that the former was designed as a substitute for the latter. Taylor's sermons too all have titles and cover seminal topics for the promotion of "godliness and virtue". "Of Godly Fear" deals with the distinction between reverence and superstitious terror; "The Doomsday Book; or Christ's Advent to Judgement" tackles the theme of judgement after death and the best means of preparing for it; "The Invalidity of a Late or Death-bed Repentance" is self-explanatory. There is a famous sermon on the sacrament of marriage and others dealing with prayer and the growth of grace and sin. There is one festival sermon for Whitsun entitled "The Spirit of Grace". These sermons, like those of the *Book of Homilies* are not primarily expositions of a text but short discourses on matters of practical piety. As I have said, Ἐνιαυτός contains two Epistles Dedicatory to Richard, Lord

Vaughan. That which was placed before *XXV Sermons* comes first in Ἐνιαυτός and is clearly meant as an introduction to the whole volume. Taylor's remarks in this epistle are very revealing. He expresses the hope that his "year" of sermons may be "*annus acceptabilis*, an acceptable year to God, and his afflicted handmaid the Church of England, a relief to some of her new necessities, and an institution or assistance to any soul". This is a succinct expression of Taylor's purpose. He goes on to elaborate, in terms not very unlike those of the *Book of Homilies*, how detrimental to godliness a lack of preaching can be.

> ... every man's experience tells him now, that because men have not preaching, they less desire it; their long fasting makes them not to love their meat; and so we have cause to fear, the people will fall to an atrophy, then to a loathing of holy food; and then God's anger will follow the method of our sin, and send, a famine of the word and sacraments. This we have the greatest reason to fear, and this fear can be relieved by nothing but the notices and experience of the greatness of the Divine mercies and goodness.

He thus concludes that "all the great necessities of the church have been served by the zeal of preaching in public" and that "the present state of the church requires a greater care and prudence in this ministry than ever". In his final paragraph Taylor sums up his purpose in more general terms.

> ... the special design of the whole is, to describe the greater lines of duty, by special arguments: and if any witty censurer shall say, that I tell him nothing but what he knew before; I shall be contented with it, and rejoice that he was so well instructed, and wish also that he needed not a remembrancer: but if, either in the first, or in the second; in the institution of some, or the reminding of others, I can do God any service; no man ought to be offended, that sermons are not like curious inquiries after new nothings, but pursuances of old truths.

It seems manifestly clear to me that Ἐνιαυτός is not a volume of sermons which Taylor preached to the Vaughan family and then printed, but a volume specifically designed to one purpose. That purpose was the maintenance and help of the "afflicted handmaid", the Anglican Church. It is not difficult to see why Taylor would have designed such a volume or why he might have taken the *Book of Homilies* as a model. I have already discussed Taylor's situation at Golden Grove in the preceding chapter and shown that his general purpose in writing at that time is bound up with the plans of Hammond, Sheldon and their associates (p.xviii-xxi), plans that included the support of Anglican teaching and worship via the printing press. The most famous products of the Golden Grove

period were *The Rules and Excercises of Holy Living* (1650) and *The Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), two manuals of Christian practice which concorded entirely with Hammond's designs. The preceding chapter also demonstrates how Taylor's other popular work of this period, *The Golden Grove, Or, A Manuall of daily Prayers and Letanies, Fitted to the Dayes of the Week* (1655), which went through thirteen editions in the seventeenth century alone, was designed along the lines of the *Book of Common Prayer* as a legal alternative to that work both for private and public use (see p.xvii). It seems perfectly logical to think that, by analogy, Ἐνιαυτός was designed along parallel lines to supplement the *Book of Homilies*. As far as I am able to see, the *Book of Homilies* was never proscribed by the Cromwellian government. The "Ordinance for taking away the book of Common Prayer" dated 4 January 1645 does not mention it and I can find no other reference which would suggest that its use was banned.[2] However, the principle of the book would clearly have been anathema. John Cotton, for example, stated the non-conformist position succinctly when he said "Wee conceive it also unlawful to bring in ordinarily any other Bookes into the publique worship of God, in the Church, besides the Book of God ...".[3] Any set form was considered an obstruction to the Spirit. Clearly, the production of a volume of "set forms" of sermons would serve the Anglican Church not just in practical terms but also in the manner of gall to its enemies.

The epistle before *XXVIII Sermons*, the second part of Ἐνιαυτός, implies that Taylor preached all the sermons therein to the Vaughan household at Golden Grove. As I have said, this preaching was probably a secondary consideration in composing his sermons. However, the obvious *sequitur* to this is a question: what relationship have Taylor's published sermons to those he preached? Unfortunately Taylor gives no clear indication. In several places he mentions the fact that an auditor may be less critical than a reader. For example, in the epistle to *XXVII Sermons* he says that "Sermons may please when they first strike the ear, and yet appear flat and ignorant, when they are offered to the eye, and to an understanding that can consider at leisure". The sentiment is repeated in the epistle before the consecration sermon, "... it might have

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[2] *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660*, edited by C.H.Firth and R.S.Rait, 3 vols. (London, 1853), pp.582-607.

[3] Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England From Andrewes to Baxter and Fox, 1603-1690* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), p.148.

advantages in the delivery, which it would want in the reading". This may simply be a kind of formulaic apology for publishing a sermon like the usual avowal that it was obedience to the demands of others and not esteem of his own ability that motivated the preacher's decision to publish. It would seem dangerous to draw any definite conclusions from these statements. However, some idea of the relationship between the printed and preached sermon might be reached if Taylor's method of delivery could be established. Again evidence is not very forthcoming. We may be sure he did not preach *ex tempore*. He may have written out a full sermon and either read or memorised it. Alternately, he may have preached from notes and either had the sermon taken down as he preached or have written it up himself after delivery. A wide variety of practices were current among Anglican preachers of the time. Although it is by no means a necessary truth, it seems generally to have been the case that when a sermon differed widely from that preached, the fact is indicated either on the title-page or in a preface or note. Taylor wrote a large number of prefaces to his sermons and there is no indication that the preached sermon differed radically from that printed. That Taylor read his sermons or preached them from memory, and thus had a full version of the sermon written before delivery, seems the most likely. The most important pieces of information that survive concerning Taylor's method of delivery occur with reference to the Dalston and Bramhall funeral sermons. A report in *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* asserted on the day of Bramhall's funeral that "The Sermon you shall (next week) have in Print".[4] Humphrey Robinson was present when Taylor preached his sermon for George Dalston and stated that it was "preacht soe accurate[ly] and with that variety of warninge that I hope we may see it in print".[5] The two reports seem to concur in that the method of Taylor's delivery indicated that the sermon was intended for publication. Robinson's remark about the Dalston sermon's being "accurate", that is, careful, seems also to imply a read or memorised sermon. However, it is unlikely that a preacher of Taylor's fame would have read his sermons: the practice was not thought highly of. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that a preacher who *read* his sermons would have been asked to preach at showpiece occasions such as the episcopal consecration of 1661. The most likely conclusion is that Taylor

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[4]For the full extract see the commentary on the Bramhall sermon p.290.

[5]Letter to Joseph Williamson of 30 September 1657, State Papers Domestic, 18/156.

memorised his sermon from a fully written-out copy. If this was Taylor's habitual mode of delivery then it is probably safe to assume that he made few, if any, changes to the manuscript he submitted to the printer. In the case of Ἐνιαυτός we cannot know whether all the sermons were preached or not. But it might be said that Taylor was a preacher who sometimes had as much of his mind on the printing press as on his audience.

Another difference between Ἐνιαυτός and the sermons presented here is that of the demands of an occasion. Occasional sermons were required to accentuate the splendour of a ceremony. Henry Hammond gives a succinct summary of the principles of good preaching in his *Of Fundamentals in a Notion to Practise* (1654):

> ... in the Homilies of the Antient church ... we shall discern that as upon Festival daies the subject of the Homilie was constantly the business of the Day, the clearing the mysterie, the incarnation of Christ &c. and the recommending the actions or sufferings of the Saint, and raising mens hearts to acknowledge the goodness of God in setting up such exemplary patterns and guides before us, So upon other daies, after some short literal explication of some place of scripture, the custome was, not to raise doctrinal points, according to every preachers judgement or phansie, but presently to fall off to exhortations to temperance, continence, patience and the like Christian virtues which either the propriety of the text, or the wants and sins of the auditory or the times suggested to them (p.227-28).

The difference between the festival/occasional sermon and the ordinary Sunday sermon here is largely the difference between Taylor's occasional preaching and his Ἐνιαυτός. The former seeks to "raise mens hearts" to a theme in concord with "the businesse of the day"; the latter seeks to inculcate Christian morality by exhortatory and meditative means. The meditative method of Ἐνιαυτός, where meditation has a particular meaning as defined in the discourse "Of Meditation" in *The Great Exemplar* and really means an affective style calculated to impress points in the mind, is the subject for another study. The raising of the heart to an occasion is the subject of the present one.

This seems a suitable point to begin a detailed discussion of the individual sermons. I shall take the funeral sermons as a group and then discuss *Via Intelligentiae*, the Parliament and Consecration sermons separately.

It was never a part of the preacher's duty to be original. As Alastair Fowler has said: " ... from a literary standpoint the sermon was a form that had nowhere to

go. Aesthetically, its limitations were crippling, because of the conflict between homiletic purpose and thematic unity".[6] However, even realising this, it has to be said that the funeral sermon is an intensely conventional literary form. Very little changed from one century to another. The form was generally bipartite: a homily on the some aspect of life after death and a memorial for the deceased. The purpose was consolation and exhortation to the living. The sentiments were almost always variations on a single theme. The life of man is transitory, wretched, impoverished compared to the glories of the resurrection; therefore live well and you may obtain those glories. However, the bipartite structure is not always distinct. Some sermons, often those of non-conformist preachers, are almost all homiletic with occasional reflections on the life and death of the deceased. Others spend more time on the deceased than on the homily. In examining Taylor's funeral sermons I shall look at the homiletic part first and then discuss the more interesting topic of what Taylor does with biography.

The earliest funeral sermon by Jeremy Taylor is the much admired *A Funerall Sermon, Preached at the Obsequies of the Lady Frances, Countesse of Carbery* (1650). Bonney, Taylor's first biographer, found in it "a strain of eloquence that has seldom been surpassed".[7] Frank Huntley, one of the most recent students of Taylor, asserts that "the best sermon of Taylor is the sermon on the Countess of Carberry [*sic*]".[8] The admiration is well placed but it has to be said that this is one the most conventional and derivative of Taylor's sermons. Taylor chose as his text 2 Samuel 14.14: "For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person: yet doth he devise means that his banished be not expelled from him". Taylor takes up the implications of his text in turn. He begins with the theme of mutability: everything created must perish, even buildings must crumble into dust. However, Taylor brings in a new dimension to his argument when he says "The whole Temple and the Religion, the ceremonies ordained by God, and the Nation beloved by God, and the fabrick erected for the service of God, shall run to their own period and lie down in

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[6]Alastair Fowler, *A History of English Literature: Forms and Kinds From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford, 1987), p.109.

[7]Henry Kaye Bonney, *The Life of Jeremy Taylor, Lord Bishop of Connor and Dromore* (1815), p.86.

[8]Frank L. Huntley, "Heads for an Essay on the Seventeenth Century Funeral Sermon in England", *Anglican Theological Review* 38 (1956), 226-34, p.233.

their severall graves" (lines 8–10). Ostensibly Taylor is speaking of the prophecy that Jerusalem would be destroyed, but no contemporary auditor could have missed the intended reference to the state of worship under the Protectorate. The implication is clear: if the mortal body can die, rot and live again in the resurrection so the mortal decay of the Church of England can be repaired. The discussion following is commonplace. It deals with the familiar themes of the inevitability and unpredictability of death. Anyone who has read Donne's *Devotions* will feel that the following passage sounds familiar:

> There are but few persons upon whose foreheads every man can read the sentence of death written in the lines of a lingring sicknesse but they sometimes hear the passing bell ring for stronger men, even long before their own knell cals at the house of their mother to open her womb and make a bed for them. No man is surer of to-morrow then the weakest of his brethren: (lines 70–75)

Indeed, much of this sermon sounds similarly familiar. And yet it is never tedious and seems to draw its strength from the familiarity of its ideas. Taylor's rhetorical craftmanship makes his subject alive and affecting. One of his chief devices is the interweaving of quotations from other works. The major source is John Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. The commentary demonstrates that a good number of classical quotations have been drawn from Montaigne's work but there are several, larger, borrowings. One is from the third book of the *Essays*, the essay entitled "Of Experience". Lines 270–291 seem to have been inspired by reading this essay of Montaigne's which contains the following:

> We must gently obey and endure the lawes of our condition. We are subject to grow aged, to become weak and to fall sicke, in spight of all physicke. ... Plato cannot beleeve, that AEsculapius troubled himself with good rules and diet to provide for the preservation of life in a weake, wasted and corrupted body: being unprofitable for his country, inconvenient for his vocation, and unfit to get sound and sturdy Children: and deeme not that care [convenient] unto divine justice and heavenly Wisedome, which is to direct all things unto profit. My good sir, the matter is at an end: You cannot be recovered; for the most, you can be but tampered withall, and somewhat under propt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.

Non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam
Diversis contra nititur obicibus,
Donec certa dies omni compage soluta

Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium.[9]

A much longer passage is taken from Montaigne's essay "Of Age" as is shown in the commentary for lines 303-322. This is probably the most exact of Taylor's borrowings from Montaigne in this sermon. The vocabulary, "extreme", "rare", "escaped", "natural", is so similar that we can also be sure that the borrowing was from Florio's translation. However, leaving aside specific borrowings, Taylor appears to be generally in debt to the essay "That to Philosophize, is to Learne how to Die".[10] Of course, Montaigne himself drew the bulk of this essay from classical sources but undoubtedly Taylor had read it and been influenced by it. The number of quotations in Taylor's sermon which accord exactly with Montaigne's essay is proof enough, but the thesis of the two works is also very similar. Montaigne too eulogises the Stoic acceptance of death and the need to prepare for its eventuality.

If the Carbery sermon is unoriginal then so too is the homily in *A Sermon Preached ... at the Funeral of ... John [Bramhall]* (1663). The text is 1 Corinthians 15.23: "But every man in his own order: Christ the first Fruits; afterward, they that are Christ's at his coming". This text would have been read as part of the Lesson prescribed in *The Book of Common Prayer* for the rite of burial. The thesis is perfectly straightforward and familiar. Christ was resurrected and was the "first fruits", a kind of tithe, a sacrifice for our sakes. Therefore if we are Christ's we too shall be resurrected at the second coming and last judgment. The sermon concerns itself with the simple truth of the resurrection, both Christ's and man's, but the whole is delivered in a loftier oratorical style. The energy of the Carbery sermon often dissipates into digressions, for example, that of the types of sickness in lines 102-27. In the Bramhall sermon Taylor beats a single drum loud and long. In this sermon Taylor has synthesised "homiletic purpose" and "thematic unity" in a pleasing and impressive whole. The Bramhall sermon follows the Parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae* both chronologically and in terms of subject matter. The emphasis in the former is, as in the latter, on action rather than doctrine. "The inquiry here is whether we *are to be Christians or no? whether we are to live good lives or no?* or whether it be permitted to us to live with lust or covetousness acted with all

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[9] *Montaigne's Essays*, translated by John Florio, 3 vols., Everyman's Library (London, 1910), III.351-52.

[10] *Essays*, Everyman's Library I.xix.

the Daughters of rapine and ambition?" (lines 48-51). The theme of obedience and humility runs throughout this sermon as it does in *Via Intelligentiae* and the Parliament sermon. But it also contains some of the best known commonplaces of the resurrection. For example, the disciples' witness to Christ's resurrection, St.Paul's demonstration with the resurrected corn, the similarity of sleep and death can be found in dozens of funeral sermons throughout the seventeenth century. As with the Carbery sermon there is nothing new in the content here, yet the whole is impressive and affecting.

The Dalston sermon is quite different from the other two funeral sermons. Once again, it is worth considering the occasions on which these sermons were preached. The funeral of Archbishop Bramhall was a very public occasion while Lady Carbery's funeral service probably took place in a private chapel but may have been well attended by local mourners. The funeral sermon for Sir George Dalston was preached in unusual circumstances. As I note in the commentary, it took place in London at a time when Anglican preaching, particularly funerary preaching, was vehemently proscribed. The evidence of John Evelyn's diary and his notes for this period show that the sermon was probably preached "in a private house". Dalston's service also took place a very long way from his home in Cumberland. We cannot know the character of Taylor's audience on this occasion but it is a fair guess that it was a gathering of loyal London Anglicans who probably didn't know Dalston very well. The Dalston homily is the most digressive of all Taylor's funeral sermons, indeed, one of the most digressive of all his sermons. A good deal of it is given up to a detailed discussion of the state of the soul in the after-life. The text is 1 Corinthians 15.19: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable". The sermon begins conventionally with piled-up testimonies that the soul is immortal and then proofs of the miserable state of mortal man. But after the first three hundred lines and for the next four hundred, Taylor becomes caught up in the discussion of the state of the separated soul. A letter from Taylor to John Evelyn dated 29 August 1657 (I.lxvi-vxvii) sheds light on their pre-occupations at this time. Taylor begins the letter by approving of a commentary Evelyn appears to be writing on *De Providentia*.[11] Evelyn has obviously expressed concurrence with the views of that essay. Taylor

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[11] One assumes that this is the essay by Seneca.

continues:

> But Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soule; that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment; which you conceive is not agreeable to the apostles' creed, or current of scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing, I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other may be true. For the soul may be immortal, and yet not beatified until the resurrection. ... That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment, I doe believe next to an article of my religion ...The places of scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny.

The sermon for Sir George Dalston was preached on 28 September 1657. The subject matter of the sermon and this letter to Evelyn are so obviously connected one can only conclude that either Taylor was utilizing "our meeting or another letter" or that the sermon itself took the place of one of those proposed items. Certainly the homiletic part of this sermon has the air of a private concern about it. It is very doubtful if Taylor would have entered into such details of theology at a more public occasion.

Another point which may be made about the Dalston sermon is that there is a connection between the two parts, the homily and the biography. The connection is the link between paradise and gardens, clearly a subject that would have been of interest to John Evelyn.[12] In the homily Taylor discourses of the nature of paradise as a place of refreshment and rest for the just; in the biography he emphasises the piety of retirement to a country life. In the first paradise is seen as a delightful heavenly garden; in the second a country estate is seen as an earthly paradise, a place where the pious soul awaits the next stage of its ascent to heavenly bliss. Paradise is a type of the glories of the resurrection, says Taylor, and a garden is a type of paradise.

This seems a suitable point at which to move on to the discussion of biography in funeral sermons. The impetus behind the account of individual lives within the funeral sermon is to provide an example and inspiration to the

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[12]On 28 January 1660 Evelyn wrote a long letter to Sir Thomas Browne about his own proposal to compile a work, *Elysium Britannicum*, in which "We will endeavour to shew how the aire and genious of Gardens operat upon humane spirits towards virtue and sanctitie, I meane in a remote, preparatory and instrumentall working". See *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, edited by Geoffrey Keynes, 4 vols. (London, 1964), IV.273-79. Evelyn had also evidently written of this work to Taylor and the latter discusses the title of it in a letter to Evelyn of 10 February 1660 (I.xciv-xcv).

living. The exhortation was to emulate the deceased in living a good life. In the Epistle Dedicatory to the Carbery sermon Taylor makes his purpose abundantly clear: "The age is very evil and deserved her not; but because it is so evil, it hath the more need to have such lives preserv'd in memory to instruct our piety or upbraid our wickednesse. For now that God hath cut this tree of paradise down from its seat of earth, yet so the dead trunk may support a part of the declining Temple, or at least serve to kindle a fire on the altar (ED14-18)". In 1649 Taylor had completed *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and the Holy Life* in which he wrote a life of Christ supplemented with meditations and discourses on seminal topics. Christ is the archetypal pattern for all Christians to emulate and Taylor's work was designed to impress the lineaments of that pattern upon the memory and, ultimately, the heart. Taylor extends these principles in his life of Lady Carbery. It was always the purpose of hagiography to show that mere mortals could aspire to and reach Christ-like virtue, and the need for the Anglican Church of the Protectorate to have its own hagiography is quite clear. It had to be demonstrated that following the Anglican way could lead to eternal bliss. Without suitable exemplars to inspire the faithful, the will to maintain the church would simply dissolve. This goes some way towards explaining why there were so many printed funeral sermons in the Interregnum ; every religious faction required "saints" to reinforce its cause. In this general purpose the biographical part of a sermon was almost always the same. However, the handling of that biography was not. In Taylor's sermons there is quite a difference between the lives of Lady Carbery, Sir George Dalston and Archbishop Bramhall.

I have already said that the funeral sermon is a conventional form. The biography of Lady Carbery in her funeral sermon utilises most of the commonplaces that might be expected. The plan for all biographies was laid down in the handbooks of rhetoric and is given a typical exposition by Sir Thomas Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique*[13] Drawing upon Quintilian, Book III.7, he gives the order for praising. Things "Before this life, in his life, after his death" should be treated. "Before" should describe "the Realme, the Sheire, the Towne, the Parentes, the Auncestors". In the subject's life, the good things in "mynde, bodie, fortune" should be shown. Wilson goes on in this vein,

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[13]Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, edited by G. H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), pp.11-17.

presenting places through which matter for the eulogy can be found, and gives elaborate examples. It is enough to say that a great many funeral sermons, including all of Jeremy Taylor's, follow this scheme. Much of Lady Carbery's biography utilises this scheme and various other conventions of the time. For example, as shown in the commentary, there are the commonplaces of referring to the biography in terms of painting, speaking of the deceased as a "text" to be preached on, the listing of pieties and virtues worthy of imitation and the final inclusion of a sketch in the manner of character writing. A good deal of the biography is generalised enumeration of virtues, the standard format of the time, although Taylor's account is more flowing than in most contemporary efforts. He uses all his art to create an impression of intimate association with his subject. In fact, he says little that is particular to Lady Carbery and a great deal about the virtues that were prescribed for Christian women generally, in countless numbers of sermons and devotional writings of the seventeenth century.

The sermon for George Dalston offers a more interesting contribution to the development of biography than that for Lady Carbery. Even the beginning of the biography strikes a different chord. Taylor quotes from Horace, "Thou must leave thy rich land, and thy well-built house, and thy pleasing wife, and all the trees of thy Orchard or thy wood". In doing so he invokes the theme of retirement and the country estate which is so often discussed in mid-seventeenth century literature. In the next paragraph Taylor introduces another unfamiliar idea in funeral sermons: "he who beautifies the eschutcheon of his Ancestors by worthy atcheivements, by learning and by wisdome, by valour and great imployments, by a holy life and an useful conversation; that man is the parent of his own fame, and a new beginner of an Antient family". This obviously plays on the convention of declaring the deceased's genealogy. However, in introducing the word "fame" Taylor is again invoking classical precedents. It was the professed intention of the classical orator and poet that the fame of worthy men should not die. Certainly commemoration had often been an element in funeral sermons but the whole concept of celebrating a man's fame would have been anathema to the more puritanical Christian in that it suggests that a human life is worth celebrating in itself. In the Dalston sermon Taylor seems to be more interested in celebrating his subject's life than he was in the case of Lady Carbery. Of course, a man's life was always more likely to be treated of in greater detail than a woman's in that the latter

were more or less excluded from the public, active life that was thought worthy of esteem. Even though Taylor indicates that he did not know Dalston well he seems less anonymous than Lady Carbery. Dalston exhibits the virtues of good nature, generosity, friendship, gentleness of spirit. He was known as a sufferer for the King's cause and Taylor presents him as a true son of the Church: "and so the Church says: my sheep hear my voice, they love my words, they pray in my forms, they delight in my offices, they revere my ministers, and obey my institutions: and so did he". Clearly the prime purpose of Dalston's biography is again as an exemplar.

In the Bramhall sermon Taylor produces his fullest and most satisfying biography. It is worth noting the full contents of the title-page: *A Sermon Preached in Christ-Church, Dublin: At The Funeral of ... John, Late Lord Arch-bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland: With A Succinct Narrative of his whole Life.* It is also worth noting the opinion recorded of the occasion in *The Kingdomes Intelligencer.* " ... the Lord Bishop of Down preached his Funeral-Sermon; and in it gave a sufficient Narrative of the Life of that most honourable person. The Sermon you shall (next week) have in Print, for the satisfaction of those who have respect to his Memory; which will live, notwithstanding the Obloquies of malitious Detractors".[14] That Taylor's biography should have such a billing on the title-page, that it was intended for satisfaction of those who wanted a commoration of its subject, that the sermon had gone through three editions by December 1663, all these things certainly indicate that the "Life of Bramhall" was to be valued for something more than its exemplary function. The biography is twice as long as the homiletic part of this sermon and it is the sense of the particular, rather than generalised virtues, that makes Taylor's sermon a genuine example of the biographer's art. Taylor uses the evidence of historical fact, anecdote and testimony as well as his own knowledge of the man to produce a "true narrative". The word "narrative" is highly significant. At this time it implied an account of facts , a history, the recital of a story based on fact. In the Bramhall sermon Taylor produces a chronological account of Bramhall's life and deeds which adds greatly to the rhetorical scheme employed in the sermon for Lady Carbery. Passages such as the anecdote of Sir Phelim O'Neill's treachery, the

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[14] *The Kingdomes Intelligencer,* no.31, 27 July-3 August 1663.

account of Bramhall's popularity in the Low Countries and his imprisonment give a sense of the concrete, an attention to detail which is wholly lacking in the sermon for Lady Carbery.

Taylor may have modelled his sermon on Nicholas Bernard's *The Life and Death of the Most Reverend and Learned Father of our Church, Dr. James Usher* (London, 1656). Bernard's work is much longer than Taylor's at one hundred and twelve pages, but shares some characteristics. First, there is the obvious parallel between Usher and Bramhall as Primates of Ireland. Secondly, Bernard goes into great historical detail. He even prints some of Usher's letters and extracts from printed works. The customary summary of virtues is relegated to a short section at the end. Thirdly, the tone of the two sermons is similarly laudatory. Taylor speaks of "this great man" and "this worthy prelate". Bernard praises "this great person" and "this great Primate". Towards the end of his sermon Taylor invokes the ancient bishops of Ireland: St. Malachy, Richard Fitzralph, St. Laurence. Bernard does the same in his epistle dedicatory. Certainly Taylor's work can be seen as part of a growing tradition in Anglican ecclesiastic biography, a tradition which already included Walton's lives of Donne and Herbert and Henry Isaacson's *An exact Narration of the Life and Death of ... Lancelot Andrewes* (1650) and was continued with lives of Hooker and Sanderson by Walton and Peter Heylyn's lengthy account of the life and times of William Laud, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668).

The next sermon to be considered is probably the least attractive of the six occasional sermons to modern eyes, that is, the sermon at the consecration of the Irish Restoration bishops. The quarrel over the legitimacy of episcopacy would not raise much heat in the present age but during Taylor's lifetime the controversy raged like a rampant fever. The description of the state of Taylor's diocese at the Restoration which can be found in the previous chapter is testimony to that. The consecration service of 27 January 1661, when this sermon was preached, was a celebration not only of the hierarchical principle of episcopacy but also the return of the whole Anglican ethos: ceremony, liturgy and order. The bulk of Taylor's sermon is a reworking of arguments laid down in his *Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy* (1642). His method in that work is demonstrating that episcopacy was the universal practice of the primitive church and also is the best system, practically speaking, of church government. He argues that bishops are the successors of the Apostles and that therefore episcopacy is of divine institution. All this is included in

condensed form in the Consecration sermon but here Taylor also goes on to discuss the pastoral responsibilities of the bishop. The latter is the most accessible part of the sermon. In contrast, the discussion of the validity of episcopal government betrays the nature of Taylor's audience: a learned and largely ecclesiastical one. Towards the end of the sermon Taylor works up to a crescendo befitting a major occasion.

> And it is a sad consideration to remember how many Souls are pittifully handled in this world, and carelessly dismissed out of this world: they are left to live at their own rate, and when they are sick they are bidden to be of good comfort, and then all is well: who when they are dead, find themselves cheated of their pretious and invaluable eternity. Oh, how will those souls in their eternal prisons curse those evil and false guides! and how will those evil guides themselves abide in judgment, when the Angels of wrath snatch their abused people into everlasting torments! For will God bless them or pardon them, by whom so many Souls perish? shall they reign with Christ, who evacuate the death of Christ, and make it useless to dear souls? Shall they partake of Christs glories, by whom it comes to pass that there is less joy in Heaven it self, even because sinners are not converted, and God is not glorifyed, and the people are not instructed, and the Kingdom of God is not filled? Oh no! the curses of a false Prophet will fall upon them, and the reward of the evil Steward will be their portion, and they who destroyed the Sheep, or neglected them, shall have their portion with Goats for ever in everlasting burnings, in which it is impossible for a man to dwell (769-85).

The blatant emotionality of this passage is rare in Taylor, he appeals more often to common sense than to the primal feelings invoked here. In this passage Taylor "raises men's hearts" to the business of the day with as much force as possible.

The Consecration sermon is notable for one other feature. In the later part of the sermon, from "my time is now done" (line 642) onward the language and rhythm seems to imitate that of the ritual itself. It contains intermittent resonances of the consecration service. Two passages of the Bible were required to be read at the service, the first being 1 Timothy 3.1-6: "This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a Bishop he desireth an honest work" etc. The second passage is John 21.15-17: "Jesus said to Simon Peter, Simon Johanna, lovest thou me more than these? He said unto him, Yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee: he said unto him, Feed my lambs" etc. An alternative gospel was John 10.1-16: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a

thief and a robber" etc. These three passages are the source of much allusion in Taylor's sermon and the commentary on lines 496-99 shows the direct influence of the words of the consecration rite.

The Irish consecration was not the only important multiple consecration performed in the years immediately following the King's Restoration. From these two printed sermons remain. These are John Sudbury's *A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of ... [five bishops] ... Sunday 28th October 1660 at S.Peters Westminster* (1660) and Richard Allestree's *A Sermon Preached ... at the Consecration of ... [four bishops]* (1660). Both sermons cover similar ground to Taylor's although Sudbury's concentrates more on the relation of ecclesiastical and civil power and Allestree's is preoccupied with the spiritual qualities that make a bishop. However, both sermons are very ordinary and neither Sudbury or Allestree seem capable of the fine rhetorical judgment which lifts Taylor's sermon to the heights of the occasion at which it was preached.

The intellectual background of the Parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae* is discussed in the next chapter. Both sermons are comparatively plain and the Parliament sermon has the least number of quotations of any of the occasional sermons. One thing that both sermons have in common is the way in which they handle the text. In the Parliament sermon Taylor says that "My text is a perfect Proposition, and hath no special remark in the words of it; but is only a great representation of the most useful Truth to all Kingdomes and Parliaments and Councels and Authorities in the whole world: It is your Charter, and the Sanction of your authority, and the stabiliment of your Peace ..." (lines 54-57). Subsequent to this statement Taylor is wholly interested in discussing the "useful Truth" rather than the words of the text itself; he mentions the text only once, in line 620, after this. A similar method is found in *Via Intelligentiae*: Taylor abandons his text at around line 200. It is not that his subsequent discussions are tangential to the text but that the sermons are really discourses on a subject rather than expositions of a text. His method in these two sermons is really an extreme form of his method throughout his sermons. I have already explained the theory behind this in an earlier part of this chapter. Taylor had always been keen to avoid the "new nothings" that intense concentration on exegesis often produced. He preferred the "old truths" of topics essential to practical Christianity. Coupled with his general suspicion of extracting mystical meanings from the literal words of the Bible, it is easy to

see why Taylor was generally not a great expositor of texts.

Both the Parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae* owe a very large debt to other works. In the former, as shown in the following chapter, Taylor reworks arguments he had used in *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying*. He also appears to have drawn on John Hales's sermon "On dealing with erring Christians" which he found in the *Golden Remains*, and there is also some evidence of his having read John Smith's *Select Discourses* when composing this sermon. In *Via Intelligentiae* the debt to John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, is enormous and this is demonstrated in the commentary. I have already mentioned that Taylor drew a lot from Montaigne's *Essays* when composing the Carbery sermon. It seems as though he was generally in the habit of creating works in the image of some admired, and recently read, work. Robert Gathorne-Hardy has given testimony that *Holy Dying* and Ἐνιαυτός show the influence of both Montaigne and John Weever's *Ancient funerall monuments with in the united Monarchie of Great Britaine* (1631).[15] Edmund Gosse asserts that many of the sermons in Ἐνιαυτός show the influence of *The Greek Anthology* and that he "never tired of quoting" Prudentius.[16] The evidence compiled in the commentaries of the six occasional sermons seems to suggest that most of what Taylor says could be attributed to some definite source, if only it could be known where to look.

Two general points remain that must be discussed. First, Taylor's use of classical quotation and secondly, his borrowings as a whole. Samuel Taylor Coleridge once said that "the cross of Christ is seen dimly in Taylor's works" and he also made a casual reference to "Taylor, the English Pagan".[17] In the first statement Coleridge refers to the lack of the sense of mystery in Taylor's works and he contrasts him with Donne. Taylor's works lack the continuing sense of the miraculous as demonstrated in the incarnation, the resurrection and the workings of divine grace. In contrast, most of Taylor's works are concerned with the practical concerns of the here and now rather than contemplations of the hereafter. He probably would not have agreed that "the proper study of mankind is man" but the suspicion of the mysterious that led

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[15] "Montaigne among the English", *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 September 1947, p.465.

[16] *Jeremy Taylor*, p.224.

[17] *Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Roberta F. Brinkley (Durham, N.C., 1955), pp.258, 268.

the Augustans to that position is clearly seen in him. Taylor's use of classical allusion and the appositeness of Coleridge's calling him "the English Pagan" is linked to his practical, ethical approach. Of course, many preachers used classical quotations in their sermons although the practice became heavily criticised and in Puritan circles it was thought outrageous that proofs should be taken from non-Christian sources. However, Taylor is a particularly liberal user of the classics and often in surprising ways. Is it really such a good idea to make quotations from a celebrated atheist like Lucretius in, of all things, a funeral sermon? Taylor does this in his sermon for Lady Carbery. The biographical part of the sermon for George Dalston often seems more Horatian than Christian. And what is the specifically *Christian* content of *Via Intelligentiae*? Here, and throughout Taylor's works, there is very little that cannot be reconciled to a purely classical position. For Taylor, God is the Form of the Good and Christ the supremely Good Man or Philosopher King. In 1671, Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, published his *The Design of Christianity: or, a plain Demonstration and Improvement of this Proposition, viz. That the enduing Men with inward real Righteousness, or true Holiness, was the ultimate End of our Saviour's coming into the World, and is the Intendment of his blessed Gospel.* C. A. Patrides has accused this work of reducing Christianity to "mere ethics".[18] It is clear that Fowler was an admirer of Taylor's and he quotes from him on several occasions. While a discussion of Taylor's reputation in the Restoration period and amongst the Augustans cannot be entered into here it is nevertheless symptomatic of the way Taylor's work was pointing that a man such as Fowler admired him. It is largely because Taylor's cast of mind is so conformable to classical thought that he uses classical allusion and quotation as liberally as he does.

The second point to be considered is that of Taylor's borrowing as a whole. I have already pointed out the extent of this. One thing is certain, Taylor must have had several heavily stocked commonplace books to which he referred when composing his sermons. He was clearly in the habit of raiding his contemporaries for quotations to enter in those books. It is possible that, despite his billing as "the very learned", Taylor knew no more of classical and patristic writers in the original than the average educated man and that the

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[18] *The Cambridge Platonists*, edited by C.A.Patrides (Cambridge, 1980), p.8.

bulk of his allusions and quotations come from contemporary sources. However, it is clear that Taylor's method of composition was probably a great deal more deliberate than critics have realised. Taylor stitches together his pieces in a masterly way, giving the impression that each extraction from his commonplace book belongs necessarily in the context he places it. It is only the careful student that detects the seams and origins of the pieces.

This leads naturally to the whole question of critical evaluation. Assessments of Taylor's works have always tended to take a particular viewpoint, a viewpoint which stems from the critical theory of one man.

> And why should I not call Taylor a poet? Is not the *Holy Living and Dying*, a sacred and didactic poem, in almost as wide a sense of the word as the *Commedia* of Dante? What bard of ancient or modern times has surpassed, in richness of language, in fertility of fancy, in majesty of sentiment, in grace of imagery, this Spenser of English prose? (Coleridge)[19]

Samuel Taylor Coleridge remains one of the most acute, most well-read and most influential of all Jeremy Taylor's critics. He was generous, at times excessive, in his eulogies. Taylor was compared, as above, to Spenser, Dante, Shakespeare and Demosthenes; he was "sublime" and possessed "a lovely mind". However, such praises have not bestowed the benefits that Coleridge would have intended for the author he so admired. On the contrary, they have dominated and hence obfuscated the apprehension of Taylor's writing. Such is Coleridge's magnitude within English literature and criticism, his opinions set the tone of Taylor criticism for well over a hundred years after his death.

Paul Elmen, in his article on "The Fame of Jeremy Taylor"[20], has charted the varying assessments of Taylor's writing from his death to the present day. However, he has not demonstrated how the critics of the early Romantic period, inspired by Coleridge, became the source of later Taylor criticism and how they influenced later readers' approach to him. I mention elsewhere the inadequacy of Heber's biography, prefixed to the fifteen volume set of Taylor's works published in 1822.[21] This work duplicates the Colerldgean approach throughout but without the latter's critical intelligence. Heber is desperate to

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[19] *Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*, p.259.

[20] *Anglican Theological Review*, XLIV (1962), 389-403.

[21] Chapter 1, "The Biographical Background".

prove the "genius" of Taylor: he is quite certain that Taylor is a sort of Romantic poet, infused with the workings of the divine spirit, pouring out "truth" on every other page. Much of Heber's work was taken from the earliest biography of Taylor, that of Henry Kaye Bonney, published in 1815. Bonney was capable of putting forward passages like this:

> As Taylor's thought expands, he, as it were, leaves this earth and sings as he soars. He rejoices in his flight; and he makes us partake of his joy. It is a human seraph which moves before us, and gives us the living semblance of what is most truly great and noble, and pure and beatific.[22]

The next major assessment of Taylor was that of Edmund Gosse. Again, like Heber, Gosse's ability to discriminate between fact and fancy was limited. Gosse begins his chapter on "Taylor's place in Literary History" with a summary of Coleridge. It is no real surprise to find him saying that "to turn from ... [Fuller's prose] to the solemn art of Jeremy Taylor is to rise into a higher, if a rarer, atmosphere, to be nearer heaven, to come within earshot of a sublimer music".[23] But perhaps the most lamentable influence of all is that of Logan Pearsall Smith in his edition of Taylor's purple passages.[24] Smith tells us in his introduction that he embarked upon his selection with the intention of highlighting the most "poetic" parts of Taylor's prose, confident that Taylor's works as a whole could not be of any interest to a modern reader. Taylor can be appreciated only for those parts where "...[he] seems to dip his pen in enchanted ink; the words begin to dance and glitter, and a splendour falls upon the illuminated page."[25] The persistence of the image of Taylor as Romantic poet *manqué* is given a new bathetic lease of life in Smith's assertion that " ... if the poet within his cassock is singing at the same time of the dew on the leaves of the rose, it is to the song rather than the sermon that we listen."[26] Smith's selection has probably been read far more frequently than any of Taylor's whole sermons or other works. It is particularly disturbing to discover that Douglas Bush's appraisal of Taylor in his volume of the *Oxford History of*

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[22] Henry Kaye Bonney, *The Life of Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1815), p.380.

[23] Edmund Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, English Men of Letters (London, 1904), p.216.

[24] *The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (Oxford, 1930).

[25] *The Golden Grove*, p.xxiv.

[26] *The Golden Grove*, p.lxii.

English Literature has been condensed from Smith's work.[27]

The substance of the commentary on the six occasional sermons and the points made in this general introductory chapter give the lie to the Romantic approach to Taylor's works. Jeremy Taylor was not a poet, he was a craftsman in prose, a rhetorician of supreme ability and with all the deliberateness that "craft" and "rhetoric" imply. The idea that he was an inspired poet would have filled him with unease. It is perhaps to the Augustan age that we should turn for illumination of the nature of Jeremy Taylor's work for it was they who, in direct contrast to those who sought high-flown Imagination, rather saw in him "more good sense, just argument, learning, knowledge, and true piety than in most authors".[28] The real mysteriousness of Taylor's prose lies in how commonplaces and "old truths" in the hands of a master craftsman can continue to move and impress; but that is the subject for another investigation.

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[27] Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660*, Oxford History of English Literature (Oxford, 1962), pp.334-35.

[28] "The Fame of Jeremy Taylor", p.394.

Obedite et intelligetis: Jeremy Taylor's way of understanding.

The purpose of this chapter is to place *Via Intelligentiae* and the parliament sermon in context: neither can be fully appreciated alone. The theme of both sermons is obedience, intellectual and civil, and both are built upon the foundation of Taylor's own epistemology. An understanding of the latter is vital to full understanding of the emphasis on obedience and answers further questions on the topic. For example, how far was the doctrine of obedience merely convenient for the promotion of Anglican church power? Was Taylor, as a rhetorician, the silver-tongued devil of anti-Royalist propaganda or are his works motivated by something more substantial than the interests of the High Church party? Are the two sermons a contradiction of Taylor's earlier writings on the liberty of conscience? The following chapter attempts an elucidation by means of examining Taylor's views on the possibility and range of human knowledge.

Taylor has been cited by one critic as an exponent of "creative scepticism" and another of his most learned readers identified a notable element of scepticism in his thought.[1] As Professor Bredvold has noted, scepticism is "protean in nature" and the term often serves as much to obfuscate as enlighten.[2] Much of what has been identified as scepticism is common to other modes of thought. In Taylor particularly the elements of scepticism are often inextricable from Platonism, with its emphasis on the secondary nature of worldly things, and straightforward Pauline anti-intellectualism. The preacher of Taylor's funeral sermon, and hence his earliest biographer, George Rust, notes:

> ... he was one of the ἐκλεκτικόι, a sort of brave philosophers that Laertius speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingeniously sought for truth among all the wrangling schools (I.cccxxiv).

Taylor was not a great original thinker but one who utilised myriad predecessors to his own purpose. His lack of originality does not make him

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[1] Margaret L. Wiley, *The Subtle Knot: Creative Scepticism in Seventeenth Century England* (London,1952). W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* 4 vols (London, 1932-40).

[2] Louis I. Bredvold, *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden* (Ann Arbor,1956), p.16.

less but more interesting to the student of the seventeenth century. His works contain elements of a wide spectrum of contemporary and classical ideas. As Jordan has noted: "Taylor's importance in the history of ideas like that of Locke, may be said to rest upon the fact that he was so widely read and so effectively quoted that his work acquires a significance considerably beyond its own merit."[3]

The following chapter asserts that the sceptical element in Taylor's thought stands out as particularly significant and important to an understanding of Taylor as a whole. An examination of it will be especially fruitful for explaining Taylor's attitudes to civil and ecclesiastical authority.

By way of introduction to the subject, a short outline of the history of scepticism up to Taylor's own time would be useful. By 'scepticism', of course, I mean philosophical scepticism rather than the broader meaning of just doubting. In classical times there were two major schools of scepticism: the Pyrrhonian and the Academic. The Pyrrhonian school derived from the followers of Pyrrho of Elis (ca. 360–275 B.C.) and his pupil Timon of Phlius (ca. 320–230 B.C.). The Academic school was a development of the Platonists of the New Academy, most notably Arcesilaus (ca. 315–241 B.C.) and Carneades (ca. 213–129 B.C.). There are a number of differences between the two schools but the major one was that while the Pyrrhonians doubted the possibility of knowledge, the Academics denied even that. However, in a writer like Taylor, who was very much an adaptor of sceptical ideas, these distinctions are not of any great importance. Loosely speaking, classical scepticism was a method of doubting used to achieve suspension of judgment and thus ultimately αταραξια or calm of mind. Its target was dogmatism. For the history of ideas, the method is as important as the doubting. Scepticism employed a series of tropes or modes through which doubting could be reached. These were largely centred in the fields of sense experience, human tradition and reasoning. For example, the third trope or mode is based on differences in sense experience, using which consideration may lead the sceptic to conclude that, for example, as honey is pleasant to the taste but not to the touch, no certainty can be reached as to whether honey really is pleasant or unpleasant. The implication is always that the true nature of things can't be known which of course shows

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[3] W. K. Jordan, II.382.

the common ground between scepticism and Platonism. Another mode, the tenth, demonstrates that as habits and customs are often different in various parts of the world, no custom or habit could have the status of a truth.

The work in which all this survives to the present day and the work from which most Renaissance scepticism was drawn is that of Sextus Empiricus, *The Outlines of Pyrrhonism* or *Pyrrhonian Hypostases*. This work, written in the second century A.D., is a textbook and summary of scepticism. How far the Greek text was known before the Latin translations of the sixteenth century is difficult to calculate. The most important of these Latin translations was that of Henri Estienne in 1562. In 1569 this was published a second time with Sextus's *Adversus Mathematicos*, translated by Gentian Hervet. The two translations appeared in one volume with a common introduction by Hervet. More of this edition will be said later. The Greek text of *The Outlines of Pyrrhonism* was published in 1621 and English translations were made in 1590 and 1655-61. Which of these Taylor was most familiar with is impossible to say but he was certainly familiar with one as Eden's list of 'Authors quoted or referred to' would testify (l.cccIx-cccxcv). The other two sources of Renaissance scepticism were the works of Cicero, most notably *Academica Posteriora et Priora*, and Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. Cicero's *Academica* are a pair of polemics framed on sceptical principles. Diogenes writes a life of Timon and has scattered references to other sceptical philosophers.

Having outlined the sources of the sceptical revival in the Renaissance, something must be said of the intellectual climate which invited it to spring forth. Richard Popkin has noted the devastating effect on the history of ideas of 'The Intellectual Crisis of the Reformation'.[4] The crisis turned upon the question "by which criterion can we measure truth"? Once the Reformers had introduced the idea that the Church of Rome couldn't be infallible and discredited the previous universally accepted measure of right and wrong, on what basis was man now to make his judgments? How was he to know good from bad, truth from falshood, since all certainty had been removed? If the Church of Rome was demonstrably not infallible it inevitably followed from the premises of that

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[4] Richard H. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza (Berkeley, Ca., 1979*, Chapter 1; readers are referred to this book for a more detailed examination of the history of classical scepticism and its sixteenth and seventeenth century diffusions.

argument that everything was fallible for it was the very principle of infallibility that had been routed. The problem now was to find a criterion which all men would agree formed the basis of truth and falsehood. If such a criterion could not be agreed on, all that was left was opinion and not knowledge. The reformers' position on this was that the Bible, being the inspired word of God, was the infallible source of truth. Even granting this, since biblical meaning was not always plain, whose was the infallible interpretation? This seemingly unbreakable circle, says Popkin, created the conditions in which scepticism flourished. It was also the situation with which Jeremy Taylor's *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying* is concerned.

Taylor's famous work was published in 1647 when the Royalist cause was in a near-fatal condition. Laud and Strafford had been executed and the Solemn League and Covenant, with the promise by its adherents that "... we shall ... without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy ..., superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness ...", had become the new rule of conduct. It is generally recorded that *The Liberty of Prophesying* is a "plea for tolerance", which of course it is, but the issues examined are more complex than that of simple tolerance and the method employed is more subtle than a plea. In fact, a detailed analysis of the work would give the reader an insight into the nucleus of Taylor's mind. However, no such analysis can be undertaken here. The examination centres instead upon the sceptical temper and method of this work.

The structure of the first part of *The Liberty of Prophesying* is clearly one of methodical doubting. Having begun with a brief outline of the nature of faith, Taylor sets about undermining a number of previously respected measures of truth and falsehood in ecclesiastical matters. For example, section two examines heresy, and by giving an historical account of the various heresies determined by ecclesiastical authorities he concludes that heresy is only properly such in a very small number of cases. The earlier Christians erred in judging heresy, and some early heresies have since been accepted into the church. For example, Taylor cites the case of Montanus and his followers who were excommunicated for their belief in the power of the Holy Spirit to inspire certain people and speak through them. Later ages accepted this view and it became a part of the theology of such notable figures as Tertullian and St. Jerome. Taylor concludes therefrom that the judgment of authorities in

deciding cases of heresy was fallible and that consequently it was not right to damn a man as a heretic unless an unshakeable criterion could be agreed upon. As throughout his work, Taylor asserts that the only criterion for such judgments is the clear word of God. This is present not in the whole Bible but the precepts contained in the Bible which are absolutely without doubt: In effect, the articles of the Apostles' Creed. Also, since heresy is "not an error of the understanding but an error of the will" (V.382), only he who offends wilfully against the articles of the Apostles' Creed can be deemed a heretic. The summary is a crude one, but the important point for the present argument is Taylor's strategy for inducing doubt in the reader's mind, not only in this but in all the issues he discusses. If the great men of history, if even the saints can be wrong then surely we are all capable of being wrong? The principle is exactly the same in the following eight sections. These have headings such as "Of the insufficiency and uncertainty of tradition to expound scripture or determine questions", " Of the uncertainty and insufficiency of councils ecclesiastical ..." and "Of the disability of fathers or writers ecclesiastical ...". Under each heading the disagreement of one authority with another and the variety of opinions is concentrated on. The method is in harmony with the modes in *The Outlines of Pyrrhonism*. For example, in book one, chapter fifteen Sextus outlines the first of Five Modes as "that based on discrepancy [which] leads us to find that with regard to the object presented there has arisen both amongst ordinary people and amongst the philosophers an interminable conflict because of which we are unable to choose a thing or reject it ...".[5] All the modes of inducing doubt listed by Sextus rely on the same basic principles: discrepancy, antithesis, disagreement. It is these that Taylor employs with such efficacy. The effect was devastating enough, but as is frequently the case with the employers of scepticism, it often seemed that he had contrived a petard with which he and the Anglican party he represented might readily be hoist.

Where does Taylor proceed from here? While this first part of the book is largely negative the rest tends toward the positive. If such uncertainty exists how are we to know a right action from a wrong one? The argument centres upon section ten, "Of the authority of reason; and that it, proceeding upon the

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[5]Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, with translation by R. G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1933).

best grounds, is the best judge". It may appear that Taylor asserts reason as the solution to the problem of the criterion. However, careful reading of this tortuous section is vital and detailed treatment of it follows.

The section begins with the assertion: "... every man may be trusted to judge for himself, I say, every man that can judge at all" (V.494). This is not quite as it seems; Taylor is not advocating an "each to his own" approach. He goes on,

> ... [those] that can judge at all must either choose their guides who shall judge for them, and then they oftentimes do the wisest, and always save themselves a labour, but then they choose too; or if they be persons of greater understanding, then they are to choose for themselves in particular what the others do in general, and by choosing their guide: and for this any man may be better trusted for himself than any man can be for another (V.495).

Again this is not quite as it appears. It would seem from the wider context that Taylor means that less able men should choose their guide and follow it relentlessly. Able men may scrutinize their chosen guide in particular questions. The implication is not that men may answer particular questions according to their own thinking but simply check the answers given by an authority . What happens if that authority decides contrary to an individual's judgment? Taylor continues:

> He that follows his guide so far as his reason goes along with him, or, which is all one, he that follows his own reason (not guided only by natural arguments but by divine revelation and all other good means) hath great advantages over him that gives himself wholly to follow any human guide whatsoever, because he follows all their reasons and his own too: he follows them till reason leaves them ... But he that gives himself up wholly to a guide is oftentimes (I mean if he be a discerning person) forced to do violence to his own understanding, and lose all benefit of his own discretion, that he may reconcile his reason to his guide (V.495).

Lastly, Taylor's judgment about the role of the guide in the individual's salvation is here stated thus:

> ... although accidentally and occasionally the sheep may perish by the shepherd's fault yet that which hath the chiefest influence upon their final condition is their own act and election (V.496).

Readers of Taylor's Irish occasional sermons may find these sentiments extraordinary: they appear to contradict directly the parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae* and also the consecration sermon. How could Taylor believe that each man was mainly responsible for his own salvation, that each man had the

right to overrule an authority and yet, in his episcopal career, act as if he believed the precise opposite? Is *The Liberty of Prophesying* really a piece of slippery Anglican propaganda, framed for a purpose and with no strict regard for truth?

Before coming to this harsh judgment two points must be taken account of and the whole context examined. First, there is the qualification of these comments in *The Liberty of Prophesying* itself. The work as a whole is a different thing to that which local scrutiny might reveal. As Matthew Arnold accused, Taylor does not always define his terms adequately and it is not always easy to follow his argument locally. There is also the qualification contained in the Epistle Dedicatory, but this will be dealt with after the second point for consideration. This is the question of what Taylor meant by 'reason'. In examining this topic Taylor's perception of human knowledge will become clear and his theory of human authority will take on a new aspect.

Robert Hoopes deals with the historical background of the term "right reason" and its use by Taylor in his book *Right Reason in the English Renaissance*.[6] I do not intend to repeat his words but to briefly note that when Taylor spoke of "reason" he usually meant "right reason" and not natural reason." Right reason is, broadly speaking, " ... not merely reason in our sense of the word; it is not a dry light, a non-moral instrument of enquiry. Neither is it simply the religious conscience. It is a kind of rational and philosophic conscience ... implanted by God in all men ... as a guide to truth and conduct".[7] Right reason was considered as much a moral as an intellectual activity. It is presumably this that Taylor means when he writes, in the quotation above, of "... reason (not guided only by natural arguments but by divine revelation and all other good means) ...". However, there is more to Taylor's use of the word than this. The most important texts for scrutiny are the Epistle Dedicatory, sections ten and eleven of *The Liberty of Prophesying* and book one, chapter two of *Ductor Dubitantium or, the Rule of Conscience* (V.341-364, 495-510 and IX.50-125). There are at least ten years between the two works, the former being written

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[6]Cambridge, Ma., 1962.

[7]Hoopes, p.3, quoting Douglas Bush.

in 1645 or 46 and the latter in the period 1655-60.[8] It is therefore better to assess the works separately and relate their contents.

> ... by 'reason' I do not mean a distinct topic, but a transcendent that runs through all topics: for reason, like logic, is instrument of all things else; and when revelation, and philosophy, and public experience, and all other grounds of probability or demonstration, have supplied us with matter, then reason does but make use of them (V.498).

This definition from *The Liberty of Prophesying* is interesting from two points of view. First, it distinguishes Taylor from the rationalists and deists in implying a rather modest role for reason. Unlike his close contemporary Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, who declares, "For my part, I professe my self not only to be an Anti-Trinitarian, but a Turk whensoever more reason appeares to me for that, then for the contrary ...",[9] Taylor is not extravagant in his view of reason's abilities. Cary's implication is that reason is not simply a utensil to the finding of truth but the finder of truth itself, even in the face of experience and tradition. No such implication occurs in Taylor's assessment. He writes a little before his definition of reason that

> ... reason and authority are not things incompetent or repugnant, especially when the authority is infallible and supreme, for there is no greater reason in the world than to believe such an authority (V.498).

Further on he questions why so much time is spent on polemics if it is the case that man has reason to judge the best argument for himself:

> If we must judge, then we must use our reason; if we must not judge, why do they produce evidence? ... all these disputes concerning tradition, councils, fathers, &c., are not arguments against or besides reason, but contestations and pretences to the best arguments, and the most certain satisfaction of our reason (V.498-99).

That is, Taylor denies that to use our reason is to reject or suspend the judgment of authorities. Reason is too limited to cast aside the thought of ages. It can weigh up evidence but it can be nothing without evidence. Reason

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[8]Thomason dated his copy of *The Liberty of Prophesying* 28 June 1647 and since Taylor's Epistle Dedicatory mentions it having been written after his arrival in Wales the most likely date of composition is 1645-46. Taylor's correspondence with John Evelyn first mentions the composition of *Ductor Dubitantium* on 17 November 1655, but it was not published until 1660.

[9]Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland, *His Discourse of Infallibility, with an Answer to it: And his Lordships Reply* (London,1651), p.241.

is not a finder of truth as the rationalists believed, but a tool of criticism. All that can be asked is not that we have a rational proof of what we believe but that " ... we must see that we be persuaded reasonably: and it is unreasonable to assent to a lesser evidence, when a greater and clearer is propounded" (V.499). Tulloch, in his major study of rational theology, and Hoopes have both overemphasised the importance Taylor ascribed to reason.[10] Hoopes also seems to see a difference between the "reason" of *The Liberty of Prophesying* and that of *Ductor Dubitantium*, the former implying the acceptance of reason as a solution to the problem of the criterion, the latter seeing reason as a "box of quicksilver". However, close scrutiny of *The Liberty of Prophesying* shows that his interpretation of "reason" still allows room for the later view. There are apparent differences between the two works, but these are rather of emphasis than theory. At the end of section ten is the following:

> And now that we are pitched upon that way which is most natural and reasonable in determination of ourselves, rather than of questions, which are often indeterminable, since right reason proceeding upon the best grounds it can, viz., of divine revelation and human authority and probability, is our guide ... supposing the assistance of God's spirit ... it remains that we consider how it comes to pass that men are so much deceived in the use of their reason and choice of their religion ...(V.499).

I take this passage as a severe qualifier of all that has gone before. Taylor's meaning seems to be that: we can't live a life of inertia so we must choose in matters necessary for daily living and for our own salvation. Assuming already that our choice is not against the Apostles' Creed, the best means of such a choice is 'right reason proceeding upon the best grounds it can'. However, such a choice is merely a personal matter, that is it has the status of opinion, not truth and is thus to be restricted to the sphere of personal affairs. It is not for the settling of controversies which cannot be settled absolutely by right reason. Also, right reason is a guide for our being 'reasonably persuaded' not a source of proofs. In section eleven, Taylor goes on to discuss some of the ways in which men deceive themselves. His argument is largely a variation of Bacon's "enchanted glass" image, that is it concerns itself with the interference of prejudice,superstition and 'interest' with the plain evidence to be scrutinised by reason. His argument is summarised in the Epistle Dedicatory:

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[10] John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1872).

> why ... should I hate such persons whom God loves and who love God, ... because their understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same masters, they have not met the same books nor the same company, or have not the same opinions as I have and do not determine their school-questions to the sense of my sect or interest (V.346)?

And further,

> ... so long as men had such variety of principles, such several constitutions, educations, tempers and distempers, hopes interests, and weaknesses, degrees of light and degrees of understanding, it was impossible all should be of one mind and what is impossible to be done is not necessary it should be done (V.365-66).

The important point here is that, unlike Bacon, Taylor does not believe that understandings can be stripped of their influences and interests: there will always be distortions that will lead men to perceive differently. In this case, the nearest approximation to knowledge we can have is evidence judged by reason, or, to put it another way, reasonable persuasion or opinion. But the method Is indeed an approximation. Taylor has already shown that the major element in the method is evidence and that this is often misguided or completely false. Did he also think that reason itself could err?

The Liberty of Prophesying implies that reason is far less likely to err than evidence simply because of the limited sphere of its nature and operation. Taylor does not really address the point directly. A more satisfactory answer may be found in *Ductor Dubitantium*. The latter is, of course, a manual of casuistry; it lays down the definition of conscience, continues with a description of its operation, shows when it is and when it is not binding and gives a specific guide to right and wrong principles of deciding right and wrong in cases of conscience. In book one, chapter two, 'Of the right or sure conscience', Taylor tackles the problem of the criterion again. Rule three Is of particular interest: "The practical judgment of a right conscience is always agreeable to the speculative determination of the understanding" (IX.52). A large number of philosophical problems impinge on Taylor's discussion here which will have to be pushed aside for the purposes of this argument. The first of Taylor's conclusions in this section which are of interest Is that: "It Is a weak and trifling principle, which supposes faith and reason to be opposite: for faith Is but one way, by which our reason is instructed, and acquires the proper notices of things. For our reason or understanding apprehends things three several ways" (IX.59). The ensuing argument may be summarised thus: the first

part of reason or understanding is νοησις which deals with self-evident truths. The second is διάνοησις which deals with the 'consequents and emanations' of self-evident truths. The third is πίστις, the Greek for "faith", concerning "such things which the understanding assents to upon the report, testimony, and the affirmation of others viz. by arguments extrinsical to the nature of the thing, and by collateral and indirect principles"(IX.59). The phrase "extrinsical to the nature of the thing" implies "without knowledge of the nature of a thing"; again an element of both scepticism and Platonism. Taylor continues, "reason knows all things as they are to be known, and enters into its notices by instruments fitted to the nature of things". That is to say that it is simply against reason to think that moral problems may be solved by *a priori* principles, and that geometrical ones can be solved by reading the Bible. πίστις is the sphere of moral and theological issues and therefore authorities, traditions and scripture are all legitimate proofs in this sphere. Demonstration of the idea can be found in *Certain Letters of Henry Jeanes ... and Dr.Jeremy Taylor* (VII.571-86) in which Taylor repeatedly accuses his pedantic and self-congratulating adversary of not being aware of this difference. For example, at one point Taylor says: " ... in a moral discourse to call for metaphysical significations, and not to be content with moral and general, may proceed from an itch to quarrel, but not from that ingenuity which will be your and my best ornament" (VI.584). Taylor insists that things must be taken from "their proper fountains". That is to say, that the mysteries of religion can never be reached by natural reason and the solution to a mathematical problem can never be derived from faith. The role of reason in moral and divine matters is to determine the credibility of sources. For example, who said it, what authority did they have? Taylor then states that "... into the greatest mysteriousness of our religion, and the deepest articles of our faith, we enter by our reason. Not that we can prove every one of them by natural reason, for to say that; were as vain, as to say we ought to prove them by arithmetic or the rules of music; but whosoever believes wisely and not by chance, enters into his faith by the hand of reason; that is, he hath causes and reasons why he believes" (IX.61). However, he goes on, "... every act of the understanding is an act of the rational faculty, and that is an act of reason" (IX.61). This implies that any man who thinks, thinks rationally and cannot help but think rationally. The further implication is that if a proposition is against reason it is impossible for a thinking man to believe it or say he believes it without hypocrisy. The most important statement of all occurs in book one,

chapter two, section twenty-seven of *Ductor Dubitantium*: "Right reason ... is not the affirmative or positive measure of things divine, or of articles and mysteries of faith". Here is clear demonstration of just how limited an entity Taylor perceived reason to be. I have already said that he saw reason as a utensil for the finding of truth rather than a finder of truth in itself Here, Taylor further reduces the scope of reason, depicting it more as a light to lead us from error rather than to truth. It is more like a lightship warning of shifting sands than a pole star by which a course may be charted. That is to say that reason cannot put an end to controversies or cases of conscience because it cannot demonstrate truth: there may be more than one reasonable viewpoint in any given case and all are permissible intellectually. What reason can do is prevent uncritical acceptance of obvious errors. Similarly, if reason is satisfied that the authority is a proper one, the authority's word is to be believed. For example, it is reasonable to believe that the Gospels are the word of God, and "... our reason is not the positive measure of mysteries, ... we must believe what we cannot understand" (IX.64).

It must be conceded at this point that Taylor did not really envisage reason as the solution to the problem of the criterion. It seems rather that reason had a role to play for a different purpose. If Taylor seems to contradict himself it is because his logic often brought him to conclusions he could not entertain. On one hand he was reluctant to make reason the arbitrator of right and wrong. But to deny reason a place in theology altogether brought him to an even more unacceptable end. Without a role for reason there could be little room for critical choice: without choice there could be no responsibility. Taylor's adherence to the principle of free will as a necessity for moral responsibility is a major part of his thought. As becomes clear in *Ductor Dubitantium*, Taylor saw rational choice, or, the choice of the understanding, as the precursor to choice of action effected by the will. If reason was not to be used, but authorities to be blindly accepted, how could the individual be accountable for his actions? If the individual was not responsible for his actions, how could the concepts of salvation and damnation be just? It was, of course, a view central to Taylor's interpretation of Original Sin. If each man was actually guilty of Original Sin in his very substance, how could he be responsible and thus damned for it? For Taylor, it was blasphemous to believe that God could damn for something in which man had no choice. Free will was an essential part of his vision of God's goodness as was the belief that God would not always

damn us if we err. It is impossible we should always be right, or avoid error, but we must try: "... no man is bound to do more than his best, no man is bound to have an excellent understanding, or to be wiser than he can; for these are things that are not in his choice, and therefore not a matter of law, nor subject to reward or punishment (V.348)." If there is one incessant theme in Taylor's work as a whole it is that men must be persuaded to live good lives and repent of evil; the *Unum Necessarium* of his work on repentance.[11] Hence, the doctrine of free will and responsibility is also a major theme. As an interesting sidenote, the full title of *The Liberty of Prophesying* is θεολογία ἐκλεκτικη, *or, A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying, with its Just Limits and Temper: shewing the Unreasonableness of Prescribing to Other Men's Faith, and the Iniquity of Persecuting Differing Opinions.* The Greek word ἐκλεκτικη implies "capable of moral choice".

Having examined Taylor's view of reason, we still have to come to a clear solution to the problematic question "How do we choose what is right"? We have learnt how to avoid errors but not how to choose between reasonable alternatives. Also, we still have the impression that Taylor, in *The Liberty of Prophesying*, expressed a wide-ranging tolerance that conflicts with his conduct as a Restoration bishop. The Epistle Dedicatory of the latter work is revealing on these points as it is on the theme of obedience.

The Epistle Dedicatory of *The Liberty of Prophesying* is a clever device, for it qualifies the body of the work to such an extent that the danger of being destroyed by his own argument is virtually eliminated. Unfortunately for Taylor, it seems that many of his contemporaries were not subtle enough to appreciate this. Taylor assumes that, on the evidence of the main text, "those men who will endure none but their own sect will make all manner of attempts against these purposes of charity and compliance, ... will tell all their proselytes that I preach indifferency of religion (V.346);" he then sets about showing that he preaches no such thing. His first answering principle is

> ... whatsoever is against the foundation of faith, or contrary to good life and the laws of obedience, or destructive to human society and the public and just interests of bodies politic, is out of the limits of my question, and does not pretend to compliance or toleration; so that I allow no indifferency, nor any countenance

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11 *Unum Necessarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance* (London, 1655).

> to those religions ... that teach ill life ... (V.346).

It must be agreed that this group of exceptions is capable of being stretched to any given purpose. Taylor was clearly not going to allow his "plea for tolerance" to be used in defense of subversives. He goes on,

> ... the intendment of my discourse is, that permissions should be in questions speculative, indeterminable, curious, and unnecessary; and that men would not make more necessities than God made, which indeed are not many (V.346).

Taylor applies the principle to himself: "... I earnestly contend that another man's opinion shall be no rule to mine, and that my opinion shall be no snare and prejudice to myself" (V.348). The term "opinion" should be noted. In mere opinions no man can govern another or persecute him for holding the contrary. This was clearly his principle when he put forward his ideas about Original Sin. In *Deus Justificatus* he says, "... I am tied to no man's private opinion any more than he is to mine; if he will bring scripture and right reason from any topic, he may persuade me; else I am free, as he is ..." (VII.536). It is important to notice Taylor's use of the word "private" here for it indicates clearly the sphere in which his vision of tolerance was to operate. Human institutions cannot and must not persecute a man in his soul, in his private, inner world, for this can only be governed by a man's free choice based on reasonable persuasion. But in the public sphere there was to be no shaking of the foundations but obedience. The distinction between the public and the private man, the visible and the invisible church, is an important part of Taylor's thought although he is never clear on how the distinction is to be made in some cases. A topic such as Original Sin was, in Taylor's view, "speculative, indeterminable, curious, and unnecessary" and thus open to variety of opinions. Whether Taylor's aptness to "break out into extravagances" on this occasion fits into his own view of obedience is a moot point.[12] There is evidence in some of his late letters that he came to regret his decision to speak out. However, when private opinion is the issue we can be sure that God will make the necessities of faith clear;

> In other things ... we are left to our liberty to judge that way that makes best demonstration of our piety and of our love to God and truth, not that way that is always the best argument of an excellent understanding (V.499).

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12 " ... a man of dangerous temper, apt to break out into extravagances". The judgment is Sheldon's, see Stranks, p. 216, quoting from Carte MSS. fol. 222.

This at least is evidence for the purity of Taylor's intentions in his own polemical writing: whether the effects were pure is a different matter.

The Parliament sermon spells out Taylor's views on the subject of obedience more clearly than any other piece of his writing. Was his view here exceptionally fierce and irreconcilable with the Taylor of *The Liberty of Prophesying*? While admitting a difference in tone, it is demonstrable that the theory is quite compatible. There is plenty about obedience in *The Liberty of Prophesying*. Obedience freely chosen is at the heart of Taylor's argument as a whole. He does acknowledge a role for reason but that role is restricted to the scrutiny of authorities and to matters of no public import. But if, having scrutinised an authority, that authority appears to be of divine sanction it must be obeyed. For Taylor, this is the essence of religion. *The Liberty of Prophesying* is about

> ... how men may determine themselves so as to do their duty to God and not to disserve the church, that every such man may do what he is bound to in his personal capacity, and as he relates to the public as a public minister (V.494).

Nothing was more repellent to Taylor than the placing of individual opinion before the larger ecclesiastical good. It is one of his incessant themes, for, to him, obedience is the bedrock of faith. In *The Great Exemplar* he states: "... to be one of the faithful signifies the same with being a disciple; and that contains obedience as well as believing" (II.296). Later In the same discourse, expounding Romans 16.26, he says,

> [Faith] ... is an act of obedience, a work of the gospel, a submitting the understanding, a denying the affections, a laying aside all interests, and a bringing our thoughts under the obedience of Christ (II.298).

Taylor also asserts in *The Liberty of Prophesying*:

> ... he that submits his understanding to all that he knows God hath said, and Is ready to submit to all that He hath said if he but know it, denying his own affections, and ends, and interests, and human persuasions, laying them all down at the foot of his great Master Jesus Christ, that man hath brought his understanding into subjection, and every proud thought unto the obedience of Christ, and this is υπακοη πιστακως, 'the obedience of faith', which is the duty of Christian (V.388).

"The obedience of faith" is presumably numbered among the "other good means" which were to guide reason (V.495). All Christians might agree with this description of such an obedience: what many might baulk at is Taylor's firm

belief that the obedience to the Father and Son necessarily implied obedience to ecclesiastical and civil powers, or "God's vice-gerents" as he would call them. This is the theme of the Parliament sermon: obedience can never be sinful at least and at most it is positively required by God as a duty signifying faith. It is also dealt with in chapter three of *Holy Living* in great detail but there the general thesis is that:

> Obedience to human laws must be for conscience sake: that is, because in such obedience, public order, and charity, and benefit, is concerned, and because the law of God commands us: therefore we must make a conscience in keeping the just laws of superiors: and although the matter before the making of the law was indifferent, yet now the obedience is not indifferent; but next to the laws of God we are to obey the laws of all our superiors, who the more public they are, the first they are to be in order of obedience (III.117).

The Liberty of Prophesying contains much that concords with the Parliament sermon. The gist is that " ... authority is a very good reason, and is to prevail, unless a stronger comes and disarms it ...", and that opinion may be " ... made sacred by the authority of councils and ecclesiastical tradition, and sometimes ... [this] is the best reason we have in a question ..." (V.498). In section seventeen, "Of compliance with disagreeing persons or weak consciences in general", many of the arguments are those used in the Parliament sermon itself and are quite clear on the issue of obedience to civil and ecclesiastical powers.

Taking *The Liberty of Prophesying* as a whole it may be seen that the first part discredits all authorities as infallible arbiters of controversies, the centre part discusses and largely discredits the role of reason as a possible answer to the problem of the criterion, the third asserts the role of law and order in tempering disputes. It may be argued that Taylor's reconciliation of the parts is an uneasy one but a new substructure is revealed if we focus on the sceptical influence in Taylor's work.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge is a dangerous critic for any student of Taylor to ignore. His judgment on *The Liberty of Prophesying* is especially interesting. Coleridge asserted, in his table-talk:

> Taylor's was a great and lovely mind; yet how much and injuriously was it perverted by his being a favourite and follower of Laud, and by his intensely Popish feelings of church authority. His *Liberty of Prophesying* is a work of wonderful eloquence and skill; but if we believe the argument, what do we come to? Why, to nothing more or less than this, that - so much can be said for

> every opinion and sect, so impossible is it to settle anything by reasoning, or authority of scripture - we must appeal to some positive jurisdiction on earth, *ut sit finis controversarium*. In fact, the whole book is the precise argument used by the Papists to induce men to admit the necessity of a supreme and infallible head of the church on earth. It is one of the works which pre-eminently gives countenance to the saying of Charles or James II, I forget which, - 'When you of the Church of England contend with the Catholics, you use the arguments of the Puritans; when you contend with the Puritans, you immediately adopt all the weapons of the Catholics.[13]

Coleridge's view is perhaps a little overstated but he has nonetheless hit upon two vital points if we are to understand the colour of Taylor's thinking. First, he shows succinctly that scepticism leads to conservatism. Secondly, he rightly relates Taylor's recognisably sceptical method with the Roman Catholic Church. To take the first point first, Sextus Empiricus himself is quite clear about where the sceptic stands in relation to the *status quo*. He says that "... we [the Sceptics] follow a line of reasoning which, in accordance with appearances, points us to a life conformable to the customs of our country and its laws and institutions, and to our own instinctive feelings."[14] That is, exactly as Coleridge has diagnosed, that as we don't know what is absolutely true but only what appears to us, we have to follow the consensus of opinion contained in customs, tradition and common experience, for no man can live a life of inertia. This was the view expressed by Erasmus in his *De Libero Arbitrio*. What was the point of creating chaos, what purpose in endangering the advancement of Christ's essential message, on such uncertain evidence?

> I would ask that the reader will also consider whether it Is reasonable to condemn the opinion of so many doctors of the Church, which the consensus of so many centuries and peoples has approved, and to accept in their stead certain paradoxes on account of which the Christian world is in uproar?[15]

Erasmus was one of the prime sources of inspiration to the first reforming bishops of the Church of England, and his work was recommended by Edward VI and Elizabeth I to their subjects.[16] It Is thus likely that this view would not

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[13] 4 June 1830. Quoted in *Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*.

[14] *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* Book I, Chapter VIII (16-18).

[15] *De Libero Arbitrio* in *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*, translated and edited by E. G. Rupp, A. N. Marlow. P. S. Watson and B. Drewery, The Library of Christian Classics XVII, (London, 1969).

[16] Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, pp.38-39.

be foreign to Anglican churchmen as a whole, and particularly not to Taylor whose work often invites comparison with Erasmus.

But in what sense could Taylor's work be called Popish? Here again the answer lay indirectly with Sextus Empiricus. In an essay of particular interest to the present subject, Richard Popkin shows how the sceptical method was utilised against Calvinism by the French Counter-Reformationists.[17] It is Popkin's thesis that by an *entente cordiale* "... the skeptics may well have been the theoreticians ... of the theological world in France after the Council of Trent ...", for it was they whose philosophy became a handmaiden to the process of counter-reformation. The most important event of this liaison, says Popkin, was the publication in 1557 of a Latin translation of Sextus Empiricus, the translation I have already mentioned on page lxvii of this essay, that of Henri Estienne and Gentian Hervet. The preface to this volume, by Hervet, is as important as Sextus's works themselves, for it made clear the relationship between Greek scepticism and the cause of the Counter-Reformation. Scepticism was seen as a "machine of war" against the Calvinists; one so devastating that no argument invented by them could withstand its force. The gist of Hervet's argument is stated by Popkin thus:

> All human theories can be destroyed by skepticism. By so doing, we are taught humility, and are able to restore balance in the mind from the excesses of dogmatism and prepare ourselves to yield to the doctrine of Christ.
>
> Thus the learned Hervet conceived of Calvinism as one more form of human dogmatism and arrogance, attempting to comprehend God in terms of man's petty reason. Complete skepticism, then, which will humble all human rational pretensions, should humble the Calvinists. Therefore skepticism is the weapon of the Counter-Reformation ...[18]

In the light of all that has been examined previously in this essay, Popkin's summary strikes a notable chord. He echoes Coleridge's assessment that scepticism leads to the inevitable assertion of church authority. The basic position of the Counter-Reformation sceptic is clearly in harmony with that of Taylor. Looking at Eden's list of authors quoted, in volume one of his edition of Taylor, which is by no means comprehensive, we see he notes three

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17 Richard H. Popkin, "Skepticism and the Counter-Reformation in France", *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte* 51 (1960), 58-83.

18 "Skepticism and the Counter-Reformation", pp.60-61.

references to Hervet, ten to Juan Maldonat and nineteen to Cardinal du Perron. Maldonat was a Jesuit controversialist whom Popkin links with Hervet as the prime motivator of the intellectual liaison between scepticism and Counter-Reformation. Cardinal du Perron was another major figure in the movement. So we can at least conclude that Taylor was acquainted with the main works of the French Counter-Reformation. Many students of Taylor's thought have pointed out his debt to the members of the Great Tew circle. There is certainly a good deal of common ground between *The Liberty of Prophesying* and *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (1638) by William Chillingworth. Chillingworth is the only member of the Great Tew circle of which there is tangible evidence of a friendship with Taylor.[19] It was Aubrey's recollection, in *Brief Lives*, that Chillingworth "much delighted in Sextus Empiricus". During his brief conversion to the Roman Catholic Church, Chillingworth resided at the college of Douai where he would undoubtedly have become familiar with the polemical method of the process of counter-reformation. The writings of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland and John Hales, both members of the Tew circle, also display a familiarity with these methods of argument, quite possibly through Chillingworth's own influence. This is further evidence for a sceptical influence on Taylor.

Another Roman Catholic influence in Taylor's life was his infamous friendship with Christopher Davenport, known as Franciscus a Sancta Clara. Davenport was a Franciscan who had entered monasteries in Douai and Ypres and later became a missionary to England. He believed there was no essential difference between the English and Roman churches and that the two should be reconciled. Despite Taylor's refutation of any inclination to Popery, Davenport seems to have spread the rumour that he had, at one stage during Taylor's life at Oxford, converted him to the Roman Catholic faith and that he was about to reconcile him when Anglican intervention regained Taylor's loyalty. Anthony Wood was sufficiently convinced of the truth of the story to record it in *Athenae Oxoniensis*, perhaps damning Taylor in the eyes of some forever. Wood also quotes a book by Thomas Long on Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*. Long wrote:

> In the writing of ... [*The Liberty of Prophesying*] the Learned

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[19] A reference to Taylor in a letter of Chillingworth's is the evidence for their friendship. See, *The Works of William Chillingworth* (London, 1719), Appendix.

> Bishop *Taylor* made use of a like Stratagem (as *Hales* did in writing his book of *Schism*) to break the Presbyterian power, and so countenance divisions between the Factions, which were too much united against the loyal Clergy. For in the said Book ... he insists on the same Topics of Schism and Heresy, of the incompetency of Councils and Fathers to determine our Ecclesiastical Controversies, and of scrupulous Consciences; and urgeth far more cogent arguments than *Hales* did, but still he had prepared his Σοφον Φαρμακον an antidote to prevent any dangerous effect of his discourse. For the judicious reader may perceive such a reserve (tho' it ly but in *ambuscado*, and is compacted in a narrow compass) as may easily rout those Troops, which began too soon to cry *Victoria* ...[20]

Although not entirely clear, it seems likely that Long and his contemporaries recognised the sceptical plan of *The Liberty of Prophesying*. The passage quoted comes from a book examining John Hales's work *A Tract concerning Schisme* (1642). This latter work caused great alarm in Anglican circles as it seemed to discredit the bases of Anglicanism: tradition, scripture, ecclesiastical councils etc. As Long notes, its plan of attack was similar to Taylor's, which is more evidence of the latter's debt to the Tew circle. However, where Hales had left himself open to attack as a non-conformist, Taylor had prepared his antidote carefully. The ambush mentioned must surely have been the Counter-Reformation hue of Taylor's argument: that, having aroused doubt in all things, the end result was the re-assertion of the conformity to an established order. Taylor's was the classic Tory position: the burden of proof lies with himwho wishes to effect change, and in the marked absence of such proof, that which is, is right.

It has always been fatuous to attempt an assessment of an author's sincerity. At the beginning of this chapter I asked how far the doctrine of obedience was merely convenient for the promotion of High Church power. I also asked how far Taylor could be rated a rhetorician in the pejorative sense. Coleridge certainly seemed to be of the view that Taylor sullied his talents in the mire of political interest, that he was indeed guilty of insincerity in the cause of advancement. Any reader of Taylor must agree with W.K.Jordan that "... it is not the steadily piled weight of reason that overwhelms ... but the almost hypnotic persuasion of an almost perfect rhetoric".[21] Both R. S. Bosher and J. W. Packer

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20 Thomas Long, *Mr. Hales's Treatise of Schism Examin'd and Censured* (London, 1678), Preface.

21 W. K. Jordan, p.382.

have outlined the keenness with which the High Church party pursued scholarship and writing: the printed word was one of the few sources with which a visible church could be maintained, especially after 1655 when the ban on preaching was enforced more rigorously.[22] There is no doubt that Taylor's skills advanced that party's interests most ably but there is a more radical reason behind his writing than simple device; that is, his belief that "reasonable persuasion" was the best means of coming to a consensus of opinion and thus ending disputes. Consequently, the arts of persuasion, or rhetoric, must be used with all possible skill to maintain or advance the ecclesiastical and civil order. It is, of course, a belief entirely in accord with the Ciceronian view of rhetoric.

Also at the beginning of the chapter I noted that Taylor's scepticism was often inextricable from Platonism and Pauline anti-intellectualism. *Via Intelligentiae* clearly owes a vast debt to John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, and its Platonism is an explicit version of the implicit *credendum* of all Taylor's works. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Pauline epistles are far and away the most quoted texts in Taylor's works and it is quite evident that Taylor regarded them as the bedrock of the Christian faith. He may have employed sceptical methods as a "machine of war" against puritan and presbyterian but the real appeal of scepticism for him was its accord with the essentials of the Christian faith as he saw it. Scepticism was not only fitted to the intellectual dilemma of the age, as Richard Popkin clearly shows, but also suited Taylor's particular view of man as a very limited being indeed and one whose faculties could never be sufficient evidence for revolution or persecution.

The tone of the Parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae* is undoubtedly harsher than Taylor's pre-Restoration works but I hope to have shown that it is indeed a change of tone and emphasis not of mind. For there is a persistent command in Taylor's works: live good lives, however the world may go. Disobedience is a sin, a sinful man can never perceive the will of God which is the only truth. Therefore, " ... *obedite et intelligetis* (saith the prophet), 'obey' and be humble, leave the foolish affections of sin, and then 'ye shall understand'" (VIII.371).

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[22]Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (London, 1951), p.36-37. John W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643-1660: with special reference to Henry Hammond* (Manchester, 1969), pp.45-47.

Description of Editions

\# = copy examined only on microfilm.

\+ = copy bound as part of *Seven Sermons* (see no.12 below).

"UMI" indicates part of the University Microfilms International series *Early English Books, 1641- 1700* and the reference is to the reel number of the appropriate microfilm.

1. ***A Funerall Sermon preached at the Obsequies of ... the Lady Frances, Countesse of Carbery*** **(London,1650), Wing T335.**

Title-page: See illustration, page 1.

Collation: 4^{o}: A-E^{4}[$3(-A1,-B3) signed].

20 leaves; pp.[*4*] 1-36 [=40].

Contents: *A1* Title (verso blank); A2 Epistle to Lord Vaughan; $A3^{a}$-$E4^{b}$ Text.

Copies examined: British Library (1415.b.66 *and* 1415.b.67) ;Bodleian Library (4^{o}.O.45,Th) ;Cambridge University Library (Hib.7.660.9) ;#Huntington #Huntington Library, San Marino (UMI Reel 804).

2. ***XXVIII Sermons Preached at the Golden Grove*****, first edition (London, 1651), Wing T405.**

Title-page: See page 2.

Collation: 2^{o}: $\P^{4}$, $*^{4}$, A-$2H^{6}$, $2I^{4}$, ^{3}A-^{3}D^{6} [$3 (-*3, -I3) signed].

230 leaves, pp.[*16*] 1-356 [*1*] 357-378 [misnumbering 83 as 81, 175 as 155, 239 as 233] [*4*] 1-55 [*4*] [=460].

Contents: 1 Title-page; 2-$*3^{b}$ Epistle to Lord Carbery; *4 Contents; A1-$2I3^{b}$ *XXVIII Sermons*; 2I4 blank; ^{3}A1 Title-page *Clerus Domini* (verso blank); ^{3}A2-^{3}E5^{b} The Printer to the Reader; ^{3}E6 blank.

Copies examined: British Library (Eve.b.40 *and* 4467.cc.2); Bodleian Library (Antiq.d.E 1651/1 *and* H.7.16.Th.); Cambridge University Library (Peterborough P.4.26); St.John's College,Cambridge (O.4.23); Trinity College, Cambridge; Edinburgh University Library (E.B.F..2526Tay)

The copy at Trinity College is the sole example in the copies examined of a copy containing the Latin epitaph on Lady Carbery (always included in later editions of the sermon) and the list of errata as interpolations. The former appears between 2G4 and 2G5, the latter before the final blank leaf.

The *XXVIII Sermons* are often found bound as part of of Ἐνιαυτός, 1653 along with the first edition of the *XXV Sermons*.

British Library Eve.b.40 is John Evelyn's copy.

3. *XXVIII Sermons preached at the Golden Grove*, second edition (London, 1654), Wing T406.

Title-page: See page 3.

Collation: 2^{o}: ¶^{4}, A-2H^{6}, 2I^{4}, 2K^{2}, ^{3}A-^{3}E^{6}[$3 (-¶1, -I3, -K3) signed].

230 leaves; pp.[*16*] 1-356 [*2*] 357-382 [misnumbering 382 as 182] [*2*] 1-55 [*3*] [=460]

Contents: .1 Title-page(verso blank); ¶2-*3^{b} Epistle to Lord Carbery; *4 Contents; A1- 2I4^{b} *XXVIII Sermons*; 2K1- 2K2 Table of subjects; ^{3}A1 Title-page *Clerus Domini* (verso blank); ^{3}A2-^{3}E5^{a} *Clerus Domini*; ^{3}E5^{b} The Printer to the Reader; ^{3}E6 blank.

Copies examined: British Library (1488.l.4 *and* 475.c.6.); Bodlelan library (Vet.A3.d.53); Cambridge University Library (Ely.a.47); National Library of Scotland(Bdg.m.64).

All copies except British Library 1488.l.44 are bound as part of the second edition of Ἐνιαυτός, 1655 (see p. 4). The "table" of 2K1-2K2 is a table of subjects covered "in both volumes of sermons". Mr. John Morris of the National Library of Scotland informs me that their edition was bound for James II while Duke of York.

4. *A Sermon preached at the Funerall of ... Sr. George Dalston* (London, 1658), no Wing number.

Title-page: See page 30.

Collation: 4^{o}: A-E^{4}[$2(-A1,+A3)signed].

20 leaves; pp.[*2*] 1-36 [*2*] [=40].

Contents: A1 Title-page (verso blank); A2-E3^{b} Text; E4 blank.

Copies examined: British Library (1608/1443); Bodleian Library (Sermons 20(1)); Trinity College, Cambridge (I.10.74[a]); [#]Marsh's Library, Dublin; Glasgow University Library (Ogilvie 1028).

The Glasgow, Dublin and Trinity College copies lack blank leaf E4.

5. *A Sermon preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops*, **first edition (Dublin, 1661), Wing T391.**

Title-page: See page 60.

Collation: 4^{o}: A-G[4][$3(-A1,-A2)signed].
28 leaves; pp.[8] 1-47 [1] [=56].

Contents: A1 blank; A2 Title-page (verso blank); A3-A4[b] To the Christian Reader, and errata list; B1-G4[a] Text; G4[b] blank.

Copies examined: British Library (4473.e.31); Bodleian Library(Don.e.192); Cambridge University Library (Hib.5.661.1); +St.John's College,Cambridge (Rr.9.17); Trinity College, Cambridge (I.4.33); +Christ Church, Oxford; University College, Oxford (II.34.19).

6. *A Sermon preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops*, **second edition (London, 1663), Wing T392.**

Title-page: See page 61.

Collation: 4^{o}: A-G[4], H[2][$2 (-A1,-H1,-H2) signed].
30 leaves; pp.[8] 1-51 [1] [=60].

Contents: A1 Title-page (verso blank); A2-A4[a] To the Christian reader; A4[b] blank; B1-H2[a] Text; H2[b] blank.

Copies examined: +British Library (695.e.5); Bodleian Library (Vet.A3.e.1388); +Cambridge University Library (Peterborough G.6.22); +Pembroke College, Cambridge (4-7-8); +[#]Union Theological Seminary, New York (UMI Reel 1160).

7. *A Sermon preached at the Opening of the Parliament of Ireland* **(London, 1661), Wing T393.**

Title-page: See page 87.

Collation: 4^{o}: A^{4}, a_{1}^{4} [illegible] B- G^{4}[$3(-B3,-E3,-G3)

signed].

32 leaves; pp.[*16*] 1-45 [*3*] [=64].

Contents: A1 Order to Print (recto blank); A2 Title-page (verso blank); A3-A4^{b} Epistle; B1-G3^{a} Text; G3^{b} blank; G4 Catalogue of books by Taylor (verso blank).

Copies examined: British Library (694.e.5(10)); Bodleian Library (Don.e.193); Cambridge University Library (Hib.5.661.2 *and* Hib.7.661.2 *and* +Peterborough G.$.22); +Pembroke College, Cambridge (4-17-8); Trinity College, Cambridge (I.9.87^{6}).

8. ***Via Intelligentiae: A Sermom [sic] preached to the University of Dublin*** **(London, 1662), Wing T416.**

Title-page: See page 113.

Collation: 4°: A-I^{4}[$2(-A1,-A2,+A3) signed].

36 leaves; pp.[*8*] 1-64 [=72].

Contents: A1 blank; A2 Title-page (verso blank); A3-a4^{a} To the Reader; A4^{b} Advertisement; B1-I4^{b} Text.

Copies examined: British Library (694.e.5(11) *and* +695.e.5); Bodleian Library (G.Pamph.1040); Cambridge University Library (Hib.7.662.14 *and* +Peterborough G.6.22); +Pembroke College, Cambridge (4-17-8); Trinity College, Cambridge (I.7.86); +University College, Oxford (II.34.19).

The Trinity College, Cambridge University Library Hib.7.662.14 and both British Library copies lack leaf A1. Leaves A2 and A3 of the Trinity College copy are damaged and this copy also has the text headed as "JOHN 7." on B1^{a}, where all others have "7 JOHN 17".

9. ***A Sermon preached in Christ-Church,Dublin at the funeral of ... John, Late Lord Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland*****, first edition (Dublin, 1663), Wing T394.**

Title-page: See page 146.

Collation: 4°: π^{2}, A-E^{4}, F^{2}[$2 (F2) signed].

24 leaves; pp.[*4*] 1-44 [=48].

Contents: π1 blank; π2 Title-page (verso blank); A1- F2^{b} Text.

Copies examined: #Dublin Public Libraries; Trinity College, Dublin (2 copies); #Harvard University Library; #Linen Hall Library, Belfast L II/6; #National Library of Ireland; #Northern Illinois University.

One of the Trinity College, Dublin copies is damaged and completed in manuscript. There is a blank space for the word "αγαθοεργια" on p.28 ($D2^b$) in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin Public Libraries and the damaged Trinity College copies. Also in the National Library copy, the closing bracket is missing on p.43($F2^a$), line 17. The Dublin Public Libraries copy mispages 9 and 10 as 11 and 8.

10. *A Sermon preached in Christ-Church,Dublin: at the funeral of ... John, Late Lord Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland*, **second edition (London, 1663), Wing T395.**

Title-page: See page 147.

Collation: 4^o: $A-F^4$[$2(-A1,-A2,+A3) signed].

24 leaves; pp.[4] 1-44 [misnumbering 37 as 29, 40-41 as 32-33] [=48].

Contents: A1 Title-page (verso blank); A2 Imprimatur (recto blank); A3- $F4^b$ Text.

Copies examined: British Library (1416.d.10, 1415.b.13 *and* 1415.b.52); Bodleian Library (4^o.O.45.Th.); Cambridge University Library (Hib.7.663.8. *and* Hib.5.663.2.); St.John's College, Cambridge (Ee.13.29); Trinity College, Cambridge (I.16.24 *and* K.15.121); National Library of Scotland (Nha.C163(5)); University College, Oxford (II.34.13.(9)).

The National Library of Scotland and Trinity College (I.16.24) copies have no signing on A3 and their imprimaturs read "Aug.1663" where all other copies have "21.Aug.1663". The National Library, University College, St.John's, Cambridge and Trinity College copies have the imprimatur on the verso of A1, facing the title-page on the recto of A2.

British Library 1415.b.13 is badly cropped. The British Library 1416.d.10, National Library of Scotland and Bodleian copies are missing the first leaf which obviously contained the imprimatur.

11. *A Sermon Preached in Christ-Church, Dublin: at the funeral of ... John, Late Lord Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland*, **third edition (London, 1663), Wing T396.**

Title-page: See page 148.

Collation: 4°: A-I^{4}[$2(-A1,-A2,+A3) signed].

36 leaves; pp. [*4*] 1-66 [*2*] [=72].

Contents: A1 Imprimatur (recto blank); A2 Title-page (verso blank); A3-I3^{b} Text; I4 blank.

Copies examined: + British Library (695.e.5); Bodleian Library (Bliss A272); Cambridge University Library (Syn.7.64.103 *and* +Peterborough G.6.22); +Pembroke College, Cambridge (4-17- 8); St.John's College, Cambridge (Ee.13.28 *and* +Rr.9.17); +Christ Church, Oxford (J.1.5.5); Magdalen College, Oxford (Sermons a.I5.1 *and* a.I5.11); +University College, Oxford (II.34.19).

Cambridge University Library Syn.7.64.103 is cropped. The Bodleian copy lacks the side-note on p.62.

12. Ἑβδομάς Ἐμβονιμαῖος ... *being Seven Sermons* **(London, 1663), Wing T328.**

Title-page: See page 178.

Contents: The *Seven Sermons* do not constitute separate editions of any of the works under examination in this thesis. Rather, the volume is a collection of editions already published. The exceptions are the three sermons, printed as a unit under a single title-page, which begin the volume. These have an epistle to the Duchess of Ormond and an index to all seven sermons prefixed to them. All the copies examined had an engraved plate showing the King's arms facing the general title-page. The four remaining sermons are (in order); the Consecration sermon (no.5), the Parliament sermon (no.7), *Via Intelligentiae* (no.8) and the Bramhall sermon, third edition (no.11). Following these is the second edition of *Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocese of Connor.*

Copies examined: British Library (695.e.5); Cambridge University Library (Peterborough G.6.22); Pembroke College, Cambridge (4-17-8); St.John's College, Cambridge (Rr.9.17); Christ Church, Oxford (J.15.5); University College, Oxford (II.34-19); #Union Theological Seminary, New York (UMI Reel 1160).

The British Library, Cambridge University Library (Peterborough G.6.22), Pembroke College and Union Theological Seminary copies have the second edition of the Consecration sermon (no.6).

13. Δεκὰς Ἐμβονιμαῖος, *A Supplement to the* Ἐνιαυτός, *... Being Ten Sermons* **(London, 1667), Wing T308 & T310.**

Title-page: See page 179.

Collation: 2°: A^4, B-T^6, U^2 [$3 (-A3,-M2,-O2,-O3, -U2) signed].

114 leaves; pp.[8] 1-15 [16] 17-45 [46-48] 49-51 [52] 53-69 [70- 72] 73-93 [94-96] 97-121 [122-124] 125-147 [148-150] 151- 152 [153- 154] 155-172 [173-174] 175-206 [207-208] 209-219 [220] [=228].

Contents: A1 Title-page (verso blank); A3 Epistle to the Duchess of Ormond; A4 "Titles and Texts of the ten sermons"; B1-$E5^a$ *Three Sermons*; $E5^b$ blank; E6-$G5^a$ Consecration sermon; $G5^b$-$I5^a$ Parliament Sermon; $I5^b$ blank; I6-$M1^a$ *Via Intelligentiae*; $M1^b$ blank; M2-$O2^a$ Bramhall sermon; $O2^b$ blank; O3-Q2 Carbery sermon; Q3-T1 *The Ministers Duty in Life and Doctrine*; T2-$U2^a$ *Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocesse of Down & Connor*; $U2^b$ blank.

Copies examined: British Library (479.e.6); Cambridge University Library (Yorke.b.73); Trinity College, Cambridge (I.11.15); Edinburgh University Library (C.17.35); #Union Theological Seminary, New York (UMI Reel 1104); #Huntington Library, San Marino (UMI Reel 804); #Illinois University, Urbana (UMI Reel 616).

All except the Union Theological Seminary and Illinois University copies are bound as part of the third edition of Ἐνιαυτός, Wing T331 (London, 1668). Wing T308 is distinguished from T310 only in that the former includes the engraved portrait of Taylor by Lombart, which is normally placed before the general title-page of the 1668 Ἐνιαυτός.

In the first line of $F3^b$ (p.54), the Trinity College copy has the spelling "Shepheards" for "Shepherds". In line 6 of $F4^b$ the "t" of "the" is missing in all copies and the remaining two letters are in various positions.

Relation of editions and choice of copy-texts.

The preceding section described all the editions which could be considered as candidates for copy-text: the following attempts to show the genealogical relation of these editions and the case for their acceptance or rejection as copy-texts. Two overriding considerations occur: (i) there are very few substantive variants in any of the sermons to be considered, and (ii) there is no clear evidence that Taylor read the proofs of any of the texts in question. The lack of substantive variants makes an assessment of the derivation of texts difficult. I have assumed throughout that accidentals cannot form a sound basis for argument, their correlation or variance being too much dependent on contingency. However, some accidentals are more significant than others. For example, the inclusion or omission of brackets or indentation may suggest the influence of copy more reliably than, say, a simple concurrence of spellings. Therefore, *faute de mieux*, I have sometimes used accidentals as evidence in an argument.

It will have been noticed that the Dalston funeral sermon had only one edition published during Taylor's lifetime.[1] The second edition of the sermon was included as part of the fourth edition of *The Worthy Communicant* (1674, Wing no.T420). I have collated one copy of this (National Library of Scotland Dowd.248) with a copy of the first edition and found nothing to suggest that the former is anything other than a re-setting of the latter. I have therefore taken the first edition as the only extant authority for both accidentals and substantives.

The last editions published in Taylor's lifetime of all the other sermons under consideration here are contained in the 1667 *Ten Sermons*. In the case of *Via Intelligentiae* and the parliament sermon, the latter is the only possible alternative to the first editions. It might be chosen as copy-text if it could be shown that it was printed from a new manuscript or that Taylor had read proofs. The lack of substantive variants is a telling argument that no new or revised manuscripts were used to set *Ten Sermons*. It is almost certain that the work was set from a copy of *Seven Sermons*, including the second edition

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[1] There is a manuscript of this sermon bound into the back of the British Library copy of the 1668 ΕΥΙΑΥΤΟΣ. Although in a contemporary hand, this hand is not Taylor's and there is nothing to suggest that it has been used as copy. What variants there are can be ascribed to a transcription of the printed edition.

of the consecration sermon, supplemented with the first editions of the Carbery sermon and *The Ministers Duty*. It will be noticed that the first seven of the *Ten Sermons* are printed in the same order as *Seven Sermons*. Apart from the influence of copy, there seems no reason for doing this.

The case for this possible state of affairs is hindered by the different format of the two volumes. This means that copy would have to be cast off for the new format, cancelling much of the influence of the earlier edition. *Seven Sermons* is in quarto: *Ten Sermons* in folio. Had they both been in quarto, or both folio, the compositor of the later edition might have copied the earlier compositor's habits of justification minutely, thus revealing a straight copy from one printed edition to another. Also, as noted in the bibliographical descriptions preceding this section, *Seven Sermons* is a complex volume made up of a new, second edition of the three initial sermons plus individually available copies of the remaining four bound under a general title-page. These latter four sermons are editions of occasional sermons which appear in the text following. However, the initial three sermons have been printed continuously from the general title-page. Therefore, it is an examination of these same three sermons, the general title-page and the preliminary material in both volumes that may establish whether *Ten Sermons* was printed from a copy of *Seven Sermons*.

To begin with, the order in which the sermons have been printed in *Ten Sermons* is exactly the same as *Seven Sermons*. Apart from the influence of copy, there seems no reason for the concurrence: a discernible scheme (for example, chronology) cannot be detected in the arrangement. An examination of illustrations on pages 178 and 179 will show that the general title-pages are not dissimilar. The variation that occurs could well be attributed to the change in format. The title-page of the first three sermons in both volumes has a similar layout, although the typography differs. "The Titles and Texts of the Several Sermons", inserted after the epistle dedicatory, are identical except for the final inclusion of the extra sermons in *Ten Sermons*. This seems particularly significant since the names given to each sermon are often not strictly their title and certainly not obvious derivations from the individual title-pages; for example, "Preached at an Episcopal Consecration". Equally significant is the fact that the first three sermons in both volumes have running titles that are identical. Perhaps most telling of all is the lack of variants. The evidence is sufficient to prove the thesis: *Ten Sermons* was printed from a copy of *Seven*

Sermons.

There is little evidence that Taylor read proofs of *Ten Sermons*. The most that can be said is that it is not impossible that he did. It is not known for sure that the work was published before Taylor's death on 13th August 1667, but, as Professor Williams points out, [2] Taylor is not styled "late Lord Bishop of Down and Connor" on the title-page (page 179) as he is on the general title-page of Ἐνιαυτός (page 180), with which *Ten Sermons* is usually bound and which has a title-page dated 1668. He is also described as "late" on the title-page of *The Second Part of the Dissuasive from Popery* (London, 1667; Wing no.T390) which has an imprimatur dated 29th June 1667 and cannot have been published very long after his death. Why the internal title-pages of *Ten Sermons* are dated 1666, when the general title-page, and *Rules and Advices* are dated 1667 is a moot point. It might be attributed to an interruption in printing or the simple fact that the work was printed late in 1666, and the printer decided to date the last two title-pages printed 1667, perhaps after instructions from Royston. A good number of works published by Royston in the later months of a year have title-pages dated for the year following although this is not always the case.[3] Interruptions in printing might have occurred for two possible reasons. The first would be disruption caused by the Great Fire. We know that Royston's shop in Ivy Lane must have suffered extensive damage.[4] However, there is no evidence that Tyler's printing house in Aldersgate was affected. By contrast, Tyler's business in London, if imprints are anything to go by, seems to have been at its healthiest at this time. However, according to Plomer's *Dictionary*, imprints carrying Tyler's name were sometimes the work of one Bernard Alsop who died before *Ten Sermons* was printed: it is possible that Tyler himself did not print this work of Taylor's and thus it is dangerous to make too much of evidence concerning the Great Fire.

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[2]William P. Williams and Robert Gathorne-Hardy, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jeremy Taylor to 1700*, (DeKalb, Ill., 1971), p.111.

[3]For example, Sir Francis Moore's *Collect Cases*, dated 1663 but advertised in *Mercurius Publicus* of 20-27 November 1662, or Taylor's own *Dissuasive from Popery*, dated 1664 but advertised in *The Newes Published* of 24 March 1663.

[4]Proof of this lies in the fact that imprints after 1666 often give St. Bartholomews rather than the Angel, Ivy Lane as the location of Royston's business. The following advertisement appears in *The London Gazette* for 31 December-3 January 1666: "These are to give notice that Mr.Richard Royston Bookseller, who formerly lived at the Angell in Ivy-Lane, and the Shop-keepers who formerly dwelt in the Round Court in St. Martins, are now placed in St. Bartholomews Hospital near Smith-Field." See also H.R.Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers, Publishers and Printers ... 1641-1667*, (The Bibliographical Society, 1968).

Any printer still printing after that calamitous event would certainly have had a great deal of work, which may have been a cause for the delay in printing *Ten Sermons*. The second possible cause, and most important for the present discussion, is that proofs of *Ten Sermons* were being sent to Taylor in Ireland, thus extending the time taken to print the work.

The arguments for this hypothesis are slender and spring substantially from one piece of evidence we have concerning the printing of *Ductor Dubitantium* (Wing T324). This was entered in the Stationers' Register on 18th April 1656. The date of the preface is 5th October 1659. The imprint is dated 1660. Part of the reason for the delay in publication is that Taylor took some time to finish writing the work. However, some of it at least must be attributable to the fact that Taylor was being sent proofs. We have the following, in a letter to Lord Conway of 9th April 1659, as evidence:

> My Lord I am to beg a favour of your Lordship that when Royston sends to your Lordship the sheets of my second volume, which I have ordered him to do, you will be pleased to let some of your servants convey them speedily to me. My Lord I would not have moved this trouble to your Lordship if I could have found another way so safe or so tolerable, save only that your Lordship's trouble ought to be intolerable to me. They will be brought by 8 sheets or 10 at a time, and it may be a fortnight after so many more, that they may not be too grievous or troublesome.[5]

I have already mentioned that *The second part of the Dissuasive from Popery* has an imprimatur dated 29th June 1667 and yet must have been published after Taylor's death. Perhaps the delay in publication here was due to sending proofs also. However, there is still no real case for claiming that Taylor read proofs of *Ten Sermons*. Two points argue against it. Firstly, special care would have been taken with first editions, particularly, one would have thought, with *Ductor Dubitantium* which Taylor regarded as his *magnum opus*. Secondly, *Ductor Dubitantium* and *The second part of the Dissuasive from Popery* are both polemical works and Taylor would surely have been anxious, after his trouble with *Unum Necessarium* and amid general hostility to his theology in the county of Down, to eradicate any possibility of printing errors bringing retribution on his head. The following passage from the Preface to *A Dissuasive*

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[5] See Stranks p. 194.

from Popery (Dublin,1664; Wing T319) seems to bear witness to this:

> I therefore make this Address to all who will concern themselves in reading this book, not to ask their pardon for any fault of doing of it; I know of none; for if I had known them I would have mended them before the Publication; and yet though I know not any, I do not question but much fault will be found by too many.

As I've said, it is not impossible that Taylor read proofs of *Ten Sermons* but it is not very likely and it would be a dangerous assumption to make on such scant evidence.

In the cases of the parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae*, in the absence of any manuscript, there are only the first editions from which *Ten Sermons* could have been set. There is only one substantive variant in the parliament sermon and there are three in *Via Intelligentiae*, all of which are minor. The title-page of the latter in *Ten Sermons* is very similar to the first edition, and the order to print preceding the parliament sermon is identical in both the first edition and *Ten Sermons*.

There are nine substantive variants in the consecration sermon and these are particularly conclusive. *Ten Sermons* and the second edition agree in seven of them. Only three of these variants are covered by the errata list in the first edition. Two are obviously mistakes in the setting of the 1667 edition. Of the four remaining, three are apparently correct emendations of the first edition which are present in both the 1663 and 1667 editions. However, the reading "were" for "where" (line 38) in the 1663 and 1667 editions is clearly wrong. This would seem to indicate that the 1667 edition was not carefully proof read (as do the readings "this be" for "this must be", line 127, and "*area*" for "*arca*", line 671) and that it was set from the second rather than the first edition. There is not enough evidence to state certainly that the second edition was set from the first but as there is no evidence to the contrary either it seems safer to assume that it was, and that therefore the first edition must be the copy-text.

The Bramhall and Carbery funeral sermons are more complex cases than the other four sermons but the Carbery sermon is easier to assess. There are ten substantive variants: *Ten Sermons* (1667) agrees with the first in nine of these. The remaining variant is an obvious mistake in the first edition, printing "later" for "latter" (line 654). The 1667(1666) title-page is of interest here: it has obviously been set from the 1650 title-page. The style "Jeremy Taylor D.D." would be quite improper in the year 1666/7 and could not be accounted for in

any other way.

Three of the ten variants occur between the first edition (1651) and second edition (1654) of *XXVIII Sermons*. The latter of these is a very close re-setting of the former: so close, that the catchwords are almost always the same and the pagination of the 1654 volume is identical to the perfect copy of the 1651 edition. The break between pages 356 and 357 can only be attributed to its being set from a copy with the interpolated Latin epitaph. Although the general title-page of the 1655 Ενιαυτος (see page 4) claims it is "The Second Edition, Corrected", the corrections appear to be only those specified in the 1651 errata list. It also reproduces "The Printer to the Reader", printed at the back of the 1651 edition, which reads:

> The absence of the Author, and his inconvenient distance from *London*, hath occasioned some lesser escapes in the impression of these Sermons, and the Discourse annexed. The Printer thinks it the best instance of pardon if his Escapes be not layd upon ~~the~~ Author, and he hopes they are no greater then an ordinary understanding may amend, and a little charity may forgive.

Whether this was necessarily an accurate description of circumstances in 1654 is not strictly relevant. If it was true that Taylor played no part in the printing of the first edition of 1651, and the second edition of 1654 was an uncritical re-setting of this, and there is no evidence to suggest that the first edition was set from manuscript, then both editions can be discounted as copy-texts. As *Ten Sermons* (1667) appears to have been set from the first, the first edition is the obvious choice of copy-text.

The four editions of the Bramhall sermon form a yet more complex case for assessment. This work is the only case in these six occasional sermons of extra material being incorporated in the body of the text in a later edition (lines 178-97). Excluding this extra material, the text contains nine substantive variants. Three of these occur only in the 1667 edition and all are obvious mistakes: line 86, "become the" for "become in the"; lines 285-86, "Fall and Spring" for "Fall and the Spring" and line 946, "eye" for "Eve". The latter variant maybe used as evidence towards the hypothesis that the 1667 edition was set from the third. The first and second editions have the reading "Eves", the third "Eve" and the fourth "eye". It is easier to see how "eye" could arise out of "Eve" than out of "Eves". There are two other significant variants which also contribute towards the hypothesis. The third and fourth editions have "instrument" (line 620) and "slander" (line 705) where the first and second agree

in "Instructour" and "slanderer". The title-pages of the third and fourth editions might be compared for further evidence. "The fourth edition, enlarged" being particularly indicative. The fourth edition cannot really claim enlargement; the words are clearly the influence of copy. There is also the general printing style. For example, where the first and second editions have "St. Austin", the third and fourth have "St. Augustine". Where the first and second editions omit brackets, the third and fourth include them. Where the first and second editions run on, the third and fourth start a separate line, and so on.

The second edition, as a comparison of title-pages (see pages 146 and 147) will show, has been set from the first. The resetting is page for page and there is frequent concurrence of catchwords.

The most difficult question to answer is whether the third, enlarged, edition has been set from the first edition, the second, or from manuscript. In line 646 the third edition has "our B.S.", as does the first, where the second has "blessed Saviour". The first and third editions set "40th" and "45." in line 568 and 570 (as does the fourth edition); the second edition has "fortieth" and "five and fortieth". Also in line 571, the second edition reads "reserved"; all others read "reserves". In line 702, the second edition has "*Gandentibus*" where all others have "*candentibus*", and in line 782, "shooters's" where the others have "shooters". In lines 439-40 the second has "Oration", the others "Funeral Oration" and in line 451, "whilest we" for "whilest she". From this evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the third edition has been set from the first. It is not at all likely that it was set from manuscript. The additional material of lines 178-97 is a mystery: there seems no substantial reason why Taylor would have written it especially for the third edition. It does not change or supplement the sermon in any significant way. Neither does it seem likely that he would have written extra material without paying critical attention to the rest of the sermon. Such critical attention seems, except in the case of the "instructor" to "instrument" and "slanderer" to "slander", revisions mentioned above, singularly lacking. It is therefore improbable that Taylor submitted a revised manuscript to Royston. If a manuscript was used to set the third edition, it must have been the one used to set the first, in which case, one would expect more variants, and one would certainly require stronger evidence in order to come to this unlikely conclusion. The most likely event was that Taylor submitted a marked copy of the first edition. Therefore, the first edition must have a closer relation to Taylor's manuscript and must be chosen as

copy-text.

I have also chosen the first editions as copy-text for the parliament, consecration and *Via Intelligentiae* sermons according to the evidence outlined above. For the Carbery sermon, I have supplemented the first edition with the interpolated Latin epitaph of the 1651 *XXVIII Sermons*. The third edition of the Bramhall sermon is the obvious copy-text for the page of extra material and I have assumed that it must have some authority in substantives. I have made the same assumption for the second edition of the consecration sermon.

Statement of editorial principles.

The six texts following have been edited according to the general principles laid down by Professors Greg and Bowers; the copy-text has been followed for accidentals and substantive variants have been assessed on their own merits. All emendations have been noted in a separate section following the texts of the sermons. Where further explanation is required it may be found in the commentary. The small number of substantive variants has not required much of the editor in the way of emendation. However, the reader should be made aware of two further forms of emendation.

Firstly, and most importantly, proper names have been modernised. The proper names given in the copytexts are sometimes erroneous, sometimes confusing. I have taken the view that a consistent principle of modernisation ensures clarity for the reader and obviates the necessity of referring to the commentary in many cases.

Secondly, and also for the sake of clarity, where a spelling is sufficiently eccentric to hinder immediate comprehension and is not listed as a standard seventeenth century spelling by the OED, I have substituted a spelling that does conform to such a standard. Only a handful of cases of this occur.

Side-notes have been deleted and placed in the commentary. Square brackets have also been deleted. Italics, except in the case of proper names where some additions have been made, have been faithfully reproduced.

Hib. 7. 650. 9

A Funerall Sermon,

PREACHED

At the Obsequies of the Right Honble and most vertuous Lady,

THE LADY

FRANCES,

Countesse of *CARBERY*:

Who deceased *October* the 9th. 1650.

at her House GOLDEN-GROVE

in *CARMARTHEN-SHIRE.*

By JER. TAYLOR, D.D.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. F.* for *R. Royston* at the Angel in Ivie-lane.

M. DC. L.

XXVIII.

SERMONS

PREACHED AT

GOLDEN GROVE;

Being for the Summer half-year,

BEGINNING ON WHIT-SUNDAY,

And ending on the xxv. Sunday after

TRINITY.

TOGETHER WITH

A Diſcourſe of the Divine Inſtitution, Neceſſity, Sacredneſs, and Separation of the Office Miniſteriall.

BY *JER. TAYLOR*, D.D.



LONDON,
Printed by R. N. for *Richard Royſton* at the Angel in *Ivie-Lane*. 1651.

XXVIII

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PREACHED AT

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BY *JER. TAYLOR*, D.D.



LONDON,

Printed by R. N. for *Richard Royſton* at the Angel in *Ivie-Lane*. 1654.

ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ.

A

COVRSE
OF
SERMONS
FOR
All the Sundays
Of the Year.

Fitted to the great Neceſsities, and for the ſupplying
the Wants of Preaching in many parts
of this NATION.

Together with

A Diſcourſe of the Divine Inſtitution, Neceſsity, Sacredneſs,
and Separation of the Office *Miniſterial.*

By JER. TAYLOR D: D.

The Second Edition Corrected.

Καὶ τ αἰχμᾶλὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις
Ἀενάῳ πυρὸς——Pindar. Πυθ. ϕδ. ά.

——*Commune periclum*
Omnibus, Una ſalus.——

LONDON:
Printed for *Richard Royſton* at the Angel in Invie-lane, 1655.

To the right Honorable, and truly Noble, *Richard* Lord *Vaughan,* Earl of *Carbery,* Baron of *Emlyn* and *Mullinger,* Knight of the Honorable Order of the *Bath.*

My Lord, I am not asham'd to professe that I pay this part of service to your Lordship most unwillingly: for it is a sad office to be the chief Minister in a house of mourning, and to present an interested person with a branch of Cypresse and a bottle of tears. And indeed, my Lord, it were more proportionable to your needs to bring something that might alleviate or divert your sorrow, then to dresse the hearse of your Dear Lady, and to furnish it with such circumstances, that it may dwell with you, and lie in your closet, and make your prayers and your retirements more sad and full of weepings. But because the Divine providence hath taken from you a person so excellent, a woman fit to converse with Angels, and Apostles, with Saints and Martyrs, give me leave to present you with her picture; drawn in little and in 10. *water-colours, sullyed indeed with tears and the abrupt accents of a reall and consonant sorrow; but drawn with a faithfull hand, and taken from the life: and indeed it were too great a losse, to be depriv'd of her example and of her rule, of the originall and the copie too. The age is very evil and deserv'd her not; but because it is so evil, it hath the more need to have such lives preserv'd in memory to instruct our piety, or upbraid our wickednesse. For now that God hath cut this tree of paradise down from its seat of earth, yet so the dead trunk may support a part of the declining Temple, or at least serve to kindle the fire on the altar. My Lord, I pray God this heap of sorrow may swell your piety till it breaks into the greatest joyes of God and of religion: and remember, when you pay a tear upon the grave, or to the memory of* 20. *your Lady (that Deare and most excellent Soule) that you pay two more: one of repentance for those things that may have caus'd this breach; and another of joy for the mercies of God to your Dear departed Saint, that he hath taken her into a place where she can weep no more. My Lord,* I think I shall, *so long as I live, that is so long as I am*

Your Lordships most humble Servant
Taylor.

Pietati & Memoriæ Sacrum.

MOnumentum doloris ſingularis, paris fati & conditionis poſuit *Richardus* Comes *Carberienſis* ſibi vivo,& mortem nec exoptanti nec metuenti: Et dilectiſſimæ ſuæ Conjugi *Franciſcæ* Comitiſſæ in flore ætatis caſibus puerperii raptæ ex amplexibus Sanctiſſimi amoris. Fuit illa (deſcendat lachrymula Amice Lector) fuit inter caſtiſſimas prima, inter Conjuges amantiſſima, Mater optima: placidi oris, ſeveræ virtutis, converſationis ſuaviſſimæ: vultum hilarem fecit bona conſcientia,amabilem, forma pluſquam Uxoria. Claris orta Natalibus, fortunam non mediocrem habuit; erat enim cum Unicâ Germanâ Hæres ex aſſe. Annos XIII, Menſes IV, ſupra Biduum vixit in Sanctiſſimo Matrimonio cum SUO quem effuſiſſimè dilexit, & ſanctè obſervavit; quem novit Prudentiſſimum, ſenſit Amantiſſimum, virum Optimum vidit & lætata eſt. Enixa prolem numeroſam, pulchram, ingenuam, formæ & Spei optimæ; quatuor Maſculos, *Franciſcum* Dominum *Vaughan*, *Johannem*, *Althamum*, quartum immaturum; fœminas ſex, Dom: *Franciſcam*, *Elizabethas* duas, *Mariam*, *Margaretam*, & *Althamiam* [poſt cujus partum paucis diebus obdormiit.] Totam prolem Maſculam (ſi demas abortivum illum) & fœminas omnes,præter *Elizabetham* alteram,& *Mariam*, ſuperſtites reliquit: Pietatis adeóq; Spei plena obiit ix. *Octobr.* M DC.L. Lachrymis ſuorum omnium tota irrigua conditur in hoc cœmeterio, ubi cùm Deo Opt. Max. viſum fuerit,ſperat ſe reponendum Conjux mœſtiſſimus: intereà temporis luctui, ſed pietati magis vacat, ut in ſuo tempore ſimul lætentur Par tam Pium, tam Nobile, tam Chriſtianum in gremio *Jeſu*, uſque dum Coronæ adornentur accipiendæ in Adventu Domini.

AMEN.

Cum ille vitâ defunctus fuerit, Marmor loquetur, quod adhuc tacere jubet virtus Modeſta: interim vitam ejus obſerva, & leges quod poſteà hîc inſcriptum amabunt & colent Poſteri.

Ora & abi.

For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person: yet doth he devise means that his banished be not expelled from him.

When our blessed Saviour and his Disciples viewed the Temple some one amongst them cried out, *Magister aspice, quales lapides! Master behold what faire, what great stones are here!* Christ made no other reply but foretold their dissolution and a world of sadness and sorrow which should bury that whole Nation when the teeming cloud of Gods displeasure should produce a storm which was the daughter of the biggest anger, and the mother of the greatest calamity which ever crush'd any of the sons of *Adam*. *The time shall come, that there shall not be left one stone upon another*. The whole Temple and the Religion, the ceremonies ordained by God, and the Nation beloved by God, and the fabrick erected for the service of God, shall run to their own period and lie down in their severall graves. Whatsoever had a beginning can also have an ending, and it shall die, unless it be daily watered with the purles flowing from the fountain of life, and refreshed with the dew of Heaven and the wells of God. And therefore God had provided a tree in Paradise to have supported *Adam* in his *artificiall immortality*: Immortality was not in his nature, but in the hands, and arts, in the favour and superadditions of God. Man was alwaies the same mixture of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture; ever the same weak thing, apt to feel rebellion in the humors, and to suffer the evils of a civil warre in his body naturall: and therefore health and life was to descend upon him from Heaven, and he was to suck life from a tree on earth; himself being ingraffed into a tree of life, and adopted into the condition of an immortall nature: But he that in the best of his daies was but a Cien of this tree of life, by his sinne was cut off from thence quickly, and planted upon thorns, and his portion was for ever after among the flowers, which to day spring and look like health and beauty, and in the evening they are sick, and at night are dead, and the oven is their grave. And as before, even from our first spring from the dust of earth, *we might have died* if we had not been preserved by the continuall flux of a rare providence; so now that we are reduced to the laws of our own nature, *we must needs die*. It is naturall, and therefore necessary; It is become a punishment to us, and therefore it is unavoidable, and God hath bound the evil upon us by bands of naturall and inseparable propriety, and by a supervening unalterable decree of Heaven: and we are fallen from our privilege, and are returned to the condition of beasts, and

buildings, and common things: And we see Temples defiled unto the ground, and they die by Sacrilege: and great Empires die by their own plenty and ease, full humors, and factious Subjects; and huge buildings fall by their owne weight, and the violence of many winters eating and consuming the cement which is the marrow of their bones: and Princes die like the meanest of their Servants: and every thing finds a grave and a tombe; and the very tomb it self dies by the bigness of its pompousness and luxury,

... Phario nutantia pondera saxo
Quae cineri vanus dat ruitura labor,

and becomes as friable and uncombined dust as the ashes of the Sinner or the Saint that lay under it, and is now forgotten in his bed of darkness: And to this Catalogue of mortality Man is inrolled with a *Statutum est; It is appointed for all men once to die, and after death comes judgment;* and if a man can be stronger then nature or can wrestle with a decree of Heaven, or can escape from a Divine punishment by his own arts, so that neither the power nor the providence of God, nor the laws of nature, nor the bands of eternall predestination can hold him, then he may live beyond the fate and period of flesh, and last longer then a flower: But if all these can hold us and tie us to conditions, then we must lay our heads down upon a turfe and entertain creeping things in the cells and little chambers of our eyes, and dwell with worms till time and death shall be no more. *We needs must die;* That's our sentence. But that's not all.

We are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again. Stay. 1. We are as water, weak and of no consistence, alwaies descending, abiding in no certain place, unlesse where we are detained with violence: and every little breath of winde makes us rough and tempestuous, and troubles our faces: every trifling accident discomposes us; and as the face of the waters wafting in a storm so wrinkles it self that it makes upon its forehead furrows deep, and hollow like a grave: so doe our great and little cares and trifles, first make the wrinkles of old age, and then they dig a grave for us: And there is in nature nothing so contemptible, but it may meet with us in such circumstances, that it may be too hard for us in our weaknesses: and the sting of a Bee is a weapon sharp enough to pierce the finger of a childe, or the lip of a man: and those creatures which nature hath left without weapons, yet they are arm'd sufficiently to vex those parts of men which are left defenselesse and obnoxious to a sun beame, to the roughness of a sowre grape, to the unevenness of a gravel-stone, to the dust of a wheel, or the unwholsome breath of a starre looking awry upon a sinner.

2. But besides the weaknesses and naturall decayings of our bodies, if chances and contingencies be innumerable, then no man can reckon our dangers, and the praeternaturall causes of our deaths. So that he is a vain person whose hopes of life are too confidently increased by reason of his health: and he is too unreasonably timorous, who thinks his hopes at an end when he dwels in sicknesse. For men die without rule; and with, and without occasions; and no man suspecting or foreseeing any of deaths addresses, and no man in his whole condition is weaker then another. A man in a long Consumption is fallen under one of the solemnities and preparations to death: but at the same instant the most healthfull person is as neer death, upon a more fatall, and a more sudden, but a lesse discerned cause. There 70.
are but few persons upon whose foreheads every man can read the sentence of death written in the lines of a lingring sicknesse, but they sometimes hear the passing bell ring for stronger men, even long before their own knell cals at the house of their mother to open her womb and make a bed for them. No man is surer of to morrow then the weakest of his brethren: and when *Lepidus* and *Aufidius* stumbled at the threshold of the Senate and fell down and dyed, the blow came from heaven in a cloud but it struck more suddenly then upon the poor slave that made sport upon the Theatre with a praemeditated and foredescribed death: *Quod quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis cautum est in horas.* There are sicknesses that walk in darknesse, and there are exterminating Angels that fly wrapt up in the curtains of 80.
immateriality and an uncommunicating nature; whom we cannot see, but we feel their force and sink under their sword, and from heaven the vail descends that wraps our heads in the fatall sentence. There is no age of man but it hath proper to it self some posterns and outlets for death, besides those infinite and open ports out of which myriads of men and women every day passe into the dark and the land of forgetfulnesse. *Infancie* hath life but *in effigie*, or like a spark dwelling in a pile of wood: the candle is so newly lighted, that every little shaking of the taper, and every ruder breath of air, puts it out, and it dies. *Childhood* is so tender, and yet so unwary; so soft to all the impressions of chance, and yet so forward to run into them, that God knew there could be no security without the care and vigilance 90.
of an Angel-keeper: and the eies of Parents and the armes of Nurses, the provisions of art, and all the effects of Humane love and Providence are not sufficient to keep one child from horrid mischiefs, from strange and early calamities and deaths, unlesse a messenger be sent from heaven to stand sentinell, and watch the very playings and the sleepings, the eatings and the drinkings of the children; and it is a long time before nature makes them capable of help: for there are many deaths, and very many diseases to which poor babes are exposed; but they have but very few

capacities of physick; to shew, that infancy is as liable to death as old age, and equally exposed to danger, and equally uncapable of a remedy: with this onely difference, that old age hath diseases incurable by nature, and the diseases of childhood are incurable by art; and both the states are the next heirs of death.

3. But all the middle way *the case is altered.* Nature is strong, and art is apt to give ease and remedy: but still, there is no security; and there, the case is not altered. 1. For there are so many diseases in men that are not understood. 2. So many new ones every year. 3. The old ones are so changed in circumstance, and intermingled with so many collaterall complications. 4. The Symptoms are oftentimes so alike. 5. Sometimes so hidden and fallacious. 6. Sometimes none at all as in the most sudden and the most dangerous imposthumations. 7. And then, the diseases in the inward parts of the body, are oftentimes such, to which no application can be made. 8. They are so far off, that the effects of all medicines can no otherwise come to them, then the effect and juices of all meats, that is, not till after two or three alterations, and decoctions, which change the very species of the medicament. 9. And after all this, very many principles in the art of Physick are so uncertain, that after they have been believed seven or eight ages, and that upon them much of the practise hath been established; they come to be considered by a witty man, and others established in their stead; by which, men must practise, and by which three or four generations of men more as happens must live or die. 10. And all this while, the men are sick, and they take things that certainly make them sicker for the present, and very uncertainly restore health for the future: that it may appear of what a large extent is humane calamity; when Gods providence hath not onely made it weak and miserable upon the certain stock of a various nature, and upon the accidents of an infinite contingency; but even from the remedies which are appointed, our dangers and our troubles are certainly increased: so that we may well be likened to water; our nature is no stronger, our abode no more certain; If the sluces be opened, *it falls away and runneth apace;* if its current be stopped, it swels and grows troublesome, and spils over with a greater diffusion; if it be made to stand stil it putrefies: and all this we doe. For

4. In all the processe of our health we are running to our grave: we open our own sluces by vitiousness and unworthy actions; we powre in drink, and let out life; we increase diseases and know not how to bear them; we strangle our selves with our own intemperance; we suffer the feavers and the inflammations of lust, and we quench our soules with drunkennesse; we bury our understandings in loads of meat and surfets: and then we lie down upon our beds and roar with pain and

disquietness of our soules: Nay, we kill one anothers souls and bodies with violence and folly, with the effects of pride and uncharitablenesse; we live and die like fools, and bring a *new mortality* upon our selves; wars and vexatious cares, and private duels, and publike disorders, and every thing that is unreasonable, and every thing that is violent: so that now we may adde this fourth gate to the grave: Besides *Nature* and *Chance*, and *the mistakes of art,* men die with their *own sins*, and then enter into the grave in haste and passion and pull the heavy stone of the monument upon their own heads. And thus we make our selves like water spilt on the ground: we throw away our lives as if they were unprofitable, (and indeed most men make them so) we let our years slip through our fingers like water; and nothing is to be seen, but like a showr of tears upon a spot of ground; there is a grave digged, and a solemn mourning and a great talk in the neighbourhood, and when the daies are finished, they shall be, and they shall be remembred, no more: And that's like water too, when it is spilt, *it cannot be gathered up again.* There is no redemption from the grave.

...inter se mortales mutua vivunt
Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.

Men live in their course and by turns: their light burns a while, and then it burns blew and faint, and men go to converse with Spirits, and then they reach the taper to another; and as the hours of yesterday can never return again, so neither can the man whose hours they were, and who lived them over once, he shall never come to live them again, and live them better. When *Lazarus*, and the widows Son of Nain, and *Tabitha*, and the Saints that appeared in Jerusalem at the resurrection of our blessed Lord, arose; they came into this world, some as strangers onely to make a visit, and all of them to manifest a glory: but none came upon the stock of a new life, or entred upon the stage as at first, or to perform the course of a new nature: and therefore it is observable that we never read of any wicked person that was raised from the dead: *Dives* would fain have returned to his brothers house; but neither he, nor any from him could be sent: but all the rest in the New Testament (one onely excepted) were expressed to have been holy persons, or else by their age were declared innocent. *Lazarus* was beloved of Christ: those souls that appeared at the resurrection were the souls of Saints: *Tabitha* raised by S. *Peter* was a charitable and a holy Christian: and the maiden of twelve years old, raised by our blessed Saviour, had not entred into the regions of choice and sinfulnesse: and the onely exception of the widows son, is indeed none at all; for in it the Scripture is wholly silent; and therefore it is very probable that the same processe was used,

God in all other instances having chosen to exemplifie his miracles of nature to purposes of the Spirit, and in spirituall capacities. So that although the Lord of nature did not break the bands of nature in some instances, to manifest his glory to succeeding, great and never failing purposes; yet (besides that this shall be no more) it was also instanced in such persons who were holy and innocent, and within the verge and comprehensions of the eternall mercy. We never read that a wicked person felt such a miracle, or was raised from the grave to try the second time for a Crown; but where he fell, there he lay down dead, and saw the light no more.

This consideration I intend to you as a severe Monitor and an advice of carefulness, that you order your affairs so that you may be partakers of the first resurrection, that is, from sin to grace, from the death of vitious habits, to the vigour, life and efficacy of an habituall righteousnesse: For (as it hapned to those persons in the New Testament now mentioned, to them (I say) in the literall sense) *Blessed are they that have part in the first resurrection, upon them the second death shall have no power*: meaning that they who by the power of Christ and his holy Spirit were raised to life again, were holy and blessed souls, and such who were written in the book of God; and that this grace happened to no wicked and vitious person: so it is most true in the spirituall and intended sense: You onely that serve God in a holy life; you who are not dead in trespasses and sins; you who serve God with an early diligence and an unwearied industry, and a holy religion, you and you onely shal come to life eternall, you onely shall be called from death to life; the rest of mankind shall never live again but passe from death to death; from one death to another, to a worse; from the death of the body, to the eternall death of body and soul: and therefore in the Apostles Creed there is no mention made of the resurrection of wicked persons: but of *the resurrection of the body to everlasting life.* The wicked indeed shall be haled forth from their graves, from their everlasting prisons, where in chains of darknesse they are kept unto the judgement of the great day: But this therefore cannot be called *in sensu favoris,* a resurrection, but the solennities of the eternall death; It is nothing but a new capacity of dying again; such a dying as cannot signifie rest; but where death means nothing but an intolerable and never ceasing calamity: and therefore these words of my text are otherwise to be understood of the wicked, otherwise of the godly: The wicked are spilt like water and shall never be gathered up again; no not in the gatherings of eternity; They shall be put into vessels of wrath and set upon the flames of hell; but that is not *a gathering*, but a scattering from the face and presence of God. But

the godly also come under the sense of these words. They descend into their graves, and shall no more be reckoned among the living; they have no concernment in all that is done under the sun. *Agamemnon* hath no more to do with the Turks armies invading and possessing that part of Greece where he reigned, then had the Hippocentaur, who never had a beeing: and *Cicero* hath no more interest in the present evils of Christendome, then we have to doe with his boasted discovery of *Catiline's* conspiracie. What is it to me that Rome was taken by the Gaules? and what is it now to *Camillus* if different religions be tolerated amongst us? These things that now happen concern the living, and they are made the scenes of our duty or danger respectively: and when our wives are dead and sleep in charnel houses, they are not troubled when we laugh loudly at the songs sung at the next marriage feast; nor do they envy when another snatches away the gleanings of their husbands passion.

It is true they envy not, and they lie in a bosome where there can be no murmure, and they that are consigned to Kingdomes, and to the feast of the marriage supper of the Lamb, the glorious and eternall Bridegroom of holy souls, they cannot think our marriages here, our lighter laughings and vain rejoycings considerable as to them. And *yet there is a relation continued stil. Aristotle* said, that to affirm the dead take no thought for the good of the living is a disparagement to the laws of that friendship which in their state of separation they cannot be tempted to rescind. And the Church hath taught in generall that they pray for us, they recommend to God the state of all their Relatives, in the union of the intercession that our blessed Lord makes for them and us: and S. *Ambrose* gave some things in charge to his dying brother *Satyrus,* that he should do for him in the other world: he gave it him (I say) when he was dying, not when he was dead. And certain it is that though our dead friends affection to us is not to be estimated according to our low conceptions, yet it is not lesse, but much more then ever it was; it is greater in degree, and of another kind.

But then we should do well also to remember, that in this world we are something besides flesh and bloud; that we may not without violent necessities run into new relations, but preserve the affections we bear to our dead when they were alive: We must not so live as if they were perished, but so as pressing forward to the most intimate participation of the communion of Saints. And we also have some waies to expresse this relation, and to bear a part in this communion, by actions of intercourse with them, and yet proper to our state: such as are strictly performing the will of the dead, providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating

their children, paying their debts, imitating their good example, preserving their memories privately, and publikely keeping their memorials, and desiring of God with hearty and constant prayer that God would give them a joyfull resurrection, and a mercifull judgement, (for so S. *Paul* prayed in behalf of *Onesiphorus*) that *God would shew them mercy in that day*, that fearfull, and yet much to be desired day, in which the most righteous person hath need of much mercy and pity, and shall find it. Now these instances of duty shew that the relation remains still; and though the Relict of a man or woman hath liberty to contract new relations, yet I doe not finde they have liberty to cast off the old; as if there were no such thing as immortality of souls. Remember that we shall converse together again: let us therefore never doe any thing of reference to them which we shall be asham'd of in the day when all secrets shall be discovered, and that we shall meet again in the presence of God: In the mean time, God watcheth concerning all their interest, and he will in his time both discover and recompense. For though, as to us, they are like water spilt, yet, to God, they are as water fallen into the sea, safe and united in his comprehension, and inclosures.

But we are not yet passed the consideration of the sentence: This descending to the grave is the lot of all men, *neither doth God respect the person of any man*; The rich is not protected for favour, nor the poor for pity, the old man is not reverenced for his age, nor the infant regarded for his tenderness; youth and beauty, learning and prudence, wit and strength lie down equally in the dishonours of the grave. All men, and all natures, and all persons resist the addresses and solennities of death, and strive to preserve a miserable and an unpleasant life; and yet they all sink down and die. For so have I seen the pillars of a building assisted with artificiall props bending under the pressure of a roof, and pertinaciously resisting the infallible and prepared ruine,

Donec certa dies omni compage soluta
Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium,

till the determin'd day comes, and then the burden sunk upon the pillars, and disorder'd the aides and auxiliary rafters into a common ruine and a ruder grave: so are the desires and weak arts of man, with little aides and assistances of care and physick we strive to support our decaying bodies, and to put off the evil day; but quickly that day will come, and then neither Angels nor men can rescue us from our grave; but the roof sinks down upon the walls, and the walls descend to the foundation; and the beauty of the face, and the dishonours of the belly, the discerning head and the servile feet, the thinking heart and the working hand, the

eyes and the guts together shall be crush'd into the confusion of a heap, and dwell with creatures of an equivocall production, with worms and serpents, the sons and daughters of our own bones, in a house of durt and darkness.

Let not us think to be excepted or deferred. If beauty, or wit, or youth, or Nobleness, or wealth, or vertue could have been a defence, and an excuse from the grave, we had not met here to day to mourn upon the hearse of an excellent Lady: and God only knows for which of us next the Mourners shall go about the streets or weep in houses.

Ζεὺς μέν που τόγε οἶδε, καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
Ὁπποτέρω θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

We have liv'd so many years; and every day and every minute we make an escape from those thousands of dangers and deaths that encompasse us round about: and such escapings we must reckon to be an extraordinary fortune, and therefore that it cannot last long. Vain are the thoughts of Man, who when he is young or healthfull, thinks he hath a long thread of life to run over, and that it is violent and strange for young persons to die; and naturall and proper onely for the aged. It is as naturall for a man to die by drowning as by a feaver: And what greater violence or more unnaturall thing is it, that the horse threw his Rider into the river, then that a drunken meeting cast him into a feaver; and the strengths of youth are as soon broken by the strong sicknesses of youth, and the stronger intemperance, as the weaknesse of old age by a cough, or an asthma, or a continuall rheume: Nay, it is *more naturall* for young Men and Women to die, then for old; because that is *more naturall* which hath more naturall causes; and that is more naturall which is most common: but to die with age is an extreme rare thing; and there are more persons carried forth to buriall before the five and thirtieth year of their age, then after it. And therefore let no vain confidence make you hope for long life. If you have liv'd but little, and are still in youth, remember that now you are in your bigg'st throng of dangers both of body and soul; and the proper sins of youth to which they rush infinitely and without consideration, are also the proper and immediate instruments of death. But if you be old you have escaped long and wonderfully, and the time of your escaping is out: you must not for ever think to live upon wonders, or that God will work miracles to satisfie your longing follies, and unreasonable desires of living longer to sin and to the world. Goe home and think to die, and what you would choose to be doing when you die, that doe daily: for you will all come to that passe, to rejoice that you did so, or wish that you had: that will be the condition of every one of us; for *God regardeth no mans*

person.

Well! but all this you will think is but a sad story. What? we must die, and go to darknesse and dishonour; and we must die quickly, and we must quit all our delights, and all our sins, or doe worse, infinitely worse; and this is the condition of us all from which none can be excepted; every man shall be spilt and fall into the ground, and *be gathered up no more.* Is there no comfort after all this? *shall we go from hence, and be no more seen*, and have no recompense?

Miser, o miser, aiunt, omnia ademit
Una die infausta mihi tot praemia vitae.

Shall we exchange our fair dwellings for a coffin, our softer beds for the moistned and weeping turfe, and our pretty children for worms, and is there no allay to this huge calamity? yes, there is. There is a *yet* in the text: *For all this, yet doth God devise meanes that his banished be not expelled from him.* All this sorrow and trouble is but a phantasme, and receives its account and degrees from our present conceptions and the proportion to our relishes and gust.

When *Pompey* saw the Ghost of his first Lady *Julia* who vexed his rest and his conscience for superinducing *Cornelia* upon her bed within the ten months of mourning, he presently fancied it, either to be an illusion, or else that death could be no very great evil,

Aut nihil est sensus animis in morte relictum,
Aut mors ipsa nihil ...

Either my dead wife knows not of my unhandsome marriage, and forgetfulnesse of her; or if she does, then the dead live.

... longae, canitis si cognita, vitae
Mors media est ...

Death is nothing but the middle point between two lives, between this and another: concerning which comfortable mystery the holy Scripture instructs our faith and entertains our hope in these words. God is stil the *God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for all doe live to him*: and the souls of Saints are with Christ: *I desire to be dissolv'd* (saith S. *Paul*) *and to be with Christ for that is much better*: and, *blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest from their labours, and their works follow them: For we know, that if our earthly house of this Tabernacle were dissolv'd, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternall in the heavens*: and this state of separation S. *Paul* calls, *a being absent from the body, and being*

present with the Lord: This is one of Gods means which he hath devised, that although our Dead are like persons banished from this world, yet they are not expelled from God: They are *in the hands of Christ*; they are *in his presence*; they are, or shall be *clothed with a house of Gods making; they rest from all their labours; all tears are wiped from their eyes*, and all discontents from their spirits; and in the state of separation before the soul be re-invested with her new house, the spirits of all persons are with God, so secur'd and so blessed, and so sealed up for glory, that this state of intervall and imperfection is in respect of its certain event and end, infinitely more desirable then all the riches and all the pleasures, and all the vanities, and all the Kingdomes of this world.

I will not venture to determine what are the circumstances of the abode of Holy Souls in their separate dwellings; and yet possibly that might be easier then to tell what or how the soul is and works in this world, where it is in the body *tanquam in aliena domo*, as in a prison, in fetters and restraints: for here the soul is discomposed and hindred, it is not as it shall be, as it ought to be, as it was intended to be; it is not permitted to its own freedome, and proper operation; so that all that we can understand of it here, is that it is so incommodated with a troubled and abated instrument, that the *object* we are to consider cannot be offered to us in a right line, in just and equall proportions; or if it could, yet because we are to understand the soul by the soul, it becomes not onely a troubled and *abused object*, but a *crooked instrument*; and we here can consider it, just as a weak eye can behold a staffe thrust into the waters of a troubled river; the very water makes a refraction, and the storme doubles the refraction, and the water of the eye doubles the species, and there is nothing right in the thing, the object is out of its just place, and the medium is troubled, and the organ is impotent: *At cum exierit et in liberum coelum quasi in domum suam venerit*, when the soule is entred into her own house, into the free regions of the rest and the neighbourhood of heavenly joyes, then its operations are more spirituall, proper, and proportion'd to its being; and though we cannot see at such a distance, yet the object is more fitted if we had a capable understanding; it is in it self in a more excellent and free condition.

Certain it is, that the body does hinder many actions of the soul: it is an imperfect body, and a diseased brain, or a violent passion that makes fools: no man hath a foolish soul; and the reasonings of men have infinite difference and degrees by reason of the bodies constitution. Among beasts which have no reason, there is a greater likeness then between men, who have: and as by faces it is easier to know

a man from a man, then a sparrow from a sparrow, or a squirrel from a squirrel: so the difference is very great in our souls; which difference because it is not originally in the soul (and indeed cannot be simple and spirituall substances of the same species or kind) it must needs derive wholly from the body, from its accidents and circumstances: from whence it follows, that because the body casts fetters and restraints, hindrances and impediments upon the soul, that the soul is much freer in 390.
the state of separation; and if it hath any act of life, it is much more noble and expedite.

That the soul is alive after our death, S. *Paul* affirms *Christ died for us, that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.* Now it were strange that we should be alive, and live with *Christ* and yet do no act of life: the body when it is asleep does many: and if the soul does none, the principle is lesse active then the instrument; but if it does any act at all in separation, it must necessarily be an act or effect of understanding; there is nothing else it can doe. But this it can. For it is but a weak and an unlearned proposition to say, That the Soule can doe nothing of it self, nothing without the phantasmes and provisions of the body. For 1. In this 400.
life the soule hath one principle clearly separate, abstracted and immateriall, I mean, *the Spirit of grace*, which is a principle of life and action and in many instances does not at all communicate with matter, as in the infusion, superinduction and the creation of spirituall graces. 2. As nutrition, generation, eating and drinking are actions proper to the body and its state: so, extasies, visions, raptures, intuitive knowledge, and consideration of its self, acts of volition, and reflex acts of understanding are proper to the soule. 3. And therefore it is observable that S. *Paul* said that *he knew not whether his visions and raptures were in or out of the body*: for by that we see his judgment of the thing, that one was as likely as the other, neither of them impossible or unreasonable; and therefore that 410.
the soule is as capable of action alone as in conjunction. 4. If in the state of blessedness there are some actions of the soule which doe not passe through the body, such as contemplation of God, and conversing with spirits, and receiving those influences and rare immissions which coming from the Holy and mysterious Trinity make up the crown of glory; it follows that the necessity of the bodies ministery is but during the state of this life, and as long as it converses with fire and water, and lives with corne and flesh, and is fed by the satisfaction of materiall appetites; which necessity and manner of conversation when it ceases, it can be no longer necessary for the soul to be served by phantasmes and materiall representations. 5. And therefore when the body shall be re-united, it shall be so 420.

ordered that then the body shall confesse it gives not any thing, but receives all its being and operation, its manner and abode from the soul, and that then it comes not to serve a necessity, but to partake a glory. For as the operations of the soule in this life, begin in the body, and by it the object is transmitted to the soule: so then they shall begin in the soule and pass to the body; and as *the operations of the soule* by reason of its dependence on the body are *animall, naturall and materiall*: so in the resurrection, *the body* shall be spirituall by reason of the preeminence, influence, and prime operation of the soule. Now between these two states, stands the state of separation, in which the operations of the soule are of a middle nature, that is, not so spirituall as in the resurrection, and not so animal and naturall as in 430.
the state of conjunction.

To all which, I adde this consideration. That our soules have the same condition that Christs soule had in the state of separation; because he took on him all our nature, and all our condition; and it is certain, Christs soule in the three daies of his separation did exercise acts of life, of joy and triumph, and did not sleep, but visited the souls of the Fathers, trampled upon the pride of Devils, and satisfied those longing souls which were *Prisoners of hope*; and from all this we may conclude that the souls of all the servants of Christ are alive, and therefore doe the actions of life, and proper to their state; and therefore it is highly probable that the soul works clearer, and understands brighter, and discourses wiser, and rejoyces 440.
louder, and loves noblier, and desires purer, and hopes stronger then it can do here.

But if these arguments should fail, yet the felicity of Gods Saints cannot fail. For suppose, the body to be a necessary instrument but out of tune, and discomposed by sin and anger, by accident and chance, by defect and imperfections, yet, that it is better then none at all; and that if the soul works imperfectly with an imperfect body, that then she works not at all when she hath none; and suppose also that the soul should be as much without sense or perception in death, as it is in a deep sleep which is the image and shadow of death; yet then God devises other means that his banished be not expelled from him. For,

2. God will restore the soul to the body, and raise the body to such a 450.
perfection, that it shall be an Organ fit to praise him upon; it shall be made spirituall to minister to the soul, when the soul is turned into a Spirit; then the soul shall be brought forth by Angels from her incomparable and easie bed, from her rest in Christs Holy Bosome, and bee made perfect in her beeing, and in all her operations; And this shall first appear by that perfection which the soul shall

receive as instrumentall to the last judgement: for then she shall see clearly all the Records of this world, all the Register of her own memory. For all that we did in this life, is laid up in our memories: and though dust and forgetfulness be drawn upon them, yet when God shall lift us from our dust, then shall appear clearly all that we have done, written in the Tables of our conscience, which is the souls 460.
memory. We see many times, and in many instances, that a great memory is hindred and put out, and we thirty years after come to think of something that lay so long under a curtain; we think of it suddenly and without a line of deduction, or proper consequence: And all those famous memories of *Simonides* and *Theodectes*, of *Hortensius* and *Seneca*, of *Scepsius Metrodorus* and *Carneades*, of *Cineas* the Embassadour of *Pyrrhus*, are onely the Records better kept, and lesse disturbed by accident and disease. For even the memory of *Herod's* son of *Athens*, of *Bathyllus* and the dullest person now alive is so great, and by God made so sure a record of all that ever he did, that as soon as ever God shall but tune our instrument, and draw the curtains, and but light up the candle of immortality, there we shall find it 470.
all, there we shall see all, and all the world shall see all; then we shall be made fit to converse with God after the manner of Spirits, we shall be like to Angels.

In the mean time, although upon the perswasion of the former discourse it be highly probable that the souls of Gods servants do live in a state of present blessednesse; and in the exceeding joyes of a certain expectation of the revelation of the day of the Lord, and the coming of Jesus; yet it will concern us onely to secure our state by holy living, and leave the event to God; that (as S. *Paul* said) whether present or absent, whether sleeping or waking, whether perceiving or perceiving not, we may be accepted of him: that when we are banished this world, and from the light of the sun, we may not be expelled from God, and from the light of his 480.
countenance, but that from our beds of sorrows, our souls may passe in to the bosome of Christ, and from thence to his right hand in the day of sentence: For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ, and then if we have done well in the body, we shall never be expelled from the beatificall presence of God, but be domesticks of his family, and heires of his Kingdome, and partakers of his glory. *Amen.*

I have now done with my Text, but yet am to make you another Sermon. I have told you the necessity and the state of death; it may be too largely for such a sad story; I shall therefore now with a better compendium teach you how to live by telling you a plain narrative of a life, which if you imitate and write after the copy, 490.
it will make, that death shall not be an evill, but a thing to be desired, and to be

reckoned amongst the purchases and advantages of your fortune. When *Martha* and *Mary* went to weep over the grave of their brother, Christ met them there and preached a Funerall Sermon, discoursing of the resurrection, and applying to the purposes of faith, and confession of Christ, and glorification of God: We have no other, we can have no better precedent to follow: and now that we are come to weep over the grave of our Dear Sister, this rare personage, we cannot chuse but have many virtues to learn, many to imitate, and some to exercise.

I chose, not to declare her extraction and genealogy. It was indeed fair and Honourable; but having the blessing to be descended from worthy and Honoured Ancestors, and her self to be adopted and ingraffed into a more Noble family, yet she felt such outward appendages to be none of hers, because not of her choice, but the purchase of the virtues of others, which although they did ingage her to do noble things, yet they would upbraid all degenerate and lesse honourable lives then were those which began and increased the honour of the families. She did not love her fortune for making her noble; but thought it would be a dishonour to her if she did not continue a Noblenesse and excellency of virtue fit to be owned by persons relating to such Ancestors. It is fit for us all to honour the Noblenesse of a family: but it is also fit for them that are Noble to despise it, and to establish their honour upon the foundation of doing excellent things, and suffering in good causes, and despising dishonourable actions, and in communicating good things to others. For this is the rule in Nature: Those creatures are most Honourable which have the greatest power, and do the greatest good: And accordingly my self have been a witnesse of it, how this excellent Lady would by an act of humility, and Christian abstraction strip her self of all that fair appendage of exteriour honour which decked her person and her fortune; and desired to be owned by nothing but what was her own, that she might onely be esteemed Honourable according to that which is the honour of a Christian, and a wise person.

2. She had a strict and severe education, and it was one of Gods graces and favours to her. For being the Heiresse of a great fortune, and living amongst the throng of persons in the sight of vanities and empty temptations, that is, in that part of the Kingdome where greatnesse is too often expressed in great follies, and great vices, God had provided a severe and angry education to chastise the forwardnesses of a young spirit, and a fair fortune; that she might for ever be so far distant from a vice, that she might onely see it and loath it, but never tast of it, so much as to be put to her choice whether she would be virtuous or no. God intending to secure this soul to himself, would not suffer the follies of the world to

seize upon her by way of too neer a triall, or busie temptation.

3. She was married young; and besides her businesses of religion seemed to be ordained in the providence of God to bring to this Honourable family a part of a fair fortune, and to leave behind her a fairer issue, worth ten thousand times her portion: and as if this had been all the publike businesse of her life; when she had so far served Gods ends, God in mercy would also serve hers, and take her to an early blessednesse.

4. In passing through which line of providence, she had the art to secure her eternall interest, by turning her condition into duty, and expressing her duty in the greatest eminency of a virtuous, prudent and rare affection, that hath been known in any example. I will not give her so low a testimony, as to say onely that she was chast; She was a person of that severity, modesty, and close religion (as to that particular) that she was not capable of uncivill temptation; and you might as well have suspected the sun to smell of the poppy that he looks on, as that she could have been a person apt to be sullyed by the breath of a foul question.

5. But that which I shall note in her, is that which I would have exemplar to all Ladies, and to all women. She had a love so great for her Lord, so intirely given up to a dear affection, that she thought the same things, and loved the same loves, and hated according to the same enmities, and breathed in his soul, and lived in his presence, and languished in his absence: and all that she was or did, was onely for and to her Dearest Lord,

Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hunc loquitur.
Coenat, propinat, poscit, negat, innuit, unus
Naevius est: ...

and although this was a great enamell to the beauty of her soul, yet it might in some degrees be also a reward to the virtue of her Lord: For she would often discourse it to them that conversed with her; that he would improve that interest which he had in her affection to the advantages of God, and of religion: and she would delight to say, that he called her to her devotions, he incouraged her good inclinations, he directed her piety, he invited her with good books: and then she loved religion, which she saw was not onely pleasing to God, and an act or state of duty, but pleasing to her Lord, and an act also of affection and conjugall obedience: and what at first she loved the more forwardly for his sake; in the using of religion left such relishes upon her spirit, that she found in it amability enough, to make her love it for its own. So God usually brings us to him by instruments of nature

and affections, and then incorporates us into his inheritance, by the more immediate relishes of Heaven, and the secret things of the Spirit. He onely was (under God) the light of her eies, and the cordiall of her spirits, and the guide of her actions, and the measure of her affections, till her affections swelled up into a religion, and then it could go no higher, but was confederate with those other duties which made her dear to God. Which rare combination of duty and religion, I choose to express in the words of *Solomon: She forsook not the guide of her youth, nor brake the Covenant of her God.* 570.

6. As she was a rare wife: so she was an excellent Mother. For in so tender a constitution of spirit as hers was, and in so great a kindness towards her children, there hath seldome been seen a stricter and more curious care of their persons, their deportment, their nature, their disposition, their learning, and their customes: And if ever kindness and care did contest, and make parties in her, yet her care and her severity was ever victorious; and she knew not how to doe an ill turn to their severer part, by her more tender and forward kindnesse. And as her custome was, she turned this also into love to her Lord. For she was not onely diligent to have them bred nobly and religiously, but also was carefull and sollicitous, that they should be taught to observe all the circumstances and inclinations, the desires and 580.
wishes of their Father; as thinking, that virtue to have no good circumstances which was not dressed by his copy, and ruled by his lines, and his affections: And her prudence in the managing her children was so singular and rare, that when ever you mean to blesse this family, and pray a hearty and a profitable prayer for it, beg of God, that the children may have those excellent things which she designed to them, and provided for them in her heart and wishes, that they may live by her purposes, and may grow thither, whither she would fain have brought them. All these were great parts of an excellent religion as they concerned her greatest temporall relations.

7. But if we examine how she demeaned her self towards God, there also you 590.
will find her, not of a common, but of an exemplar piety. She was a great reader of Scripture, confining her self to great portions every day; which she read, not to the purposes of vanity, and impertinent curiosities, not to seem knowing, or to become talking, not to expound and Rule; but to teach her all her duty, to instruct her in the knowledge and love of God and of her Neighbours; to make her more humble, and to teach her to despise the world, and all its gilded vanities; and that she might entertain passions wholly in design and order to heaven. I have seen a female religion that wholly dwelt upon the face and tongue; that like a wanton and an

undressed tree spends all its juice in suckers and irregular branches, in leafs and gumme, and after all such goodly outsides you should never eat an apple, or be- 600
delighted with the beauties, or the perfumes of a hopefull blossome. But the religion of this excellent Lady was of another constitution; It took root downward in humility, and brought forth fruit upward in substantiall graces of a Christian, in charity and justice, in chastity and modesty, in fair friendships and sweetnesse of society: She had not very much of the forms and outsides of godlinesse; but she was hugely carefull for the power of it, for the morall, essentiall, and usefull parts; such which would make her be, not seem to be religious.

8. She was a very constant person at her prayers, and spent all her time which Nature did permit to her choice, in her devotions, and reading and meditating and the necessary offices of houshold government every one of which is an action of 610.
religion, some by nature, some by adoption. To these also God gave her *a very great love to hear the word of God preached*; in which because I had sometimes the honour to minister to her, I can give this certain testimony, that she was a diligent, watchfull and attentive hearer: and to this had so excellent a judgement, that if ever I saw a woman whose judgement was to be revered, it was hers alone: and I have sometimes thought that the eminency of her discerning faculties did reward a pious discourse, and placed it in the regions of honour and usefulnesse, and gathered it up from the ground, where commonly such homilies are spilt, or scattered in neglect and inconsideration. But her appetite was not soon satisfied with what was usefull to her soul: she was also *a constant Reader of Sermons*, and 620.
seldome missed to read one every day; and that she might be full of instruction and holy principles, she had lately designed to have a large Book in which she purposed to have a stock of Religion transcrib'd in such assistances as she would chuse, that she might be *readily furnished and instructed to every good work*. But God prevented that, and hath filled her desires not out of cisterns and little aquaeducts, but hath carried her to the fountain, *where she drinks of the pleasures of the river,* and is full of God.

9. She alwaies liv'd a life of much Innocence, free from the violences of great sins: her person, her breeding, her modesty, her honour, her religion, her early marriage, the Guide of her soul and the Guide of her youth, were as so many 630.
fountains of restraining grace to her, to keep her from the dishonors of a crime. *Bonum est portare jugum ab adolescentia*: it is good to bear the yoke of the Lord from our youth; and though she did so, being guarded by a mighty providence, and a great favour and grace of God from staining her fair soul with the spots of hell,

yet she had strange fears and early cares upon her; but these were not only for her self, but in order to others, to her neerest Relatives. For she was so great a lover of this Honorable family of which now she was a Mother, that she desired to become a chanel of great blessings to it unto future ages, and was extremely jealous lest any thing should be done, or lest any thing had been done, though an age or two since, which should intail a curse upon the innocent posterity; and therefore (although I doe not know that ever she was tempted with an offer of the crime) yet she did infinitely remove all sacrilege *from her thoughts*, and delighted to see her estate of a clear and disintangled interest: she would have no mingled rights with it; she would not receive any thing from the Church, but religion and a blessing: and she never thought a curse and a sin farre enough off, but would desire it to be infinitely distant; and that as to this family God had given much honour and a wise head to Govern it, so he would also for ever give many more blessings; And because she knew that the sins of Parents descend upon Children, she endevoured by justice and religion, by charity and honour to secure that her chanel should convey nothing but health, and a faire example and a blessing.

10. And though her accounts to God was made up of nothing but small parcels, little passions, and angry words, and trifling discontents, which are the allayes of the piety of the most holy persons, yet she was early at her repentance; and toward the latter end of her daies, grew so fast in religion as if she had had a revelation of her approaching end; and therefore that she must go a great way in a little time: her discourses more full of religion, her prayers more frequent, her charity increasing, her forgiveness more forward, her friendships more communicative, her passion more under discipline, and so she trimm'd her lamp, not thinking her night was so neer, but that it might shine also in the day time, in the Temple, and before the Altar of incense.

But in this course of hers there were some circumstances, and some appendages of substance, which were highly remarkable.

1. In all her Religion, and in all her actions of relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding toward her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion. So have I seen a river deep and smooth passing with a still foot and a sober face, and paying to the *Fiscus*, the great Exchequer of the Sea, the Prince of all the watry bodies, a tribute large and full: and hard by it a little brook skipping and making a noise upon its unequall and neighbour bottom; and after all its talking and bragged motion, it payd to its

common Audit no more then the revenues of a little cloud, or a contemptible vessel: So have I sometimes compar'd the issues of her religion to the solemnities and fam'd outsides of anothers piety. It dwelt upon her spirit and was incorporated with the periodicall work of every day: she did not believe that religion was intended to minister to fame and reputation, but to pardon of sins, to the pleasure of God, and the salvation of souls. For religion is like the breath of Heaven; if it goes abroad into the open aire, it scatters and dissolves like camphyre: but if it enters into a secret hollownesse, into a close conveyance, it is a strong and mighty, and comes forth with vigour and great effect at the other end, at the other side of this life, in the daies of death and judgment.

2. The other appendage of her religion, which also was a great ornament to all the parts of her life, was a rare modesty and humility of spirit, a confident despising and undervaluing of her self. For though she had the greatest judgment, and the greatest experience of things and persons that I ever yet knew in a person of her youth, and sex, and circumstances; yet as if she knew nothing of it she had the meanest opinion of her self; and like a fair taper when she shin'd to all the room, yet round about her own station she had cast a shadow and a cloud, and she shin'd to every body but her self. But the perfectnesse of her prudence and excellent parts could not be hid; and all her humility, and arts of concealment, made the vertues more amiable and illustrious. For as pride sullies the beauty of the fairest vertues, and makes our understanding but like the craft and learning of a Devil: so humility is the greatest eminency, and art of publication in the whole world; and she in all her arts of secrecy and hiding her worthy things, was but *like one that hideth the winde and covers the oyntment of her right hand.*

I know not by what instrument it hapned; but when death drew neer, before it made any show upon her body, or reveal'd it self by a naturall signification, it was conveyed to her spirit: she had a strange secret perswasion that the bringing this Childe should be her last scene of life: and we have known, that the soul when she is about to disrobe her self of her upper garment, sometimes speaks rarely, *Magnifica verba mors prope admota excutit*; sometimes it is Propheticall; sometimes God by a superinduced perswasion wrought by instruments, or accidents of his own, serves the ends of his own providence and the salvation of the soul: But so it was, that the thought of death dwelt long with her, and grew from the first steps of fancy and feare, to a consent, from thence to a strange credulity, and expectation of it; and without the violence of sicknesse she died, as if she had done it voluntarily, and by design, and for feare her expectation should have been deceiv'd, or that she

should seem to have had an unreasonable feare, or apprehension; or rather (as one said of *Cato*) *sic abiit e vita ut causam moriendi nactam se esse gauderet*, she died, as if she had been glad of the opportunity.

And in this I cannot but adore the providence and admire the wisdome and infinite mercies of God. For having a tender and soft, a delicate and fine 710.
constitution and breeding, she was tender to pain, and apprehensive of it, as a childs shoulder is of a load and burden: *Grave est tenerae cervici jugum*; and in her often discourses of death, which she would renew willingly and frequently, she would tell, that she fear'd not death, but she fear'd the sharp pains of death: *Emori nolo, me esse mortuam non curo*: The being dead, and being freed from the troubles and dangers of this world, she hop'd would be for her advantage; and therefore that was no part of her feare: But she believing the pangs of death were great, and the use and aids of reason little, had reason to fear lest they should doe violence to her spirit and the decency of her resolution. But God that knew her fears and her jealousie concerning her self, fitted her with a death so easie, so harmlesse, so 720.
painlesse, that it did not put her patience to a severe triall. It was not (in all appearance) of so much trouble, as two fits of a common ague; so carefull was God to remonstrate to all that stood in that sad attendance, that this soule was dear to him: and that since she had done so much of her duty towards it, he that began, would also finish her redemption, by an act of a rare providence, and a singular mercy. *Blessed be that goodness of God, who does so carefull actions of mercy for the ease and security of his servants.* But this one instance was a great demonstration that the apprehension of death is worse then the pains of death: and that God loves to reprove the unreasonablenesse of our feares, by the mightinesse, and by the arts of his mercy. 730.

She had in her sickness (if I may so call it, or rather in the solemnities, and graver preparations towards death) some curious and well-becoming feares, concerning the finall state of her soul. But from thence she pass'd into a *deliquium*, or a kinde of trance, and as soon as she came forth of it, as if it had been a vision, or that she had convers'd with an Angel, and from his hand had receiv'd a labell or scroll of the *book of life*, and there seen her *name* enrolled, she cried out aloud, *Glory be to God on high: Now I am sure I shall be saved.* Concerning which manner of discoursing we are wholly ignorant what judgment can be made: but certainly there are strange things in the other world; and so there are in all the immediate preparations to it; and a little glimps of heaven, a minutes conversing with an 740.
Angel, any ray of God, any communication extraordinary from the Spirit of comfort

which God gives to his servants in strange and unknown manners, are infinitely far from illusions; and they shall then be understood by us, when we feel them, and when our new and strange needs shall be refreshed by such unusuall visitations.

But I must be forced to use summaries and arts of abbreviature in the enumerating those things in which this rare Personage was dear to God and to all her Relatives.

If we consider her Person, she was in the flower of her age, *Jucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret*; of a temperate, plain and naturall diet, without curiosity or an intemperate palate; she spent lesse time in dressing, then many servants; her recreations were little and seldom, her prayers often, her reading much: she was of a most noble and charitable soul; a great lover of honourable actions, and as great a despiser of base things; hugely loving to oblige others, and very unwilling to be in arrear to any upon the stock of courtesies and liberality; so free in all acts of favour, that she would not stay to hear her self thank'd, as being unwilling that what good went from her to a needfull or an obliged person should ever return to her again; she was an excellent friend and hugely dear to very many, especially to the best and most discerning persons, to all that convers'd with her, and could understand her great worth and sweetnesse: she was of an Honourable, a nice and tender reputation; and of the pleasures of this world which were laid before her in heaps she took a very small and inconsiderable share, as not loving to glut her self with vanity, or to take her portion of good things here below.

If we look on her as a Wife, she was chast and loving, fruitfull and discreet, humble and pleasant, witty and complyant, rich and fair, and wanted nothing to the making her a principall and a precedent to the best Wives of the world, but a long life, and a full age.

If we remember her as a Mother, she was kinde and severe, carefull and prudent, very tender, and not at all fond, a greater lover of her Childrens soules, then of their bodies, and one that would value them more by the strict rules of honour and proper worth, then by their relation to her self.

Her Servants found her prudent, and fit to Govern, and yet open-handed and apt to reward; a just Exactor of their duty and a great Rewarder of their diligence.

She was in her house a comfort to her dearest Lord, a Guide to her Children, a Rule to her Servants, an example to all.

But as she related to God in the offices of Religion, she was even and constant, silent and devout, prudent and materiall: she lov'd what she now enjoyes, and she fear'd, what she never felt, and God did for her what she never did expect. Her fears went beyond all her evil; and yet the good which she hath receiv'd was, and is, and ever shall be beyond all her hopes.

She liv'd as we all should live, and she died as I fain would die ... 780.

Et cum supremos Lachesis perneverit annos,
Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos.

I pray God I may feel those mercies on my death-bed that she felt, and that I may feel the same effect of my repentance which she feels of the many degrees of her innocence. Such was her death that she did not die too soon; and her life was so usefull and so excellent that she could not have liv'd too long. *Nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere*: and as now in the grave it shall not be inquired concerning her, how long she liv'd, but how well? so to us who live after her to suffer a longer calamity, it may be some ease to our sorrows, and some guide to our lives, and some security to our conditions, to consider that 790. God hath brought the piety of a yong Lady to the early rewards of a never ceasing, and never dying eternity of glory. And we also, if we live as she did, shal partake of the same glories; not only having the honour of a good name and a dear and honour'd memory, but the glories of these glories, the end of all excellent labours, and all prudent counsels, and all holy religion, even the salvation of our souls in that day, when all Saints, and amongst them this excellent Woman shall be shown to all the world to have done more, and more excellent things then we know of or can describe. *Mors illos consecrat, quorum exitum et qui timent, laudant*: Death consecrates and makes sacred that person whose excellency was such, that they are not displeased at the death, cannot dispraise the life; but they that mourn sadly, 800. think they can never commend sufficiently.

FINIS.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

at the Funerall of that worthy Knight

Sr. GEORGE DALSTON

of *DALSTON* in *Cumberland*,

September 28. 1657.

By *J. T. D. D.*

LONDON,

Printed for *John Martin*, *James Allestrye*, and *Thomas Dicas*.

1658.

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

When God in his infinite and eternal wisdome had decreed to give to man a life of labour and a body of mortality, a state of contingency and a composition of fighting elements; and having design'd to be glorified by a free obedience, would also permit sin in the world, and suffer evil men to goe on in their wickedness, to prevail in their impious machinations, to vex the souls, and grieve the bodies of the righteous, he knew that this would not only be very hard to be suffered by his servants, but also be very difficult to be understood by them who know God to be a *Law-giver* as well as a *Lord*, a *Judge* as well as a *King*, a *Father* as well as a *Ruler*; and that in order to his own glory, and for the manifestation of his goodness he had promised to reward his servants, to give good to them that did good: therefore to take off all prejudices and evil resentments and temptations which might trouble those good men who suffered evil things, he was pleased to do two great things which might confirme the faith, and endear the services, and entertain the hopes of them who are indeed his servants, but yet were very ill used in the accidents of this world.

1. The one was that he sent his son into the world to take upon him our nature, and him being the *Captain of our Salvation he would perfect by sufferings*; that no man might think it much to suffer, when God spared not his own son; and every man might submit to the necessity when the Christ of God was not exempt; and yet that no man should fear the event which was to follow such sad beginnings, when *it behoved* even *Christ to suffer, and so to enter into glory.*

2. The other great thing was, that God did not only by revelation and the Sermons of the Prophets *to his Church*, but even *to all mankinde* competently teach, and effectively perswade that the soul of man does not die; but that although things were ill here, yet they should be well hereafter; that the evils of this life were short and tolerable, and that to the good who usually feel most of them, they should end in honour and advantages. And therefore *Cicero* had reason on his side to conclude, that there is to be a time and place after this life wherein the wicked shall be punished and the vertuous well rewarded, when he considered that *Orpheus* and *Socrates, Palamedes* and *Thraseas, Lucretia* and *Papinian* were either slain or oppressed to death by evil men. But to us Christians εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν ἐστὶ πάνυ ἱκανῶς ἀποδέδεικται (as Platoes expression is) we have a

necessity to declare and a demonstration to prove it, when we read that *Abel* died by the hands of *Cain*, who was so ignorant, that though he had *malice* and *strength*, yet he had scarce *art* enough to kill him; when we read that *John* the *Baptist*, Christ himselfe and his Apostles and his whole army of martyrs died under the violence of evil men; when vertue made good men poor, and free speaking of brave truths made the wise to lose their liberty; when an excellent life hastened an opprobrious death, and the obeying God destroyed our selves; it was but time to look about for another state of things where justice should rule and vertue finde her own portion: where the men that were like to God in mercy and justice should also partake of his felicity: and therefore men cast out every line, and turned every stone, and tried every argument, and sometimes proved it well, and when they did not, yet they believed strongly, and they were sure of the thing even when they were not sure of the argument.

Thus therefore would the old Priests of the Capitol and the Ministers of *Apollo*, and the mystic persons at their Oracles believe, when they made *Apotheoses* of vertuous and braver persons, ascribing every braver man into the number of their gods: *Hercules* and *Romulus, Castor*, and *Pollux, Liber Pater*, him that taught the use of Vines, and her that taught them the use of Corne. For they knew that it must needs be, that they who like to God doe excellent things, must like to God have an excellent portion.

This learning they also had from *Pherecydes* the Syrian, from *Pythagoras* of Samos, and from *Zamolxis* the Gete, from the Neighbours of *Euphrates*, and the inhabitants by *Ister* who were called ἀθανατίζοντες *Immortalists*, because in the midst of all their dark notices of things they saw this clearly, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλὰ ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον, ἵνα αἰεὶ περιέοντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα ἄγαθα; that vertuous and good men do not die, but their souls do go into blessed regions where they shall enjoy all good things: and it was never known that ever any good man was of another opinion. *Hercules* and *Themistocles, Epaminondas* and *Cicero, Socrates* and *Cimon, Ennius* and *Phidias*, all the flower of mankind have preached this truth. Κυριώτερα τὰ τῶν θείων ἀνδρῶν μαντεύματα, ἢ τὰ τῶν μή· οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστατοι παντὰ ποιοῦσιν ὁπῶς ἄν ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὖ ἀκούωσιν. The discoursings and prophesyings of Divine men are much more proper and excellent then of others, because they do equal and good things until the time comes that they shall hear well for them, τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ποιοῦμαι ὅτι εστὶ τις αἴσθησις τεθνεῶσι τῶν ἐνθάδε αἱ δὲ

βέλτισται ψυχαὶ μαντεύονται ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν· αἱ δὲ μοχθηρόταται οὐ φάσι. And this is the sign that when we die we have life and discerning, because though the wicked care not for believing it, yet all the Prophets and the Poets, the wise and the brave Heroes say so; they are the words of *Plato*. For though that which is compounded of elements returns to its material and corruptible principles, yet the soul which is a particle of the Divine breath returns to its own Divine original, where there is no death or dissolution: and because the understanding is neither hot nor cold, it hath no moisture in it and no driness, it follows that it hath nothing of those substances concerning which alone we know that they are corruptible. There is nothing corruptible that we know of, but the four elements and their Sons and Daughters: nothing dies that can discourse, that can reflect in perfect circles upon their own imperfect actions; nothing can die that can see God and converse with spirits, that can govern by laws and wise propositions. For fire and water can be tyrannical but not govern; they can bear every thing down that stands before them and rush like the people, but not rule like Judges, and therefore they perish as tumults are dissolved. Λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινωνεῖ σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια: sayes *Aristotle*. But the soul only comes from abroad, from a Divine principle (for so saith the Scripture) *God breathed into Adam the spirit of life*, and that which in operation does not communicate with the body shall have no part in its corruption.

Thus far they were right; but when they descended to particulars they fell into error. That the rewards of vertue were to be hereafter, that they were sure of; that the soul was to survive the calamities of this world and the death of the body, that they were sure of; and upon this account they did bravely and vertuously: and yet, they that thought best amongst them believed that the souls departed should be reinvested with other bodies according to the dispositions and capacities of this life.

Thus *Orpheus* who sang well should transmigrate into a Swan, and the soul of *Thamyris* who had as good a voice as he, should wander till it were confined to the body of a Nightingal; *Ajax* to a Lion, *Agamemnon* to an Eagle, Tyrant princes into wolvs and Hawks, the lascivious into Asses and Goats, the Drunkards into Swine, the Crafty Statesmen into bees and pismires, and *Thersites* to an Ape. This fancy of theirs prevailed much amongst the Jews: for when Christ appeared so glorious in miracle, *Herod* presently fancied him to be the soul of *John* the Baptist in another body, and the common people said he was *Elias*, or *Jeremias*, or one of the old

Prophets. And true it is, that although God was pleased in all times to communicate to mankind notices of the other world sufficient to encourage vertues, and to contest against the rencontres of the world, yet he was ever sparing in telling the secrets of it; and when St.*Paul* had his rapture into Heaven, he saw fine things and heard strange words, but they were ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα, words that he could not speak, and secrets that he could not understand, and secrets that he could not communicate. For as a man staring upon the broad eye of the Sun at his noon of Solstice, feels his heat and dwells in light, and loses the sight of his eyes and perceives nothing distinctly, but the Organ is confounded and the faculty amazed with too big a beauty: So was S.*Paul* in his extasy; he saw that he could see nothing to be told below, and he perceived the glories were too big for flesh and blood, and that the beauties of separate souls were not to be understood by the soul in Conjunction; and therefore after all the fine things that he saw, we only know what we knew before, *viz.* that the soul can live when the body is dead; that it can subsist without the body; that there are very great glories reserved for them that serve God; that they who die in Christ shall live with him; that the body is a prison and the soul is in fetters while we are alive; and that when the body dies the soul springs and leaps from her prison and enters into the first liberty of the sons of God. Now much of this did rely upon the same argument upon which the wise Gentiles of old concluded the immortality of the soul; even because we are here very miserable and very poor: we are sick and we are afflicted; we do well and are disgraced; we speak well and we are derided; we tell truths and few believe us; but the proud are exalted and the wicked are delivered, and evil men reign over us, and the covetous snatch our little bundles of money from us, and the *Fiscus* gathers our rents, and every where the wisest and best men are oppressed; but therefore because it is thus, and thus it is not well, we hope for some great good thing hereafter. For if in this life only we had hope, then we Christians, all we to whom persecution is allotted for our portion, we who must be patient under the Crosse, and receive injuries and say nothing but prayers, we certainly were of all men the most miserable.

Well then! in this life we see plainly that our portion is not: here we have hopes, but not here only, we shall goe into another place, where we shall have more hopes: our faith shall have more evidence, it shall be of things seen afar off; and our hopes shall be of more certainty and perspicuity, and next to possession; we shall have very much good, and be very sure of much more. Here then are three propositions to be considered.

1. The Servants of God in this world are very miserable, were it not for their hopes of what is to come hereafter.

2. Though this be a place of hopes, yet we have not our hopes only here. *If in this life only we had hopes* (saith the Apostle) meaning, that in another life also we have hopes; not only *metonymically,* taking hopes for the things we hope for, but *properly* and for the acts, objects and causes of hope. In the state of separation the godly shall have the vast joyes of a certain intuitive hope, according to their several proportions and capacities.

3. The consummation and perfection of their felicity, when all their miseries 150.
shall be changed into glories, is in the world to come, after the resurrection of the dead; which is the main thing which S. *Paul* here intends.

1. The servants of God in this life are calamitous and afflicted; they must live under the Crosse. *He that will be my Disciple, let him deny himself and take up his Cross and follow me* (said our Glorious Lord and Master.) And we see this Prophetic precept, (for it is both a Prophecy and a Commandment, and therefore shall be obeyed whether we will or no) but I say, we see it verified by the experience of every day. For here the violent oppress the meek and they that are charitable shall receive injuries. The Apostles who preach'd Christ crucified were
themselves persecuted and put to violent deaths; and Christianity it selfe for three 160.
hundred years was the publick hatred; and yet then it was that men loved God best, and suffered more for him; *then*, they did most good, and least of evill. In this world men thrive by villany, and lying and deceiving is accounted just, and to be rich is to be wise, and tyranny is honourable, and though little thefts and petty mischiefs are interrupted by the laws, yet if a mischief become publick and great, acted by Princes and effected by armies, and robberies be done by whole fleets, it is vertue and it is glory: it fills the mouths of fools that wonder, and imployes the pens of witty men that eat the bread of flattery. How many thousand bottles of tears, and how many millions of sighs does God every day record, while the
oppressed and the poor pray unto him, worship him, speak great things of his holy 170.
Name, study to please him, beg for helps that they may become gracious in his eyes, and are so, and yet never sing in all their life, but when they sing Gods praises out of duty with a sad heart and a hopefull spirit, living only upon the future, weary of to day, and sustain'd only by the hope of to morrows event? and after all, their eyes are dim with weeping and looking upon distances as knowing they shall never be happy till the *new Heavens and the new Earth* appear.

But I need not instance in the *miserabili* only them that dwell in dungeons and lay their head in places of trouble and disease; take those servants of God who have greatest plenty, who are incircled with blessings, whom this world calls prosperous, and see if they have not fightings within and crosses without, contradiction of accidents and perpetuity of temptations, the Devil assaulting them and their own weakness betraying them; fears incompassing them round about lest they lose the favour of God, and shame sitting heavily upon them when they remember how often they talk foolishly, and lose their duty, and dishonour their greatest relations and walk unworthy of those glories which they would fain obtain; and all this is besides the unavoidable accidents of mortality, sickly bodies, troublesome times, changes of Government, loss of interests, unquiet and peevish accidents round about them: so that when they consider to what they are primarily obliged; that they must in some instances deny their appetite, in others they must quit their relations, in all they must deny themselves when their Natural or Secular danger tempts to sin or danger; and that for the support of their wills and the strengthening their resolutions against the arguments and sollicitation of passions they have nothing but the promises of another world; they will easily see that all the splendour of their condition which fools admire and wise men use temperately and handle with caution as they trie the edge of a rasor, is so far from making them recompence for the sufferings of this world, that the reserves and expectations of the next is that conjugation of aids by which only they can well and wisely bear the calamities of their present plenty.

But if we look round about us and see how many righteous causes are oppressed, how many good men are reproached, how religion is persecuted, upon what strange principles the greatest princes of the world transact their greatest affairs, how easily they make wars and how suddainly they break leagues, and at what expence and vast pensions they corrupt each others officers, and how the greatest part of mankind watches to devour one another, and they that are devoured are commonly the best, the poor and the harmless, the gentle and uncrafty, the simple and religious; and then how many wayes all good men are exposed to danger, and that our scene of duty lies as much in passive graces as in active, it must be confessed that this is a place of wasps and insects, of Vipers and Dragons, of Tigres and Bears; but the sheep are eaten by men or devoured by Wolves and Foxes, or die of the rot; and when they do not, yet every year they redeem their lives by giving their fleece and their milk, and must die when their death will pay the charges of the knife.

Now from this I say, it was that the very Heathen, *Plutarch* and *Cicero, Pythagoras* and *Hierocles, Plato* and many others did argue and conclude that there must be a day of recompences to come hereafter which would set all right again: And from hence also our Blessed Saviour himself did convince the *Sadducees* in their fond and pertinacious denying of the resurrection: For that is the meaning of that argument which our Blessed Lord did choose as being clearly and infallibly the aptest of any in the old Testament to prove the resurrection, and though the deduction is not at first so plain and evident, yet upon neerer intuition, the 220. interpretation is easie and the argument excellent and proper.

For it is observed by the learned among the Jews that when God is by way of particular relation and especial benediction appropriated to any one, it is intended that God is to him a *Rewarder* and *Benefactor,* θεος εὐεργετης, θεὸς μιθαποδότης for that is the first thing and the last that every man believes and feels of God; and therefore S. *Paul* summes up the Gentiles Creed in this compendium; *He that commeth to God must believe that God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* And as it is in the *indefinite* expression, so it is in the *limited*; as it is in the *absolute* so also in the *Relative.* God is *the* rewarder; and to be *their* God is to be *their rewarder,* to be *their* Benefactor and 230. *their* Gracious Lord. *Ego ero Deus vester,* I will be your God, that is, I will do you good sayes *Aben Ezra*: and *Philo,* τὸ δὴ θεὸς ἀιώνιος ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ὁ χαριζόμενος, οὐ πότε μὲν, πότε δε οὐ, ἀεῖ δὲ καὶ συνεχῶς. The Everlasting God, that is, as if he had said, one that will do you good; not sometimes some, and sometimes none at all, but frequently and for ever: And this we finde also observed by S. *Paul*: *Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God*; and that by which the Relative appellative is verified is the consequent benefit; He is *called their God for he hath provided for them a city.*

Upon this account the argument of our Blessed Saviour is this. God is the *God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*; that is, the *gracious* God, the *Benefactor,* the 240. *Rewarder*; and therefore *Abraham* is not dead, but is fallen asleep, and he shall be restored in the resurrection to receive those blessings and rewards, by the title of which God was called the *God of Abraham.* For in this world Abraham had not that harvest of blessings which is consigned by that glorious appellative; he was an exile from his Country, he stood far off from the possession of his hopes, he lived an ambulatory life, he spent most of his dayes without an heir, he had a constant piety, and at the latter end of his life one great blessing was given him; and because that was allayed by the anger of his wife, and the expulsion of his

handmaid, and the ejection of *Ishmael*, and the danger of the lad; and his great calamity about the matter of *Isaac's* sacrifice; and all his faith and patience and piety was rewarded with nothing but promises of things a great way off; and before the possession of them he went out of this world; it is undeniably certain that God who after the departure of the Patriarchs did still love to be called *Their God* did intend to signifie that they should be restored to a state of life and a capacity of those greatest blessings which were the foundation of that title and that relation. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, but God is the God of *Abraham* and the other Patriarchs; therefore they are not dead; dead to this world, but alive to God; that is, though this life be lost, yet they shall have another and a better; a life in which God shall manifest himself to be their God to all the purposes of benefit and eternal blessings.

This argument was summed up by St. *Peter*, and the sense of it is thus rendred by St. *Clement* the Bishop of Rome, as himself testifies: *si Deus est justus, animus est immortalis*, which is perfectly rendred by the words of my text; *if in this life only we have hope, then we are of all men the most miserable*; but because this cannot be that God who is just and good should suffer them that heartily serve him to be really and finally miserable, and yet in this world they are so, very frequently; therefore in another world they shall live to receive a full recompence of reward.

Neither is this so to be understood, as if the servants of God were so wholly forsaken of him in this world, and so permitted to the malice of evil men, or the asperities of fortune, that they have not many refreshments and great comforts and the perpetual festivities of a holy Conscience: for *God my maker is he that giveth songs in the night,* said *Elihu*; that is, God as a reward giveth a chearful spirit, and makes a man to sing with joy, when other men are sad with the solemn darkness and with the affrights of conscience, and the illusions of the night. But God who intends vast portions of felicity to his children does not reckon these little joys into the account of the portion of his elect. The good things which they have in this world are not little, if we account the joys of religion and the peace of conscience amongst things valuable; yet whatsoever it is; all of it, all the blessings of themselves, and of their posterity, and of their Relatives for their sakes are cast in for intermedial entertainments; but *their good*, and their prepared portion shall be hereafter. But for the evil it self which they must suffer and overcome, it is such a portion of this life as our Blessed Saviour had; injuries and temptations, care and persecutions, poverty and labour, humility and patience: it is well; it is very well;

and who can long for, or expect better here; when his Lord and Saviour had a state of things so very much worse then the worst of our calamities: but bad as it is; it is to be chosen rather then a better; because it is the high way of the cross; it is *Jacobs* ladder upon which the Saints and the King of the Saints did descend and at last ascend to heaven it self; and bad as it is, it is the method and the inlet to the best; it is a sharp, but it is a short step to bliss: for it is remarkable in the parable 290.
of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, that the poor man, the afflicted Saint died first, *Dives* being permitted to his purple and fine linnen, to his delicious fare, and (which he most of all needed) to a space of repentance; but in the mean time the poor man was rescued from his sad portion of this life and carried into *Abrahams* bosome; where he who was denied in this world to be feasted even with the portion of dogs was placed in the bosome of the Patriarch, that is, in the highest room, for so it was in their *discubitus* or lying down to meat, the chief guest, the most beloved person did lean upon the bosome of the Master of the feast, so S. *John* did lean upon the breast of Jesus; and so did *Lazarus* upon the brest of *Abraham*; or else κόλπος Ἀβραὰμ *sinus Abrahae* may be rendred, *the bay of Abraham*, alluding to the place 300.
of rest where ships put in after a tempestuous and dangerous Navigation; the storme was quickly over with the poor man; and the Angel of God brought the good mans soul to a safe port, where he should be disturbed no more: and so saith the spirit; *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours.*

But this brings me to the second great inquiry. If here we live upon hopes, and that this is a place of hopes, but not this only; what other place is there where we shall be blessed in our hope, where we shall rest from our labour and our fear and have our hopes in perfection; that is, all the pleasures which can come from the greatest and the most excellent hope? 310.

Not in this life only; so my Text. Therefore hereafter: as soon as we die: as soon ever the soule goes from the body, it is blessed. *Blessed* I say, but *not perfect*; it rejoyces in peace and a holy hope: here we have hopes mingled with fear; there our hope is heightned with joy and confidence; it is all the comfort that can be in the expectation of unmeasurable joyes: it is only, Not fruition, not the joyes of a perfect possession; but less then that, it is every good thing else.

But that I may make my way plain; I must first remove an objection which seems to overthrow this whole affaire. S. *Paul* intends these words of my text as an argument to prove the resurrection; we shall rise again with our bodies; for *if in*

this life only we had hopes, then were we of all men most miserable; meaning, that unless there be a resurrection, there is no good for us any where else; but if *they that dye in the Lord* were happy before the resurrection; then we were not of all men most miserable though there were to be no resurrection; for the godly are presently happy. So that one must fail; either the resurrection or the intermedial happinesse: the proof of one relies upon the destruction of the other: and because we can no other wayes be happy, therefore there shall be a resurrection.

To this I answer, that if the godly instantly upon their dissolution had the *vision beatifical*, it is very true, that they were not most miserable though there be no resurrection of the dead, though the body were turned into its original nothing: for the joyes of the sight of God would in the soule alone make them infinite recompence for all the sufferings of this world. But that which the Saints have after their dissolution, being only the comforts of a holy hope, the argument remains good: for these intermedial hopes being nothing at all but in relation to the resurrection, these hopes do not destroy, but confirme it rather; and if the resurrection were not to be, we should neither have any hopes here, nor hopes hereafter. And therefore the Apostles word is *if here only we had hopes* that is, if our hopes only related to this life; but because our hopes only relate to the life to come, and even after this life we are still but in the regions of an inlarged hope, this life and that interval are both but in the regions of an inlarged hope, this life and that interval are both but the same argument to inferre a resurrection; for they are the hopes of that state, and the joyes of those hopes, and it is the comfort of that joy which makes them blessed who die in the love of God, and the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus.

And now to the proposition it selfe. In the state of separation the souls departed perceive the blessing and comfort of their labours; they are alive after death, and after death immediately they finde great refreshments. *Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.* The torments of death shall not touch the souls of the righteous because they are in the hands of God. And fifteen hundred years after the death of *Moses* we finde him talking with our Blessed Lord in his transfiguration upon the Mount Tabor: and as *Moses* was then, so are all the Saints immediately after death, *praesentes apud Dominum*, they are present with the Lord, and to be so, is not a state of death, and yet of this it is, that S. *Paul* affirms it to be much better then to be alive.

And this was the undoubted sentence of the Jews before Christ and since, and

therefore our Blessed Saviour told the converted thief that he should *that day be with him in Paradise*. Now without peradventure he spake so as he was to be understood; meaning by *Paradise* that which the Schools and Pulpits of the Rabbins did usually speak of it. By *Paradise* till the time of *Esdras* it is certain, the Jews only meant that Blessed Garden in which God once placed *Adam* and *Eve*: but in the time of *Esdras* and so downward when they spake distinctly of 360.
things to happen after this life, and began to signifie their new discoveries and modern Philosophy by Names, they called the state of souls expecting the resurrection of their bodies by the name of גן עדן the garden of Eden. Hence came that forme of comprecation and blessing to the soul of an Israelite *Sit anima ejus in horto Eden, Let his soul be in the garden of Eden*; and in their solemn prayers at the time of their death they were wont to say *let his soule rest, and let his sleep be in peace untill the Comforter shall come; open the gates of Paradise unto him* expresly distinguishing *Paradise* from the state of the *Resurrection*. And so it is evident in the entercourse on the Crosse between Christ and the converted thief. That day both were to be in Paradise: but Christ himself was not then ascended into heaven, 370.
and therefore Paradise was no part of that region where Christ now and hereafter the Saints shall reign in glory. For παράδεισος did by use and custome signifie any place of beauty and pleasure. So the Septuagint read Ecclesiastes 2.5 *I made me gardens and orchards*, I made me a Paradise, so it is in the Greek; and *Cicero* having found this strange word in *Xenophon* renders it by *agrum conseptum ac diligenter consitum*: a field well hedg'd and set with flowers and fruits. *Vivarium*, *Gellius* renders it, a place to keep birds and beasts alive for pleasure. *Pollux* sayes this word was Persian by its original; yet because by traduction it became Hebrew, we may best learn the meaning of it from the Jews who used it most often, and whose sense we better understand. Their meaning therefore was this; that as 380.
Paradise or the *Garden of Eden* was a place of great beauty, pleasure and tranquillity; so the state of separate souls was a state of peace and excellent delights. So *Philo* allegorically does expound Paradise. Λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φύτα εἶναι μηδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ ζωῆς ἀθανασίας ειδησεως. For the trees that grow in Paradise are not like ours, but they bring forth knowledge and life, and immortality. It is therefore more then probable, that when the converted thief heard our Blessed Saviour speak of *Paradise* or *Gan Eden*, he who was a Jew and heard that on that day he should be there, understood the meaning to be that he should be there where all the good Jews did believe the souls of *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* to be placed. As if Christ 390.
had said; Though you only ask to be remembred when I come into my Kingdome,

not only that shall be performed in time, but even to day thou shalt have great refreshment; and this the Hellenist Jews called ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παράδεἰσου, the rest of Paradise, and παράκλησιν the comfort of Paradise, the word being also warranted from that concerning *Lazarus* παρακλεῖται *He is comforted.*

But this we learn more perfectly from the raptures of S. *Paul. He knew a man* (meaning himself) *rapt up into the third heaven. And I knew such a man how that he was caught up into Paradise.* The raptures and visions were distinct; for S. *Paul* being a Jew and speaking after the manner of his Nation makes *Paradise* a distinct thing from *the third Heaven.* For the Jews deny any *orbes* to be in Heaven; but 400.
they make *three regions* only; the one of *clouds*, the second of *starrs*, and the third of *Angels.* To this third or supreme Heaven was S. *Paul* wrapt; but he was also born to Paradise; to another place, distinct and separate by time and station. For by *Paradise*, his Countreymen never understood the *Third Heaven*; but there also it was that he heard τὰ ἄῤῥητα ῥηματα unspeakable words, great glorifications of God, huge excellencies, such which he might not, or could not utter here below. The effect of these considerations is this, that although the Saints are not yet admitted to the blessings consequent to a happy resurrection, yet they have the intermedial entertainments of a present and a great joy.

To this purpose are those words to be understood. *To him that overcomes will I* 410.
give to eate of the tree of life which is in the midst of the Paradise *of God*: that is, if I may have leave to expound these words to mean what the Jews did about that time understand by such words; δένδρον τῆς ζωῆς, the *Tree of life* does signifie the principle of peace and holiness, of wisdome and comforts for ever. *Philo* expounding it calls it τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσέβειαν δι' ἧς ἀθανατίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ. The worship of God, the greatest of all vertues by which the soul is made to live for ever; as if by eating of this tree of life in the Paradise of God they did mean, that they who die well, shall immediately be feasted with the deliciousness of a holy Conscience: which the spirit of God expresses by saying *They shall walke up and down in white garments and their works* 420.
shall follow them; their tree of life shall germinate; they shall then feel the comforts of having done good works; a sweet remembrance and a holy peace shall caresse and feast them; and there they shall *walk up and down in white*, that is, as candidates of the resurrection to immortality.

And this allegory of the garden of *Eden* and *Paradise* was so heartily pursued by the Jews to represent the state of separation, that the *Essenes* describe that

state by the circumstances and ornaments of a blessed garden. χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις, οὔτε νιφετοῖς, οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνόμενον a region that is not troubled with clouds or shours, or storms, or blasts, ἀλλ' ὃν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ πραὺς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνείων αναψύχει, but a place which is perpetually refreshed with delicious breaths. This was it which the Heathens did dream concerning the Elysian fields: for all the notices περὶ ἅδου concerning the regions of separate souls came into Greece from the Barbarians (sayes *Diodorus Siculus*) and *Tertullian* observes; although we call that Paradise which is a place appointed to receive the souls of the Saints, and that this is separated from the notices of the world by a wall of fire, a portion of the torrid zone (which he supposes to be meant by the flaming sword of the Angel placed at the gates of Paradise) yet (sayes he) the Elysian fields have already possessed the faith and opinions of men. All comes from the same fountain; the doctrine of the old Synagogue confirmed by the words of Christ and the commentaries of the Apostles; viz. that after death before the day of judgment there is a Paradise for Gods servants, a region of rest, of comfort and holy expectations. And therefore it is remarkable that these words of the Psalmist, *Ne rapias me in medio dierum meorum.* Snatch me not away in the midst of my dayes, in the Hebrew it is, *Ne facias me ascendere*, make me not to ascend or to goe upwards, meaning, to the supernatural regions of separate souls, who after death are in their beginnings of exaltation. For to them that die in the Lord, death is a preferment; it is a part of their great good fortune; for death hath not only lost the sting; but it brings a coronet in his hand which shall invest and adorne the heads of Saints till that day comes in which the Crown of righteousness shall be brought forth to give them investiture of an everlasting Kingdome.

But that I may make up this proposition usefull and clear, I am to adde some things by way of supplement.

1. This place of separation was called *Paradise* by the Jews, and by Christ, and after Christs ascension, by S. *John*: because it signifies a place of pleasure and rest; and therefore by the same analogy the word may be still used in all the periods of the world, though the circumstances, or though the state of things be changed. It is generally supposed that this had a proper Name, and in the Old Testament was called *Abrahams bosome*; that is, the region where *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob* did dwell till the comming of Christ. But I suppose my selfe to have great reason to dissent from this common opinion; for this word of *Abrahams bosome*, being but once used in both the Testaments, and then particularly applied to the person of

Lazarus, must needs signifie the eminence and priviledge of joy that *Lazarus* had; for all that were in the blessed state of separation were not in *Abrahams* bosome, but only the best and the most excellent persons; but they were μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ with *Abraham*; and the analogy of the phrase to the manner of the Jewish feastings, where the best guest did lye in the bosome of the Master, that is, had the best place, makes it most reasonable to believe that *Abrahams* bosome does not signifie the general state of separation, even of the blessed; but the choicest place in that state, a greater degree of blessedness. But because he is the father of the 470.
faithful, therefore to *be with Abraham*, or to *sit down with Abraham* (in the time of the old Testament) did signifie the same thing as to be in Paradise; but to be *in Abrahams bosome* signifies a great eminence of place and comfort, which is indulged to the most excellent and the most afflicted.

2. Although the state of separation may now also and is by S. *John* called *Paradise*; because the Allegory still holds perfectly, as signifying comfort and holy pleasures; yet the spirits of good men are not said *to be with Abraham* but *to be with Christ*; and as being with *Abraham* was the specification of the more general word of *Paradise* in the old Testament; so *being with Christ* is the specification of it in the New. So S. *Stephen* prayed, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*; and S. *Paul* said, *I* 480.
desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ: which expression S. *Polycarp* also used in his Epistle to the *Philippians* ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ κυρίῳ they are in the place that is due to them, they are with the Lord, that is, in the hands, in the custody of the Lord Jesus; as appears in the words of S. *Stephen* and S. *Paul*. So S. *Jerome*. *Scimus Nepotianum nostrum esse cum Christo et sanctorum mixtum choris*, we know that our *Nepotian* is with Christ, mingled in the quires of Saints. Upon this account (and it is not at all unreasonable) the Church hath conjectur'd, that the state of separate souls since the glorification of our Lord is much better'd and advanc'd and their comforts greater: because as before Christs coming the expectation of the Saints that slept, 490.
was fixed upon the revelation of the Messias in his first coming; so now it is upon his second coming unto judgment, and in his glory. This improvement of their condition is well intimated by their being said to be *under the Altar*, that is, under the protection of Christ, under the powers and benefits of his Priesthood, by which he makes continuall intercession both for them and us. This place some of the old Doctors understood too literally, and from hence they believed that the souls of departed saints were under their material Altars; which fancy produced that fond decree of the Councel of *Eliberis* that wax lights should not by day be burnt in

coemeteries *inquietandi enim spiritus sanctorum non sunt* lest the spirits of Saints should by the light of diurnal tapers be disquieted: This reason, though it be 500.
trifling and impertinent, yet it declares their opinion, that they supposed the souls to be neer their reliques which were placed under the altars. But better then this, their state is described by S. *John* in these words, *therefore they are before the throne of God, and serve him night and day in his Temple, and he that sits upon the throne shall dwell among them*; with which general words, as being modest bounds to our inquiries, enough to tell us it is rarely well, but enough also to chastise all curious questions, let us remain content, and labour with faith and patience, with hope and charity to be made worthy to partake of those comforts, after which when we have long inquired, when at last we come to try what they are, we shall finde them much better and much otherwise then we imagine. 510.

3. I am to admonish this also, that although our Blessed Saviour is in the Creed said *to descend* εις αδου *into hell* (so we render it) yet this does not at all prejudice his other words *this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, for the word εις αδου signifies indefinitely the state of separation whether blessed or accursed; it means only *the invisible place*, or the region of darkness whither who so descends shall no more be seen. For as among the Heathens the *Elysian fields* and *Tartara* are both εν αδου: so amongst the Jews and Christians *Paradisus* and *Gehenna* are the distinct states of Hades. *Of the first* we have a plain testimony in *Diphilus*.

Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἅδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν
Μίαν δικαίων, χἀτέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδὸν. 520.

In *Hades* there are two wayes, one for just men, and another for the impious. *Of the second* we have the testimony of *Josephus*, who speaking of the Sadducees, says, τὰς καθ' ἅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσι *they take away or deny the rewards and punishments respectively which are in Hades*, or in the state of separation: so that if Christs soul was in Paradise, he was in *Hades*. In vain therefore does S. *Augustine* torment himself to tell, how Christ could be in both places at once; when it is no harder then to tell how a man may be in *England* and at *London* at the same time.

4. It is observable that in the mentions of Paradise by *S. John*, he twice speaks 530.
of *the tree of life*, but never of *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*: because this was the Symbol of secular knowledge, of prudence and skill of doing things of this world which we can naturally use; we may smel and taste them, but not feed upon

them, that is, these are no part of our enjoyment, and if we be given up to the study of such notices and be immerged in the things of this world, we cannot attend to the studies of religion and of the Divine service. But these cares and secular divertisements shall cease when our souls are placed in Paradise; there shall be no care taken for raising portions for our children, nor to provide bread for our tables, no cunning contrivances to be safe from the crafty snares of an enemy, no amazement at losses, no fear of slanderings, or of the gripes of Publicans, but we 540.
shall feed on the tree of life, love of God, and longings for the comming of Christ. We are then all spirit and our imployment shall be symbolical, that is, spiritual, and holy, and pleasant.

I have now made it as evident as questions of this Nature will bear, that in the state of separation the spirits of good men shall be blessed and happy souls: they have an antepast or taste of their reward: but their great reward it self, their crown of righteousness shall not be yet; that shall not be, until the day of judgement: and this was the third proposition I undertook to prove; the consummation and perfection of the Saints felicity shall be at the resurrection of the dead.

ἐν παρουσίᾳ αυτοῦ; *at his coming*; so S. *John* expresses the time, *that we* 550.
may not then be ashamed. For now we are the sons of God, but it does not yet appear what we shall be. But we know that when he shall appear we shall be like unto him and see him as he is. At his glorious appearing, we also shall appear glorious; we shall see him as he is; but till then, this beatific vision shall not be at all; but for the interval, the case is otherwise. *Tertullian* affirms *puniri et foveri animam interim in inferis sub expectatione utriusque judicii, in quadam usurptione et candida ejus*; the souls are punished or refreshed in their regions expecting the day of their judgement and several sentences: *habitacula illa, animarum promptuaria nominavit scriptura* (saith S. *Ambrose*); The Scripture calls these habitations, the promptuaries, or repositories of souls. There is comfort, but not the full reward; a 560.
certain expectation supported with excellent intervals of joy: *Refrigerium*, so the Latins call it, a refreshment. *Donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat tunc apparitura coelesti promissione*, saith *Tertullian*, until the consummation of all things points out the resurrection, by the fulness of reward and the appearing of the heavenly promise. So the Author of the questions *ad Orthodoxos* "Immediately after death, presently there is a separation of the just from the unjust"; for they are born by Angels εἰς ἀξιους αὐτῶν τόπους into the places they have deserved; and they are in those places φυλαττομεναι ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστασεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως kept unto the

day of resurrection and retribution. But what do they in the mean time? How is it with them? θαυμασίας τίνα ἡδονὴν ἥδεται, καὶ ἀγάλλεται, sayes *Nazianzen.* They rejoyce and are delighted in a wonderful joy. *They see Angels and Archangels, they converse with them and see our Blessed Saviour Jesus in his glorified humanity*; so *Justin Martyr.* But in these great joys they look for greater. They are now *In Paradiso*; but they long that the body and soul may be in heaven together; but this is the glory of the day of judgement, the fruit of the resurrection. And this whole affair is agreeable to reason, and the analogy of the whole dispensation as it is generally and particularly described in Scripture.

For when the greatest effect of the Divine power, the mightiest promise, the hardest thing to Christian faith, that impossible thing to Gentile Philosophy, the expectation of the whole world, the New Creation, when that shall come to pass, viz. that the souls shall be reinvested with their bodies, when the ashes of dissolved bones shall stand up a new and living frame, to suppose that then there shall be nothing done in order to Eternity, but to publish the salvation of Saints of which they were possessed before, is to make a great solemnity for nothing, to do great things for no great end, and therefore it is not reasonable to suppose it.

For if it were a good argument of the Apostle, that the Patriarks and Saints of the old Testament received not the promises signified by Canaan and the land of promise, because *God had provided some better thing for us, that without us they should not be made perfect*; it must also conclude of all alike; that they who died since Christ must stay till the last day, that they and we and all may be made perfect together. And this very thing was told to the spirits of the Martyrs who under the Altar cried *How long O Lord* etc. that they should *rest yet for a little season,* untill their fellow servants also shall be fulfilled.

Upon this account it is that the day of judgment is a day of recompence: So said our Blessed Lord himself *Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just* and this is the day in which all things shall be restored: for *the Heavens must receive Jesus till the time of restitution of all things* and till then the reward *is said to be laid up.* So S. *Paul. Henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the righteous Judge shall give me in that day:* and that you may know he means the resurrection and the day of judgment; he addes *and not to me only, but to all them that love his coming*: of whom it is certain many shall be alive at that day; and therefore cannot before that day receive the crown of righteousness: and then also, and not till then, shall be his appearing; but till then it is a *depositum.*

The summe is this. In the world we walk and live by faith: In the state of separation we live by hope: and in the resurrection we shall live by an eternal charity. Here we see God as in a glass darkly: In the separation we shall behold him; but it is afar off: and after the resurrection we shall see him face to face, in the everlasting comprehensions of an intuitive beatitude. In this life we are warriors: In the separation we are conquerors: but we shall not triumph till after the resurrection.

And in proportion to this is also the state of Devils and damned spirits. *Art thou come to torment us before the time*, said the Devils to our Blessed Saviour; there is for them also an appointed time; and when that is, we learn from S. *Jude*. They are reserved in chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Well therefore did S. *James* affirme, *That the Devils believe and tremble*; and so do the damned souls, with an insupportable amazement fearing the revelation of that day. They know that day will come, and they know they shall finde an intolerable sentence on that day; and they fear infinitely, and are in amazement and confusion, feeling the worme of conscience, and are in the state of Devils who fear God and hate him; they tremble but they love him not; and yet they die because they would not love him; because they would not with all their powers and strengths keep his Commandments.

This doctrine though of late it hath been laid aside upon the interest of the Church of Rome and for compliance with some other Schools, yet was it universally the doctrine of the Primitive Church; as appears out of *Justin Martyr* who in his dialogues with *Tryphon* reckons this amongst the ἑτεροδοξίαι errors of some men who say there shall be no resurrection of the dead; but that as soon as good men are dead τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανον their souls are taken up immediately into heaven; and the writer of the questions *ad Orthodoxos* asks, whether before the resurrection there shall be a reward of works? because to the thief Paradise was promised *that day*. He answers, "it was fit the thief should goe to Paradise and there perceive what things should be given to the works of faith; but there he is kept ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως untill the day of resurrection and reward." But in Paradise the soul hath an intellectual perception both of her self and of those things which were under her.

Concerning which I shall not need to heap up testimonies; this only: It is the doctrine of the Greek Church unto this day, and was the opinion of the greatest

part of the Antient Church both Latine and Greek; and by degrees was in the West eaten out by the doctrine of Purgatory and invocation of Saints; and rejected a little above two hundred years agoe in the Councel of *Florence*; and since that time it hath been more generally taught that the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision before the resurrection; even presently upon the dissolution. According to which new opinion it will be impossible to understand the meaning of my text, and of diverse other places of Scripture which I have now alledged and explicated; or at all to perceive the Oeconomy and dispensation of the day of judgment; or how it can be a day of discerning; or how the reapers, the Angels shall bind up the wicked in bundles and throw them into the unquenchable fire; or yet how it can be useful or necessary or prudent for Christ to give a solemn sentence upon all the world; or how it can be that that day should be so formidable and full of terrors, when nothing can affright those that have long enjoyed the beatific presence of God; and no thunders or earthquakes can affright them who have upon them the biggest evil in the world, I mean, the damned who according to this opinion have been in hell for many ages: and it can mean nothing but to them that are alive; and then it is but a particular, not an universal judgment; and after all, it can pretend to no piety, to no Scripture, to no reason; and only can serve the ends of the Church of Rome; who can no way better be confuted in their invocation of Saints then by this truth, that the Saints do not yet enjoy the beatific vision; and though they are in a state of ease and comfort, yet are they not in a state of power and glory, and kingdome till the day of judgment.

This also perfectly does overthrow the doctrine of Purgatory. For as the saints departed are not perfect, and therefore certainly not to be invocated nor to be made our Patrons and advocates: so neither are they in such a condition as to be in torment; and it is impossible that any wise man should believe, that the souls of good men after death should endure the sharp pains of hell, and yet at the same time believe those words of Scripture, *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth; yea saith the spirit that they may rest from their labours, and their works doe follow them.* If they can rest in beds of fire, and sing hymns of glory in the torments of the damned; if their labours are done when their pains are almost infinite, then these words of the spirit of God, and that doctrine of Purgatory can be reconciled; else, never to eternal ages. But it is certain, they are words that cannot deceive us, *Non tanget eos tormentum mortis*: Torment in death shall never touch them.

But having established the proposition and the intended sense of the text, let us

a while consider,

1. That God is our God when we die, if we be his servants while we live; and *to be our God* signifies very much good to us. He will rescue us from the powers of hell; the Devil shall have no part nor portion in us; we shall be kept in safe custody, we shall be in the hands of Christ, out of which all the powers of hell shall never snatch us, and therefore we may die with confidence, if we die with a good conscience: we have no cause of fear, if we have just grounds to hope for pardon. The Turks have a saying, that the Christians doe not believe themselves when they talk such glorious things of Heaven and the state of separation: for if they did, they would not be so afraid to die; but they do not so well consider that Christians believe all this well enough, but they believe better then they live; and therefore they believe and tremble, because they do not live after the rate of going to heaven: they knew that for good men glorious things are prepared; but *Tophet is prepared for evil Kings*, and unjust Rulers; for vitious men, and degenerate Christians: there is a hell for accursed souls; and men live without fear of it so long, till their fear as soon as it begins, in an instant passes into despair and the fearful groans of the damned. It is no wonder to see men so unwilling to die; to be impatient of the thought of death; to be afraid to make their will, to converse with the solemn scarcrow: He that is fit to die must have long dwelt with it, must handle it on all sides, must feel whether the sting be taken out; he must examine *whether he be in Christ*, that is, whether *he be a new creature*. And indeed I do not so much wonder that any man fears to die, as when I see a careless and a wicked person descend to his grave with as much indifferency as he goes to sleep, that is, with no other trouble then that he leaves the world; but he does not fear to die; and yet upon the instant of his dissolution he goes into the common receptacle of souls where nothing can be addressed to him but the consequence of what he brings along with him, and he shall presently know whether he shall be saved or damned.

We have read of some men who by reading or hearing strange opinions have entred into desperate melancholy, and divers who have perfectly despaired of the Divine mercy; who feeling such horrid convulsions in their souls, such fearful expectations of an Eternal curse that not finding themselves able to bear so intolerable a fear have hang'd or drown'd themselves; and yet they only thought so or feared it; and might have altered it if they would have hoped and prayed: but then let it be considered; when the soul is stripp'd of the cloud her body, when she is entred into strange regions and converses only with spirits, and sees plainly all that is within her, when all her sins appeare in their own natural ugliness and set

out by their aggravating circumstances; then she remembers her filthy pleasures and hates them infinitely as being such things to which she then can have no appetite: when she perceives she shall perish for that which is not, for that whose remembrance is intolerable; when she sees many new secrets which she understood not before, and hath stranger apprehensions of the wrath of God then ever could be represented in this life; when she hath the notices of a spirit, and an understanding pure enough to see essences and rightly to weigh all the degrees of things; when (possibly) she is often affrighted with the alarums and conjectures of the day of judgement; or if she be not, yet certainly knows, not only by faith and fear, but by 720.
a clear light and proper knowledge, that it shall certainly come, and its effects shall remain for ever, then she hath time enough to bewail her own folly and remediless infelicity; if we could now think seriously that things must come to that pass, and place our selves by holy meditation in the circumstances of that condition, and consider what we should then think, how miserably deplore our folly, how comfortless remember our ill gotten wealth; with how much asperity and deep sighing we should call to mind our foolish pride, our trifling swearing, our beastly drinkings, our unreasonable and brutish lusts, it could not be but we must grow wiser on a sudden, despise the world, betake our selves to a strict religion, reject all vanity of spirit, and *be sober and watch unto prayer*. If any of us had but a strange 730.
dream, and should in the fears of the night but suppose our selves in Hell, and be affrighted with those circumstances of damnation which we can tell of, and use in our imperfect notices of things, it would effect strange changes upon a ductile and malleable spirit. A frequent, severe meditation can do more then a seldome and a phantastic dream; but an active faith can do more then all the arts and contingencies of fancy or discourse.

Now it is well with us, and we may yet secure it shall be well with us for ever: but within an hour it may be otherwise with any of us all, who do not instantly take courses of security. But he that does not, would in such a change soon come to wish that he might exchange his state with the meanest, with the miserablest of 740.
all mankind; with gallislaves and miners, with men condemened to tortures for a good conscience.

Sed cum pulchra minax succidet membra securis.
Quam velles spinas tunc habuisse meas.

In the day of felling timber the shrub and the bramble are better then the tallest firre or the goodliest Cedar: and a poor Saint whose soul is in the hand of Jesus, plac'd under the altar, over which our high Priest like the *Cherubim* over the

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propitiatory intercedes perpetually for the hastening of his glory, is better then the greatest Tyrant, who if he dies, is undone for ever. For in the interval there shall be rest and comfort to the one, and torment and amazement and hellish confusion to the other: and the day of judgement will come, and it shall appear to all the world, that they whose joys were not in this world, were not of all men most miserable, because their joys and their life were hid with Christ in God, and at the resurrection of the just shall be brought forth and be illustrious beyond all the beauties of the world.

I have now done with my text, and been the expounder of this part of the Divine oracle: but here is another text and another Sermon yet. Ye have heard *Moses* and the *Prophets*: now hear one from the dead; whose life and death would each of them make an excellent Sermon, if this dead man had a good interpreter: for he being dead yet speaketh, and calleth upon us to live well, and to live quickly, to watch perpetually, and to work assiduously; for we shall descend into the same shadows of death

Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor atque harum, quas colis arborum
Te praeter in visas Cupressos
Nulla brevem Dominum sequetur.

Thou must leave thy rich land, and thy well built house, and thy pleasing wife, and of all the trees of thy Orchard or thy wood, nothing shall attend thee to thy grave, but oak for thy Coffin, and Cypress for thy funeral: It shall not then be inquired how long thou hast liv'd but how well! None below will be concerned whither thou wert rich or poor; but all the spirits of light and darkness shall be busie in the scrutiny of thy life; for the good Angels would fain carry thy soul to Christ, and if they do the Devils will follow and accuse thee there; and when thou appearest before the righteous judge, what will become of thee unless Christ be thy advocate and God be merciful and appeased, and the Angels be thy guards and a holy conscience be thy comfort? There will to every one of us come a time when we shall with great passion and great interest inquire, how have I spent my days, how have I laid out my money, how have I imployed my time, how have I served God, and how repented me of my sins: and upon our answers to these questions depends a happy or an unhappy Eternitie: and blessed is he who concerning these things takes care in time; and of this care I may with much confidence and comfort propound to you the example of this good man whose reliques lie before you: Sir *George Dalston*, of *Dalston* in *Cumberland;* a worthy man, belov'd of his Country, useful to his friends, friendly to all men, careful of his religion, and a true servant

of God.

He was descended of an Antient and a worthy house in *Cumberland*; and he adorned his family and extraction with a more worthy comportment; for to be of a worthy family and to bring it no stock of our proper vertue is to be upbraided by our family; and a worthy Father can be no honour to his Son, when it shall be said; behold the difference; this crab descended from a goodly apple-tree; but he 790.
who beautifies the eschutcheon of his Ancestors by worthy atchievements, by learning or by wisdome, by valour and by great imployments, by a holy life and an useful conversation; that man is the parent of his own fame, and a new beginner of an Antient family: for as conversation is a perpetual creation; so is the progression of a family in a line of worthy descendants, a dayly beginning of its honour and a new stabiliment.

He was bred in learning; in which *Cambridge* was his tiring room, and the Court of Queen *Elizabeth* was his stage in which he first represented the part of a hopeful young man: but there he stayed not; his friends not being desirous that the levities of youth should be fermented by the liberties of a rich and splendid Court, 800.
caused him to lie in the restraints and to grow ripe in the sobrieties of a Country life and a married state: In which as I am informed he behaved himself with so great worthiness, and gave such probation of his love of justice, popular regards of his Countries good, and abilities to serve them; that for almost forty years together his Country chose him for their Knight to serve in all the intervening parliaments: *Magistratus indicatorium;* imployment shews the man; he was a leading man in Parliaments; prevailing there by the great reputation of his justice and integrity; and yet he was not unpleasant and hated at Court: for he had well understood that the true interest of Courts and Parliaments were one; and that they are like the humours of the body, if you increase one beyond its limit, that destroys all the rest 810.
and it self at last; and when they look upon themselves as enemies and that hot and cold must fight; the prevailing part is abated in the conflict, and the vanquish'd part is destroyed: but when they look upon themselves as varieties serving the different aspects and necessities of the same body, they are for the allay of each others exorbitances and excesses, and by keeping their own measures they preserve the man: this the good man well understood; for so he comported himself that he was loud in Parliaments and valued at Court: he was respected in very many Parliaments; and was worthily regarded by the worthy Kings: which without an Orator commends a man: *Gravissimi principis judicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulchrum est;* said *Pliny*. To be approved though but in lesser matters by 820.

the judgement of a wise Prince is a great ornament to the man. For as King *Theodoric* in *Cassiodore* said, *Neque non dignus est a quopiam redargui, qui nostro judicio meretur absolvi:* No man ought to reprove him whom the King commends.

But I need no artifices to represent him worthy; his arguments of probation were within in the magazines of a good heart and represented themselves by worthy actions. For, God was pleased to invest him with a marvailous sweet Nature; which is certainly to be reckoned as one half of the grace of God: because a good nature being the reliques and remains of that shipwrack which *Adam* made, is the proper and immediate disposition to holiness, as the corruption of *Adam* was to
disobedience and peevish Councels. A good nature will not upbraid the more 830.
imperfect persons, will not deride the ignorant, will not reproach the erring man: will not smite sinners on the face, will not despise the penitent. A good Nature is apt to forgive injuries, to pitty the miserable, to rescue the oppressed, to make every ones condition as tolerable as he can: and so would he. For as when good Nature is heightned by the grace of God, that which was natural becomes now spiritual; so these actions which proceeded from an excellent nature and were pleasing and useful to men, when they derive from a new principle of grace they become pleasant in the eyes of God: then obedience to laws is duty to God; justice is righteousness, bounty becomes graciousness, and alms is charity.

And indeed this is a grace in which this good man was very remarkable, being 840.
very frequent and much in alms; tender hearted to the poor; open handed to relieve their needs; the bellies of the poor did bless him, he filled them with food and gladness; and I have heard that he was so regular, so constant, so free in this duty, that in these late unhappy wars being in a garrison and neer the suffering some rude accidents, the beggars made themselves his guard and rescued him from that trouble, who had so often rescued them from hunger.

He was of a meek and gentle spirit; but not too soft; he knew how to do good, and how to put by an injury; but I have heard it told by them that knew his life, that being by the unavoidable trouble of a great estate ingag'd in great suits at
law, he was never Plaintiffe, but always upon the defensive part; and that he had 850.
reason on his side and justice for him, I need alledge no other testimony, but that the sentence of his Judges so declared it.

But that in which I propound this good man most imitable was in his religion, for he was a great lover of the Church, a constant attender to the Sermons of the

Church; a diligent hearer of the prayers of the Church, and an obedient son to perform the commands of the Church. He was diligent in his times and circumstances of devotion; he would often be at Church so early that he was seen to walk long in the Churchyard before prayers; being as ready to confess his sins at the beginning, as to receive the blessing at the end of prayers. Indeed he was so great a lover of Sermons, that though he knew how to value that which was the 960.
best, yet he was patient of that which was not so; and if he could not learn any thing to improve his faith, yet he would finde something to exercise his patience; and something for charity; yet this his great love of Sermons could not tempt him to a willingness of neglecting the prayers of the Church; of which he was a great lover to his dying day. *Oves meae exaudiunt vocem meam* (says Christ) my sheep hear my voice; and so the Church says: my sheep hear my voice, they love my words, they pray in my forms, they observe my orders, they delight in my offices, they revere my Ministers, and obey my constitutions: and so did he; loving to have his soul recommended to God, and his needs represented, and his sins confessed, and his pardon implored in the words of his Mother, in the voice and accent of her 970.
that nurs'd him up to a spiritual life, to be a man in Christ Jesus.

He was indeed a great lover and had a great regard for Gods Ministers, ever remembring the words of God, keep my rest, and reverence my Priests, he honoured the calling in all; but he loved and revered the persons of such who were conscientious keepers of their *depositum,* that trust which was committed to them; such which did not for interest quit their conscience, and did not to preserve some parts of their revenue, quit some portions of their religion, He knew that what was true in 1639 was also true in 1644 and so to 57 and shall continue true to eternal ages: and they that change their perswasions by force or interest did neither believe well nor ill upon competent and just grounds; they are not just, though they 980.
happen on the right side. Hope of gain did by chance teach them well; and fear of loss abuses them directly. He pitied the persecuted, and never would take part with persecutors, he prayed for his Prince and serv'd him in what he could: he loved God, and lov'd the Church; he was a lover of his Countries liberties, and yet an observer of the laws of his King.

Thus he behaved himself to all his superior relatives; to his equals and descendants he was also just, and kinde and loving. He was an excellent friend, laying out his own interest to serve theirs; sparing not himself that he might serve them; as knowing society to be the advantage of mans nature; and friendship the ornament of society, and usefulness the ornament of friendship: and in this he was 990.

known to be very worthy. He was tender and carefull of his children, and so provident and wise, so loving and obliging to his whole family, that he justly had that love and regard, that duty and observance from them, which his kindness and his care had merited. He was a provident and carefull conductor of his estate; but farre from covetousness; as appeared toward the evening of his life; in which that vice does usually prevail amongst old men, who are more greedy when they have least need and, and load their sumpters so much the more, by how much neerer they are to their journeys end: but he made a demonstration of the contrary; for he washed his hands and [illegible] heart of the world, gave up his estate long before his death or sickness to be managed by his only son whom he left since, but then first 900.
made and saw him his heir; he emptied his hands of secular imployment; medled not with money but for the uses of the poor, for piety, for justice and religion.

And now having devested himself of all objections and in his conversation with the world, quitting his affections to it, he wholly gave himself to religion and devotion: He waken'd early and would presently be entertained with reading; when he rose, still he would be read to and hear some of the Psalms of *David*: and excepting only what time he took for the necessities of his life and health, all the rest he gave to prayer, reading, and meditation; save only that he did not neglect, or rudely entertain the visits and kinde offices of his neighbours.

But in this great vacation from the world; he espied his advantages; he knew 910.
well according to that saying of the Emperor *Charles V, oportet inter vitae negotia et diem mortis spatium aliquod intercedere; there ought to be a valley between two such mountains,* the businesses of our life and the troubles of our death; and he stayed not till the noise of the bridegrooms coming did awaken and affright him; but by daily prayers twice a day constantly with his family, besides the piety and devotion of his own retirements, by a monethly communion, by weekly Sermons and by the religion of every day he stood in precincts, ready with oyle in his lamp watching till his Lord should call.

And indeed when he was hearing what God did speak to him of duty, he also
received his summons to give his account. For he was so pertinacious an attendant 920.
to Gods holy word and the services of the Church, that though he found himself sick, he would not off, but stay till the solemnity was done; but it pleased God at Church to give him his first arrest, and since that time I have often visited him; and found him alwayes doing his work with the greatest evennes and indifferency of spirit as to the event of life and death that I have observed in any. He was not

unwilling to live; but if he should, he resolved to spend his life wholly in the service of God; but yet neither was he unwilling to die; because he then knew he should weep no more, and he should sin no more. He was very confident, but yet with great humility and great modesty, of the pardon of his sins; he had indeed lived without scandal, but he knew he had not lived without error; but as God had 930.
assisted him to avoid the reproach of great crimes, so he doubted not but he should finde pardon for the less: and indeed I could not but observe that he had in all the time of his sickness a very quiet conscience; which is to me an excellent demonstration of the state of his life, and of his state of grace and pardon. For though he seemed to have a conscience tender and nice if any evil thing had touched it, yet I could not but apprehend that his peace was a just peace, the mercy of God, and the price and effect of the bloud of Jesus.

He was so joyfull, so thankfull, so pleased in the Ministeries of the Church, that it gave in evidence where his soul was most delighted, what it did apprehend the quickest, where it did use to dwell, and what it did most passionately love. He 940.
discoursed much of the mercies of God to him, repeated the blessings of his life, the accidents and instruments of his trouble, he loved the cause of his trouble and pardoned them that neither loved it nor him.

When he had spent great portions of his time of sickness in the service of God and in expectation of the sentence of his life or death, at last he understood the still voice of God, and that he was to goe where his soul loved to be; he still increased his devotion; and being admonished as his strength failed him, to supply his usual forms, and his want of strength and words, by short exercise of vertues, of faith and patience and the love of God; he did it so willingly, so well, so readily, making his eyes, his hands, and his tongue as long as he could the interpreters of 950.
his minde, that as long as he was alive we would see what his soul was doing. He doubted not of the truth of the promises, nor of the goodness of God, nor the satisfaction of Christ, and the merits of his death, nor the fruit of his resurrection, nor the prevalency of his intercession, nor yet doubted of his own part in them, but expected his portion in the regions of blessedness with those who loved God and served him heartily and faithfully in their generations.

He had so great a patience in his sickness and was so afraid lest he shoud sin at last; that his piety out-did his nature, and though the body cannot feel but by the soul, yet his soul seemed so little concerned in the passions of the body, that I neither observed, nor heard of him that he in all his sickness so much as 960.

complained with any semblance of impatience.

He so continued to pray, so delighted in hearing Psalms sung, which I wish were made as fit to sing by their numbers, as they are by their weight, that so very much of his time was spent in them, that it was very likely when his Lord came, he would finde him so doing, and he did so; for in the midst of prayers he went away, and got to Heaven as soon as they; and saw them (as we hope). presented to the throne of grace; he went along with them himself, and was his own messenger to heaven; where although he possibly might prevent his last prayers, yet he would not prevent Gods holy mercy; which as we humbly hope, gave him pardon for his sins, ease of his pain, joy after his sorrow, certainty for his fears, heaven for earth, 970. innocence and impeccability instead of his infirmity.

Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget cui pudor et justitiae soror,
Incorrupta fides, Nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum inveniet parem?

Faith and justice, modesty and pure righteousness, made him equal to the worthiest examples he was χρησος ανηρ, a good man, loving and humble, meek and patient, he would be sure to be the last in contention, and the first at peace; he would injure no man, but yet if any man was displeased with him, he would speak first and offer words of kindness; If any did dispute concerning priority, he knew 980. how to get it even by yeelding and compliance; walking profitably with his neighbours and humbly with his God, and having lived a life of piety, he died in a full age, an honourable old age, in the midst of his friends, and in the midst of prayer. And although the events of the other world are hidden to us below that we might live in faith, and walke in hope and die in charity yet we have great reason to bless God for his mercies to this our Brother, and endeavour to comport our selves with a strict religion, and a severe repentance, with an exemplar patience and an exemplar piety, with the structures of a holy life, and the solemnities of a religious death, that we also may, as our confident and humble hope is that our Brother doth by the conduct of Angels pass into the hands and bosome of Jesus, 990. there to expect the most mercifull sentence of the right hand, *Come ye blessed Children of my Father, receive the Kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* Amen Lord Jesus, Amen.

Grant this Eternal God for Jesus Christ his sake; to whom
with thee O Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all glory
and honour, service and dominion, love and obedience, be
confessed due, and ever paid by all Angels, and all men

and all the creatures this day, henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

1000.

A SERMON

Preached at the *Consecration* of two *Archbishops* and ten *Bishops*,

in the

Cathedral Church of S. *Patrick* in DUBLIN,

January 27. 1660.

By *Jeremie Taylor* D. D. L^d^ Bishop of *Downe* and *Connor*.

Sal liquefit, ut condiat.

DVBLIN,
Printed by *W. Bladen* for *John North*
Bookseller in Castlestreet,
Anno Dom. 1661.

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Sal liquefit, ut condiat.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Royston*, Bookseller to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1663.

Vet A3 e. 1388

My Obedience to the Commands of the Right Honourable the Lords Justices, and the most Reverend and Learned Primate, and to the desires of my Reverend Brethren, put it past my inquiry, whether I ought to Publish this following Sermon. I will not therefore excuse it, and say it might have advantages in the Delivery, which it would want in the Reading; and the eare would be kind to the Piety of it, which was apparent in the design, when the eye would be severe in its censure of those arguments, which as they could not be longer in that measure of time; so would have appeared more firm, if they could have had liberty to have been pursued to their utmost issue. But Reason lies in a little room, and Obedience in less. And although what I have here said, may not stop the mouths of Men resolved to keep up a faction, yet I have said enough to the sober and pious, to them who love Order, and hearken to the voice of the Spouse of Christ, to the Loving and to the Obedient: And for those that are not so, I have no argument fit to be used, but Prayer, and readiness to give them a reason, when they shall modestly demand it. In the mean time I shall onely desire them to make use of those truths which the more learned of their party have by the evidence of fact been forced to confess.. Rivet *affirms that it descended* ex veteris aevi reliquiis, *that Presbyters should be assistants or conjoyned to the Bishop, (who is confessed to be the principal) in the imposition of hands for Ordination.* Walo Messalinus *acknowledges it to be* rem antiquissimam, *a most ancient thing that these two Orders,* (viz) *of Bishops and Presbyters, should be distinct, even in the middle, or in the beginning of the next age after Christ.* David Blondell *places it to be thirty-five years after the death of* St.John. *Now then Episcopacy is confessed to be of about sixteen hundred years continuance : and if before this they can shew any Ordination by mere Presbyters, by any but an Apostle, or an Apostolical man; and if there were not visibly a distinction of powers and persons relatively in the Ecclesiastical Government: or if they can give a rational account why they who are forced to confess the Honour and distinct Order of Episcopacy for about sixteen ages, should in the dark interval of thirty-five years (in which they can pretend to no Monument or Record to the contrary) yet make unlearned scruples of things they cannot colourably prove; if (I say) they can reasonably account for these things, I for my part will be ready to confess that they are not guilty of the greatest, the most unreasonable and inexcusable schism in the world. But else, they have no colour to palliate the unlearned crime. For will not all wise men in the world conclude, that the Church of God, which was then* Holy *not in title onely and designe, but practically and materially; and persecuted, and not immerged in secular temptations, could not all in*

one instant joyn together to alter that form of Church Government, which Christ and his Apostles had so recently established, and without a Divine warrant destroy a Divine institution, not onely to the confusion of the Hierarchy, but to the ruine of their own Souls. It were strange that so great a change should be, and no good man oppose it. In toto orbe decretum est: *so* St.Jerome. *All the world consented in the advancement of the Episcopal Order. And therefore if we had no more to say for it, yet in prudence and piety we cannot say they would innovate in so great a matter.*

But I shall enter no further upon this enquirie: onely I remember that it is not very many Months since the Bigots of the Popish party cryed out against us vehemently, and inquired, Where is your Church of England *since you have no Unity? for your Ecclesiastick head of Unity, your Bishops, are gone. And if we should be desirous to verify their argument, so as indeed to destroy Episcopacy, We should too much advantage Popery, and do the most imprudent and most impious thing in the world. But blessed be God, who hath restored that Government, for which Our late King of glorious memory gave his blood. And that (me thinks) should very much weigh with all the Kings true hearted Subjects, who should make it Religion not to rob that glorious Prince of the greatest honour of such a Martyrdom. For my part, I think it fit to rest in those words of another Martyr* St.Cyprian, Si quis cum Episcopo non sit, in Ecclesia non esse: *He that is not with the Bishop, is not in the Church: that is, he that goes away from him, and willingly separates, departs from Gods Church; and whether he can then be with God, is a very material consideration, and fit to be thought on by all that think heaven a more eligible good then the interests of a faction, and the importune desire of rule can countervail.*

However. I have in the following papers spoken a few things, which I hope may be fit to perswade them that are not infinitely prejudic'd: and although two or three good arguments are as good as two or three hundred, yet my purpose here was to prove the dignity and necessity of the Office and Order Episcopal, onely that it might be as an Oeconomy to convey notice, and remembrances of the great duty incumbent upon all them that undertake this great charge. The Dignity and the Duty take one another by the hand, and are born together: onely every Sheep of the Flock must take care to make the Bishops duty as easy as it can by humility and love, by Prayer and by Obedience. It is at the best very difficult, but they who oppose themselves to Government, make it harder and uncomfortable. But take heed; if thy Bishop hath cause to complain to God of thee for thy perversness and uncharitable walking, thou wilt be the loser. And for Us, We can onely say in the words of the Prophet, We will weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of our people: *But Our comfort is*

in God: for we can do nothing without him, *but in him* we can do all things. *And therefore We will pray,* Domine, dabis pacem nobis, omnia enim opera nostra operatus es in nobis: *God hath wrought all Our works within Us: and therefore he will give Us Peace, and give Us his Spirit.*

Finally, Brethren, pray for Us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorifyed, even as it is with you; and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men; for all men have not Faith.

And the Lord said, who then is that faithful and wise Steward, whom his Lord shall make Ruler over his houshold, to give them their portion of meat in due season.

Blessed is that Servant whom his Lord when he commeth shall find so doing.

τίς ἔστιν ἀρα πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος οἰκονόμος;

These words are not properly a question though they seem so, and the particle τις is not interogative, but hypothetical; and extends *who* to *whosoever*; plainly meaning that whoever is a steward over Christs houshold, of him God requires a great care, because he hath trusted him with a great imployment. Every Steward ὃν κατεστήκεν ὁ Κύριος, so it is in St. *Matthew.* ὃν καταστήσει ὁ Κύριος, so it is in my text; Every Steward whom the Lord *hath or shall* appoint 10. over the Family to rule it and to feed it, now and in all generations of men, as long as this Family shall abide on earth, that is, the Apostles, and they who were to succeed the Apostles in the Stewardship, were to be furnished with the same power, and to undertake the same charge, and to give the same strict and severe accounts. In these words here is something insinuated, and much expressed.

1. That which is insinuated onely is, who these Stewards are, whom Christ had, whom Christ would appoint over his Family the Church: they are not here nam'd, but we shall find them out by their proper direction, and indigitation by and by.

2. But that which is expressed, is the Office it self, in a double capacity. 1. In the dignity of it, It is a Rule and a Governement: *whom the Lord shall make Ruler* 20. *over his houshold.* 2. In the care and duty of it, which determines the government to be paternal and profitable; it is a Rule, but such a rule as Shepheards have over their flocks, to lead them to good pastures, and to keep them within their appointed walks, and within their folds: διδόναι σιτομέτριον: that's the work, to *give them a measure and proportion of nourishment:* τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ so St. *Matthew* calls it: *meat in the season*: that which is fit for them, and when it is fit; meat enough, and meat convenient; and both together mean that which the Greek Poets call αρμαλιὴν ἔιμμεκοη the strong wholsom dyet.

3. Lastly: Here is the reward of the faithful and wise dispensation. The Steward that does so, and continues to do so, till his Lord find him so doing, this man shall 30.

be blessed in his deed. *Blessed is the Servant whom his Lord when he commeth shall find so doing.* Of these in order.

1. Who are these Rulers of Christs Family? for though Christ knew it, and therefore needed not to ask; yet we have disputed it so much, and obeyed so little, that we have chang'd the plain hypothesis into an intangled question. The Answer yet is easie as to some part of the inquiry. The Apostles are the first meaning of the text: for they were our Fathers in Christ: they begat Sons and Daughters unto God: and where a spiritual paternity is evident, we need look no further for spiritual Government, because in the paternal rule all power is founded: They begat the Family by the power of the word and the life of the spirit, and they fed this 40.
family and rul'd it by the word of their proper Ministery. They had the keyes of this house, the Stewards Ensigne; and they had the Rulers place: for they sat on twelve thrones and judged the twelve tribes of Israel. But of this there is no question.

And as little of another proposition: that this Stewardship was to last for ever; for the powers of Ministring in this Office, and the Office it self were to be perpetual. For the issues and powers of Government are more necessary for the perpetuating the Church, then for the first planting: and if it was necessary that the Apostles should have a rod and a staff at first, it would be more necessary
afterwards when the Family was more numerous, and their first zeal abated, and 50.
their native simplicity perverted into arts of hypocrisy and formes of godliness, when *Heresies should arise, and the love of many should wax cold.* The Apostles had also a power of Ordination; and that the very power it self does *denote*, for it *makes* perpetuity, that could not expire in the dayes of the Apostles, for by it, they themselves propagated a succession. And Christ having promis'd his spirit to abide with his Church for ever, and made his Apostles the channels, the Ministers and conveyances of it, that it might descend as the inheritance and eternal portion of the Family; it cannot be imagined that when the first Ministers were gone, there should not others rise up in the same places, some like to the first, in the same
Office and Ministery of the spirit. But the thing is plain and evident in the matter 60.
of fact also. *Quod in Ecclesia nunc geritur, hoc olim fecerunt Apostoli,* said St. *Cyprian*; What the Apostles did at first, that the Church does to this day, and shall do so for ever. For when St. *Paul* had given to the Bishop of *Ephesus* rules of Government in this Family; he commands, that they should be *observed till the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ:* and therefore these authorities and charges are given to him and to his Successors; it is the observation of St. *Ambrose* upon the

warranty of that text, and is obvious and undeniable.

Well then. The Apostles were the first Stewards; and this Office dies not with them, but must for ever be succeeded in; and now begins the enquiry, who are the Successors of the Apostles: for they are, they must evidently be the Stewards to feed and to rule this Family. There are some that say, that all who have any portion of work in the Family, all the Ministers of the Gospel are these Stewards, and so all will be Rulers. The Presbyters surely; for say they, Presbyter and Bishop is the same thing, and have the same name in Scripture, and therefore the Office cannot be distinguished. To this I shall very briefly say two things, which will quickly clear our way through this bush of thornes.

1. That the word *Presbyter* is but an honourable appellative used amongst the Jews, as *Alderman* amongst us; but it signifies no order at all, nor was ever used in Scripture to signify any distinct company or order of Clergy. And this appears not onely by an Induction in all the enumerations of the Offices Ministerial in the New Testament: where to be a Presbyter is never reckoned either as a distinct Office, or a distinct order; but by its being indifferently communicated to all the superior Clergy, and all the Princes of the people.

2. The second thing I intended to say is this; that although all the superior Clergy had not onely one, but divers common appellatives; all being called πρεσβύτεροι, and διάκονοι, even the Apostolate it self being called a Deaconship; yet it is evident that before the common appellations were fixt into names of propriety, they were as evidently distinguished in their offices and powers, as they are at this day, in their Names and Titles.

To this purpose St. *Paul* gave to *Titus* the Bishop of *Crete* a special commission, command and power to make Ordinations: and in him, and in the person of *Timothy* he did erect a Court of Judicature even over some of the Clergy, who yet were called Presbyters: *against a Presbyter receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses:* there is the measure and the warranty of the *Audientia Episcopalis*, the Bishops Audience Court: and when the accused were found guilty he gives in charge to proceed to censures: ἔλεγχε ἀποτόμως, and δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν; *You must rebuke them sharply; and you must silence them; stop their mouths,* that's St. *Paul's* word; that they may no more scatter their venom in the ears and hearts of the people. These Bishops were commanded, *to set in order things that were wanting* in the Churches, the same with that power of St.

Paul; other things will I set in order when I come, said he to the Corinthian Churches; in which there were many who were called Presbyters: who nevertheless for all that name, had not that power. To the same purpose it is plain in Scripture, that *some would have been Apostles that were not;* such were those whom the spirit of God notes in the Revelation: and some did *love preeminence* that had it not: for so did *Diotrephes*: and some were Judges of questions, and all were not; for therefore they appealed to the Apostles at Jerusalem: and St. *Philip* though he was an Evangelist, yet he could not give confirmation to the Samaritans whom he had baptiz'd, but the Apostles were sent for: for that was part of the power reserv'd to the Episcopal or Apostolical order. 110.

Now from these premises the conclusion is plain and easy. 1. Christ left a Government in his Church, and founded it in the persons of the Apostles. 2. The Apostles received this power for the perpetual use and benefit, for the comfort and edification of the Church for ever. 3. The Apostles had this Government, but all that were taken into the Ministery, and all that were called Presbyters had it not. If therefore this Government in which there is so much disparity in the very nature and exercise and first original of it, must abide for ever; then so must that disparity: If the Apostolate in the first stabiliment was this eminency of power; then it must be so, that is, it must be the same in the succession that it was in the foundation. For after the Church is founded upon its Governours, we are to expect 120.
no change of government. If Christ was the Author of it, then as Christ left it, so it must abide for ever: for ever there must be the Governing and the Governed, the Superior and the Subordinate, the Ordainer and the Ordained, the confirmer and the confirmed.

Thus far the way is straight, and the path is plain. The Apostles were the Stewards and the ordinary Rulers of Christs Family by virtue of the order and office Apostolical; and although this must be succeeded to for ever; yet no man for his now, or at any time being called a Presbyter or Elder can pretend to it: for besides his being a Presbyter, he must be an Apostle too; else, though he be called *in partem sollicitudinis*, and may do the offices of assistance and understewardship; 130.
yet the κῦρος, the Government and Rule of the Family belongs not to him.

But then τίς ἄρα καὶ σήμερον; who are these Stewards and Rulers over the houshold now? To this the answer is also certain and easy. Christ hath made the same Governours to day as heretofore; *Apostles still.* For though the twelve Apostles are dead; Yet the Apostolical order is not: it is τάξις γεννητικὴ, *a*

generative order, and begets more Apostles: now who these *minores Apostoli* are, the successors of the Apostles in that office Apostolical and supreme regiment of Souls, we are sufficiently taught in Holy Scriptures; which when I have clearly shewn to you, I shall pass on to some more practical considerations.

1. Therefore, certain and known it is, that Christ appointed two sorts of 140.
Ecclesiastick persons; the twelve Apostles, and the seventy-two Disciples: to these he gave a limited commission, to those a fulness of power: to these a temporary imployment, to those a perpetual and everlasting; from these two societies founded by Christ, the whole Church of God derives the two superiour orders in the sacred Hierarchy; and as Bishops do not claim a Divine right but by succession from the Apostles: so the Presbyters cannot pretend to have been instituted by Christ, but by claiming a succession to the seventy-two: and then consider the difference, compare the Tables, and all the world will see the advantages of argument we have: for since the seventy-two had nothing but a mission on a temporary errand, and more then that we hear nothing of them in Scripture; but upon the Apostles 150.
Christ powred all the Ecclesiastical power, and made them the ordinary Ministers of that Spirit which was to abide with the Church for ever; the Divine institution of Bishops, that is, of Successors to the Apostles, is much more clear then that Christ appointed Presbyters, or Successors of the seventy-two: and yet if from hence they do not derive it, they can never prove their order to be of Divine institution at all, much less to be so alone.

But we may see the very thing it self: the very matter of fact. St. *James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, is by St. *Paul* called an Apostle: *Other Apostles saw I none, save* James *the Lords Brother*. For there were some whom the Scriptures call *the Apostles of our Lord;* that is, such which Christ made by his word immediately, or 160.
by his Spirit extraordinarily: and even into this number and title, *Matthias,* and St. *Paul*, and *Barnabas* were accounted. But the Church also made Apostles; and these were called by St. *Paul* ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, *Apostles of the Churches*, and particularly *Epaphroditus* was *the Apostle of the Philippians*: properly so (saith *Primasius*) and what is this else but the Bishop saith *Theodoret*; for τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους ὠνόμαζον αποστόλους, those who are now called Bishops were then called Apostles, saith the same Father: the sence and full meaning of which argument is a perfect commentary upon that famous prophecy of the Church, *In stead of thy Father thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make Princes in all Lands,* that is, not onely the twelve Apostles our Fathers in Christ, 170.
who first begat us, were to rule Christs Family, but when they were gone, their

Children and Successors should arise in their stead *Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis*, their direct Successors to all generations shall be *principes populi*, that is, Rulers and Governours of the whole Catholick Church. *De prole enim Ecclesiae crevit eidem paternitas,* id est, *Episcopi quos illa genuit, et patres appellat, et constituit in sedibus Patrum;* saith St. *Augustine;* the Children of the Church become Fathers of the faithful; that is, the Church begets Bishops: and places them in the seat of Fathers, the first Apostles.

After these plain and evident testimonies of Scripture, it will not be amiss to say, that this great affair relying not onely upon the words of institution, but on 190.
matter of fact; pas'd forth into a demonstration and greatest notoriety by the Doctrine and Practise of the whole Catholick Church. For so St. *Irenaeus* who was one of the most Ancient Fathers of the Church, and might easily make good his affirmative: *We can* (says he) *reckon the men who by the Apostles were appointed Bishops in the Churches, to be their Successors unto Us; leaving to them the same power and authority which they had.* Thus St. *Polycarp* was by the Apostles made Bishop of *Smyrna*; St. *Clement* Bishop of *Rome* by St. *Peter*, and divers others by the Apostles, saith *Tertullian*, saying also that the Asian Bishops were consecrated by St. *John*; and to be short, that Bishops are the Successours of the Apostles in the Stewardship and Rule of the Church, is expresly 190.
taught by St. *Cyprian*, and St. *Jerome*, St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Augustine,* by *Euthymius*, and St. *Pacian*, by St. *Gregory*, and St. *John Damascene*, by *Clarus a Muscula*, and St. *Sixtus*, by *Anacletus*, and St. *Isidore*; by the Roman Councel under St. *Silvester*, and the Councel of *Carthage*; and the διαδοχή, or sucession of Bishops from the Apostles hands in all the Churches Apostolical was as certainly known as in our Chronicles we find the succession of our English Kings, and one can no more be denyed then the other. The conclusion from these premises I give you in the words of St. *Cyprian, Cogitent Diaconi quod Apostolos,* id est, *Episcopos Dominus ipse elegerit.* Let the ministers know that, Apostles, that is, the Bishops were chosen by our blessed Lord himself; and this was so evident, and so believed, 200.
that St. *Augustine* affirms it with a *nemo ignorat*, No man is so ignorant, but he knows this, that our blessed Saviour appointed Bishops over the Churches.

Indeed the Gnostics spake evil of this order; for they are noted by three Apostles, St. *Paul,* St. *Peter*, and St. *Jude*, to be despisers of Government, and to speak evil of dignities; and what Government it was they did so despise, we may understand by the words of St. *Jude*: they were εν αντιλογια Κορε, in the contradiction or gainsaying of *Corah*, who with his company rose up against *Aaron*

the high Priest: and excepting these who were the vilest of Men, no man within the first three hundred years after Christ, oppos'd Episcopacy. But when *Constantine* receiv'd the Church into his armes, he found it universally governed by Bishops and therefore no wise or good man professing to be a Christian, that is, to believe the holy Catholick Church, can be content to quit the Apostolical Government; (that by which the whole Family of God was fed, and taught and rul'd) and beget to himself new Fathers and new Apostles, who by wanting Succession from the Apostles of our Lord, have no Ecclesiastical and Derivative communion with the fountains of our Saviour.

If ever St. *Vincent of Lerins's* rule could be us'd in any question, it is in this: *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;* That Bishops are the Successors of the Apostles in this Stewardship; and that they did always rule the Family, was taught and acknowledged always, and every where, and by all men that were of the Church of God: and if these evidences be not sufficient to convince modest and sober persons in this question, We shall find our faith to fail in many other articles, of which we yet are very confident. For the observation of the Lords day, the Consecration of the Holy Eucharist by Priests, the Baptizing Infants, the communicating of Women, and the very Canon of the Scripture it self rely but upon the same probation: and therefore the denying of Articles thus proved, is a way (I do not say) to bring in all Sects and Heresies, (that's but little) but a plain path and inlet to Atheism and Irreligion: for by this means, it will not onely be impossible to agree concerning the meaning of Scripture, but the Scripture itself, and all the Records of Religion will become useless, and of no efficacy or persuasion.

I am entered into a Sea of matter, but I will break it off abruptly, and sum up this enquirie with the words of the Councel of *Chalcedon,* which is one of the four Generals, by our Laws made the measures of judging Heresies. Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν ἀναφέρειν, ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν. *It is Sacriledge to bring back a Bishop to the degree and order of a Presbyter.* It is indeed a rifling the order, and intangling the gifts, and confounding the method of the Holy Ghost: it is a dishonouring them whom God would honour, and a robbing them of those spiritual eminences with which the spirit of God does anoint the consecrated heads of Bishops. And I shall say one thing more, which indeed is a great truth, that the diminution of Episcopacy was first introduced by Popery, and the Popes of Rome by communicating to Abbots, and other mere Priests special graces to exercise some essential Offices of Episcopacie, hath made this sacred order to be cheap, and apt

to be invaded. But then adde this; If *Simon Magus* was in so damnable a condition for offering to buy the guifts and powers of the Apostolical order, what shall we think of them that *snatch* them away, and pretend to wear them whether the Apostles and their Successors will or no? This is ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, to bely the Holy Ghost; that is the least of it: it is rapine and sacriledge, besides the heresie and the schism, and the spiritual lie. For the government Episcopal, as it was exemplified in the Synagogue, and practised by the same 250.
measures in the Temple, so it was transcribed by the eternal son of God, who translated it into a Gospel Ordinance: it was sanctifyed by the Holy Spirit, who named some of the persons, and gave to them all power and graces from above. It was subjected in the Apostles first, and by them transmitted to a distinct Order of Ecclesiasticks: it was received into all Churches, consigned in the Records of the Holy Scriptures, preached by the universal voice of all the Christian World, delivered by notorious and uninterrupted practise, and deriv'd to further and unquestionable issue by perpetual succession.

I have done with the hardest part of the Text, by finding out the persons intrusted, *the Stewards of Christs Family*: which though Christ onely intimated in 260.
this place, yet he plainly enough manifested in others: The Apostles and their Successors the Bishops, are the men intrusted with this great charge: *God grant they may all discharge it well.* And so I pass from the Officers, to a consideration of the Office it self, in the next words: *Whom the Lord shall make Ruler over his Houshold, to give them their meat in due season.*

2. The Office it self is the Stewardship, that is, Episcopacy, the Office of the Bishop. The name signifies an Office of the Ruler indefinitely, but the word was chosen, and by the Church appropriated to those whom it now signifies, both because the word it self is a monition of duty, and also because the faithful were used to it in the days of *Moses* and the Prophets. The word is in the prophecy of 270.
the Church, *I will give to thee Princes in peace,* καὶ ἐπισκόπους ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ *and Bishops in righteousness,* upon which place St. *Jerome* says, *Principes Ecclesiae vocat futuros Episcopos: The spirit of God calls them who were to be Christian* Bishops, *principes, or chief Rulers,* and this was no new thing: For the chief of the Priests who were set over the rest, are called *Bishops* by all the Hellenist Jews. Thus *Joel* is called ἐπίσκοπος ἐπ αυτὸυς *the Bishop over the Priests*, and the son of *Bani* ἐπίσκοπος λευίτων, *the Bishop* and *Visitor over the Levites*, and we find at the purging of the Land from idolatry, the High-Priest plac'd επισκοπους εἰς οἶκον κυρίου, *Bishops over the House of God.*

Nay, it was the appellative of the High-Priest himself: ἐπίσκοπος Ἐλεάζαρ, 280
Bishop *Eleazar, the Son of Aaron the Priest*, to whom is committed the care of the Lamps, and the daily Sacrifice, and the holy unction.

Now this word the Church retain'd, choosing the same Name to her superiour Ministers, because of the likeness of the Ecclesiastical Government between the Old and New-Testament.

For Christ made no change but what was necessary. Baptism was a rite among the Jews, and the Lords-Supper was but the *post-coenium* of the Hebrews chang'd into a mystery, from a type to a more real exhibition; and the Lords Prayer was a collection of the most eminent devotions of the Prophets and Holy men before Christ, who prayed by the same spirit: and the censures Ecclesiastical were but an 290.
imitation of the proceedings of the Judaical tribunals: and the whole Religion was but the Law of *Moses* drawn out of it's vail into clarity and manifestation: and to conclude, in order to the present affair, the Government which Christ left was the same as he found it: for what *Aaron* and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are in the Church: it is affirmed by St. *Jerome* more then once; and the use he makes of it is this, *Esto subjectus pontifici tuo, et quasi animae parentem suscipe:* Obey your Bishop, and receive him as the nursing Father of your Soul. But above all; this appellation is made honourable by being taken by our Blessed Lord himself. For he is called in Scripture, the great Shepheard and *Bishop* of our Souls. 300.

But our inquirie is not after the Name, but the Office, and the dignity and duty of it: *Ecclesiae gubernandae sublimis ac divina potestas* (so St. *Cyprian* calls it) *a High and a Divine power from God of Governing the Church: rem magnam et preciosam in conspectu Domini* (so St. *Cyril*) a *great and a pretious thing in the sight of God:* τῶν ἐν ἀνθρωποις εὐκταίων ὅρον, by *Isidor Pelusiot; the utmost limit of what is desireable amongst men.* But the account upon which it is so desireable, is the same also that makes it formidable. They who have tryed it, and did it conscientiously, have found the burden so great, as to make them stoop with care and labour; And they who do it ignorantly or carelesly, will find it will break their bones. For the Bishops Office is all that duty which can be signified by those 310
excellent words of St. *Cyprian; He is a Bishop or Overseer of the Brotherhood, the Ruler of the people, the Shepheard of the Flock, the Governour of the Church, the Minister of Christ, and the Priest of God.* These are great titles, and yet less then what is said of them in Scripture; which calls them *Salt of the Earth, Lights upon a*

candlestick; Stars and Angels, Fathers of our Faith, Embassadors of God, Dispensors of the Mysteries of God, the Apostles of the Churches, and the Glory of Christ: but then they are great burdens too: for the Bishop is πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, intrusted with the Lords people; that's a great charge; but there is a worse matter that follows; καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος: the Bishop is he of whom God will require *an account for all* 320. *their souls:* they are the words of St. *Paul*, and transcribed into the fortieth Canon of the Apostles, and the twenty-fourth Canon of the Councel of *Antioch.*

And now I hope the envy is taken off: for the honour does not pay for the burden; and we can no sooner consider Episcopacy in its dignity, as it is a *Rule*; but the very nature of that *Rule* does imply so severe a duty, that as the load of it is almost insufferable, so the event of it is very formidable if we take not great care. For this Stewardship is Κυριότης καὶ διακονία, a Principality and a Ministery. So it was in Christ: he is Lord of all, and yet he was the Servant of all: so it was in the Apostles, it was κλῆρος διακονίας καὶ ἀποστολῆς, their lot was to be Apostles, and yet to serve and minister: and it is remarkable that in 330. Isaiah the Septuagint use the word ἐπίσκοπος or Bishop; but there they use it for the Hebrew word *nechosheth*, which the Greeks usually render by ἐργοδιώκτης, φορολόγος, πράκτωρ, and the interlineary translation by *Exactores.* Bishops are onely Gods Ministers and tribute gatherers, requiring and over seeing them that they do their duty; and therefore here the case is so, and the burden so great, and the dignity so allayed, that the envious man hath no reason to be troubled that his brother hath so great a load; nor the proud man vainly to be delighted with so honourable a danger. It is indeed a Rule; but it is paternal; it is a Government, but it must be neither ἀναγκαστικὸν, nor αἰσχροκερδὲς, it is neither a power to constrain, nor a commission to get wealth: for it must be 340. without necessity, and not for filthy lucre sake; but it is a Rule, ὡς διακονοῦντος, so St. *Luke, as of him that ministers;* ως παντων δουλου, so St. *Mark: as of him that is Servant of all:* ὡς πόδας νίπτοντος, so St. *John*; such a principality as he hath *that washes the feet* of the weary traveller: or if you please, take it in the words of our Blessed Lord himself, that *He that will be chief among you let him be your Minister,* meaning that if under Christs Kingdom you desire rule, possibly you may have it; but all that Rule under him are Servants to them that are rul'd, and therefore you get nothing by it, but a great labour, and a buisy imployment, a careful life, and a necessity of making severe accounts. But all this is nothing but the general measures, I cannot be useful or understood, unless I 350.

be more particular. The particulars we shall best enumerate by recounting those great conjugations of worthy offices and actions by which Christian Bishops have blessed and built up Christendom, for because we must be followers of them, as they were of Christ, the recounting what they did worthily in their generations, will not onely demonstrate how useful, how profitable, how necessary Episcopacy is to the Christian Church, but will at the same time teach us our duty, by what services we are to benefit the Church, in what works we are to be imployed, and how to give an account of our Stewardship with joy.

1. The Christian Church was founded by Bishops: not onely because the Apostles, who were Bishops, were the first Preachers of the Gospel, and Planters of 360.
Churches, but because the Apostolical men, whom the Apostles used in planting and disseminating Religion, were by all Antiquity affirm'd to have been Diocesan Bishops; insomuch that as St. *Epiphanius* witnesses there were at the first disseminations of the faith of Christ, many Churches who had in them no other Clergy, but a Bishop and his Deacons, and the Presbyters were brought in afterwards as the harvest grew greater. But the Bishops names are known, *they are recorded in the book of Life*, and *their praise is in the Gospel*: such were *Timothy* and *Titus, Clement* and *Linus, Mark* and *Dyonisius, Onesimus* and *Caius, Epaphroditus* and St. *James our Lords Brother, Evodias* and *Simeon*: all which, if
there be any faith in Christians that gave their lives for a testimony to the faith, 370.
and any truth in their Stories; and unless we who believe *Thucydides* and *Plutarch, Livy* and *Tacitus*, think that all Church story is a perpetual Romance, and that all the brave men, the Martyrs and the Doctors of the Primitive Church, did conspire as one man to abuse all Christendom for ever; I say unless all these impossible suppositions be admitted, all these whom I have now reckoned were Bishops fixed in several Churches, and had Dioceses for their Charges.

The consequent of this consideration is this. If Bishops were those upon whose Ministery Christ founded and built his Church, let us consider what great wisdom is required of them that seem to be Pillars: The Stewards of Christs Family must be wise: that Christ requires, and if the order be necessary to the Church, wisdom 380.
cannot but be necessary to the Order. For it is a shame if they who by their Office are Fathers in Christ, shall by their unskilfulness be but Babes themselves; understanding not the secrets of Religion, the mysteries of Godliness, the perfections of the Evangelical Law, all the advantages and disadvantages in the Spiritual life. A Bishop must be exercis'd in Godliness, a man of great experience in the secret conduct of Souls, not satisfyed with an ordinary skill in makeing homilies

to the people, and speaking common exhortations in ordinary cases; but ready to answer in all secret inquiries, and able to convince the gainsayers, and to speak wisdom amongst them that are perfect.

If the first Bishops laid the foundation, their Successours must not onely preserve whatsoever is fundamental, but build up the Church in a most holy Faith, taking care that no Heresie sap the foundation, and that no hay or rotten wood be built upon it: and above all things, that a most Holy life be superstructed upon a holy and unreproveable Faith. So the Apostles laid the foundation, and built the walls of the Church, and their Successors must raise up the roof as high as Heaven. For let us talk and dispute eternally, we shall never compose the controversies in Religion, and establish truth upon unalterable foundations, as long as Men handle the word of God deceiptfully, that is, with designes and little artifices, and saecular partialities, and they will for ever do so, as long as they are proud or covetous. It is not the difficulty of our questions, or the subtilty of our adversaries that makes disputes interminable; but We shall never cure the itch of disputing, or establish Unity, unless we apply our selves to humility, and contempt of riches. If we will be contending, let us contend like the Olive and the Vine, who shall produce best, and most fruit: not like the Aspine and the Elm which shall make most noyse in a wind. All other methods are a beginning at the wrong end. And as for the people; the way to make them conformable to the wise and holy rules of faith and government, is by reducing them to live good lives. When the Children of Israel gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness, and filthy lusts, they quickly fell into abominable idolatries; and St. *Paul* says that men make shipwrack of their faith by putting away a good conscience: for the mystery of faith is best preserv'd ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει, in a pure conscience, saith the same Apostle: secure but that, and we shall quickly end our disputes, and have an obedient and conformable people: but else never.

2. As Bishops were the first Fathers of Churches, and gave them being: so they preserve them in being. For without Sacraments there is no Church; or it will be starv'd and die: and without Bishops there can be no Priests, and consequently no Sacraments: and that must needs be a supream order from whence ordination it self proceeds. For it is evident and notorious that in Scripture there is no record of ordination, but an Apostolical hand was in it: one of the ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι, one of the chief, one of the superiour and Ruling Clergy: and it is as certain in the descending ages of the Church, the Bishop always had that power, it was never denyed to him, and it was never imputed to Presbyters: and St. *Jerome* himself

when out of his anger against *John,* Bishop of *Jerusalem* endeavoured to equal the Presbyter with the Bishop, though in very many places he spake otherwise, yet even then also, and in that heat, he excepted *ordination*, acknowledging that to be the Bishops peculiar. And therefore they who go about to extinguish Episcopacy, do as *Julian* did; they destroy the Presbytery, and starve the Flock, and take away their Shepheards, and dispark their pastures, and tempt Gods providence to extraordinaries, and put the people to hard shifts, and turn the channels of Salvation quite another way, and leave the Church to a perpetual uncertainty, 430.
whether she be alive or dead, and the people destitute of the life of their Souls, and their daily bread, and their spiritual comforts, and holy blessings.

The consequent of this is. If Sacraments depend upon Bishops, then let us take care that we convey to the people holy and pure materials, sanctifyed with a holy ministery, and ministred by holy persons. For although it be true, that the efficacy of the Sacraments does not depend wholly upon the worthiness of him that ministers; yet it is as true, that it does not wholly rely upon the worthiness of the Receiver: but both together relying upon the goodness of God produce all those blessings which are designed. The Minister hath an influence into the effect, and does very much towards it; and if there be a failure there, it is a defect in one of 440.
the concurring causes; and therefore an Unholy Bishop is a great diminution to the peoples blessing. St. *Jerome* presses this severely: *Impie faciunt etc. They do wickedly who affirm that the Holy Eucharist is consecrated by the words* alone *and solemn prayer of the consecrator, and not* also *by his life and holiness,* and therefore St. *Cyprian* affirms, that *none but holy and upright men are to be chosen who offering their Sacrifices worthily to God may be heard in their prayers for the Lords people*: but for others; *Sacrificia eorum panis luctus* (saith the prophet *Hosea*) *their Sacrifices are like the bread of sorrow, who ever eats thereof shall be defiled.* This discourse is not mine but St. *Cyprian's*; and although his words are not to be understood dogmatically, but in the case of duty and caution, yet we may lay our 450.
hands upon our hearts, and consider how we shall give an account of our Stewardship, if we shall offer to the people the bread of God with impure hands: it is of it self a pure nourishment, but if it passes through an unclean vessel, it loses much of it's excellency.

3. The like also is to be said concerning prayer. For the Episcopal Order is appointed by God to be the great Ministers of Christs Priesthood that is, to stand between Christ and the people in the entercourse of prayer and blessing. *We will give our selves continually to prayer:* said the Apostles: that was the one half of

their imployment: and indeed a Bishop should spend very much of his time in holy prayer, and in diverting Gods judgments, and procuring blessings to the people; for 460.
in all times, the chief of the Religion was ever the chief Minister of blessing. Thus *Abraham* blessed *Abimelech*, and *Melchisedek* blessed *Abraham*, and *Aaron* blessed the people; and *without all controversy* (saith the Apostle) *the less is blessed of the Greater.* But then *we know that God heareth not sinners*; and it must be *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous Man* that shall *prevail.*

And therefore we may easily consider that a vitious Prelate is a great calamity to that Flock, which he is appointed to bless and pray for. How shall he reconcile the penitents, who is himself at enmity with God? How shall the Holy Spirit of God descend upon the Symbols at his prayer who does perpetually grieve him, and quench his holy fires, and drive him quite away? How shall he that hath not tasted 470.
of the spirit by contemplation, stir up others to earnest desires of Celestial things? Or what good shall the people receive, when the Bishop lays upon their head a covetous or a cruel, an unjust or an impure hand? But therefore that I may use the words of St. *Jerome. Cum ab Episcopo gratia in populum transfundatur, et mundi totius et Ecclesiae totius condimentum sit Episcopus etc.* since it is intended that from the Bishop grace should be diffus'd amongst all the people, there is not in the world a greater indecency then a holy office ministred by an unholy person, and no greater injury to the people, then that of the blessings which God sends to them by the Ministeries Evangelical they should be cheated and defrauded by a wicked Steward. And therefore it was an exellent prayer which to this very purpose was by 480.
the son of *Sirach* made in behalf of the High-Priests, the sons of *Aaron: God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever.*

4. All the offices Ecclesiastical always were, and ought to be conducted by the Episcopal order, as is evident in the universal doctrine and practise of the primitive Church. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν. It is the fortieth Canon of the Apostles, *Let the Presbyters and Deacons do nothing without leave of the Bishop.* But that case is known.

The consequent of this consideration is no other then the admonition in my 490.
text. *We are Stewards of the manifold Grace of God*, and dispensers of the mysteries of the Kingdom; and *it is required of Stewards that they be found faithful*; that *we preach the word of God in season and out of season, that we rebuke and exhort,*

admonish and correct; for these, God calls *Pastores secundum cor meum, Pastors according to his own heart, which feed the people with knowledge and understanding*; but they must also *comfort the afflicted and bind up the broken heart*; minister the Sacraments with great diligence, and righteous measures, and abundant charity, alwayes having in mind those passionate words of Christ to St. *Peter*; If thou lovest me, feed my sheep; If thou hast any love to me, feed my lambs.

And let us remember this also, that nothing can enforce the people to obey 500.
their Bishops as they ought, but our doing that duty and charity to them which God requires. There is reason in these words of St. *Chrysostom, It is necessary that the Church should adhere to their Bishop as the body to the head, as plants to their roots, as rivers to their springs, as children to their Fathers, as Disciples to their Masters.* These similitudes express not onely the relation and dependency, but they tell us the reason of the duty. The head gives light and reason to conduct the body, the roots give nourishment to the plants, and the springs, perpetual emanation of waters to the channels. Fathers teach and feed their children, and Disciples receive wise instruction from their Masters: and if we be all this to the people, they will be all that to us; and wisdom will compel them to submit, and our humility will teach 510.
them obedience, and our charity will invite their compliance. Our good example will provoke them to good works , and our meekness will melt them into softness and flexibility. For all the Lords people are *populus voluntarius*, a free and willing people; and we who cannot compel their bodies, must thus constrain their souls; by inviting their wills, by convincing their understandings, by the beauty of fair example, the efficacy and holiness and the demonstrations of the spirit.

This is *experimentum ejus qui in nobis loquitur Christus.* The experiment of Christ that speaketh in us. For to this purpose those are excellent words which St. *Paul* spake. *Remember them who have the rule over you, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.* There lyes the demonstration: and those 520.
Prelates who teach good life, whose Sermons are the measures of Christ, and whose life is a coppy of their Sermons; these must be followed; and surely these will: for these are burning and shining lights: but if we hold forth false fires, and by the amusement of evil examples call the vessels that sail upon a dangerous Sea to come upon a rock, or an iron shore instead of a safe harbour, we cause them to make shipwrack of their precious faith, and to perish in the deceiptful and unstable waters. *Vox operum fortius sonat quam verborum.* A good life is the strongest argument that your faith is good, and a gentle voice will be sooner entertaind then a voice of thunder: but the greatest eloquence in the world, is a meek Spirit, and a

liberal hand: these are the two pastoral staves the Prophet speaks of *nognam & hovelim, beauty and bands:* he that hath the staff of the beauty of holiness, the ornament of fair example, he hath also the staff of bands, *atque in funiculis Adam trahet eos, in vinculis charitatis*; as the Prophet *Hosea's* expression is; he shall draw the people after him by the cords of a man, by the bands of a holy charity. But if against all these demonstrations any man will be refractary; We have in stead of a staff, an Apostolical rod; which is the last and latest remedy, and either brings to repentance, or consignes to ruin or reprobation.

If there were any time remaining; I could reckon that the Episcopal order is the principle of Unity in the Church; and we see it is so, by the innumerable Sects that sprang up when Episcopacy was persecuted. I could adde, how that Bishops were the cause that St. *John* wrote his Gospel; that the Christian Faith was for three hundred years together bravely defended by the sufferings, the prisons and the flames, the life and the death of Bishops, as the principal Combatants. That the Fathers of the Church whose writings are held in so great veneration in all the Christian World, were almost all of them Bishops. I could adde, that the Reformation of Religion in *England* was principally by the Preachings and the disputings, the writings and the Martyrdom of Bishops. That Bishops have ever since been the greatest defensatives against Popery. That *England* and *Ireland* were Governed by Bishops ever since they were Christian, and under their conduct have for so many ages enjoyed all the blessings of the Gospel. I could adde also, that Episcopacy is the great stabiliment of Monarchy; but of this we are convinc'd by a sad and too dear bought experience. I could therefore in stead of it, say, that Episcopacy is the great ornament of Religion. That as it rescues the Clergy from contempt; so it is the greatest preservative of the peoples liberty from Ecclesiastick Tyranny on one hand, the Gentry being little better then Servants, while they live under the Presbytery. And Anarchy and licentiousness on the other. That it endears obedience. And is subject to the Laws of Princes. And is wholly ordained for the good of mankind, and the benefit of Souls. But I cannot stay to number all the blessings which have entered into the world at this door: I onely remark these because they describe unto us the Bishops imployment, which is, to be buisy in the service of Souls, to do good in all capacities, to serve every mans need, to promote all publick benefits, to cement Governments, to establish peace, to propagate the Kingdom of Christ, to do hurt to no man, to do good to every man; that is, so to minister, that Religion and Charity, publick peace, and private blessings may be in their exaltation.

As long as it was thus done by the Primitive Bishops, the Princes and the People gave them all honour. Insomuch that by a decree of *Constantine* the great, the Bishop had power given him to retract the sentences made by the Presidents of Provinces, and we find in the acts of St. *Nicholas*, that he rescued some innocent persons from death when the executioner was ready to strike the fatal blow: which 570.
thing even when it fell into inconvenience; was indeed forbidden by *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; but the confidence and honour was onely chang'd, it was not taken away: for the condemned criminal had leave to appeal to the *Audientia Episcopalis*, to the Bishops Court. This was not any right which the Bishops could challenge, but a reward of their piety; and so long as the Holy Office was holily administred, the World found so much comfort and security, so much justice and mercy, so many temporal and spiritual blessings consequent to the ministeries of that order, that as the Galatians to St. *Paul*, men have plucked out their eys to do them service, and to do them honour. For then Episcopacy did that good that God intended by it: it was a spiritual Government, by spiritual persons, for spiritual ends. Then the 580.
Princes and the People gave them honours because they deserv'd and sought them not: then they gave them wealth, because they would dispend it wisely, frugally and charitably: Then they gave them power; because it was sure to be us'd for the defence of the innocent, for relief of the oppressed, for the punishment of evil doers, and the reward of the virtuous. Then they desir'd to be judg'd by them because their audiences or Courts did ἡσυχάζειν τὸ βαρβαρικόν, they appeas'd all furious sentences, and taught gentle principles, and gave merciful measures, and in their Courts were all equity and piety, and Christian determinations.

But afterwards, when they did fall εἰς δυνασέιαν into saecular methods, and made their Counsels vain by pride, and durtyed their sentences with money, 590.
then they became like other men; and so it will be, unless the Bishops be more holy then other men; but when our sanctity and severity shall be as eminent as the calling is, then we shall be called to Councels, and sit in publick meetings, and bring comfort to private Families, and rule in the hearts of men by a *jus relationis*, such as was between the Roman Emperors and the Senate; they courted one another into power, and in giving honour striv'd to out do each other: for from an humble wise man, no man will snatch an imployment that is honourable; but from the proud and from the covetuous every man endeavours to wrest it, and thinks it lawful prize.

My time is now done; and therefore I cannot speak to the third part of my 600.
text; the reward of the good Steward and of the bad: I shall onely mention it to

Shepheards of the flock, and Stewards of the houshould; it is very fit they consider their danger, that they may be careful to do their duty. St. *Bernard* considers it well in his epistle to *Henry*, Archbishop of *Sens*; If I lying in my Cell, and smoaking under a Bushel, not shining, yet cannot avoid the breath of the winds but that my light is almost blown out; what will becom of my Candle if it were plac'd on a candlestick and set upon a hill? I am to look to my self alone, and provide for my own salvation; and yet I offend my self, I am weary of my self, I am my own scandal and my own danger: my own eye, and my own belly, and my own appetite find me work enough; and therefore God help them who besides themselves are answerable for many others. *Jacob* kept the Sheep of *Laban*; and We keep the Sheep of Christ: and *Jacob* was to answer for every Sheep that was stoln, and every lamb that was torn by the wild beast; and so shall We too; if by our fault one of Christs Sheep perish; and yet it may be there are one hundred thousand Souls committed to the care and conduct of some one Shepheard, who yet will find his own Soul work enough for all his care and watchfulness. If any man should desire me to carry a Frigat into the Indies in which a hundred men were imbarqued; I were a mad man to undertake the charge, without proportionable skill; and therefore when there is more danger, and more Souls, and rougher Seas, and more secret Rocks, and horrible Storms, and the Shipwrack is an eternal loss, the matter will then require great consideration in the undertaking, and greatest care in the conduct.

Upon this account we find many brave persons in the first and in the middle ages of the Church with great resolution refusing Episcopacy. I will not speak of those who for fear of Martyrdom declin'd it: but those who for fear of damnation did refuse. St. *Bernard* was by three rich Citties severally called to be their Bishop: and by two to be their Arch-Bishop and he refus'd them; St. *Dominic* refus'd four successively; St. *Thomas Aquinas* refus'd the Archbishoprick of *Naples*, and St. *Vincent Ferrer* would not accept of *Valencia*, or *Lerida*, and St. *Bernardine of Siena* refus'd the Bishopricks of *Siena, Urbino* and *Ferrara*. They had reason; and yet if they had done amiss in that office which they declin'd, it had been something more excusable; but if they that seek it be as careless in the office as they are greedy of the honour, that will be found intolerable. *Electus Episcopus ambulat in disco, recusans volvitur in arca,* said the Hermit in St. *Jerome*. The Bishop walks upon round and trundling stones, but he that refuses it, stands upon a floor. But I shall say no more of it; because I suppose you have read it and considered it in St. *Chrysostom's* six books *De Sacerdotio*, in the *Apologetica* of St. *Gregory*

Nazianzus, in the pastoral of St. *Gregory of Rome*, in St. *Dionysius's* eighth epistle to *Demophilus*, in the Letters of *Epiphanius* to St. *Jerome*, in St. *Augustine's* Epistle to Bishop *Valerius*, in St. *Bernard's* life of St. *Malachy*, in St. *Jerome's* one hundred and thirty-eighth Epistle to *Fabiola;* These things I am sure you could not read without trembling; and certainly, if it can belong to any Christian, then *work out your Salvation with fear and trembling*, that's the Bishops burden. For the 680.
Bishop is like a man that is surety for his friend; he is bound for many, and for great sums; what's to be done in this case? *Solomon's* answer is the way: *Do this now, my Son, deliver thy self, make sure thy friend, give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eye lids:* that is, be sedulous to discharge thy trust, to perform thy charge; be zealous for Souls, and careless of money; and remember this, that even in Christs Family there was one sad example of an Apostate Apostle; and he fell into that fearful estate merely by the desire and greediness of money. Be warm in zeal, and indifferent in thy temporalities. For he that is zealous in temporals, and cold in the spiritual: he that doth the accessories of his calling by himself, and the principal by his Deputies: he that is present at the feast of Sheep-shearing, and 690.
puts others to feed the flock, hath no signe at all upon him of a good Shepheard. *It is not fit for us to leave the word of God, and to serve tables,* said the Apostles. And if it be a less worthy office to serve the tables even of the poor, to the diminution of our care in the dispensation of Gods word; it must needs be an unworthy imployment to leave the word of God, and to attend the rich and superfluous furniture of our own Tables. Remember the quality of your charges. *Civitas est, Vigilate ad custodiam et concordiam: sponsa est, studete amari: oves sunt, intendite pastui.* The Church is a Spouse; The Universal Church is Christs Spouse; but your own Diocess is yours; behave your selves so, that ye be beloved. Your people are as sheep, and they must be fed and guided and preserved, and healed, and brought 700.
home. The Church is a City, and you are the watch-men, Take care that the City be kept at Unity in it self: be sure to make peace amongst your people, suffer no hatreds, no quarrels, no suits at Law amongst the Citizens, which you can avoid: make peace in your Diocesses by all the ways of prudence, piety and authority that you can, and let not your own corrections of criminals be to any purpose, but for their amendment, for the cure of offenders, as long as there is hope, and for the security of those who are sound and whole. Preach often, and pray continually; let your discipline be with charity, and your censures slow: let not Excommunications pass for trifles; and drive not away the fly from your brothers forehead with a hatchet: give counsel frequently, and dispensations seldom, but never without 710.
necessity or great charity. Let every place in your Diocess say, *Invenerunt me*

vigiles, the Watch men have found me out, *hassovevim*. They that walk the City round, have sought me out and found me. Let every one of us (as St. *Paul's* expression is) *shew himself a workman, that shall not be ashamed: operarium inconfusibilem*, mark that, such a labourer as shall not be put to shame for his illness, or his unskilfulness, his falseness and unfaithfulness in that day when the great Bishop of Souls shall make his last and dreadful visitation. For be sure, there is not a carkase nor a skin, not a lock of wool, nor a drop of milk of the whole flock, but God shall for it call the Idol Shepheard to a severe account. And how, think you, will his anger burn, when he shall see so many Goats standing at his left hand, and so few Sheep at his right? and upon inquiry shall find, that his ministering Shepheards, were Wolves in Sheeps cloathing; and that by their ill example, or pernitious doctrines, their care of money, and carelesness of their flocks, so many Souls perish: who if they had been carefully and tenderly, wisely and conscientiously handled, might have shin'd as bright as Angels. And it is a sad consideration to remember how many Souls are pittifully handled in this world, and carelessly dismissed out of this world: they are left to live at their own rate, and when they are sick they are bidden to be of good comfort, and then all is well: who when they are dead, find themselves cheated of their pretious and invaluable eternity. Oh, how will those Souls in their eternal prisons for ever curse those evil and false guides! and how will those evil guides themselves abide in judgment, when the Angels of wrath snatch their abused people into everlasting torments! For will God bless them or pardon them, by whom so many Souls perish? shall they reign with Christ, who evacuate the death of Christ, and make it useless to dear Souls? Shall they partake of Christs glories, by whom it comes to pass that there is less joy in Heaven it self, even because sinners are not converted, and God is not glorifyed, and the people is not instructed, and the Kingdom of God is not filled? Oh no! the curses of a false Prophet will fall upon them, and the reward of the evil Steward will be their portion, and they who destroyed the Sheep, or neglected them, shall have their portion with Goats for ever and ever in everlasting burnings, in which it is impossible for a man to dwell.

Can any thing be beyond this? beyond damnation? Surely a man would think, not. And yet I remember a severe saying of St. *Gregory; Scire debent Praelati, quod tot mortibus digni sunt, quot perditionis exempla ad subditos extenderunt.* One damnation is not enough for an evil Shepheard: but for every Soul who dies by his evil example or pernitious carelesness, he deserves a new death, a new damnation. Let us therefore be wise and faithful, walk warily, and watch carefully, and rule

diligently, and pray assiduously. For God is more propense to rewards, then to punishments: and the good Steward that is wise and faithful in his dispensation, shall be greatly blessed. But how? *He shall be ruler over the houshold.* What is 750. that? for he is so already. True: but he shall be much more: *Ex dispensatore faciet procuratem*, God will treat him as *Joseph* was treated by his Master; he was first a Steward, and then a Procurator, one that rul'd his goods without account, and without restraint. Our ministry shall pass into Empire, our labour into rest, our watchfulness into fruition, and our Bishoprick to a Kingdom. In the mean time our Bishopricks are a great and weighty care, and in a spiritual sense, our dominion is founded in grace, and our rule is in the hearts of the people, and our strengths are the powers of the Holy Ghost, and the weapons of our warfare are spiritual: and the eye of God watches over us curiously, to see if we watch over our Flocks by day and by night. And though the Primitive Church (as the Ecclesiastick Histories 760. observe) when they depos'd a Bishop from his office, ever conceal'd his crime, and made no record of it: yet remember this, that God does, and will call us to a strict and severe account. Take heed that you may never hear that fearful sentence, *I was hungry and ye gave me no meat.* If you suffer Christs little ones to starve, it will be required severely at your hands; And know this, that the time will quickly come, in which God shall say unto thee in the words of the Prophet, *Where is the Flock that was given thee, thy beautiful Flock? what wilt thou say when he shall visit thee?*

God of his mercy grant unto us all to be so faithful and so wise, as to convert Souls, and to be blessed and so assisted, that we may give an account of our charges with joy, to the glory of God, to the edification and security of our Flocks, 770. and the salvation of our own Souls, in that day when the great Shepheard and Bishop of our Souls shall come to judgment, even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Tó whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, love and Obedience, now and for evermore, Amen.

FINIS.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

At the opening of the Parliament of IRELAND,

May 8. 1661.

Before the right Honourable the Lords Juſtices, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons.

By JEREMY Lord Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*.

Salus in multitudine conſulentium.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. F.* for *R. Royſton*, Bookſeller to his moſt Sacred MAJESTY, 1661.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual
and Temporal and Commons of *Ireland*
Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

I ought not to dispute your commands for the printing my Sermon of Obedience; *lest my Sermon should be* protestatio contra factum: *here I know my Example would be the best Use to this Doctrine, and I am sure to find no inconveniency so great as that of Disobedience; neither can I be confident that I am wise in any thing but when I obey; for then I have the wisdome of my Superiour for my warrant, or my excuse. I remember the saying of* Aurelius *the Emperor,* Aequius est me tot et talium amicorum consilium, quam tot tales meam unius voluntatem sequi. *I could easily have pretended excuses, but that day I had taught others to the contrary; and I would not shed that Chalice which my own hands had newly filled with waters issuing from the fountains of Salvation.*

My eyes are almost grown old with seeing the horrid mischiefs which came from Rebellion and Disobedience; and I would willingly now be blessed with observation of Peace and Righteousness, Plenty and Religion, which do already, and I hope shall for ever, attend upon Obedience to the best KING and the best CHURCH in the world. I see no objection against my hopes, but that which ought least of all in this case to be pretended. Men pretend Conscience against Obedience; expressly against Saint Paul's *Doctrine, teaching us to* obey for conscience sake; *but to disobey for Conscience in a thing indifferent, is never to be found in the books of our Religion.*

It is very hard when the Prince is forc'd to say to his rebellious Subject, as God did to his stubborn people, Quid faciam tibi? *I have tried all the waies I can to bring thee home, and what shall I now doe unto thee? The Subject should rather say,* Quid me vis facere? *What wilt thou have me to doe? This Question is the best end of disputations.* Corrumpitur atque dissolvitur Imperantis officium, si quis ad id quod facere jussus est, non obsequio debito, sed consilio non considerato respondeat, *said one in* Aulus Gellius. *When a Subject is commanded to obey, and he disputes, and saies,* Nay, *but the other is better, he is like a servant that gives his Master necessary counsel, when he requires of him a necessary obedience.* Utilius parere edicto quam essere consilium, *he had better obey then give counsel: by how much it is better to be profitable then to be witty, to be full of goodness rather then full of talk and argument.*

But all this is acknowledged true in strong men, but not in the weak; in vigorous, but not in tender Consciences: for Obedience is strong meat, and will not down with weak stomacks. As if in the world any thing were easier then to obey: for we see that the food of Children is milk and lawes; the brest-milk of their Nurses and the commands of their Parents is all that food and Government by which they are kept from harm and hunger, and conducted to life and wisdome. And therefore they that are weak brethren, of all things in the world have the least reason to pretend an excuse for disobedience, for nothing can secure them but the wisdome of the Laws: for they are like Children in minority; they cannot be trusted to their own conduct, and therefore must live at the publick charge, and the wisdome of their Superiors is their guide and their security. And this was wisely advised by S. Paul, Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtfull disputations: *that's not the way for him; Children must not dispute with their Fathers and their Masters. If old men will dispute, let them look to it; that's meat for the strong indeed, though it be not very nutritive: but the Laws and the Counsels, the Exhortations and the Doctrines of our Spiritual Rulers, are the measures by which God hath appointed Babes in Christ to become Men, and the weak to become strong; and they that are not to be received to doubtful disputations, are to be received with the arms of love into the imbraces of a certain and regular Obedience.*

But it would be considered, that Tenderness of Conscience is an equivocal terme, and does not alwaies signifie in a good sense. For a Child is of a tender flesh; but he whose foot is out of joint, or hath a bile in his arme, or hath strained a sinew, is much more tender. The tenderness of age *is that weakness that is in the ignorant and the new beginners: the* tenderness of a bile, *that is soreness indeed rather then tenderness, is of the diseased, the abused, and the mis-perswaded. The first indeed are to be tenderly dealt with, and have usages accordingly: but that is the same I have already told; you must teach them, you must command them, you must guide them, you must chuse for them, you must be their guardians, and they must comport themselves accordingly. But for that tenderness of* Conscience *which is the* disease *and* soreness of Conscience, *it must be cured by anodynes and soft usages, unless they prove ineffective, and that the Launcet be necessary. But there are amongst us such tender stomacks, that cannot endure Milk, but can very well digest Iron; Consciences so tender, that a Ceremony is greatly offensive, but Rebellion is not; a Surplice drives them away as a bird affrighted with a man of clouts, but their Consciences can suffer them to despise Government, and speak evil of Dignities, and curse all that are not of their Opinion, and disturb the peace of Kingdomes, and commit Sacrilege, and*

account Schisme the character of Saints. The true Tenderness of Conscience is first, that which is impatient of a sin; secondly, it will not endure anything that looks like it; and thirdly, it will not give offence. Now since all Sin is Disobedience, first, it will be rarely contingent that a man in a Christian Common-wealth shall be tied to disobey, to avoid sin: *and certain it is, if such a case could happen, yet secondly,* 70.
nothing of our present questions is so like a sin, *as when we refuse to obey the Laws; to stand in a clean Vestment is not so ill a sight as to see men stand in separation, and to kneel at the Communion is not so* like *Idolatry as* Rebellion *is to* Witchcraft: *and then thirdly, for the matter of* giving offences, *what scandal is greater then that which scandalizes the Laws? and who is so carefully to be observed, lest he be offended, as the KING? And if that which offends the weak brother is to be avoided, much more that which offends the strong; for this is certainly really criminal, but for the other it is as much oddes but it is mistaken. And when the case is so put, between the obedient and the disobedient, which shall be offended, and one will, I suppose there is no question but the Laws will take more care of Subjects then of Rebels, and* 80.
not weaken them in their duty in compliance with those that hate the Laws, and will not endure the Government.

And after all this, in the conduct of Government what remedy can there be to those that call themselves Tender Consciences? I shall not need say that every man can easily pretend it; for we have seen the vilest part of mankind, men that have done things so horrid, worse then which the Sun never saw, yet pretend tender Consciences against Ecclesiastical Laws: but I will suppose that they are really such, that they in the simplicity of their hearts follow Absalom, *and in weakness hide their heads in little Conventicles and places of separation for a trifle; what would they have done for themselves?* 90.

If you make a Law of Order, and in the sanction put a clause of favour for tender Consciences, do not you invite every Subject to Disobedience by impunity, and teach him how to make his own excuse? is not such a Law, a Law without an obligation? may not every man chuse whether he will obey or no? and if he pretends to disobey out of Conscience, is not he that disobeyes equally innocent with the obedient; altogether as just, as not having done any thing without leave, and yet much more Religious and conscientious? Quicunque vult *is but an ill preface to a Law; and it is a strange obligation that makes no difference between him that obeyes and him that refuses to obey.*

But what course must be taken with tender Consciences? Shall the execution of 100.

the Law be suspended as to all such persons? that will be all one with the former: for if the execution be commanded to be suspended, then the obligation of the Law by command is taken away, and then it were better there were no Law made. And indeed that is the pretension, that is the secret of the business; they suppose the best way to prevent Disobedience is to take away all Laws. It is a short way indeed; there shall then be no Disobedience, but at the same time there shall be no Government: but the Remedy is worse then the Disease; and to take away all Wine and strong Drink to prevent Drunkenness would not be half so great a folly.

I cannot therefore tell what to advise in this particular, but that every Spiritual guide *should consider who are tender Consciences and who are weak brethren, and use all the waies of piety and prudence to instruct and to inform them, that they may increase in knowledge and spiritual understanding. But they that will be alwaies learning and never come to the knowledge of the truth, they that will be children of a hundred years old and never come to years of discretion, they are very unfit to guide others, and to be Curates of Souls: but they are most unfit to reprove the Laws, and speak against the wisdome of a Nation, when it is confessed that they so weak, that they understand not the fundamental Liberty which Christ hath purchased for them, but are servants to a scruple, and affrighted at a circumstance, and in bondage under an indifferent thing, and so much Idolaters of their own Sect or Opinion as to prefer it before all their own nobler Interests, and the Charity of their brother, and the Peace of a whole Church and Nation.*

To you, my Lords and Gentlemen, I hope I may say as Marcus Curius *said to a stubborn young man,* Non opus Vos habere cive qui parere nesciret; *the Kingdome hath no need of those that know not how to obey. But as for them who have weak and tender Consciences, they are in the state of Childhood and minority: but then you know that a Child is never happy by having his own humor: if you chuse for him, and make him to use it, he hath but one thing to doe; but if you put him to please himself, he is troubled with every thing and satisfied with nothing. We find that all Christian Churches kept this Rule. They kept themselves and others close to the rule of Faith, and peaceably suffered one another to differ in Ceremonies, but suffered no difference amongst their own: they gave Liberty* to other Churches, *and gave Laws, and no Liberty,* to their own Subjects. *And at this day the Churches of* Geneva, France, Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries, *tye all their people to their own Laws, but tye up no mans Conscience; if he be not perswaded as they are, let him charitably dissent, and leave that Government, and adhere to his own Communion. If you be not of their mind, they will be served by them that are: they will not trouble*

your Conscience, and you shall not disturb their Government. But when men think they cannot enjoy their Conscience unless you give them good Livings, and if you prefer them not, you afflict their Consciences, they do but too evidently declare that it is not their Consciences but their Profits they would have secured. Now to these I 140.
have only this to say, That their Conscience is to be enjoyed by the measures of God's Word, but the Rule for their Estates is the Laws of the Kingdome: and I shew you yet a more excellent way; *Obedience is the best security for both; because this is the best conservatory of Charity and Truth and Peace.* Si vis brevi perfectus esse, esto obediens etiam in minimis, *was the saying of a Saint; and the world uses to look for Miracles from them whom they shall esteem Saints: but I had rather see a man truly humble and obedient, then to see him raise a man from the dead, said old* Pachomius.

But to conclude: if weak brethren shall still plead for Toleration and Compliance, I hope my Lords the Bishops will consider where it can doe good and doe no harm, 150.
where they are permitted, and where themselves are bound up by the Laws, and in all things where it is safe and holy to labour to bring them ease and to give them remedy: but to think of removing the Disease by feeding the Humor, I confess it is a strange cure to our present Distempers. He that took clay and spittle to open the blind eyes can make any thing be collyrium; *but he alone can doe it. But whether any humane power can bring good from so unlikely an instrument, if any man desires yet to be better informed, I desire him, besides the calling to mind the late sad effects of Schisme, to remember that no Church in Christendome ever did it. It is neither the way of Peace nor Government, nor yet a proper remedy for the cure of a weak Conscience.* 160.

I shall therefore pray to God that these men who separate in simplicity may by God's mercy be brought to understand their own Liberty, and that they may not for ever be babes and Neophytes, *and wax old in trifles, and for ever stay at entrances and outsides of Religion; but that they would pass* in interiora domus, *and seek after Peace and Righteousness, Holiness and Justice, the love of God and Evangelical perfections; and then they will understand how ill-advised they are who think Religion consists in zeal against Ceremonies and speaking evil of the Laws.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, what I said in pursuance of publick Peace and private Duty, and some little incidences to both, I now humbly present to you, more to shew my own Obedience then to re-mind you of your Duty, which hitherto you have so well 170.
observed in your amicable and sweet concord of counsels and affections, during this

present Session. I owe many thanks to you who heard me patiently, willingly and kindly; I endeavoured to please God, and I find I did not displease you: but he is the best hearer of a Sermon who first loves the Doctrine, and then practises it; and that you have hitherto done, very piously and very prosperously. I pray God continue to direct your Counsels so that you in all things may please him, and in all things be blessed by him, that all generations may call you blessed *Instruments of a lasting Peace, the restorers of the old paths, the Patrons of the Church, friends of Religion, and Subjects fitted for your Prince, who is Just up to the greatest example, and Merciful beyond all examples, a Prince who hath been nourished, and preserved, and* 180 .
restored, and blessed by Miracles; a Prince whose Vertues and Fortunes are equally the greatest.

Behold to obey is better then sacrifice, and to hearken then the fat of rams.

For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.

In the world nothing is more easy then to say our Prayers, and to obey our Superiors; and yet in the world there is nothing to which we are so unwilling as to Prayer, and nothing seems so intolerable as Obedience: for men esteem all Laws to be fetters, and their Superiors are their enemies: and when a command is given, we turn into all shapes of excuse to escape from the imposition: For either the authority is incompetent, or the law it self is *Statutum non bonum*, or it is impossible to be kept, or at least very inconvenient, and we are to be reliev'd in equity, or there is a secret dispensation, and it does not bind in my particular case, or not now; or it is but the law of a man, and was made for a certain end; or it does not bind the conscience, but 'twas only for Political regards; or, if the worst happen, I will obey passively, and then I am innocent. Thus every man snuffes up the wind, like *the wild asses in the wilderness*, and thinks that Authority is an incroachment upon a mans birth-right; and in the mean time never considers that Christ took upon him our Nature that he might learn us Obedience, and in that also make us become like unto God. In his Justice and his Mercy he was imitable before; but before the Incarnation of Christ we could not in passive graces imitate God who was impassible. But he was pleased at a great rate to set forward this duty; and when himself became obedient in the hardest point, *obediens usque ad mortem,* and is now become to us *the author and finisher of our Obedience,* as well as of *our Faith, admonetur omnis aetas fieri posse quod aliquando factum est.* We must needs confess it very possible to obey the severest of the divine laws, even to dye if God commands, because it was already done by a man; and we must needs confess it excellent, because it was done by God himself.

But this great Example is of universal influence in the whole matter of Obedience. For that I may speak of that part of this Duty which can be useful, and concerns us; Men do not deny but they must obey in all Civil things, but in Religion they have a Supreme, *God only,* and Conscience is his interpreter; and in effect every man must be the Judge whether he shall obey or no. Therefore it is that I say, the Example of our Lord is the great determination of this inquiry: for he did obey and suffer, according to the commands of his Superiors under whose

Government he was placed; he *gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to the nippers;* he kept the orders of the Rulers, and the customes of the Synagogues, the Law of *Moses* and the rights of the Temple; and by so doing *he fulfilled all righteousness.* Christ made no distinctions in his Obedience, but obeyed God *in all things,* and those that God set over him *in all things according to God,* and in things of Religion most of all; because to obey was of it self a great instance of Religion, and if ever Religion comes to be pretended against Obedience in any thing 40.
where our Superior can command, it is imposture: For that is the purpose of my text, *Obedience is better then Sacrifice.* Our own judgment, our own opinion is the sacrifice, seldome fit to be offered to God, but most commonly deserving to be consumed by fire: but take it at the best, it is not half so good as *Obedience*; for *that* was indeed *Christ's Sacrifice*, and (as *David* said of *Goliath's* sword, *non est alter talis*) there is no other sacrifice that can be half so good: and when *Abraham* had lifted up his sacrificing knife to slay his Son, and so express'd his obedience, God would have no more; he had the Obedience, and he cared not for the Sacrifice.

By *Sacrifice* here then is meant the external and contingent actions of Religion; by *Obedience* is meant submission to Authority, and observing the command. 50.
Obedience is a not chusing our Duty, a not disputing with our Betters, not to argue, not to delay, not to murmure; it is not this, but it is much better; for it is *Love*, and *Simplicity*, and *Humility*, and *Usefulness*, and I think these do *reductively* contain all that is excellent in the whole conjugation of Christian Graces.

My Text is a perfect Proposition, and hath no special remark in the words of it; but is only a great representation of the most useful Truth to all Kingdomes and Parliaments and Councels and Authorities in the whole world: It is your Charter, and the Sanction of your authority, and the stabiliment of your Peace, and the honour of your Laws, and the great defence of your Religion, and the building up and the guarding of the King's Throne. It is that by which all the Societies in 60.
heaven and earth are firm: without this you cannot have a Village prosperous, or a Ship arrive in harbour. It is that which God hath bound upon us by hope and fear, by wrath and conscience, by duty and necessity. Obedience is the formality of all Vertues, and every Sin is Disobedience. There can no greater thing be said, unless you please to adde, that we never read that the earth opened and swallowed up any man alive, but a company of rebellious disobedient people, who rose up against *Moses* and *Aaron*, the Prince of the People, and the Priest of God. For Obedience is the most necessary thing in the world, and *corruptio optimi est pessima:* Disobedience is the greatest evil in the world, and that alone which can destroy it.

My text is instanced in the matter of Obedience to God; but yet the case is so, 70.
that though I shall in the first place discourse of our Obedience to man, I shall not set one foot aside from the main intention of it; because Obedience to our Superiors is *really* and is *accounted* to be Obedience to God, for they are sent by God, they are his vicegerents, his Ministers, and his Embassadors. *Apostolus cuiusque est quisque* say the Jewes, Every mans Apostle is himself; and *he that heareth or despiseth you*, said Christ, *heareth or despiseth me:* And the reason is very evident, because it is not to be expected that God should speak to us by himself, but sometimes by Angels, sometimes by Prophets, once by his Son, and alwaies by his Servants. Now I desire two things to be observed.

First, We may as well perceive that God speaks to us when he uses the 80.
ministry of men as when he uses the ministry of Angels: one is as much declared and as certain as the other. And if it be said, a man may pretend to come from God; and yet deliver nothing but his own errand; that is no strange thing: but remember also that S. *Paul* puts this supposition in the case of an Angel, *If an Angel preach any other Gospel;* and we know that many Angels come like Angels of light, who yet teach nothing but the waies of Darkness. So that we are still as much bound to obey our Superior as to obey an Angel: a man is *paulo minor angelis*, a little lower then the Angels; but *we* are much lower then the King. Consider then with what fear and love we should receive an Angel, and so let us receive all those whom God hath sent to us, and set over us; for they are no less: 90.
less indeed in their Persons, but not in their Authorities. Nay the case is nearer yet; for we are not only bound to receive God's Deputies as God's Angel, but as God himself. For it is the power of God in the hand of a man, and *he that resists, resists God's ordinance.* And I pray remember that there is not only no power greater then God's, but there is no other; for all Power is his. The consequent of this is plain enough; I need say no more of it: It is all one to us who commands, God, or God's Vicegerent. This was the first thing to be observed.

Secondly, there can be but two things in the world requir'd to make Obedience necessary, the greatness of the Authority, and the worthiness of the Thing. In the first you see the case can have no difference, because the thing it self is but one. 100.
There is but one Authority in the world, and that is God's: as there is but one Sun whose light is diffused into . . all Kingdomes. But is there not great difference in the Thing commanded? Yes certainly, there is some; but nothing to warrant disobedience: for whatever the thing be, it may be commanded by man, if it be not countermanded by God. For

First, *It is not required that every thing commanded should of it self be necessary*; for God himself oftentimes commands things which have in them no other excellency then that of Obedience. What made *Abraham* the friend of God? and what made his offer to kill his Son to be so pleasing to God? It had been naturally no very great good to cut the throat of a little child; but only that it was Obedience. What excellency was there in the journeys of the Patriarchs from *Mesopotamia* to *Syria*, from the land of *Canaan* into *Egypt?* and what thanks could the sons of *Israel* deserve that they sate still upon the seventh day of the week? and how can a man be dearer unto God by keeping of a Feast, or building of a Booth, or going to *Jerusalem*, or cutting off the foreskin of a boy, or washing their hands and garments in fair water? There was nothing in these things but the Obedience. And when our blessed Lord himself came to his Servant to take of him the Baptisme of Repentance, alas, he could take nothing but the water and the ceremony: for, as *Tertullian* observes, he was *nullius poenitentiae debitor,* he was indeed *a just person and needed no repentance*; but even so *it became him to fulfil all righteousness*: but yet even *then* it was that the Holy Spirit did descend upon his holy head, and crown'd that Obedience, though it were but to a ceremony. *Obedience*, you see, *may be necessary when the law is not so.* For in these cases, God's Son and God's Servants did obey in things which were made good only by the commandement: and if we doe so in the Instances of humane Laws, there is nothing to be said against it, but that what was not of it self necessary, is made so by the authority of the Commander and the force of the Commandement. But there is more in it then so. For,

Secondly, We pretend to be willing to obey even in things *naturally not necessary*, if a divine command does interpose; but if it be only a commandement of man, and the thing be not necessary of it self, then we desire to be excus'd. But will we doe nothing else? We our selves will doe many things that God hath not commanded, and may not our Superiors command us in many cases to doe what we may lawfully doe without a commandement? Can we become a law unto our selves, and cannot the word and power of our Superiors also become a law unto us? hath God given more to a private then to a publick hand? But consider the ill consequents of this fond opinion. Are all the practices of *Geneva* or *Scotland* recorded in the Word of God? are the trifling Ceremonies of their publick Penance recorded in the four Gospels? are all the rules of decency, and all *things that are of good report*, and all the measures of prudence, and the laws of peace and war, and the customes of the Churches of God, and the lines of publick honesty, are all these

described to us by the laws of God? If they be, let us see and read them, that we may have an end to all questions and minute cases of Conscience: but if they be not, and yet by the Word of God these are bound upon us in the general, and no otherwise; then it follows that the particulars of all these, which *may be* infinite, and *are* innumerable, yet may be the matter of humane Laws; and then are bound upon us by the power of God put into the hands of man. The consequent is this, that whatsoever is commanded by our Superior according to the will of God, or whatsoever is not against it, is of necessity to be obey'd.

Thirdly, But what if our Princes or our Prelates command things against the 150.
Word of God? what then? Why nothing then, but that we must obey God and not man; there's no dispute of that. But what then again? Why therefore saies the Papist I will not obey the Protestant Kings, because against the Word of God they command me to come to Church where Heresy is preached; and I will not acknowledge the Bishops, saith the Presbyterian, because they are against the discipline and scepter of *Jesus* Christ; and the Independent hates Parochial meetings, and is wholly for a gathered Church, and supposes this to be the practice Apostolical; and I will not bring my Child to Baptisme, (saith the Anabaptist) because God calls none but believers to that Sacrament; and I will acknowledge no Clergy, no Lord, no Master, saith the Quaker, because Christ commands us to *call* 160.
no man master on the earth, and *be not called of men Rabbi*. And if you call upon these men to obey the Authority God hath set over them, they tell you with one voice, with all their hearts, as far as the Word of God will give them leave; but God is to be obey'd, and not man: and therefore if you put the Laws in execution against them, they will obey you passively, because you are stronger, and so long as they know it they will not stir against you; but they in the mean time are little less then Martyrs, and you no better then Persecutors.

What shall we doe now? for here is evidently a great heap of disorder: they all confess that authority must be obey'd; but when you come to the trial, none of them all will doe it, and they think they are not bound: but because their Opinions 170.
being contrary cannot all be right, and it may be none of them are, it is certain that all this while Authority is infinitely wronged and prejudiced amongst them, when all fantastick Opinions shall be accounted a sufficient reason to despise it. I hope the Presbyterian will joyn with the Protestant, and say that the Papist, and the Socinian, and the Independent, and the Anabaptist, and the Quaker are guilty of Rebellion and Disobedience for all their pretence of the Word of God to be on their side: and I am more sure that all these will joyn with the Protestant, and say

that the Presbyterian hath no reason to disobey Authority upon pretence of their new Government concerning which they do but *dream dreams*, when they think *they see visions*. Certain it is that the biggest part of dissenters in the whole world are criminally disobedient; and it is a thousand to one but that Authority is in the right against them, and ought to be obey'd. It remains now in the next place, that we inquire what Authority is to doe in this case, and what these Sectaries and Recusants are to doe; for these are two things worth inquiry.

1. Concerning Authority. All disagreeing persons, to cover their foul shame of Rebellion or Disobedience, pretend Conscience for their Judge, and the Scripture for their Law. Now if these men think that by this means they proceed safely, upon the same ground the Superior may doe what he thinks to be his duty, and be at least as safe as they. If the Rebellious Subject can think that by God's Law he ought not to obey; the Prince may at the same time think that by God's Law he ought to punish him: and it is as certain that he is justly punished, as he thinks it certain he reasonably disobeys. Or is the Conscience of the Superior bound to relaxe his lawes, if the inferior tells him so? Can the Prince give Laws to the peoples will; and can the people give measures to the Princes understanding? If any one of the people can prescribe or make it necessary to change the Law, then every one can, and by this time every new Opinion will introduce a new Law, and that Law shall be obey'd by him only that hath a mind to it, and that will be a strange Law that binds a man only to doe his own pleasure. But because the King's Conscience is to him as sure a Rule as the Conscience of any disobedient Subject can be to himself, the Prince is as much bound to doe his duty in Government, as the other can be to follow his Conscience in disagreeing; and the consequent will be, that whether the Subject be right or wrong in the disputation, it is certain he hath the just reward of Disobedience in the conclusion. If one mans Conscience can be the measure of another mans action, why shall not the Princes Conscience be the Subject's measure? but if it cannot, then the Prince is not to depart from his own Conscience, but proceed according to the Laws which he judges just and reasonable.

2. The Superior is tied by the laws of Christian Charity so far to bend in the ministration of his Laws, as to pity the invincible Ignorance and Weakness of his abused people, *qui devoratur a malis Pastoribus* (as S. *Jerome's* expression is) that are devour'd by their evill Shepheards: but this is to last no longer then till the Ignorance can be cured, and the man be taught his duty; for whatsoever comes after this looks so like Obstinacy, that no Laws in the world judge it to be any thing else. And then secondly, this also is to be understood to be the duty of

Superiors only in matters of mere Opinion, not relating to Practice. For no mans Opinion must be suffer'd to doe mischief, to disturb the Peace, to dishonour the Government: not only because every disagreeing person can to serve his end pretend his Conscience, and so claim impunity for his Villany; but also because those things which concern the good of mankind and the Peace of Kingdomes are so plainly taught, that no man who thinks himself so wise as to be fit to oppose Authority, can be so foolish as in these things not to know his Duty. In other things, if the 220.
Opinion does neither bite nor scratch, if it dwells at home in the house of understanding, and wanders not into the out-houses of Passion and popular orations, the Superior imposes no laws, and exacts no obedience, and destroies no liberty, and gives no restraint. This is the part of Authority.

3. The next enquiry is, What must the disagreeing Subject doe when he supposes the Superiors command is against the Law of God? I answer that if he thinks so, and thinks true, he must not obey his Superior in that: but because most men that think so think amiss, there are many particulars fit by such persons to be consider'd.

First, 1. Let such men think charitably of others, and that all are not fools or 230.
mad-men who are not of the same Opinion with themselves or their own little party. 2. Let him think himself as fallible and subject to mistake as other men are. 3. But let him by no means think that every Opinion of his is an Inspiration from God; for that is the pride and madness of a pretended Religion: such a man is to be cured by Physick; for he could not enter *into that* perswasion by Reason or Experience, and therefore it must enter *into him* by folly or the anger of God. 4. From hence it will naturally follow, that he ought to think his Opinion to be uncertain, and that he ought not to behave himself like the man that is too confident, but because his Obedience is Duty, and his Duty certain, he will find it more wise and safe and holy to leave that which is disputable, and pursue that 240.
which is demonstrable; to change his uncertain Opinion for his certain Duty. For it is twenty to one but he is deceived in his Opinion; but if he be, it is certain that whatsoever his Conscience be, yet in his separation from Authority he is a sinner.

Secondly, 2. Every man who by his Opinion is ingaged against Authority, should doe well to study his doubtful Opinion less, and Humility and Obedience more. But you say, that this concerns not me, for my disagreeing is not in a doubtful matter, but I am sure I am in the right; there is no *ifs* and *ands* in my case. Well, it may be so: but were it not better that you did doubt? *A wise man*

feareth (saith Solomon) *and departeth from evil; but a fool rageth and is confident*: and the difference between a Learned man and a Novice is this, that the yong fellow crieth out, I am sure it is so; the better learned answers, ἴσος καὶ τὸ τάχα, possibly it may, and peradventure it is so, but I pray enquire: and he is the best *Diviner*, μάντις ἀριστος ὅστις εἰκαζει, καλῶς, he is the best Judge that conjectures best, not he that is most confident; for, as *Xenophanes* said wisely, *Man does but conjecture, but God only knows*; and it is no disparagement to a wise man to learn, and by suspecting the fallibility of things and his own aptness to mistake, to walk prudently and safely, with an eye to God, and an eare open to his Superior. Some men are drunk with fancy, and mad with Opinion. Who believe more strongly then boyes and women? who are so hard to be perswaded as fools? and who so readily suspect their teachers as they who are govern'd by chance, and know not the intrinsick measures of good and evil? *Qui pauca considerat de facili pronunciat*; it is a little learning and not enough that makes men conclude hastily, and clap fast hold on the Conclusion before they have well weighed the Premisses: but Experience and Humility would teach us Modesty and Fear.

Thirdly, in all disputes he that obeys his Superior can never be a *Heretick in the estimate of Law*, and he can never be a *Schismatick in the point of Conscience*; so that he certainly avoids one great death, and very probably the other. *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur*, saith the Law; If the Judge have given sentence, that sentence is suppos'd a truth: and *Cassiodore* said according to the sentence of the Law, *Nimis iniquum est ut ille patiatur dispendium, qui imperium fecit alienum*. Our Obedience secures us from the imputation of evil, and Error does but seldome goe in company with Obedience. But however there is this advantage to be gotten by *Obedience*; that he who prefers the sentence of the Law before his own Opinion does doe an act of great Humility, and exercises the grace of Modesty, and takes the best way to secure his Conscience and the publick Peace, and pleases the Government which he is bound to please, and pursues the excellencies of Unity, and promotes Charity and Godly Love: whereas on the other side, he that goes by himself apart from his Superior is alwaies materially a Schismatick, and is more likely to be deceiv'd by his own Singularity and Prejudice and Weakness, then by following the guides God hath set over him. And if he loses Truth, certainly he will get nothing else: for by so doing we lose our Peace too, and give publick offence, and arme Authority against us, and are scandalous in Law, and pull evil upon our heads; and all this for a proud Singularity, or a trifling Opinion, in which we are not so likely to be deceived, if we trust our selves less, and the publick more. *In*

omnibus falli possum, in obedientia non possum, said S. *Teresa*, I can in every thing else, but in Obedience I can never be deceived. And it is very remarkable in my Text, that *Rebellion* or Disobedience is compared to *the sin of witchcraft*. Indeed it seems strange, for the meaning of it is not only that a Rebel is as much hated by God as a Witch, but it means that the sinnes are alike in their very natures: *quasi peccatum divinationis* (saith the Vulgar *Latine*) they that disobey Authority, 290.
trusting in their own opinions, are but like Witches or Diviners; that is, they are led by an evil spirit; pride and a lying and deceiving spirit is their teacher, and their answers are seldome true; for though they pretend the Truth of God for their Disobedience, yet *they fall into the deception of the devil*, and that's the end of their soothsaying. And let me adde this, that when a man distrusts his Superior and trusts himself, if he misses Truth, it will be greatly imputed to him; he shall feel the evil of his error and the shame of his pride, the reproach of his folly and the punishment of his disobedience, the dishonour of singularity, and the restlessness of Schisme, and the scorn of the multitude: but on the other side, if he obey Authority, and yet be deceived, he is greatly excused, he erred on the safer side, he 300.
is defended by the hands of many vertues, and gets peace and love of the Congregation.

You see the Blessings of Obedience, even in the questions and matters of Religion: but I have something more to say, and it is not only of great use to appease the tumultuary disputations and arguings of Religion which have lately disturbed these Nations, but is proper to be spoken to, and to be reduced to practice by this Honourable and High Court of Parliament.

1. That which I am to say is this; You have no other way of Peace, no better way to appease and quiet the Quarrels in Religion which have been too long among us, but by reducing all men to Obedience, and all questions to the measures of the 310.
Laws. For they on both sides pretend Scripture, but one side onely can pretend to the Laws: and they that do admit no authority above their own to expound Scipture, cannot deny but Kings and Parliaments are the makers and proper expounders of our Laws; and if ever you mean to have *Truth and Peace kiss each other*, let no man dispute against your Laws. For did not our Blessed Saviour say, that an Oath is the end of all questions, and after depositions are taken, all Judges goe to sentence? What Oaths are to private questions, that Laws are to publick. And if it be said that Laws may be mistaken; it is true, but may not an Oath also be a Perjury? and yet because in humane affairs we have no greater certainty, and greater then God gives we may not look for, let the Laws be the last 320.

determination; and in wise and religious Governments no disputation is to goe beyond them.

2. But this is not onely true in religious prudence and plain necessity, but this is the way that God hath appointed, and that he hath blessed, and that he hath intended to be the means of ending all questions. This we learn from S. *Paul, I exhort that first of all prayers, and supplications, and intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men: for Kings and for all that are in Authority.* For all; for Parliaments and for Councils, for Bishops and for Magistrates: it is for all, and for Kings above all. Well, to what purpose is all this? *that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* Mark that: Kings and all that are in 330.
Authority are by God appointed to be the means of obtaining unity and peace in Godliness, ἐν εὐσεβείαις, in all the true and Godly worshippings of God; no Unity in Religion without Kings and Bishops and those that are in Authority.

3. And indeed because this is God's way of ending our Controversies, the matter of Authority is highly to be regarded. If you suffer the Authority of the King to be lessened, to be scrupled, to be denied in Ecclesiastical affairs, you have no way left to silence the tongues and hands of gainsaying people. But so it is, the Kings Authority is appointed and enabled by God to end our questions of Religion: *Divinatio in labiis Regis* (saith *Solomon*) *in judicio non errabit os ejus*, Divination and a wise sentence is in the lips of the King, and his mouth shall not erre in 340.
judgement. In all Scripture there is not so much for the Popes infallibility, but by this it appears there is divinity in the Kings sentence: for God gives to Kings, who are his Vicegerents, a peculiar spirit. And when *Justinian* had out of the sense of *Julian* the Lawyer observed that there were many cases for which Law made no provision, he addes, *If any such shall happen, Augustum imploretur remedium*, run to the King for remedy; *for therefore God hath set the Imperial fortune over humane affairs, ut possit omnia quae noviter contingunt et emendare et componere, et modis ac regulis competentibus tradere*, that the King may amend and rule and compose every new-arising question. And it is not to be despised, but it is a great indication of this Truth, that the Answers of the *Roman* Princes and Judges recorded in the 350.
Civil Law are such that all Nations of the world do approve them, and are a great testimony how the sentences of Kings ought to be valued, even in matters of Religion, and questions of greatest doubt. *Bona conscientia Scyphus est Josephi,* said the old *Abbot* of *Kells*; a good Conscience is like *Joseph's* Cup, in which our Lord the King divines. And since God hath blessed us with so good, so just, so religious and so wise a Prince, let the sentence of his Laws be our last resort, and

no questions be permitted after his judgement and legal determination. For Wisedome saith, *By me Princes rule, by me they decree justice*: and therefore the spirit of the King is a divine eminency, and is as the spirit of the most High God.

4. Let no man be too busy in disputing the laws of his Superiors, for a man by 360.
that seldome gets good to himself, but seldome misses to doe mischief unto others. μὴ ἔριζε γονεῦσι κἂν δίκαια λέγῃς, said one in *Laertius*. Will a son contend with his father? that's not decent, though the son speak that which is right: he may possibly *say* well enough, but he does *doe* very ill; not only because he does not pay his duty and reverential fear, but because it is in it self very often unreasonable to dispute concerning the command of our Superior, whether it be good or no; for the very commandement can make it not only good, but a necessary good. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay on you no greater burden then these necessary things*, said the Council of *Jerusalem*: and yet these things were not necessary, but as they were commanded: to abstain from a strangled hen 370.
or a bloody pudding could not of themselves be necessary; but the commandement, authority did interpose, and then they were made so.

5. But then besides the advantages both of the spirit, and the authority of Kings in matters of question, the laws and decrees of a National Church ought upon the account of their own advantages be esteem'd as a final sentence in all things disputed. The thing is a plain command. *Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God*: this tels what Rulers he means; Rulers Ecclesiastical: and what of them? *whose faith follow*; they must *praeire in articulis*; they are not masters of your faith, but guides of it: and *they that sit in Moses chair* must be heard and obey'd, said our blessed Saviour. These 380.
words were not said for nothing; and they were nothing if their authority were nothing.

For between the laws of a Church and the opinion of a Subject the comparison is the same as between a publick spirit and a private. The publick is far the better, the daughter of God, and the mother of a blessing, and alwaies dwels in light. The publick spirit hath already passed the trial, it hath been *subjected to the Prophets*, tried and searched and approved; the private is yet to be examined. The publick spirit is uniform and apt to be followed; the private is various and multiform as chance, and no man can follow him that hath it. For if he follows one, he is reproved by a thousand; and if he changes, he may get a shame, but no truth: and 390.
he can never rest but in the arms and conduct of his Superior. When *Aaron* and

Miriam murmured against *Moses,* God told them that they were Prophets of an inferior rank then *Moses* was. God communicated himself to them in dreams and visions; but the *Ruach hakkodesh*, the publick spirit of *Moses* their Prince, that was higher: and what then? *wherefore then* (God said) *were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?* plainly teaching us, that where there is a more excellent spirit, they that have a spirit less excellent ought to be afraid to speak against it. And this is the full case of the private and publick spirit; that is, of a Subject speaking against the spirit and the laws of the Church. In heaven, and in the air, and in all the regions of spirits, the spirit of a lower order dares not speak against 400.
the spirit of an higher; and therefore for a private spirit to oppose the publick, is a disorder greater then is in hell it self.

To conclude this point; Let us consider whether it were not an intolerable mischief if the Judges should give sentence in causes of instance by the measures of their own fancy, and not by the Laws; who would endure them? and yet why may they not doe that as well as any Ecclesiastic person preach Religion, not which the Laws allow, but what is taught him by his own private Opinion? but he that hath the Laws on his side, hath ever something of true Religion to warrant him, and can never want a great measure of justification. νόμος καὶ χώρα, the Laws and the customes of the country are the results of wise counsels or long experience; they 410.
ever comply with Peace and publick benefit: and nothing of this can be said of private Religions; for they break the Peace, and trouble the Conscience, and undo Government, and despise the Laws, and offend Princes, and dishonour the wisdome of Parliaments, and destroy Obedience.

Well, but in the last place, if we cannot doe what the Laws command, we will suffer what they impose; and then all is well again. But first, who ever did so that could help it? And secondly, this talking of passive Obedience is but a mockery; for what man did ever say the Laws were not good, but he also said the Punishment was unjust? And thirdly, which of all the Recusants did not endeavour to get ground upon the Laws, and secretly or openly asperse the Authority that put him 420.
to pain for doing that which he calls his duty? and can any man boast of his passive Obedience that calls it Persecution? he may think to please himself, but he neither does or saies any thing that is for the reputation of the Laws. Such men are like them that sail in a storm; they may possibly be thrown into a harbour, but they are very sick all the way.

But after all this I have one thing to observe to such persons, That such a

passive Obedience as this does not acquit a man before God; and he that suffers what the Law inflicts is not discharg'd in the Court of Conscience, but there he is still a sinner and a debter. For *the law is not made for the righteous, but for sinners*; that is, the punishment appointed by the Law falls on *him only* that hath sinned: 430.
but an offending subject cannot *with the fruit of his body pay for the sin of his Soul*: when he does evil he must suffer evil; but if he does not repent besides, a worse thing will happen to him; for we are not tied to obey only for wrath, but also for Conscience. *Passive obedience* is only the correspondent of *wrath*, but it is the *active obedience* that is required by *Conscience*; and whatever the Subject suffers for his own fault, it matters nothing as to his Duty, but this also God will exact at the hands of every man that is placed under Authority.

I have now told you the summe of what I had to say concerning Obedience to Laws and to your own Government, and it will be to little purpose to make laws in matter of Religion, or in any thing else, if the end of it be, that every man shall 440.
chuse whether he will obey or no: and if it be questioned whether you be deceiv'd or no, though the suffering such a question is a great diminution to your authority, yet it is infinitely more probable that you are in the right then that the disobedient Subject is; because you are conducted with a publick spirit, you have a special title and peculiar portions of the promise of God's assistance, you have all the helps of Counsel and the advantages of deliberation, you have the Scriptures and the Laws, you are as much concerned to judge according to truth as any man, you have the principal of all capacities and states of men to assist your consultations, you are the most concern'd for Peace, and to please God also is your biggest interest: and therefore it cannot be denied to be the most reasonable thing in the world which is 450.
set down in the Law: *Praesumptio est pro authoritate imponentis*, the presumption of truth ought to be on your side; and since this is the most likely way for Truth, and the most certain way for Peace, you are to insist in this, and it is not possible to find a better.

I have another part or sense of my Text yet to handle; but because I have no more time of mine own, and I will not take any of yours, I shall only doe it in a short Exhortation to this most Honourable Auditory, and so conclude.

God hath put a Royal Mantle, and fastned it with a Golden Clasp, upon the shoulder of the KING, and he hath given you the Judges Robe; the King holds the Scepter, and he hath now permitted you to touch the golden Ball, and to take it a 460.
while into your handling, and made obedience to your Laws to be Duty and

Religion: but then remember that the first in every kind is to be the measure of the rest; you cannot reasonably expect that the Subjects should obey you, unless you obey God. I do not speak this only in relation to your personal duty; though in that also it would be consider'd, that all the Bishops and Ministers of Religion are bound to teach the same Doctrines by their Lives as they do by their Sermons; and what *we* are to doe in the matters of *Doctrine, you* are also to doe in matter of *Laws*; what is reasonable for the advantages of *Religion*, is also the best Method for the advantages of *Government; we* must *preach* by our good Example, and *you* must *govern* by it; and your good example in observing the laws of Religion will 470.
strangely endear them to the affections of the people. But I shall rather speak to you as you are in a capacity of union and of Government; for as now you have a new Power, so there is incumbent upon you a special Duty.

1. Take care that all your power and your counsels be imploy'd in doing honour and advantages to Piety and Holiness. Then you obey God in your publick capacity, when by holy Laws and wise administrations you take care that all the Land be an obedient and a religious People. For then you are princely Rulers indeed when you take care of the Salvation of a whole Nation. *Nihil aliud est imperium nisi cura salutis alienae,* said *Ammianus*; Government is nothing but a care that all men be saved. And therefore take care that men do not destroy their 480.
Souls by the abominations of an evil life: see that God be obey'd, take care that the breach of the laws of God may not be unpunished. The best way to make men to be good Subjects to the King is to make them good servants of God. Suffer not Drunkenness to pass with impunity, let Lust find a publick shame. Let the sonnes of the Nobility and Gentry no more dare to dishonour God then the meanest of the people shall: let baseness be basely esteemed; that is, put such characters of Shame upon dishonourable Crimes, that it be esteem'd more against the honour of a Gentleman to be drunk then to be kicked, more shame to fornicate then to be can'd: and for honours sake and the reputation of Christianity, take some course that the most unworthy sins of the world have not reputation added to them by 490.
being the practice of Gentlemen and persons of good birth and fortunes. Let not them who should be examples of Holiness have an impunity and a licence to provoke God to anger; lest it be said that in *Ireland* it is not lawful for any man to sin, unless he be a person of quality. *Optimus est reipublicae status, ubi nihil deest nisi licentia pereundi*; In a common-wealth that's the best state of things, where every thing can be had but a leave to sin, a licence to be undone.

2. As God is thus to be obey'd, and you are to take care that he be, so God

also must be honnourd, by paying that reverence and religious obedience which is due to those persons whom he hath been pleased to honour by admitting them to the dispensation of *his blessings*, and the ministeries of *your Religion*. For certain it is, this is a right way of giving honour and obedience to God. The Church is in some very peculiar manner the *portion* and the *called* and the *care* of God; and it will concern you in pursuance of your obedience to God, to take care that they in whose hands Religion is to be ministred and conducted, be not discouraged. For what your Judges are to the ministry of Laws, that your Bishops are in the ministeries of Religion; and it concerns you that the hands of neither of them be made weak: and so long as you make Religion your care, and Holiness your measure, you will not think that Authority is the more to be despised because it is in the hands of the Church, or that it is a sin to *speak evil of dignities*, unless they be Ecclesiastical; but that they may be reviled, and that though nothing is baser then for a man to be a Thief, yet Sacrilege is no dishonour; and indeed to be an Oppressor is a great and crying sin, yet to oppress the Church, to diminish her rents, to make her beggerly and contemptible, that's no offence; and that though it is not lawful *to despise Government*, yet if it be Church-government, that then the case is altered. Take heed of that, for then God is dishonoured, when any thing is the more despised by how much it relates nearer unto God. No Religion ever did despise their chiefest Ministers; and the Christian Religion gives them the greatest honour. For honourable Priesthood is like a shower from heaven, it causes blessings every where: but a pitiful, a disheartned, a discouraged Clergy, waters the ground with a water-pot, here and there a little good, and for a little while; but every evil man can destroy all that work whenever he pleases. Take heed; in the world there is not a greater misery can happen to any man, then to be an enemy to God's Church. All Histories of Christendome and the whole Book of God have sad records, and sad threatnings, and sad stories of *Corah*, and *Doeg*, and *Balaam*, and *Jeroboam*, and *Uzzah*, and *Ananias*, and *Sapphira*, and *Julian*, and of Hereticks and Schismaticks, and sacrilegious; and after all, these men could not prevail finally, but pai'd for the mischief they did, and ended their daies in dishonour, and left nothing behind them but the memory of their sin, and the record of their curse.

3. In the same proportion you are to take care of all inferiour Relatives of God and of Religion. Find out methods to relieve the Poor, to accommodate and well dispose of the cures of Souls; let not the Churches lye wast and in ruinous heaps, to the diminution of Religion, and the reproach of the Nation, lest the nations abroad say, that the *Britans* are a kind of Christians that have no Churches: for Churches,

and Courts of Judicature, and the publick defences of an Imperial City, are *res sacrae*; they are venerable in Law, and honourable in Religion.

But that which concerns us most is, that we all keep close to our Religion. *Ad magnas reipublicae utilitates retinetur Religio in civitatibus*, said *Cicero*; by Religion and the strict preserving of it, ye shall best preserve the Interests of the Nation: and according to the precept of the Apostle, *Mark them which cause divisions amongst us, contrary to the doctrine that ye have receiv'd, and avoid them.* For I 540. beseech you to consider, all you that are true Protestants; do you think that your Religion is holy, and Apostolical, and taught by Christ, and pleasing unto God? If you do not think so, why do you not leave it? but if you do think so, why are ye not zealous for it? Is not the Government a part of it? it is that which immures, and adorns, and conducts all the rest, and is establisht in the thirty-sixth Article of the Church, in the publick Service-book, and in the book of consecration: it is therefore a part of our Religion, and is not all of it worth preserving? If it be, then they which make Schisms against this Doctrine, by the rule of the Apostle are to be avoided. *Beatus qui praedicat verbum inauditum*, Blessed is he that preaches a word that was never heard before, so said the *Spanish* Jesuite: but Christ said 550. otherwise, *No man having drunk old wine straight desires new, for he saith the old is better.* And so it is in Religion, *Quod primum verum*, Truth is alwaies first: and since Episcopacy hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, since it hath ever combin'd with Government, and hath been taught by that spirit that hath now according to the promise of *Jesus*, that saies *the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church*, been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles, and as it went away, so it return'd again in the hand of Monarchy, and in the bosome of our Fundamental Laws; suffer no evil tongue to speak against this Truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from Experience, and from the wisdome of so many Ages, of all your Ancestours and all your Laws, lest ye be 560. found to speak against God, and neglect the things that belong unto your Peace, and get nothing by it but news and danger, and what other effects ye know not. But *Leontius*, Bishop of *Antioch* stroak'd his old white beard and said, *When this snow is dissolved, a great deal of dirty weather will follow*; meaning, that when the old Religion should be questioned and discountenanced, the new Religion would bring nothing but trouble and unquietness: and we have found it so by a sad experience.

4. Ye cannot obey God unless ye doe Justice: for this also is better then sacrifice, said *Solomon*, For Christ, who is *the Sun of righteousness*, is a *Sun and a*

Shield to them that doe righteously. The *Indian* was not immured sufficiently by the *Atlantic* sea, nor the *Bosphoran* by the walls of Ice, nor the *Arabian* by his meridian Sun; the Christian Justice of the *Romane* Princes brake through all inclosures, and by Justice set up Christs standard, and gave to all the world a testimony how much could be done by Prudence and Valour, when they were conducted by the hands of Justice. And now you will have a great trial of this part of your Obedience to God.

For you are to give sentence in the causes of half a Nation: and he had need be a wise and a good man that divides the inheritance amongst Brethren; that he may not be abused by contrary pretences, nor biassed by the Interest of friends, nor transported with the unjust thoughts even of a just Revenge, nor allured by the opportunities of Spoile, nor turn'd aside by Partiality in his own concerns, nor blinded by Gold, which puts out the eyes of wise men, nor couzened by pretended Zeal, nor wearied with the difficulty of questions, nor directed by a general measure in cases not measurable by it, nor born down by Prejudice, nor abused by resolutions taken before the cause be heard, nor over-ruled by National Interests. For Justice ought to be the simplest thing in the world, and is to be measured by nothing but by Truth and by Laws and the decrees of Princes. But whatever you doe, let not the pretence of a different Religion make you think it lawful to oppress any man in his just rights. For Opinions are not, but Laws only, and *doing as we would be done to*, are the measures of Justice: and though Justice does alike to all men, Jew and Christian, Lutheran and Calvinist; yet to doe right to them that are of another Opinion is the way to win them; but if you for Conscience sake doe them wrong, they will hate you and your Religion.

Lastly, as *obedience is better then sacrifice*, so God also said, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*; meaning that Mercy is the best Obedience. *Perierat totum quod Deus fecerat, nisi misericordia subvenisset*, said *Chrysologus*; all the creatures both of heaven and earth would perish, if Mercy did not relieve us all. Other good things, more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune: *Ex clementia omnes idem sperant*, but from Mercy and Clemency all the world alike do expect advantages. And which of us all stands here this day, that does not need God's pardon and the King's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence, as that he will be willing to quit his claim to Mercy: and if we all need it, let us all shew it.

Naturae imperio gemimus, cum funus adultae
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,

If you do but see a Maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an Infant dye before the birth of Reason, Nature hath taught us to pay a tributary tear: Alas! your eyes will behold the ruine of many Families, which though they sadly have deserved, yet Mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watry cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines upon it, it may produce a rain-bow to be a Sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoyces *in the death of him that dies*; and we also esteem it undecent to have Musick at a Funeral. And as Religion teaches us to pity a condemned Criminal, so Mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the Laws. *You must indeed be as just as the Laws, and you must be as merciful as your Religion*: and you have no way to tye these together, but to follow the pattern in the Mount; doe as God does, who *in judgement remembers mercy*.

To conclude; If every one in this Honourable Assembly would joyn together to promote Christian Religion in it's true notion, that is, Peace and Holiness, the Love of God and the Love of our Brother, Christianity in all its proper usefulness, and would not indure in the Nation any thing against the laws of the Holy *Jesus*; if they were all zealous for the doctrines of Righteousness, and impatient of sin in your selves and in the people, it is not to be imagined what a happy Nation we should be. But if ye divide into parties, and keep up useless differences of names or interests; if ye do not joyn in the bands of Peace, that is, the King, and the Church, Religion, and the good of the Nation, you can never hope to see a blessing to be the end of your labours. Remember the words of *Solomon, Righteousness exalteth a Nation, but sin is a reproach to any people*: but when Righteousness is advanced in the hearts and lives of the Nation, who shall dare to reprove your Faith? who can find fault with your Religion?

God of his mercy grant that in all your Consultations the Word of God may be your measure, the Spirit of God may be your guide, and the glory of God may be your end: He of his mercy grant that Moderation may be your limit, and Peace may be within your walls as long as you are there, and in all the Land for ever after. But remember, that since the honour and service of his Majesty, and the peace and prosperity of the Church, the perpetuity of our fundamental Laws, publick Justice, and the honour of all legal Authority, the advancement of Trade and the wealth of the Nation is your design, remember, I pray, what warranty you

have to expect all this; no less then the words of our Blessed Saviour, but it is upon these terms, *Seek ye first the Kingdome of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be added to you.* Amen.

FINIS.

Via Intelligentiæ.

A

SERMON

Preached to the

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN:

Shewing by what means the Scholars ſhall become moſt Learned moſt Uſefull.

Publiſhed at their deſire.

By the R. R. Father in God, JEREMY, Lord Biſhop of *Downe*, &c. and Vicechancellour of that UNIVERSITY.

Ad majorem Dei gloriam.

LONDON:
Printed for *R. Royſton* Bookſeller to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, 1662.

Peace is so great a Blessing, and Disputations and Questions in Religion are so little friends to Peace, that I have thought no mans time can be better spent then in propositions and promotions of Peace, and consequently in finding expedients, and putting periods to all contentious Learning. I have already in a discourse before the Right Honourable the Lords *and* Commons *assembled in this Parliament prov'd that Obedience is the best* medium *of Peace and true* Religion; *and* Lawes *are the only common term and certain rule and measure of it.* Vocata ad concionem multitudine, quae coalescere in populum Unius corporis nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, *said* Livy. Obedience to Man *is the externall instrument; and the best in the World. To which I now add, that* Obedience to God *is the best internall instrument; and I have prov'd it in this discourse. Peace and Holiness are twin-Sisters; after which because every man is bound to follow, and he that does not shall never see God, I concluded that the office of a Bishop is in nothing so signally to be exhibited as in declaring by what means these great duties and blessings are to be acquir'd. This way I have here describ'd is an old way; for it was Christs way, and therefore it is truth and life: but it hath been so little regarded and so seldom taught, that when I first spake my thoughts of it in the following words before the Little, but Excellent, University of* Dublin, *they consented to it so perfectly, and so piously entertain'd it, that they were pleas'd with some earnestness to desire me to publish it to the World, and to consigne it to them as a perpetual memorial of their duty, and of my regards to them, and care over them in my Station. I was very desirous to serve and please them in all their worthy desires, but had found so much reason to distrust my own abilities, that I could not resolve to do what I fain would have done; till by a Second communication of those thoughts, though in differing words, I had publish'd it also to my* Clergy *at the* Metropolitical Visitation *of the most Reverend and Learned Lord* Primate *of* Armagh *in my own Diocese. But when I found that they also thought it very reasonable and pious, and joyn'd in the desire of making it publick, I consented perfectly, and now only pray to God it may do that Work which I intended. I have often thought of those excellent words of Mr.* Hooker *in his very learned discourse of* Justification; "*Such is the untoward constitution of our Nature, that we do neither so perfectly understand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor so stedfastly embrace it when understood, nor so graciously utter it when it is embraced, nor so peaceably maintain it when it is uttered, but that the best of us are overtaken sometime through blindness, sometime through hastiness, sometime through impatience, sometime through other passions of the mind, whereunto (God knows) we are too subject*". That

I find by true experience, the best way of Learning and Peace is that which cures all these evils, as far as in this World they are curable; and that is the wayes of Holiness, which are therefore the best and only way of Truth. In Disputations there is no end, and but very little advantage; but the way of godliness hath in it no Error, and no Doubtfulness. By this therefore I hop'd best to apply the Counsel of the Wise man: 40.
Stand thou fast in thy sure Understanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteousness.
I have reason to be confident that they who desir'd me to publish this discourse will make use of it, and find benefit by it: and if others do so too, both they and I shall still more and more give God all thanks, and praise, and glory.

If any man will do his will, he shall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of my self.

The *Ancients* in their Mythological Learning tell us, that when *Jupiter* espyed the men of the World striving for Truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent *Mercury* down amongst them, and he with his usuall Arts dressed *Error* up in the Imagery of *Truth*, and thrust her into the croud, and so left them to contend still: and though then, by Contention men were sure to get but little Truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost Peace too, in their Importune Contentions for the very Image of Truth. And this indeed is no wonder: but when Truth and Peace are brought into the world together, and bound up in the same bundle of life; when we are taught a Religion by the Prince of Peace, who is the Truth it self, to see men Contending for *this Truth* to the breach of *that Peace*; and when men fall out, to see that they should make Christianity their theme, that is one of the greatest wonders in the World. For Christianity is ἥμερος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος νομοθεσία, a soft and gentle Institution; ὑγρὸν καὶ μείλιχον ἦθος, it was brought into the World to soften the asperities of humane nature, and to cure the Barbarities of evil men, and the Contentions of the passionate. The Eagle seeing her breast wounded, and espying the Arrow that hurt her to be feathered, cryed out, πτερόν με τὸν πτερωτὸν ὁλλύει, the feathered Nation is destroyed by their own feathers; That is, a Christian fighting and wrangling with a Christian; and indeed that's very sad: but wrangling about Peace too; that Peace it self should be the the argument of a War, that's unnaturall; and if it were not that there are many who are *homines multae religionis, nullius pene pietatis*, Men of much Religion and little Godliness, it would not be that there should be so many Quarrells in and concerning that Religion which is wholly made up of Truth and Peace, and was sent amongst us to reconcile the hearts of men when they were tempted to uncharitablenesse by any other unhappy argument. *Disputation* cures no vice, but kindles a great many, and makes Passion evaporate into sin: and though men esteem it Learning, yet it is the most uselesse Learning in the world. When *Eudamidas* the Son of *Archidamas* heard old *Xenocrates* disputing about *Wisdom*, he asked very soberly, If the old Man be yet disputing and enquiring concerning *Wisdom*, what time will he have to make use of it? Christianity is all for Practice, and so much time as is spent in quarrells about it is a diminution to its Interest:

men inquire so much what it is, that they have but little time left to *be Christians*. I remember a saying of *Erasmus*, that when he first read the New Testament with fear and a good mind, with a purpose to understand it and obey it, he found it very usefull and very pleasant: but when afterwards he fell on reading the vast differences of Commentaries, then he understood it lesse then he did before, then he began *not* to understand it. For indeed the Truths of God are best dressed in the 40.
plain Culture and simplicity of the *Spirit*; but the Truths that men commonly teach are like the reflexions of a Multiplyinge-glasse: for one piece of good money you shall have forty that are fantasticall; and it is forty to one if your finger hit upon the right. Men have wearied themselves in the dark, having been amused with false fires: and instead of going home, have wandered all night ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀβάταις, in untroden, unsafe, uneasie wayes; but have not found out what their Soul desires. But therefore since we are so miserable, and are in error, and have wandered very far, we must do as wandring Travellers use to do, go back just to that place from whence they wandered, and begin upon a new Account. Let us go to the Truth it self, to Christ, and he will tell us an easie way of ending all our Quarrells. For we 50.
shall find Christianity to be the easiest and the hardest thing in the World: it is like a secret in *Arithmetick*, infinitely hard till it be found out by a right operation, and then it is so plain, we wonder we did not understand it earlier.

Christ's way of finding out of truth is by *doing the will of God*. We will try that by and by, if possibly we may find *that* easie and certain: in the mean time let us consider what wayes men have propounded to find out Truth, and upon the foundation of that to establish Peace in Christendom.

1. That there is but one true way is agreed upon; and therefore almost every Church of one denomination that lives under Government propounds to you a Systeme or collective Body of Articles, and tells you, *that's* the true *Religion*, and 60.
they are the *Church*, and the peculiar people of *God*: like *Brutus* and *Cassius*, of whom one sayes, *Ubicunque ipsi essent, praetexebant esse rempublicam*, they suppos'd themselves were the Commonwealth; and *these* are the Church, and out of this Church they will hardly allow salvation. But of this there can be no end. For divide the Church into Twenty parts, and in what part soever your lot falls, you and your party are Damned by the other Nineteen; and men on all hands almost keep their own Proselytes by affrighting them with the fearful Sermons of Damnation: but in the mean time here is no security to them that are not able to judge for themselves, and no Peace for them that are.

2. *Others* cast about to cure this evil, and conclude that it must be done by 70.
submission to an Infallible Guide; this must do it or nothing: and this is the way of the Church of *Rome*. Follow but the *Pope* and his Clergie, and you are safe, as least as safe as their warrant can make you. Indeed this were a very good way, if it were a way at all; but it is none; for this can never end our Controversies: not onely because the greatest Controversies are about this Infallible Guide; but also because, 1. We cannot find that there is upon Earth any such Guide at all. 2. We do not find it necessary that there should be. 3. We find that they who pretend to be this Infallible Guide are themselves infinitely deceiv'd. 4. That they do not believe themselves to be Infallible whatever they say to us; because they do not put
an end to all their own Questions that trouble them. 5. Because they have no peace 80.
but what is constrained by force and Government. 6. And lastly, because if there were such a Guide, we should fail of Truth by many other causes: for it may be that Guide would not do his duty; or we are fallible followers of this infallible Leader; or we should not understand his meaning at all times, or we should be perverse at some times, or something as bad: because we all confesse that *God* is an Infallible Guide, and that some way or other he does teach us sufficiently, and yet it does come to passe by our faults that we are as far to seek for Peace and Truth as ever.

3. *Some* very wise men finding this to fail, have undertaken to reconcile the
differences of Christendom by a way of moderation. Thus they have projected to 90.
reconcile the *Papists* and the *Lutherans*, the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists*, the *Remonstrants* and *Contra-remonstrants*, and project that each side should abate of their asperities, and pare away something of their propositions, and joyn in Common terms and phrases of Accommodation, each of them sparing something, and promising they shall have a great deal of peace for the exchange of a little of their opinion. This was the way of *Cassander, Andreas Fricius Modrevius, Erasmus, Spalato, Grotius*, and indeed of *Charles* the Fifth in part, but something more heartily of *Ferdinand* the Second. This device produced the conferences at *Poissy*, at *Montpellier*, at *Ratisbon*, at *The Hague*, at many places more: and what was the
event of these? Their parties when their Delegates returned, either disclaimed their 100.
Moderation, or their respective *Princes* had some other ends to serve, or they permitted the Meetings upon uncertain hopes, and a triall if any good might come; or it may be they were both in the wrong, and their mutuall abatement was nothing but a mutuall quitting of what they could not get, and the shaking hands of false friends; or it may be it was all of it nothing but Hypocrisie and Arts of

Craftiness, and, like *Lucian's* man, every one could be a Man and a Pestle when he pleased. And the Council of *Trent*, though under another cover, made use of the artifice, but made the secret manifest and common: for at this day the *Jesuits* in the Questions *de auxiliis Divinae gratiae* have prevailed with the *Dominicans* to use *their* expressions, and yet they think they still keep the sentence of their own Order. From hence can succeed nothing but folly and a phantastick peace. This is but the skinning of an old sore, it will break out upon all occasions.

4. *Others*, who understand things beyond the common rate, observing that many of our Controversies and peevish wranglings are kept up by the ill stating of the Question, endeavour to declare things wisely, and make the matter intelligible, and the words cleare; hoping by this meanes to cut off all disputes. Indeed this is a very good way, so far as it can go; and would prevaile very much, if all men were wise, and would consent to those stateings, and would not fall out upon the main enquiry when it were well stated: but we find by a sad experience that few Questions are well stated; and when they are, they are not consented to; and when they are agreed on by both sides that they are well stated, it is nothing else but a drawing up the Armies in *Battalia* with great skill and discipline; the next thing they do is, they thrust their Swords into one anothers sides.

5. What remedy after all this? Some other good men have propounded one way yet: but that is a way of Peace rather then Truth; and that is, that all Opinions should be tolerated and none persecuted; and then all the World will be at peace. Indeed this relies upon a great reasonableness: not onely because Opinions cannot be forced; but because if men receive no hurt, it is to be hoped they will do none. But we find that this alone will not do it. For besides that all men are not so just as not to do any Injury (for some men begin the evil) besides this (I say) there are very many men amongst us who are not content that you permit them; for they will not permit you, but *rule over your faith*, and say that their way is not only true, but necessary; and therefore the Truth of God is at stake, and all Indifference and moderation is carnall Wisdom, and want of Zeal for God: nay more then so, they preach for Toleration when themselves are under the rod, who when they got the rod into their own hands thought Toleration it self to be Intolerable. Thus do the *Papists*, and thus the *Calvinists*: and for their Cruelty they pretend Charity. They will indeed *force* you to come in, but it is in true Zeal for your Soul: and if they do you violence, it is no more then if they pull your Arme out of joynt, when to save you from drowning they draw you out of a River; and if you complain, it is no more to be regarded then the out-cries of Children against their Rulers, or sick

men against Physicians. But as to the thing it self, the truth is, it is better in Contemplation then in Practice: for reckon all that is got by it when you come to handle it, and it can never satisfie for the infinite disorders happening in the Government; the scandal to Religion, the secret dangers to publick Societies, the growth of Heresie, the nursing up of parties to a grandeur so considerable as to be able in their own time to change the Lawes and the Government. So that if the Question be whether meer Opinions are to be persecuted, it is certainly true, they ought not. But if it be considered how by Opinions men rifle the affaires of Kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made publick and permitted. And what is now to be done? must Truth be for ever in the dark, and the World for ever be divided, and Societies disturbed, and Governments weakned, and our Spirits debauched with Error and the uncertain Opinions and the Pedantery of talking men? Certainly there is a way to cure all this evil; and the wise Governour of all the World hath not been wanting in so necessary a matter as to lead us into all Truth. But the way hath not yet been hit upon, and yet I have told you all the wayes of Man and his Imaginations in order to Truth and Peace: and you see these will not do; we can find no rest for the soles of our feet amidst all the waters of Contention and disputations, and little artifices of divided Schools. *Every man is a lyar*, and his understanding is weak, and his Propositions uncertain, and his Opinions trifling, and his Contrivances imperfect: and neither Truth nor Peace does come from man. I know I am in an Auditory of inquisitive persons, whose businesse is to study for Truth, that they may find it for themselves, and teach it unto others: I am in a School of Prophets and Prophets Sons, who all ask *Pilate's* Question, *What is Truth?* You look for it in your Books, and you tug hard for it in your Disputations, and you derive it from the Cisterns of the *Fathers*, and you enquire after the old wayes, and sometimes are taken with new appearances, and you rejoyce in false lights, or are delighted with little umbrages and peep of Day. But where is there a man, or a Society of men, that can be at rest in his enquiry, and is sure he understands all the truths of God? where is there a man but the more he studies and enquires, still he discovers nothing so clearly as his own Ignorance? This is a demonstration that we are not in the right way, that we do not inquire wisely, that our Method is not artificiall. If men did fall upon the right way, it were impossible so many learned men should be engaged in contrary parties and opinions. We have examined all wayes but one, all but *God's* way: Let us (having missed in all the other) try this: let us go to God for Truth; for *Truth* comes from God only, and his wayes are plain, and his sayings are true, and his promises *Yea* and *Amen*: and if we miss the Truth, it is because we will not find it:

for certain it is, that all that Truth which God hath made necessarie, he hath also made legible and plain, and if we will open our eyes, we shall see the Sun, and if *we will walk in the light, we shall rejoyce in the light*: only let us withdraw the Curtains, let us remove the *impediments and the sin that doth so easily beset us*; thats Gods way. Every man must in his station do that portion of duty which God requires of him, and then he shall be taught of God all that is fit for him to learn: there is no other way for him but this. *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter.* And so said *David* of himself, *I have more understanding then my Teachers; because I keep thy Commandements.* And this is the only way which Christ hath taught us: if you ask, *What is truth?* you must not doe as *Pilate* did, ask the Question, and then go away from him that only can give you an answer; for as God is the author of Truth, so he is the teacher of it; and the way to learn it is this of my Text: For so saith our blessed Lord, *If any man will do his will, he shall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God or no.*

My *Text* is simple as Truth it self, but greatly Comprehensive, and contains a truth that alone will enable you to understand all *Mysteries*, and to expound all *Prophecies*, and to interpret all *Scriptures*, and to search into all Secrets, all (I mean) which concern our happinesse and our duty: and it being an affirmative hypotheticall, is plainly to be resolved into this Proposition, *The way to judge of Religion is by doing of our duty, and Theology is rather a Divine life then a Divine knowledge.* In Heaven indeed we shall first see, and then love; but here on Earth we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts, and we shall then see and perceive and understand.

In the handling of which Proposition I shall first represent to you that *the certain causes of our Errors are nothing but direct sins,* nothing makes us Fools and *Ignorants* but living vicious lives; and then I shall proceed to the direct demonstration of the Article in question, that *Holinesse is the only way of truth and understanding.*

1. No man understands the *Word of God* as it ought to be understood, unlesse he layes aside all affections to Sin: of which because we have taken very little care, the product hath been that we have had very little wisdom, and very little knowledge in the wayes of God. Κακια ἐστι φθαρτικη τῆς ἀρχῆς, said *Aristotle*, Wickedness does corrupt a mans reasoning, it gives him false principles and evil measures of things: the sweet Wine that *Ulysses* gave to the *Cyclops* put

his eye out; and a man that hath contracted evil affections, and made a League with sin, sees only by those measures. A Covetous man understands nothing to be good that is not profitable; and a Voluptuous man likes your reasoning well enough if you discourse of *Bonum jucundum*, the pleasures of the sense, the ravishments of lust, the noises and inadvertencies, the mirth and songs of merry Company. But if you talk to him of the melancholy Lectures of the Cross, the content of Resignation, the peace of Meeknesse, and the Joyes of the holy Ghost, and of rest in God; after your long discourse and his great silence he cryes out, What's the matter? He knows not what you meane. Either you must fit his humour, or change your discourse.

I remember that *Arrian* tells of a Gentleman that was banished from *Rome*, and in his sorrow visited the Philosopher, and he heard him talk wisely, and believed him, and promised him to leave all the thoughts of *Rome* and splendours of the Court, and retire to the course of a severe Philosophy: but before the good mans Lectures were done, there came πινακίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, letters from *Caesar* to recall him home, to give him pardon, and promise him great Imployment. He presently grew weary of the good mans *Sermon*, and wished he would make an end, thought his discourse was dull and flat; for his head and heart were full of another storie and new principles; and by these measures he could heare only and he could understand.

Every man understands by his Affections more then by his Reason: and when the *Wolfe* in the Fable went to School to learn to spell, whatever letters were told him, he could never make any thing of them but *Agnus*; he thought of nothing but his belly: and if a man be very hungry, you must give him meate before you give him counsell. A mans mind must be like your proposition before it can be entertained: for whatever you put into a man it will smell of the Vessell: it is a mans mind that gives the *emphasis*, and makes your argument to prevail.

And upon this account it is that there are so many false Doctrines in the only Article of *Repentance*. Men know they must repent, but the definition of Repentance they take from the convenience of their own affaires: what they will part with, that is not necessary to be parted with, and they will repent, but not restore: they will say *nollem factum*, they wish they had never done it; but since it is done, you must give them leave to rejoyce in their purchase: they will ask forgivenesse of God; but they sooner forgive themselves, and suppose that God is of their mind. If you tye them to hard termes, your Doctrine is not to be understood,

or it is but one Doctors opinion, and therefore they will fairly take their leave, and get them another Teacher.

What makes these evil, these dangerous and desperate Doctrines? not the obscurity of the thing, but the cloud upon the heart; for say you what you will, He that hears must be the expounder, and we can never suppose but a man will give sentence in behalf of what he passionately loves. And so it comes to pass that, as *Rabbi Moses* observ'd, that God for the greatest Sin imposed the least Oblation, as a she-Goat for the sin of Idolatry; for a woman accused of Adultery, a Barly-cake: so do most men; they think to expiate the worst of their sins with a trifling, with a pretended, little, insignificant repentance. God indeed did so, that the cheapnesse of the oblation might teach them to hope for pardon; not from the Ceremony, but from a severe internal repentance. But men take any argument to lessen their repentance, that they may not lessen their pleasures or their estates, and that Repentance may be nothing but a word, and Mortification signifie nothing against their pleasures, but be a term of Art only, fitted for the Schools or for the Pulpit, but nothing relative to practice, or the extermination of their sin. So that it is no wonder we understand so little of Religion: it is because we are in love with that which destroyes it; and as a man does not care to hear what does not please him, so neither does he believe it; he cannot, he will not understand it.

And the same is the Case in the matter of *Pride*; the Church hath extremely suffer'd by it in many ages. *Arius* missed a Bishoprick, and therefore turned Heretick; ἐτάρασσε την Εκκλησίαν, saith the story, he disturb'd and shaked the Church; for he did not understand this Truth: *That the peace of the Church was better then the satisfaction of his person, or the promoting his foolish Opinion.* And do not we see and feel that at this very day the Pride of men makes it seem impossible for many persons to obey their *Superiors*? and they do not see what they can read every day, that it is a sin *to speak evill of Dignities.*

A man would think it a very easie thing to understand the thirteenth Chapter to the *Romans, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*: and yet we know a generation of men to whom these words were so obscure, that they thought it lawfull to fight against their *King*. A man would think it easie to believe that those who were *in the gain-saying of Corah*, who rose up against the high Priest, were in a very sad condition: and yet there are too many amongst us who are in the gain-saying of *Corah*, and think they do very well; that they are the *Godly party*, and the good people of God. Why? what's the matter? In the world

there can be nothing plainer then these words, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers*, and that you need not make a scruple who are these higher powers, it is as plainly said, *there is no power but of God*; all that are set over you by the Laws of your Nation, these are *over you in the Lord*: and yet men will not understand these plain things; they deny to doe their notorious duty, and yet believe they are in the right, and if they sometimes obey *for wrath*, they oftner disobey for *Conscience sake*. Where is the fault? The words are plain, the duty is 290.
certain, the Book lyes open; but, alas! *it is Sealed within*, that is, *men have eyes and will not see, eares and will not heare*. But the wonder is the lesse; for we know when God said to *Jonah, doest thou well to be angry?* he answered God to his face, *I do well to be angry even unto the death*. Let God declare his mind never so plainly, if men will not lay aside the evil principle that is within, their open love to their secret sin, they may kill an Apostle, and yet be so ignorant as to *think they do God good service*; they may disturb Kingdomes, and break the peace of a well-ordered Church, and rise up against their Fathers, and be cruell to their Brethren, and stir up the people to Sedition; and all this with a cold stomach and a hot liver, with a hard heart and a tender Conscience, with humble carriage and a proud spirit. For 300.
thus men hate Repentance, because they scorn to confesse an Errour; they will not return to Peace and Truth, because they feare to lose the good opinion of the people whom themselves have couzened; they are afraid to be good, lest they should confess they have formerly done amisse: and he that observes how much evil is done, and how many Heresies are risen, and how much obstinacy and unreasonable perserverance in folly dwells in the World upon the stock of Pride, may easily conclude that no learning is sufficient to make a proud man understand the truth of God, unless he first learn to be humble. But *Obedite et intelligetis* (saith the Prophet) obey and be humble, leave the foolish affections of sin, and then ye shall understand. That's the First particular: All remaining affections to sin hinder the 310
learning and understanding of the things of God.

2. He that means to understand the will of God and the truth of Religion must lay aside *all inordinate affections to the world. St. Paul* complained that there was at *that day a veile upon the heart of the* Jews *in the reading of the Old Testament*: they looked for a Temporall Prince to be their *Messias*, and their affections and hopes dwelt in secular advantages; and so long as that veile was there, they could not see, and they would not accept the poore despised JESUS.

For the things of the world, besides that they entangle one another, and make much business, and spend much time, they also take up the attentions of a mans

mind, and spend his faculties, and make them trifling and secular with the very handling and conversation. And therefore the *Pythagoreans* taught their Disciples χωρισμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, εἰς τὸ καλῶς φιλοσοφεῖν, a separation from the things of the body, if they would purely find out truth and the excellencies of wisdom. Had not he lost his labour that would have discoursed wisely to *Apicius*, and told him of the books of Fate and the secrets of the other World, the abstractions of the Soul and its brisker Immortality, that Saints and Angels eate not, and that the Spirit of a man lives for ever upon wisdom and holinesse and contemplation? The fat *Glutton* would have stared a while upon the Preacher, and then have fallen asleep. But if you had discoursed well and knowingly of a Lamprey, a large Mullet, or a Boare, *animal propter Convivia natum*, and have sent him a Cook from *Asia* to make new *Sawces*, he would have attended carefully, and taken in your discourses *greedily*. And so it is in the Questions and secrets of Christianity: which made St. *Paul*, when he intended to convert *Felix*, discourse first with him about *Temperance, Righteousnesse and Judgement to come*. He began in the right point; he knew it was to no purpose to preach *Jesus Christ* crucified to an intemperate person, to an Usurper of other mens rights, to one whose soul dwelt in the World, and cared not for the sentence of the last day. The *Philosophers* began their Wisdom with the meditation of death, and St. *Paul* his with a discourse of the day of Judgment: to take the heart off from this world and the amabilities of it, which dishonour and baffle the understanding, and made *Solomon* himself become a child and fool'd into Idolatry, by the prettinesse of a talking woman. Men now-a-dayes love not a Religion that will cost them deare. If your Doctrine calls upon men to part with any considerable part of their estates, you must pardon them if they cannot believe you; they understand it not. I shall give you one great instance of it.

When we consider the infinite unreasonableness that is in the Popish Religion, how against Common sense their Doctrine of Transubstantiation is, how against the common Experience of humane nature is the Doctrine of the Popes Infallibility, how against Scripture is the Doctrine of Indulgences and Purgatory; we may well think it a wonder that no more men are perswaded to leave such unlearned follies. But then on the other side, the wonder will cease, if we mark how many temporal ends are served by these Doctrines. If you destroy the Doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences you take away the Priests Income, and make the *See Apostolic* to be poor; if you deny the Popes Infallibility, you will despise his Authority, and examine his Propositions, and discover his Failings, and put him to answer hard

Arguments, and lessen his Power: and indeed, when we run through all the Propositions of difference between them and us, and see that in every one of them they serve an end of money or of power; it will be very visible that the way to confute them is not by learned disputations, (for we see they have been too long without effect, and without prosperity) the men must be cured of their affections to 360.
the World, *ut nudi nudum sequantur crucifixum*, that with naked and devested affections they might follow the naked Crucified *Jesus*, and then they would soone learne the truths of God, which till then will be impossible to be apprehended. Ἐν προσποιήσει εξηγήσεως τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παρεισάγουσιν. Men (as St. *Basil* sayes) when they expound Scripture, alwayes bring in something of themselves: but till there be (as one said) ἀνάβασις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου, a rising out from their own seats, untill they go out from their dark dungeons, they can never see the light of Heaven. And how many men are there amongst us who are therefore enemies to the Religion, because it seems to be against their profit? The argument of *Demetrius* is unanswerable; *by this craft they get their livings*: leave 370.
them in their Livings, and they will let your Religion alone; if not, they think they have reason to speak against it. When mens souls are possessed with the World, their souls cannot be invested with holy Truths. χρὴ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτην ψυχην ψυχοῦσθαι, as St. *Isidore* said: the Soul must be informed, *insoul'd*, or animated with the propositions that you put in, or you shall never do any good, or get Disciples to Christ. Now because a man cannot serve two Masters; because he cannot vigourously attend two *objects*; because there can be but one soul in any living Creature; if the World have got possession, talk no more of your Questions, shut your Bibles, and read no more of the words of God to them, for they cannot tell of *the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or of the World.* That is the Second 380.
particular: Wordly affections hinder true understandings in Religion.

3. No man, how learned soever, can understand the Word of God, or be at peace in the Questions of Religion, unlesse he be *a Master over his passions.*

Tu quoque si vis Lumine claro
Cernere verum, Gaudia pelle,
Pelle Timorem: Nubila mens est
Vinctaque fraenis Haec ubi regnant.

said the wise *Boethius.* A man must first learn himself before he can learn God. *Tue te fallit Imago*: nothing deceives a man so soon as a mans self; when a man is (that I may use *Plato's* expression) συμπεφυρμενος τῇ γενέσει, mingled 390.
with his nature and his Congeniall infirmities of *anger* and *desire*, he can never

have any thing but ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν, a knowledge partly moral and partly naturall: his whole life is but Imagination; his knowledge is Inclination and opinion; he judges of Heavenly things by the measures of his feares and his desires, and his Reason is half of it sense, and determinable by the principles of sense. Εὖγε ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς ἐν πάθεσι, then a man learns well when he is a Philosopher in his Passions. Passionate men are to be taught the first elements of Religion: and let men pretend to as much learning as they please, they must begin again at *Christs Crosse*; they must learn true mortification and crucifixion of their anger and desires, before they can be good Scholars in Christs School, or be admitted into the more secret enquiries of Religion, or profit in spirituall understanding. It was an excellent Proverb of the Jews, *In passionibus Spiritus Sanctus non habitat*, the Holy Ghost never dwells in the house of Passion. Truth enters into the heart of Man when it is empty and cleane and still; but when the mind is shaken with Passion as with a storme, you can never heare *the voyce of the Charmer, though he charm very wisely*: and you will very hardly sheath a sword when it is held by a loose and a paralytic Arme. He that means to learn the secrets of Gods wisdom must be, as *Plato* sayes, τὴν λογικην ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος, his soul must be Consubstantiated with *Reason*, not invested with *Passion*: to him that is otherwise, things are but in the dark, his notion is obscure and his sight troubled; and therefore though we often meet with passionate Fools, yet we seldom or never heare of a very passionate wise man.

I have now done with the First part of my undertaking, and proved to you that our evill life is the cause of our Controversies and Ignorances in the Religion of the things of God. You see what hinders us from becoming good Divines. But all this while we are but in the preparation to the Mysteries of Godlinesse. When we have thrown off all affections to sin; when we have stript our selves from all fond adherencies to the things of the world, and have broken the chains and dominion of our Passions; then we may say with *David, Ecce paratum est Cor meum, Deus; My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready*: then we may say, *Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth*: but we are not yet instructed. It remaines therefore that we enquire what is that immediate principle or meanes by which we shall certainly and infallibly be led into all truth, and be taught the mind of God, and understand all his secrets: and this is worth our knowledge. I cannot say that this will end your labours, and put a period to your studies, and make your learning easie: it may possibly increase your labour, but it will make it profitable; it will not end your Studies, but it will direct them; it will not make humane Learning easie, but it will

make it *wise unto salvation*, and conduct it into true notices and wayes of wisdom.

I am now to describe you the right way of knowledge. *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei* (saith Christ) that's the way: *do Gods will, and you shall understand Gods Word.* And it was an excellent saying of St. *Peter, Add to your faith Vertue, etc. If these things be in you and abound, ye shall not be unfruitfull in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.* For in this case it is not enough that all our hinderances of knowledge are removed; for that is but the opening of the covering of the Book of God: but when it is opened, it is written with a hand that every eye cannot read. Though the windowes of the East be open, yet every eye cannot behold the glories of the Sun. ὀφθαλμὸς μὴ ἡλιοειδὴς γινόμενος ἡλίου οὐ βλέπει, saith *Plotinus*; the eye that is not made Solar cannot see the Sun; the eye must be fitted to the splendor: and it is not the wit of the man, but the spirit of the man; not so much his head as his heart, that learnes the Divine Philosophy.

1. Now in this inquiry I must take one thing for a *praecognitum,* that every good man is θεοδίδακτος, he is *taught of God*: and indeed unless he teach us, we shall make but ill Scholars our selves, and worse guides to others. *Nemo potest Deum scire, nisi a Deo doceatur,* said St. *Irenaeus*, If God teaches us, then all is well: but if we do not learn wisdom at his feet, from whence should we have it? it can come from no other spring. And therefore it naturally follows, that by how much nearer we are to God, by so much better we are like to be instructed.

But this being supposed, as being most evident, we can easily proceed by wonderfull degrees and steps of progression in the Oeconomy of this Divine Philosophy. For,

2. There is in every righteous man a new vital principle: the Spirit of Grace is the spirit of Wisdome, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actuall perswasions, by personall applications, by effects and energies: and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vitall operations, so is the Spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions Spirituall. And the consequence of this is what St. *John* tells us of; *Ye have received the Unction from above: and that anoynting teacheth you all things.* All things of some one kind: that is, certainly, *all things that pertain to life and Godlinesse*; all that by which a *man* is wise and happy. We see this by common experience. Unlesse the soul have a new life put into it, unlesse there be a vital principle within, unlesse the spirit of life be the Informer of the spirit of the man, the Word of God will be as dead in the

operation as the body in its powers and possibilities. *Sol et Homo generant hominem*, saith our Philosophy. A Man alone does not beget a man; but a Man and the Sun: for without the influence of the Celestiall bodyes all natural actions are ineffective: and so it is in the operations of the Soul.

Which principle divers Fanatics, both amongst us and in the Church of *Rome*, misunderstanding, look for new Revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live upon raptures and extravagant expectations, and separate themselves from the conversation of men by affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order and despise Government, and 470.
live upon illiterate phantasmes and ignorant discourses. These men do ψεύδεσθαι τό ἅγιον πνεῦμα, *they bely the holy Ghost*: For the Spirit of God makes men wise; it is an evil Spirit that makes them Fools. The Spirit of God makes us *Wise unto Salvation*, it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding. Gods spirit does not destroy Reason, but heightens it: he never disorders the beauties of Government, but is a God of Order; it is the spirit of Humility, and teaches no Pride: he is to be found in Churches and Pulpits, upon Altars and in the Doctors Chaires; not in Conventicles and mutinous corners of a house: he goes in company with his own Ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life: his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his Graces pursue the 480.
methods of nature: that which was imperfect he leads on to perfection, and that which was weake he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the Word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may heare the Word of God, but we can never understand it; we heare the sound, but are never the better; unlesse there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the spirit of God, the Gospel it self is a dead Letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God.

Do not we see this by a daily experience? Even those things which a good man and an evil man know, they do not know them both alike. A wicked man does 490.
know that good is lovely, and sin is of an evill and destructive nature; and when he is reproved, he is convinced; and when he is observed, he is ashamed; and when he hath done, he is unsatisfied; and when he pursues his sin, he does it in the dark. Tell him he shall dye, and he sighs deeply, but he knows it as well as you: proceed, and say that after death comes Judgement, and the poor man believes and trembles. He knows that God is angry with him; and if you tell him that for ought he knows he may be in Hell to morrow, he knows that it is an intolerable truth,

but it is also undeniable. And yet after all this he runs to commit his sin with as certain an event and resolution, as if he knew no argument against it. These notices of things terrible and true passe through his understanding as an Eagle through the Air: as long as her flight lasted, the Air was shaken; but there remains no path behind her.

Now since at the same time we see other persons, not so learned it may be, not so much versed in Scriptures, yet they say a thing is good and lay hold of it, they believe glorious things of Heaven, and they live accordingly, as men that believe themselves; halfe a word is enough to make them understand; a nod is a sufficient reproof; the Crowing of a Cock, the singing of a Lark, the dawning of the day, and the washing of their hands are to them competent memorialls of Religion and warnings of their duty: What is the reason of this difference? They both read the Scriptures, they read and heare the same *Sermons*, they have capable understandings, they both believe what they heare and what they read, and yet the event is vastly different. The reason is that which I am now speaking of: the one understands by one Principle, the other by another; the one understands by Nature, and the other by Grace; the one by humane Learning, and the other by Divine; the one reads the Scriptures without, and the other within; the one understands as a son of man, the other as a son of *God*; the one perceives by the proportions of the World, and the other by the measures of the Spirit; the one understands by Reason, and the other by Love; and therefore he does not only understand the *Sermons* of the Spirit, and perceives their meaning, but he pierces deeper, and knows the meaning of that meaning, that is, the secret of the Spirit, that which is spiritually discerned, that which gives life to the Proposition, and activity to the Soul.

And the reason is, because he hath a Divine principle within him, and a new understanding: that is plainly, he hath Love, and that's more then Knowledge; as was rarely well observed by St.Paul, *Knowledge puffeth up, but Charity edifieth*; that is, Charity makes the best Scholars. No *Sermons* can edify you, no Sciptures can build you up a holy building to God, unlesse the love of God, be in your hearts; and *purifie your souls from all filthinesse of the Flesh and spirit.*

But so it is in the regions of *Starrs*, where a vast body of fire is so divided by excentric motions, that it looks as if Nature had parted them into Orbes and round shells of plain and purest materialls: but where the cause is simple and the matter without variety, the motions must be uniforme; and in Heaven we should either

espy no motion, or no variety. But God, who designed the Heavens to be the causes of all changes and motions here below, hath placed his Angels in their houses of light, and given to every one of his appointed officers a portion of the fiery matter to circumagitate and roll; and now the wonder ceases: for if it be enquired why this part of the fire runs Eastward and the other to the South, they being both indifferent to either, it is because an Angel of God sits in the Centre, and makes the same matter turne, not by the bent of its own mobility and inclination, but in order to the needs of Man and the great purposes of God; and so it is in the 540.
understandings of men: When they all receive the same notions, and are taught by the same Master, and give full consent to all the propositions and can of themselves have nothing to distinguish them in the events, it is because God hath sent his Divine spirit, and kindles a new fire, and creates a braver capacity, and applies the actives to the passives, and blesses their operation. For there is in the heart of man such a dead sea, and an indisposition to holy flames, like as in the cold Rivers in the North, so as the fires will not burn them, and the Sun it self will never warme them, till Gods holy Spirit does from the Temple of the new *Jerusalem* bring a holy flame, and make it shine and burn.

The Naturall man (saith the holy Apostle) *cannot perceive the things of the* 550.
Spirit: they are foolishnesse unto him; for *they are spiritually discerned.* For he that discourses of things by the measures of sense, thinks nothing good but that which is delicious to the palat, or pleases the brutish part of man; and therefore while he estimates the secrets of Religion by such measures, they must needs seeme as insipid as Cork, or the uncondited Mushrom; for they have nothing at all of that in their constitution. A voluptuous person is like the Dogs of *Sicily*, so fill'd with the deliciousnesse of Plants that grow in every furrow and hedge, that they can never keep the scent of their game. Ἀδύνατον ἀναμίξαι ὕδατι πῦρ· οὕτως οἶμαι τρυφὴν καὶ κατάνυξιν, said St. *Chrysostom*: the fire and water can never mingle; so neither can sensuality and the watchfulnesse and wise discerning of 560.
the spirit. *Pilato interroganti de veritate, Christus non respondit*: When the wicked Governour asked of Christ concerning truth, Christ gave him no answer. He was not fit to heare it.

He therefore who so understands the Words of God, that he not only believes, but loves the proposition; he who consents with all his heart, and being convinced of the truth does also apprehend the necessity, and obeys the precept, and delights in the discovery, and layes his hand upon his heart, and reduces the notices of things to the practice of duty; he who dares trust his proposition, and drives it on

to the utmost issue, resolving to goe after it whithersoever it can invite him; this Man walks in the spirit: at least thus far he is gone towards it, his Understanding 570.
is brought *in obsequium Christi*, into the obedience of Christ. This is a *loving God with all our mind*; and whatever goes less then this, is but Memory, and not Understanding; or else such notice of things by which a man is neither the wiser nor the better.

3. Sometimes God gives to his choicest, his most elect and precious Servants, a knowledge even of secret things, which he communicates not to others. We find it greatly remark'd in the case of *Abraham, And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing that I do?* Why not from *Abraham*? God tells us *For I know him, that he will command his Children and his houshold after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to doe justice and judgement.* And though this be irregular 580.
and infrequent, yet it is a reward of their piety, and the proper increase also of the spirituall man. We find this spoken by God to *Daniel*, and promised to be the lot of the righteous man in the dayes of the *Messias; Many shall be purified and made white and tryed; but the wicked shall do wickedly*: and what then? *None of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.* Where besides that the wise man and the wicked are opposed, plainly signifying that the wicked man is a Fool and an Ignorant: it is plainly said that *None of the wicked shall understand* the wisdome and mysteriousnesse of the Kingdome of the *Messias*.

4. A *good life* is the best way to understand Wisdome and Religion, because by the experiences and relishes of Religion there is conveyed to them such a 590.
sweetnesse, to which all wicked men are strangers: there is in the things of God to them which practice them a deliciousnesse that makes us love them, and that love admits us into Gods Cabinet, and strangely clarifies the understanding by the purification of the heart. For when our reason is raised up by the spirit of Christ, it is turned quickly into experience: when our Faith relyes upon the principles of Christ, it is changed into vision: and so long as we know God only in the wayes of man, by contentious Learning, by arguing and dispute, we see nothing but the shadow of him, and in that shadow we meet with many dark appearances, little certainty and much conjecture: But when we know him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, with the eyes of holinesse and the intuition of gracious 600.
experiences, with a quiet spirit and the peace of Enjoyment; then we shall heare what we never heard, and see what our eyes never saw; then the mysteries of Godlinesse shall be opened unto us, and cleare as the windows of the morning. And this is rarely well expressed by the Apostle, *If we stand up from the dead and awake*

from sleep, then Christ shall give us light.

For although the Scriptures themselves are written by the Spirit of God, yet they are written within and without: and besides the light that shines upon the face of them, unlesse there be a light shining within our hearts, unfolding the leaves and interpreting the mysterious sense of the spirit, convincing our Consciences and preaching to our hearts; to look for Christ in the leaves of the Gospell, is to look for the living amongst the dead. There is a life in them, but that life is (according to St. *Paul's* expression) *hid with Christ in God*: and unlesse the spirit of God be the *Promo-condus*, we shall never draw it forth.

Humane Learning brings excellent ministeries towards this: it is admirably usefull for the reproof of Heresies, for the detection of Fallacies, for the Letter of the Scripture, for Collateral testimonies, for exterior advantages; but there is something beyond this, that *humane* Learning without the addition of *Divine* can never teach. *Moses* was learned in all the learning of the *Egyptians*; and the holy men of God contemplated the glories of God in the admirable order, motion and influences of the Heaven: but besides all this, they were taught of God something far beyond these prettinesses. *Pythagoras* read *Moses's* Books, and so did *Plato*; and yet they became not Proselytes of the Religion, though they were learned Scholars of such a Master. The reason is, because that which they drew forth from thence was not the life and secret of it.

Tradidit arcano quodcunque Volumine Moses.

There is a secret in these Books, which few men, none but the Godly, did understand: and though much of this secret is made manifest in the Gospel, yet even here also there is a *Letter* and there is a *Spirit*: still there is a reserve for Gods secret ones, even all those deep mysteries which the old Testament covered in Figures, and stories, and names, and prophesies, and which Christ hath, and by his Spirit will yet reveale more plainly to all that will understand them by their proper measures. For although the Gospel is infinitely more legible and plain then the obscurer Leaves of the Law, yet there is a seale upon them also: *which Seale no man shall open but he that is worthy*. We may understand something of it by the three Children of the Captivity; they were all skill'd in all the wisdom of the *Chaldees*, and so was *Daniel*: but there was something beyond that in him; *the wisdom of the most high God was in him*, and that taught him a learning beyond his learning.

In all Scripture there is a spirituall sense, a spirituall *Cabala*, which as it tends directly to holiness, so it is best and truest understood by the sons of the Spirit, 640. who love God, and therefore know him. Γνῶσις ἑκαστων δι᾽ ὁμοιότητα γίνεται, every thing is best known by its own similitudes and analogies.

But I must take some other time to speak fully of these things. I have but one thing more to say, and then I shall make my Applications of this Doctrine, and so conclude.

5. Lastly, there is a sort of Gods deare Servants who walk in perfectnesse, who *perfect holinesse in the feare of God*; and they have a degree of Clarity and divine knowledge more then we can discourse of, and more certain then the Demonstrations of Geometry, brighter then the Sun, and indeficient as the light of Heaven. This is called by the Apostle the ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ θεοῦ Christ is this 650. brightnesse of God, manifested in the hearts of his dearest servants.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἐς καθαρῶν μερόπων φρένα πυρσὸν ἀνάπτω
Εὐμαθίης. ...

But I shall say no more of this at this time, for this is to be felt and not to be talked of; and they that never touched it with their finger, may secretly perhaps laugh at it in their heart, and be never the wiser. All that I shall now say of it is, that a good man is united unto God κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψας, as a flame touches a flame, and combines into splendor and to glory: so is the Spirit of a man united unto Christ by the spirit of God. These are the friends of God, and they best know Gods mind, and they only that are so know how much such men do 660. know. They have a special *Unction from above.* So that now you are come to the top of all: this is the highest round of the Ladder, and the Angels stand upon it: they dwell in love and Contemplation, they worship and obey, but dispute not; and our quarrels and impertinent wranglings about Religion are nothing else but the want of the measures of this State. Our light is like a Candle, every wind of vain Doctrine blows it out, or spends the wax, and makes the light tremulous; but the lights of Heaven are fixed and bright, and shine for ever.

But that we may speak not only things mysterious, but things intelligible; how does it come to passe, by what means and what Oeconomy is it effected, that a holy life is the best determination of all Questions, and the surest way of 670. knowledge? Is it to be supposed that a Godly man is better enabled to determine the Questions of Purgatory or Transubstantiation? is the gift of Chastity the best

way to reconcile *Thomas* and *Scotus*? and is a temperate man alwayes a better Scholar then a Drunkard? To this I answer, that in all things in which true wisdom consists, Holinesse, which is the best wisdom, is the surest way of understanding them. And this

1. Is effected by Holinesse as a proper and natural instrument: for naturally every thing is best discerned by its proper light and congenial instrument.

Γαίῃ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ.

For as the eye sees visible objects, and the understanding perceives the Intellectual; so does the spirit the things of the Spirit. *The naturall man* (saith St. *Paul*) *knows not the things of God, for they are Spiritually discerned*: that is, they are discovered by a proper light, and concerning these things an unsanctified man discourses pittifully, with an imperfect *Idea*, as a blind man does of Light and Colours which he never saw. 680.

A good man, though unlearned in secular notices, is like the windows of the Temple, narrow without and broad within: he sees not so much of what profits not abroad; but whatsoever is within, and concerns Religion and the glorifications of God, that he sees with a broad inspection. But all humane learning without God is but blindnesse and ignorant folly. 690.

But when it is δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένος εἰς βάθος τῆς ἀληθείας, righteousnesse dipt in the wells of Truth, it is like an eye of Gold in a rich Garment, or like the light of Heaven, it shews it self by its own splendor, What Learning is it to discourse of the Philosophy of the Sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? and the man that can with eloquence and subtilty discourse of the instrumentall efficacy of Baptismal waters, talkes ignorantly in respect of him who hath *the answer of a good Conscience* within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the Question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy Communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the Sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against Transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be 700.

changed and so joyn'd to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of Transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord.

We talk much of Reformation, and (blessed be God) once we have felt the good of it: But of late we have smarted under the name and pretension. The Woman 710.
that lost her groate, *everrit domum*, not *evertit*; she swept the house, she did not turn the house out of doors. That was but an ill Reformation that untiled the Roof, and broak the Walls, and was digging down the Foundation.

Now among all the pretensions of Reformation, who can tell better what is, and what is not, true Reformation, then he that is truly Reform'd himself? He knows what pleases God, and can best tell by what instruments he is reconciled. *The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom; and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable*, saith *Solomon*. He cannot be cousen'd by names of things, and feels that Reformation to be Imposture that is Sacrilegious: himself is humble and obedient, and therefore knows that is not Truth that perswades to Schisme and Disobedience: 720.
and most of the Questions of Christendom are such which either are good for nothing, and therefore to be layd aside; or if they be complicated with action, and are ministeries of practice, no man can judge them so well as the spirituall man. *That which best pleases God, that which does good to our Neighbour, that which teaches sobriety, that which combines with Government, that which speaks honour of God and does him honour*, that only is Truth. Holinesse therefore is a proper and naturall instrument of Divine knowledge, and must needs be the best way of instruction in the Questions of Christendom, because in the most of them a Duty is complicated with a Proposition.

No man that intends to live holily can ever suffer any pretences of Religion to 730.
be made to teach him to fight against his *King*. And when the men of *Geneva* turned their Bishop out of doors, they might easily have considered that the same person was their Prince too; and that must needs be a strange Religion that rose up against *Moses* and *Aaron* at the same time: but that hath been the method ever since. There was no Church till then was ever Governed without an Apostle or a *Bishop*: and since then, they who go from their Bishop have said very often to their *King* too, *Nolumus hunc regnare*: and when we see men pretending Religion, and yet refuse to own the Kings Supremacy, they may upon the stock of holinesse easily reprove their own folly; by considering that such recusancy does introduce into our Churches the very worst, the most intolerable parts of Popery. For *perfect* 740.

submission to Kings *is the glory of the* Protestant *cause*: and really the reproveable Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* are by nothing so much confuted, as that they destroy good life by consequent and evident deduction; as by an Induction of particulars were easie to make apparent, if this were the proper season for it.

2. Holinesse is not only an advantage to the learning all wisdom and holinesse, but for the discerning that which is wise and holy from what is trifling and uselesse and contentious: and to one of these heads all Questions will return: and therefore in all, from Holinesse we have the best Instructions. And this brings me to the next Particle of the generall Consideration. For that which we are taught by the holy Spirit of God, this *new nature*, this *vital principle* within us, it is that which is worth our learning; not vaine and empty, idle and insignificant notions, in which when you have laboured till your eyes are fixed in their Orbes and your flesh unfixed from its bones, you are no better and no wiser. If the Spirit of God be your Teacher, he will teach you such truths as will make you know and love God, and become like to him, and enjoy him for ever, by passing from similitude to union and eternal fruition. But what are you the better if any man should pretend to teach you whether every Angel makes a *species*? and what is the individuation of the Soul in the state of separation? what are you the wiser if you should study and find out what place *Adam* should for ever have lived in if he had not fallen? and what is any man more learned if he heares the disputes, whether *Adam* should have multiplied Children in the state of Innocence, and what would have been the event of things if one Child had been born before his Fathers sin?

750.

760.

Too many Scholars have lived upon Air and empty notions for many ages past, and troubled themselves with tying and untying Knots, like *Hypochondriacs* in a fit of Melancholy, thinking of *nothing*, and troubling themselves with *nothing*, and falling out about *nothings*, and being very wise and very learned in things that are not and work not, and were never planted in *Paradise* by the finger of God. Mens notions are too often like the Mules, begotten by aequivocall and unnaturall Generations; but they make no *species*: they are begotten, but they can beget nothing: they are the effects of long study, but they can do no good when they are produced: they are not that which *Solomon* calls *viam intelligentiae, the way of understanding*. If the Spirit of God be our Teacher, we shall learn to avoid evil, and to do good, to be wise and to be holy, to be profitable and carefull: and they that walk in this way shall find more peace in their Consciences, more skill in the Scriptures, more satisfaction in their doubts, then can be obtain'd by all the polemical and impertinent disputations of the world. And if the holy spirit can

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teach us how vain a thing it is to do foolish things, he also will teach us how vain a thing it is to trouble the world with foolish Questions, to disturb the Church for interest or pride, to resist Government in things indifferent, to spend the peoples zeale in things unprofitable, to make Religion to consist in outsides, and opposition to circumstances and trifling regards. No, no, the Man that is wise, he that is conducted by the Spirit of God, knows better in what Christs Kingdom does consist, then to throw away his time and interest and peace and safety; for what? for Religion? no: for the body of Religion? not so much: for the garment of the body of Religion? no, not for so much: but for the *Fringes* of the *garment* of the *Body* of *Religion*; for such and no better are the disputes that trouble our discontented Brethren; they are *things*, or rather *Circumstances* and *manners* of *things*, in which the Soul and spirit is not at all concerned.

3. Holinesse of life is the best way of finding out truth and understanding; not only as a *Naturall medium*, nor only as a *prudent medium*, but as a *means by way of Divine blessing. He that hath my Commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest my self to him.* Here we have a promise for it; and upon that we may rely.

The old man that confuted the *Arian* Priest by a plain recitall of his *Creed*, found a mighty power of God effecting his own Work by a strange manner, and by a very plain instrument: it wrought a divine blessing just as Sacraments use to doe: and this Lightning sometimes comes in a strange manner as a peculiar blessing to good men. For God kept the secrets of his Kingdom from the wise Heathens and the learned *Jewes*, revealing them to Babes, not because they had less learning, but because they had more love; they were children and Babes in *Malice*, they loved Christ, and so he became to them a light and a glory. St. *Paul* had more learning then they all; and *Moses* was instructed in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*: yet because he was the meekest man upon Earth, he was also the wisest, and to his humane Learning in which he was excellent, he had a divine light and excellent wisdome superadded to him by way of spiritual blessings. And St. *Paul*, though he went very far to the knowledge of many great and excellent truths by the force of humane learning, yet he was far short of perfective truth and true wisdom till he learned a new lesson in a new School, at the feet of one greater then his *Gamaliel*: his learning grew much greater, his notions brighter, his skill deeper, by the love of Christ, and his desires, his passionate desires after *Jesus*.

The force and use of humane learning and of this *Divine learning* I am now speaking of, are both well expressed by the Prophet *Isaiah, And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a Book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot, for it is seal'd. And the Book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.* He that is no learned man, who is not bred up in the Schools of the Prophets, cannot read Gods Book for want of learning. For humane Learning is the gate and first entrance of Divine vision; not the only one indeed, but the common gate. But beyond this, there must be another learning; for he that 820.
is learned, bring the Book to him, and you are not much the better as to the secret part of it, if the Book be sealed, if his eyes be closed, if his heart be not opened, if God does not speak to him in the secret way of discipline. Humane learning is an excellent Foundation; but the top-stone is laid by Love and Conformity to the will of God. For we may further observe, that blindnesse, errour and Ignorance are the punishments which God sends upon wicked and ungodly men. *Etiamsi propter nostrae intelligentiae tarditatem et vitae demeritum veritas non dum se apertissime ostenderit*, was St. *Augustine's* expression. The truth hath not yet been manifested fully to us, *by reason of our demerits*: our sins have hindred the brightnesse of the truth from shining upon us. And St. *Paul* observes, that when the Heathens gave 830.
themselves *over to* lusts, God gave them over to strong delusions, and to believe a Lie. But *God giveth to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom and knowledge and joy*, said the wise *Preacher*. But this is most expresly promised in the New Testament, and particularly in that admirable *Sermon* which our blessed Saviour preach'd a little before his death. *The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.* Well: there's our Teacher told of plainly. But how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? Christ will pray for us that we may have this spirit. That's well: but shall all Christians have the spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians: for so said Christ, *If ye love me, keep my Commandements; and I will pray to the Father, and he will* 840.
give you another Comforter, that may abide with you for ever; even the spirit of truth, whom the World cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him. Mark these things. The Spirit of God is our teacher: he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher: he will teach us all things; but how? *if ye love Christ*, if ye keep his Commandements, but not else: if ye be of the World, that is, of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him. And this is the particular I am now to speak to, The way by which the Spirit of God teaches us in all the wayes and secrets of God is Love and Holinesse.

Secreta Dei Deo nostro et filiis domus eius, Gods secrets are to himself and the sons of his House, saith the *Jewish* Proverb. Love is the great instrument of Divine knowledge, that is the ὕψωμα τῶν διδασκομένων, the height of all that is to be taught or learned. Love is Obedience, and we learn his words best when we practise them: ἃ γὰρ δεῖ μανθάνοντας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν, said *Aristotle*: those things which they that learn ought to practise, even while they practise they will best learn. *Quisquis non venit, profecto nec didicit: Ita enim Dominus docet per Spiritus gratiam, ut quod quisque didicerit, non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat et agendo perficiat.* Unlesse we come to Christ, we shall never learn: for so our Blessed Lord teaches us by the grace of his spirit, that what any one learns, he not only sees it by knowledge, but desires it by choice, and perfects it by practice.

4. When this is reduced to practice and experience, we find not only in things of practise, but even in deepest mysteries, not only the choicest and most eminent Saints, but even every good man can best tell what is true, and best reprove an error.

He that goes about to speak of and to understand the *mysterious Trinity*, and does it by words and names of mans invention, or by such which signifie contingently, if he reckons this mystery by the Mythology of Numbers, by the *Cabala* of Letters, by the distinctions of the School, and by the weak inventions of disputing people; if he only talks of Essences and existencies, Hypostases and personalities, distinctions withou' difference, and priority in Coequalities, and unity in Pluralities, and of superior Praedicates of no larger extent then the inferior Subjects, may amuse himself, and find his understanding will be like St. *Peters* upon the Mount of *Tabor* at the Transfiguration: he may build three Tabernacles in his head, and talke something, but he knows not what. But the good man that feels the *power of the Father*, and he to whom the Son is become *Wisdom, Righteousnesse, Sanctification*, and *Redemption*; he in *whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is spread*, to whom God hath communicated the *Holy Ghost*, the *Comforter*; this man, though he understands nothing of that which is unintelligible, yet *he only* understands the mysteriousnesse of the Holy Trinity. No man can be convinced well and wisely of the Article of the *Holy, Blessed* and *Undivided Trinity*, but he that feels the mightiness of the Father begetting him to *a new life*, the wisdome of the Son *building him up in a most holy Faith*, and the *love of the spirit of God* making him to become like unto God.

He that hath passed from his Childhood in Grace under the spirituall generation of the *Father*, and is gone forward to be *a young man* in Christ, strong and vigorous in holy actions and holy undertakings, and from thence is become an old Disciple, and strong and grown old in Religion, and the conversation of the Spirit; this man best understands the secret and undiscernable Oeconomie, he feels this inintelligible mysterie, and sees with his heart what his tongue can never express, and his Metaphysics can never prove. In these cases Faith and Love are the best 890.
Knowledge, and *Jesus* Christ is best known by *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and if the Kingdom of God be *in us*, then we know God, and are known of him: and when we communicate of the Spirit of God, when we pray for him, and have received him, and entertained him, and dwelt with him, and warmed our selves by his holy fires, then we know him too. But there is no other satisfactory knowledge of the Blessed *Trinity* but this: And therefore whatever thing is spoken of God *Metaphysically*, there is no knowing of God *Theologically* and as he ought to be known, but by the measures of Holinesse and the proper light of the Spirit of *God.*

But in this case Experience is the best learning, and Christianity is the best institution, and the Spirit of God is the best teacher, and Holinesse is the greatest 900.
wisdome; and he that sins most is the most Ignorant, and the humble and obedient man is the best Scholar. *For the Spirit of God is a loving Spirit, and will not enter into a polluted Soul: But he that keepeth the Law getteth the understanding thereof, and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom*, said the wise *Ben-Sirach.* And now give me leave to apply the Doctrine to you, and so I shall dismisse you from this attention.

Many wayes have been attempted to reconcile the differences of the Church in matters of Religion, and all the Counsels of man have yet proved ineffective. Let us now try Gods Method, let us betake our selves to live holily, and then the spirit of God will lead us into all truth. And indeed *it matters not what Religion any man is* 910.
of, if he be a Villaine; the opinion of his Sect, as it will not save his Soul, so neither will it do good to the publick. But this is a sure Rule; If the holy man best understands Wisdom and Religion, then by the proportions of holinesse we shall best measure the Doctrines that are obtruded to the disturbance of our peace, and the dishonour of the Gospell. And therefore

1. That is no good Religion whose Principles destroy any duty of Religion. He that shall maintain it to be lawfull to make a *War* for the defence of his *Opinion* be it what it will, his Doctrine is against Godlinesse. Any thing that is proud, any

thing that is peevish and scornful, any thing that is uncharitable, is against the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, that *forme of sound Doctrine* which the Apostle 920.
speaks of. And I remember that *Ammianus Marcellinus* telling of *George* a proud and factious Minister, that he was an Informer against his Brethren, he sayes, he did it *oblitus professionis suae, quae nil nisi justum suadet et lene*; He forgot his profession, which teaches nothing but justice and meeknesse, kindnesses and charity. And however *Bellarmine* and others are pleased to take but indirect and imperfect notice of it, yet *Goodnesse* is the best note of the true Church.

2. It is but an ill sign of Holinesse when a man is busie in troubling himself and his Superior in little Scruples and Phantastick Opinions about things not concerning the life of Religion, or the pleasure of God, or the excellencies of the Spirit. A good man knows how to please God, how to converse with him, how to advance the 930.
Kingdome of the Lord *Jesus*, to set forwards Holinesse and the love of God and of his Brother; and he knows also that there is no Godliness in spending our time and our talk, our heart and our spirits, about the garments and outsides of Religion. And they can ill teach others, that do not know that Religion does not consist in these things; but Obedience may, and *reductively* that is Religion; and he that for that which is no part of Religion destroys Religion directly, by neglecting that duty that is adopted into Religion, is a man of fancy and of the World: but he gives but an ill account that he is a man of God, and a son of the Spirit.

Spend not your time in that which profits not; for your labour and your health, your time and your studies are very valuable; and it is a thousand pitties to see a 940.
diligent and a hopefull person spend himself in gathering Cockle-shells and little pebbles, in telling Sands upon the shores, and making Garlands of uselesse Daisies. Study that which is profitable, that which will make you useful to Churches and Common-wealths, that which will make you desirable and wise. Onely I shall add this to you, That in *Learning* there are variety of things as well as in *Religion*: there is Mint and Cummin, and there are the weighty things of the Law; so there are studies more and lesse usefull, and every thing that is usefull will be required in its time: and I may in this also use the words of our blessed Saviour, *These things ought you to* look after, and *not to leave the other* unregarded. But your great care is to be in the things of God and of Religion, in holiness and true wisdom, 950.
remembring the saying of *Origen*, that the knowledge that arises from goodnesse is θειότερόν τι πάσης ἀποδείξεως, something that is more certain and more divine then all demonstration, then all other Learnings of the World.

3. That's no good Religion that disturbs Governments, or shakes a foundation of publick peace. *Kings* and *Bishops* are the foundations and the great principles of unity, of peace and Government; like *Rachel* and *Leah* they build up the house of *Israel*: and those blind *Samsons* that shake these Pillars intend to pull the house down. *My Son, fear God and the King*, saith *Solomon; and meddle not with them that are given to change.* That is not Truth that loves changes: and the new nothings of Heretical and Schismatical Preachers are infinitely far from the blessings of Truth. 960.

In the holy Language *Truth* hath a Mysterious Name, אמת *Emet;* it consists of three Letters, the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew Letters: implying to us that *Truth* is first, and will be last, and it is the same all the way, and combines and unites all extreams; it tyes all ends together. *Truth is lasting, and ever full of blessing.* For the *Jews* observe that those Letters which signifie *Truth*, are both in the figure and the number *Quadrate,* firme and cubical; these signifie a foundation, and an abode for ever. Whereas on the other side, the word which in *Hebrew* signifies *a lye,* שחד *Secher*, is made of Letters whose numbers are imperfect, and their figure pointed and voluble: to signifie that *a Lye hath no foundation.* 970.

And this very observation will give good light in our Questions and disputes. And I give my instance in *Episcopal Government*, which hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, hath its firmament by the principles of Christianity, hath been blessed by the issues of that stabiliment, it hath for sixteen hundred yeares combined with *Monarchy*, and hath been taught by the spirit which hath so long dwelt in Gods Church, and hath now (according to the promise of *Jesus*, that sayes *the gates of hell shall never prevail against the Church*) been restored amongst us by a heap of Miracles; and as it went away, so now it is returned againe in the hand of *Monarchy*, and in the bosome of our Fundamental Laws. Now that Doctrine must needs be suspected of Error and an intolerable Lye that speaks against this Truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from the wisdome and experience of so many ages, of all our *Ancestors*, and all our *Lawes.* 980.

When the Spirit of God wrote in *Greek*, Christ is call'd A and Ω: if he had spoken *Hebrew*, he had been called א and ת, that is Christ is אמת *Emet*, he is *Truth*, the same yesterday and to day and for ever: and whoever opposes this holy Sanction which Christs Spirit hath sanctifyed, his word hath warranted, his blessings have endeared, his promises have ratifyed, and his Church hath alwayes

kept, he fights against this אמת *Emet*, and *Secher* is his portion; his Lot is *a Lie*, his portion is there where holiness can never dwell. 990.

And now to conclude, to you *Fathers* and *Brethren*, you who are, or intend to be of the *Clergie*; you see here the best *Compendium* of your Studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the Disputes and Questions in Christendom. It is not by reading multitude of Books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious Commentaries of the *Doctors* that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the *Spirit of God*: it is not by the Rules of *Metaphysics*, but by the proportions of *Holinesse*: and when all Books are read, and all Arguments examined, and all Authorities alledged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. *Give your selves to reading, to exhortation, and to Doctrine*, saith St. *Paul*. 1000. *Read* all good Books you can: but *exhortation* unto good life is the best Instrument, and the best teacher of true *Doctrine*, of that which is *according to Godlinesse*.

And let me tell you this, The great learning of the *Fathers* was more owing to their piety then to their skill; more to God then to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. *Chrysostom*, with which I will conclude."" O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the Book of life, from whom the Devils fled and Heretics did feare them, who (by Holinesse) have stopp'd the mouthes of them that spake perverse things! But I, like *David*, will cry out, *Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old?* Where is the blessed Quire of *Bishops* and *Doctors*, who shined like lights in the World, and contained the *Word of Life?* 1010. *Dulce est meminisse;* their very memory is pleasant. Where is that *Evodias*, the sweet saviour of the Church, the successor and imitator of the holy Apostles? where is *Ignatius*, in whom *God* dwelt? where is St. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, that Bird of Paradise, that celestial Eagle? where is *Hippolytus*, that good man, ἀνηρ χρησος, that gentle sweet person? where is great St. *Basil*, a man almost equall to the *Apostles?* where is *Athanasius*, rich in vertue? where is *Gregory Nyssen*, that great Divine? and *Ephrem* the great *Syrian*, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the yong men to discipline, the Looking-glasse of the religious, the Captain of the Penitents, the destruction of Heresies, the receptacle of Graces, and the habitation of the holy 1020. Ghost?" These were the men that prevailed against Error, because they lived according to Truth: and whoever shall oppose you and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives then by your disputations. Let *your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you*, and then you will best silence them. For all

Heresies and false Doctrines are but like *Myron's* counterfeit *Cow*, it deceived none but Beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lye and live according to it. But if ye *become burning and shining lights*; if ye *do not detaine the truth in unrighteousnesse*: if ye *walk in light and live in the Spirit*; your Doctrines will be true, and that Truth will prevaile. But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little *Schismatick* shall put you to shame, and draw 1030.
Disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with Colocynths and Hemlock, and place Heresie in the Chaires appointed for your Religion.

I pray God give you all grace to follow this Wisdom, to study this Learning, to labour for the understanding of Godlinesse: so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficiall to men and pleasing unto God, through him who is the *wisdom* of the *Father*, who is made to all that love him *Wisdom* and *Righteousnesse* and *Sanctification* and *Redemption*: To whom with the *Father, etc.*

FINIS.

A

SERMON

Preached in

CHRIST-CHURCH,

DUBLIN:

AT THE

FUNERAL

OF

The moſt Reverend Father in God,

JOHN,

Late Lord Arch-biſhop of *Armagh*,

AND

PRIMATE of all *IRELAND*:

WITH

A ſuccinct Narrative of his whole Life.

BY

The Right Reverend Father in God,

JEREMY,

Lord Biſhop of *DOWN* and *CONNOR*.

DUBLIN, Printed by *John Crooke*, Printer to the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty, and are to be ſold by *Samuel Dancer* in *Caſtle-Street*, 1663.

T. P.
D. Gilb.
lomestic.

A SERMON

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Lord Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Crooke*, at the Sign of the Ship in S^t *Paul's* Church-yard. 1663.

A

SERMON

Preached in *Christs-Church Dublin*,
July 16. 1663.

AT THE FUNERAL

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Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1663.

But every Man in his own order: Christ the first Fruits; afterward, they that are Christ's at his coming.

The condition of Man in this World is so limited and depressed, so relative and imperfect, that the best things he does, he does weakly, and the best things he hath, are imperfections in their very constitution. I need not tell how little it is that we know; the greatest indication of this, is, that we can never tell how many things we know not; and we may soon span our own knowledge, but our ignorance we can never fathom. Our very will, in which Mankind pretends to be most noble, and imperial, is a direct state of imperfection; and our very liberty of chosing good and evil is permitted to us, not to make us proud, but to make us humble, for it supposes weakness of reason, and weakness of love. For if we understood all the degrees of amability in the service of God, or if we had such love to God as he deserves, and so perfect a conviction as were fit for his services, we could no more deliberate; For liberty of will is like the motion of a Magnetick needle toward the North, full of trembling and uncertainty, till it were fixt in the beloved point; it wavers as long as it is free, and is at rest when it can choose no more. And truly what is the hope of Man? It is indeed the resurrection of the Soul in this World from sorrow and her saddest pressures, and like the twilight to the day, and the harbinger of joy; but still it is but a conjugation of infirmities, and proclaims our present calamity, only because it is uneasie here, it thrusts us forwards towards the light and glories of the resurrection.

For as a worm creeping with her belly on the ground with her portion and share of *Adam's* curse, lifts up it's head to partake a little of the blessings of the ayr, and opens the junctures of her imperfect body, and curles her little rings into knots and combinations, drawing up her tail to a neighbourhood of the heads pleasure and motion; but still it must return to abide the fate of its own nature, and dwel and sleep upon the dust: So are the hopes of a mortal Man: he opens his eyes and looks upon fine things at a distance, and shuts them again with weakness, because they are too glorious to behold: and the Man rejoyces because he hopes fine things are staying for him; but his heart akes, because he knowes there are a thousand wayes to fail and miss of those glories: and though he hopes yet he enjoyes not; he longs but he possesses not, and must be content with his portion of dust; and being *a worm and no Man* must lye down in this portion, before he can

receive the end of his hopes, the Salvation of his Soul in the resurrection of the dead. For as death is the end of our lives, so is the resurrection the end of our hopes, and as we dye daily; so we daily hope: but death which is the end of our life is the enlargement of our Spirits from hope to certainty, from uncertain fears to certain expectations, from the death of the body to the life of the soul; that is, to partake of the light and life of Christ, to rise to life as he did; for his resurrection is the beginning of ours, He dyed for us alone; not for himself; but he rose again for 40.
himself and us too. So that if he did rise, so shall we; the resurrection shall be universal; good and bad; all shall rise, but not all together. First, Christ, then we that are Christs; and yet there is a third Resurrection; though not spoken of here; but thus it shall be. *The dead in Christ shall rise first*; that is, next to Christ; and after them the wicked shall rise to condemnation.

So that you see here is the summe of affairs treated of in my Text. Not whether it be lawful to eat a *tortoise* or a Mushrome, or to tread with the foot bare, upon the ground within the Octaves of *Easter. It is not here inquir'd* whether Angels be material or immaterial; or whether the dwellings of dead Infants be within the ayr, or in the Regions of the Earth; the inquiry here is whether we *are* 50.
to be Christians or no? whether we are to live good lives or no? or whether it be permitted to us to live with lust or covetousness acted with all the Daughters of rapine and ambition? whether there be any such thing as sin? any judicatory for consciences, any rewards of Piety, any difference of good or bad, any rewards after this life; *this is the design of these words by proper interpretation: for if Men shall dye like dogs and sheep,* they will certainly live like Wolves and Foxes: but he that believes the article of the Resurrection, hath entertain'd the greatest demonstration in the World, that nothing can make us happy but the knowledge of God, and conformity to the life and death of the Holy Jesus. Here therefore are the great hinges of all Religion. 1. Christ is already risen from the dead. 2. We also shall rise 60.
in Gods time and our order. Christ is the first fruits. But there shall be a full harvest of the Resurrection, and all shall rise. My Text speaks only of the resurrection of the just, of them that belong to Christ; explicitely I say of these; and therefore directly of resurrection to life eternal: but because he also sayes that there shall be an order for every Man; and yet every Man does not belong to Christ: therefore, indirectly also he implies the more Universal resurrection unto judgement. But this shall be the last thing that shall be done; for according to the Proverb of the Jews; *Michael* flies but with one wing and *Gabriel* with two; God is quick in sending Angels of peace; and they flye apace, but the messengers of

wrath come slowly: God is more hasty to glorifie his Servants than to condemn the 70.
wicked. *And therefore in the story of* Dives *and* Lazarus *we find the beggar dyed first; the good Man Lazarus* was first taken away from his misery to his comfort; and afterwards the rich Man dyed: and as the good *many times dye first; so all of them rise first; as if it were a matter* of hast; and as the Mothers breasts swell and shoot and long to give food to her babe; so Gods *bowels did yearne over his banish'd children, and he longs to cause them* to eat and drink in his Kingdom. And at last, the wicked shall rise unto condemnation, for that must be done too; every Man in his own order. *First Christ. Then Christ's* Servants, *and at last Christ's Enemies. The first of these is the great ground of our Faith.* The second is the consummation
of all our hopes. The first is the foundation of God that stands sure, the second is 80.
that superstructure that shall never perish. By the first we believe in God unto righteousness: by the second we live in God unto Salvation; but the third, for that also is true, and must be considered, is the great affrightment of all them that live ungodly. But in the whole, Christ's Resurrection and ours is *the* Alpha *and* Omega *of a Christian;* that as *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to day, and the same for ever* so may we in Christ, become in the morrow of the resurrection the same or better than yesterday in our natural Life; the same body and the same soul tied together in the same essential Union, with this only difference, that not nature, but grace and glory with a Hermetick seal give us a new signature, whereby we shall no
more be changed, but *like unto Christ our head, we shall become the same for ever.* 90.
Of these I shall discourse in order. 1. *That Christ, who is the first fruits, is the first in this order:* he is already risen from the dead. 2. *We shall all take our turns; we shall all dye*, and as sure as death, we shall all rise again. And 3. *This very order is effective of the thing it self. That Christ is first risen, is the demonstration* and certainty of ours, for because there is an order in this Oeconomy, the first in the kind is the measure of the rest; If Christ be the first fruits, we are the whole vintage, and we shall all dye in the order of nature, and shall rise again in the order of Christ; They that are Christ's and are found so at his coming shall partake of his Resurrection. But Christ first, then they that are Christ's. That's the order.

1. Christ is the first fruits; he is already risen from the dead. For he alone 100.
could not be held by death. *Free among the dead.*

φρίξεν σε γέρων τότε Αίδας ὁ παλαιγενὴς,
Καὶ λαοβόρος κύων, Ανεχάσσατο βηλοῦ;

Death was sins eldest Daughter, and the grave-cloths were her first Mantle; But Christ was Conqueror over both; and came to take that away, and to disarm this.

This was a glory fit for the head of Mankind, but it was too great and too good to be easily believ'd by incredulous and weak hearted Man. It was at first doubted of by all that were concerned; but they that saw it, had no reason to doubt any longer. But what's that to us who saw it not? yes, very much. *Valde dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur a nobis,* said S. *Augustine.* They doubted very much, that by their confirmation we might be established, and doubt no more. *Mary Magdalen* saw him first, and she ran with joy and *said she had seen the Lord, and that he was risen from the dead; but they believ'd her not. After that, divers women together saw him,* and they told it, but had no thanks for their pains, and obtain'd no credit among the Disciples. *The two Disciples that went to* Emaus *saw him,* talk'd with him, eat with him, and they ran and told it. They told true, but no body believ'd them. *Then* St. Peter *saw him, but he was not yet got into the chair of the Catholick Church; they did not think him* infallible, and so they believ'd him not at all. Five times in one day he appear'd; for after all this, he appear'd to the eleven; they were indeed transported with joy and wonder, but they would scarce believe their own eyes, and though they saw him, they doubted. Well, all this was not enough; he was seen also of *James*, and suffered *Thomas* to thrust his hand into his side, and appeared to S. *Paul*, and was seen by *five hundred brethren at once.* So that there is no capacity of Mankind, no time, no place, but had an ocular demonstration of his Resurrection. He appeared to Men and Women, to the Clergy and the Laity, *to sinners of both Sexes; to weak Men and to Criminals, to doubters and deniers, at home and abroad, in publick and in private,* in their houses and their journeys, unexpected, and by appointment, betimes in the morning, and late at night, to them in conjunction, and to them in dispersion, when they did look for him, and when they did not; he *appeared upon Earth to many, and to* S. Paul *and* S. Stephen *from Heaven. So that we can require no greater testimony than all these* are able to give us, and they saw for themselves and for us too, *that the Faith and certainty of the resurrection of Jesus* might be conveyed to all that shall dye, and follow Christ in their own order.

Now this being matter of fact, cannot be suppos'd infinite, but limited to time and place, and therefore to be prov'd by them who at that time were upon the place; good men and true, simple and yet losers by the bargain, many and united, confident and constant, preaching it all their life, and stoutly maintaining it at their death. Men that would not deceive others, and *Men that could not be deceiv'd themselves in a matter so notorious and so prov'd, and so seen: and if this be not sufficient credibility in a matter of fact as* this was, then we can *have no story*

credibly transmitted to us, no records kept, no Acts of Courts, no narratives of the dayes of old, no traditions of our Fathers, no memorials of them in the third generation. Nay, if from these, we have not sufficient *causes and arguments of Faith, how shall we be able to know the will of Heaven upon Earth? unless God do not only tell it once*, but alwayes, and not only alwayes to some Men, but alwayes to all Men,: for if some Men must believe others, they can never do it in any thing more reasonably than in this; and if we may not trust them in this, then without a perpetual miracle, no Man could have Faith: *for Faith could never come by hearing; by nothing but by seeing.* But if there be any use of History, any Faith in Men, any honesty in manners, any truth in humane entercourse; if there be any use of Apostles or Teachers, of Embassadors, or Letters, of ears or hearing; if there be any such thing as the Grace of Faith, that is less than demonstration or intuition, then we may be as sure that Christ the first Fruits is already risen, as all these credibilities can make us. *But let us take heed; as God hates a lye, so he hates incredulity; an obstinate, a foolish and pertinacious* understanding. What we do every minute of our lives in matters of title and great concernment, if we refuse to do it in Religion, which yet is to be conducted as all humane affairs are, by humane instruments and arguments of perswasion proper to the nature of the thing, it is an obstinacy as cross to humane reason, as it is to Divine Faith.

But this Article was so clearly prov'd, that presently it came to pass that Men were no longer asham'd of the Cross, but it was worn upon breasts, printed in the ayr, drawn upon foreheads, carried upon Banners, put upon crowns imperial, presently it came to pass that the Religion of the despised Jesus did infinitely prevail: a Religion that taught Men to be meek and humble, apt to receive injuries, but unapt to do any; a Religion that gave countenance to the poor and pitiful, in a time when Riches were ador'd, and ambition and pleasure had possessed the heart of all Mankind; a religion that would change the face of things, and the hearts of Men, and break vile habits into gentleness and counsel; that such a Religion, in such a time by the Sermons and Conduct of Fishermen, Men of mean breeding and illiberal Arts, should so speedily triumph over the Philosophy of the World, and the arguments of the subtle, and the Sermons of the Eloquent; the Power of Princes and the Interests of States, the inclinations of Nature, and the blindness of zeal, the force of custom, and the solicitation of passions, the pleasures of sin and the busie Arts of the Devil; that is, against Wit and Power, superstition and wilfulness, fame and money, Nature and Empire, which are all the causes in this World that can make a thing impossible, this, this is to be ascrib'd to the power of God, and is the

great demonstration of the Resurrection of Jesus. Everything was an Argument for it, and improv'd it; no Objection could hinder it, no Enemies destroy it; whatsoever was for them, it made the religion to increase; whatsoever was against them, made it to increase; Sun-shine and Storms, Fair Weather or Foul, it was all one as to the event of things: for they were instruments in the hands of God, who could make what himself should chuse to be the product of any cause; So that if the Christians had peace, they went abroad and brought in Converts; if they had no peace, but persecution; the Converts came into them. In prosperity they allur'd and intic'd the World by the beauty of holiness; in affliction and trouble they amaz'd all men with the splendour of their Innocence, and the glories of their patience; and quickly it was that the World became Disciple to the glorious *Nazarene*, and men could no longer doubt of the Resurrection of Jesus, when it became so demonstrated by the certainty of them that saw it, and the courage of them that died for it, and the multitude of them that believ'd it; who by their Sermons, and their Actions, by their publick Offices and Discourses, by Festivals and Eucharists, by Arguments of Experience and Sense, by Reason and Religion, by perswading rational Men, and establishing believing Christians, by their living in the obedience of Jesus, and dying for the testimony of Jesus, have greatly advanc'd his Kingdom, and his Power, and his Glory, into which he entred after his Resurrection from the dead. For he is the first fruits; and if we hope to rise through him, we must confess that himself is first risen from the dead. That's the first particular.

2. There is an order for us also. We also shall rise again.

Combustusque senex tumulo procedit adultus,
Consumens dat membra rogus; ...

The ashes of old *Camillus* shall stand up spritely from his Urne; and the Funeral fires shall produce a new warmth to the dead bones of all those who dyed under the arms of all the Enemies of the Roman greatness. This is a less wonder than the former: for *admonetur omnis aetas iam fieri posse quod aliquando factum est.* If it was done once, it may be done again; for since it could never have been done, but by a power that is infinite, that infinite must also be eternal and indeficient. By the same Almighty power which restor'd life to the dead body of our living Lord, we may all be restor'd to a new life in the Resurrection of the dead.

When Man was not, what power, what causes made him to be? whatsoever it was, it did then as great a work as to raise his body to the same being again; and because we know not the method of natures secret changes, and how we can be

fashioned beneath *in secreto terrae,* and cannot handle and discern the possibilities and seminal powers in the ashes of dissolved bones, must our ignorance in Philosophy be put in balance against the Articles of Religion, the hopes of Mankind, the Faith of Nations and the truth of God? and are our Opinions of the power of God so low, that our understanding must be his measure, and he shall be confessed to do nothing, unless it be made plain in our Philosophy? Certainly we have a low Opinion of God unless we believe he can do more things than we can understand. But let us hear S. *Paul's* demonstration. If the Corn dyes and lives again; if it layes it's body down, suffers alteration, dissolution and death, but at the spring rises again in the verdure of a leaf, in the fulness of the ear, in the kidneys of wheat; if it proceeds from little to great, from nakedness to ornament, from emptiness to plenty, from unity to multitude, from death to life, be a Sadducee no more, shame not thy understanding, and reproach not the weakness of thy Faith, by thinking that Corn can be restor'd to life and Man cannot; especially since in every creature the obediential capacity is infinite, and cannot admit degrees; for every Creature can be any thing under the power of God which cannot be less than infinite.

But we find no obscure foot-steps of this mystery even amongst the Heathens. *Pliny* reports that *Appion* the Grammarian by the use of the plant *Osiris* call'd *Homer* from his grave; and in *Valerius Maximus* we find that *Aelius Tubero* return'd to life when he was seated in his Funeral pile; and in *Plutarch*, that *Soleus* after three dayes burial did live, and in *Valerius* that *Aeris Pamphilius* did so after ten dayes. and it was so commonly believ'd, that *Glaucus* who was choked in a vessel of honey did rise again, that it grew to a Proverb; *Glaucus poto melle resurrexit; Glaucus* having tasted honey, dyed and liv'd again. I pretend not to believe these stories true; *but that from these instances it may be concluded that* they believ'd it possible that there should be a Resurrection from the dead; and natural reason, and their Philosophy did not wholly destroy their hopes and expectation to have a portion in this Article.

For God knowing that the great hopes of Man, that the biggest endearment of Religion, the Sanction of private Justice, the band of piety and holy courage *does wholly derive from the Article of the Resurrection,* was pleas'd not only to make it credible, but easie and familiar to us, and we so converse every night with the image of death, that every morning we find an argument of the resurrection. *Sleep and death have but one Mother, and they have one name in common.*

Soles occidere et redire possunt,
Nobis cum semel occidit lux brevis,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda. 250.

Charnel houses are but κοιμητήρια, Cemetries or sleeping places, and they that dye are fallen asleep, and the Resurrection is but an awakening and standing up from sleep; but in sleep our senses are as fast bound by Nature, as our joynts are by the grave-cloths: and unless an *Angel of God awaken us every morning, we must confess* our selves as unable to converse with Men, as we now are afraid to dye and converse with Spirits. But however death it self is no more; it is but darkness and a *shadow, a rest and a forgetfulness. What is there more in death, what is* there less in sleep? For do we not see by experience that nothing of equal loudness does awaken us *sooner than a Man's voice, especially if he be called by name?* and thus also it shall be in the resurrection. We shall be awakened by the voice of a Man, and he 260. that call'd *Lazarus* by name from his grave, shall also call us: for although S. *Paul* affirms, *that the trumpet shall sound, and there shall be the voice of an Archangel,* yet this is not a word of Nature, but of Office and Ministry: Christ himself is that Archangel; and *he shall descend with a mighty shout* (saith the Apostle) *and all that are in the graves shall hear his voice*, said S. *John*; so that we shall be awakened by the voice of a Man, because we are only fallen asleep by the decree of God; and when the Cock and the Larke call us up to prayer and labour, the first thing we see is an argument of our resurrection from the dead: And when we consider what the Greek Church reports, that amongst them the bodies of those that dye excommunicate will not return to dust till the censure be taken off: we may with a 270. little faith and reason believe, that the same power that keeps them from their natural dissolution, can recal them to life and Union. I will not now insist upon the story of the rising bones seen every year in *Egypt*; nor the pretences of the Chymists, that they from the ashes of flowers can re-produce from the same materials the same beauties in colour and figure; for he that proves a certain truth from an uncertain argument, is like him that wears a wooden leg when he hath two sound legs already; it hinders his going, but helps him not; the truth of God stands not in need of such supporters. Nature alone is a sufficient Preacher.

Quae nunc herba fuit, lignum jacet, herba futura,
Aeriae nudantur aves cum penna vetusta,
Et nova subvesit reparatae pluma volucres. 280.

Night and day, the Sun returning to the same point of East, every change of Species in the same matter, generation and corruption; the Eagle renewing her Youth, and the snake her skin; the silk-worm and the swallowes, the care of posterity, and the care of an immortal name; Winter and Summer, the fall and the

spring, the old Testament and the New, the words of *Job*, and the visions of the Prophets, the prayer of *Ezekiel* for the resurrection of *the Men of* Ephraim, *and the return of* Jonah *from the Whales belly; the Histories* of the Jews, and the Narratives of Christians, the Faith of believers, and the Philosophy *of the reasonable*, all joyn in the verification of this mystery. And amongst *these heaps it is not of the least* 290. *consideration, that there* was never any good Man, who having been taught this article, but if he serv'd God, he also relyed upon this. If he believ'd God, he believ'd this, and therefore S. *Paul* sayes that they who were ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, were also ἄθεοι ἐν κόσμω, they who had no hope, meaning of the resurrection, were also Atheists, and without God in the World. And it is remarkable what S. *Augustine* observes, that when the World saw the *righteous* Abel *destroyed, and that the murderer out-liv'd* his crime, and built up a numerous family, and grew mighty upon Earth, they neglected the service of God upon that account, till God in pitty of their prejudice and foolish arguings took *Enoch* up to Heaven to recover them from their *impieties, by shewing them that their bodies and* 300. *souls should be rewarded* for ever in an eternal Union. But Christ the first fruits is gone before, and himself *did promise that when himself was lifted up, he would* draw all Men after him; *Every Man in his own order*; first, Christ, then *they that are Christs's at his coming.* And so I have done with the second particular; not Christ only, but we also shall rise in Gods time and our order.

But concerning this order I must speak a word or two, not only for the fuller handling the Text, but because it will be matter of application of what hath been already spoken of the article of the Resurrection.

3. First Christ and then we. And we therefore because Christ is already risen. But you must remember, *that the Resurrection and exaltation of Christ was the* 310. *reward* of his perfect obedience and purest holiness; and he calling us to an imitation of the *same obedience, and the same perfect holiness, prepares a way* for us to the same Resurrection. If we by holiness become the Sons of God as Christ was, we shall also as he was become the sons of God in the resurrection; But upon no other terms. So said our Blessed Lord himself: *ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon thrones judging the tribes of Israel.* For as it was with Christ the first fruits, so it shall be with all Christians in their own order: as with the head so it shall be with the Members. He was the Son of God by love and obedience, and then became the Son of God by a Resurrection from the dead to life Eternal, and so 320. shall we; but we cannot be so in any other way. To them that are Christ's, and to

none else shall this be given. For we must know that God hath sent Christ into the World to be a great example and demonstration of the Oeconomy and dispensation of Eternal life. As God brought Christ to glory, so he will bring us; but by no other method. He first obeyed the will of God and patiently suffered the will of God; he dyed, and rose again and entred into glory, and so must we. Thus Christ is made *via, veritas, et vita,* the way , the truth, and the life, that is, the true way to eternal life: He first trod this wine-press, and we must insist in the same steps, or we shall never partake of this blessed resurrection. He was made the Son of God in a most glorious manner, and we by him; by his merit, and by his grace, and by 330.
his example: but other than this, there is no way of Salvation for us. That's the first and great effect of this glorious order.

4. But there is one thing more in it yet. *Every Man in his own order.* First, Christ, and then *they that are Christ's.* But what shall become of them that are not Christ's, why there is an order for them too. First they that are Christ's; and then they that are not his. *Blessed and holy is he that hath his part in the first resurrection.* There is a first and a second Resurrection even after this life. *The dead in Christ shall rise first.* Now blessed are they that have their portion here; *for upon these, the second death shall have no power.* As for the recalling the wicked from their graves, it is no otherwise in the sense of the spirit to be called a 340.
Resurrection, than taking a criminal from the Prison to the Bar is a giving of liberty. When poor *Acilius Aviola* had been seized on by an Apoplexy, his friends supposing him dead, carried him to his Funeral pile. But when the fire began to approach, and the heat to warm the body, he reviv'd, and seeing himself incircled with funeral flames, call'd out aloud to his friends to rescue, not the dead, *but the living* Aviola *from that horrid burning. But it could not be. He only was restor'd from his sickness to fall into death, and from his dull disease to a sharp and intolerable torment.* Just so shall the wicked live again. They shall receive their souls, that they may be a portion for Devils. They receive their bodies, that they may feel the everlasting burning. They shall see Christ, that they may *look upon him whom they* 350.
have pierced, and they shall hear the voice of God, passing upon them the intolerable sentence. They shall come from their graves that they may go into Hell; and live again that they may dye for ever. So have we seen a poor condemned Criminal, the weight of whose sorrows sitting heavily upon his soul hath benummed him into a deep sleep till he hath forgotten his groans, and laid aside his deep sighings: but on a suddain comes the messenger of death, and unbinds the poppy garland, scatters the heavy cloud that incircled his miserable head, and makes him

return to acts of life, that he may quickly descend into death and be no more. So is every sinner that lyes down in shame and makes his grave with the wicked: he shall indeed rise again and be called upon by the voice of the Archangel, but then he 360. shall descend into sorrows greater than the reason and the patience of a Man, weeping and shreeking louder, than the groans of the miserable children in the valley of *Hinnom*.

These indeed are sad stories; but true as the voice of God, and the Sermons of the Holy Jesus. They are Gods words, and Gods decrees: and I wish that all who profess the belief of these, would consider sadly what they mean; If ye believe the Article of the Resurrection, then you know that in your body you shall receive what you did in the body, whether it be good or bad. It matters not now very much whether our bodies be beauteous or deform'd. For if we glorifie God in our bodies, God shall make our bodies glorious. It matters not much whether we live in 370. ease and pleasure, or eat nothing but bitter herbs. The body *that lyes in dust and ashes, that goes stooping and feeble,* that lodges at the foot of the cross and dwels in discipline, shall be *feasted at the eternal supper of the lambe.* And ever remember this, that beastly pleasures and lying lips, and a deceitful tongue, and a heart that sendeth forth proud things are no good dispositions to a blessed Resurrection, οὐ καλὸν ἁρμονίην ἀναλύεμεν ἀνθρώποιο. It is not good that in the body we live a life of dissolution, for that's no good harmony with that purpose of glory which God designs the body.

Καὶ τάχα δ', ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν εἰσ φάος ελθεῖν,
Λείψαν' ἀποιχομένων. ὀπισω δέ θεὸς τελέθονται. 380.

Said *Phocyllides*; for we hope that from our beds of darkness we shall rise into regions of light, and shall become like unto God: They shall partake of a Resurrection to life: and what this can infer is very obvious. For if it be so hard to believe a Resurrection from one death; let us not be dead in trespasses and sins, for a Resurrection from two deaths will be harder to be believ'd, and harder to be effected. But if any of you have lost the life of grace, and so forfeited all your title to a life of glory, betake your selves to an early, and an entire piety, that when by this first resurrection you have made this way plain before your face, you may with confidence expect a happy Resurrection from your graves. For if it be possible that the Spirit, when it is dead in sin, can arise to a life of righteousness; much more is 390. it easie to suppose that the body after death is capable of being restor'd again. And this is a consequent of S. *Paul's* argument. *If when ye were enemies, ye were reconcil'd by his death; much more being reconcil'd we shall be saved by his life,*

plainly declaring; that it is a harder and more wonderful thing for a wicked Man to become the friend of God; than for one that is so, to be carried up to Heaven and partake of his glory. The first Resurrection is certainly the greater miracle, but he that hath risen once may rise again; and this is as sure, as that he that dyes once may dye again and dye for ever. But he who partakes of the death of Christ by mortification, and of his Resurrection by holiness of life and a holy Faith, shall according to the expression of the Prophet *Isaiah, Enter into his Chamber* of Death 400.
when Nature and Gods decree *shall shut the doors upon him, and there he shall be hidden for a little moment*: but then shall they that dwell in dust, awake and sing, with Christ's dead body shall they arise; all shall rise; but *every Man in his own order. Christ the first Fruits, then they that are Christ's at his coming.* Amen.

I have now done with my Meditation of the Resurrection; but we have a new and a sadder subject to consider: It is glorious and brave when a Christian contemplates those glories, which stand at the foot of the Account of all Gods Servants: but when we consider, that before all or any thing of this happens, every Christian must twice *exuere hominem,* put off the Old man, and then lye down in dust and the dishonours of the Grave, it is *Vinum Myrrhatum*, there is Myrrhe put 410.
into our wine, it is wholsom, but it will allay all our pleasures of that glorious expectation. But no man can escape it. After that the Great *Cyrus* had rul'd long in a mighty Empire; yet there came a Message from Heaven, not so sad it may be, yet as decretory as the Hand writing on the wall that arrested his Successor *Darius;* σὺ σκευάζου, ὦ Κύρε, ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἄπει, Prepare thy self, O *Cyrus*, and then go unto the Gods; he laid aside his Tiar and his beauteous Diadem, and cover'd his face with a cloth, and in a single linnen laid his honour'd head in a poor humble Grave; and none of us all can avoid this sentence. For if Wit and Learning, great Fame and great Experience, if wise Notices of things, and an honourable Fortune, if Courage and Skill, if Prelacy and an honourable Age, if 420.
any thing that could give Greatness and immunity to a wise and prudent man could have been put in a barr against a sad day, and have gone for good plea, this sad Scene of Sorrows had not been the entertainment of this Assembly. But tell me; where are those great Masters, who while they liv'd flourish'd in their studies? *Jam eorum praebendas alii possident, et nescio utrum de iis cogitant?* Other men have got their Prebends and their Dignities, and who knows whether they remember them or no? While they liv'd they seem'd something, when they are dead, every man for a while speaks of them what they please, and afterwards they are as if they had not been. But the piety of the Christian Church hath made some little

provision towards an artificial Immortality for brave and worthy persons, and the 430.
Friendships, which our dead contracted, while they were alive, require us to continue a fair memory as long as we can; but they expire in monethly minds, or at most in a faint and declining anniversary;

... ἐπεὶ φίλος, ὅστις ἑταίρου
μέμνηται κταμένοιο καὶ ἄχνυται οὐκετ ἐόντος.

And we have great reason so to do in this present sad accident of the death of our late most Reverend Primate, whose death the Church of *Ireland* hath very great reason to deplore; and we have great obligation to remember his very many worthy deeds done for this poor afflicted and despised Church. S. *Paul* made an excellent Funeral Oration, as it were instituting a Feast of All Saints; *Who all died having* 440.
obtained a good report, and that excellent Preacher in the eleventh Chapter of the *Hebrews*, made a Sermon of their commemoration. For since good men, while they are alive, have their conversation in Heaven, when they are in Heaven it is also fit that they should in their good names live upon Earth. And as their great Examples are an excellent Sermon to the living, and the praising them when Envy and Flattery can have no interest to interpose, as it is the best and most vigorous Sermon and incentive to great things, so to conceal what good God hath wrought by them is great unthankfulness to God, and to good men.

When *Dorcas* died, the Apostle came to see the dead Corps; and the Friends of the deceased expressed their grief and their Love by shewing the Coats that she, 450.
whilest she lived, wrought with her own hands. She was a good Needle-woman, and a good Huswife, and did good to Mankind in her little way, and that it self ought not to be forgotten, and the Apostle himself was not displeased with their little Sermons, and that εὐφημισμος which the women made upon that sad interview. But if we may have the same liberty to record the worthy things of this our most venerable Father and Brother; and if there remains no more of that Envy which usually obscures the splendour of living Heroes, if you can with your charitable though weeping eyes behold the great gifts of God with which he adorned this great Prelate, and not object the failings of humanity to the participation of the Graces of the Spirit, or think that Gods gifts are the less, because they are born in earthen 460.
Vessels, πάντες γὰρ κλύτα δῶρα κερασσάμενοι φορέουσιν for all men bear mortality about them, and the Cabinet is not beauteous as the Diamond that shines within its bosom, then we may without interruption pay this Duty to Piety and Friendship, and Thankfulness, and deplore our sad loss by telling a true and sad story of this great man, whom God hath lately taken from our eyes.

He was bred in *Cambridge* in *Sidney*-Colledge, under Mr. *Hulet*, a Grave and a worthy Man; and he shewed himself not only a fruitful Plant by his great Progress in his studies, but made him another return of gratitude, taking care to provide a good imployment for him in *Ireland* where he then began to be greatly interested. It was spoken as an honour to *Augustus Caesar*, that he gave his Tutor an honourable Funeral; and *Marcus Antoninus* erected a Statue unto his, and *Gratian* the Emperor made his Master *Ausonius* to be Consul, and our worthy Primate, knowing the Obligation which they pass upon us, who do *Obstetricari gravidae animae*, help the parturient soul to bring forth fruits according to its seminal powers, was careful not only to reward the industry of such Persons so useful to the Church in the cultivating *infantes palmarum,* young Plants, whose joynts are to be stretcht and made strait, but to demonstrate that his Scholar knew how to value learning, when he knew so well how to reward the Teacher.

Having pass'd the course of his studies in the University, and done his exercise with that applause which is usually the reward of pregnant Wits and hard study, he was remov'd into *Yorkshire*, where first in the City of *York* he was an assiduous Preacher, but by the disposition of the Divine Providence, he happened to be ingaged at *Northallerton* in disputation with three pragmatical Romish Priests of the Jesuits Order, whom he so much worsted in the conference, and so shamefully disadvantaged by the evidence of Truth, represented wisely and Learnedly, that the Famous Primate of *York,* Archbishop *Matthews,* a Learned and an Excellent Prelate, and a most worthy Preacher, hearing of that Triumph, sent for him and made him his Chaplain, in whose service he continued till the death of the Primate, but in that time had given so much Testimony of his great Dexterity in the Conduct of Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, that he grew dear to his Master; in that employment he was made Prebendary of *York*, and then of *Ripon*, the Dean of which Church having made him his Sub-dean, he managed the affairs of that Church so well that he soon acquir'd a greater fame, and entered into the possession of many hearts, and admiration to those many more that knew him. There, and at his Parsonage he continued long to do the duty of a Learned and good Preacher, and by his Wisdom, Eloquence and Deportment, so gain'd the affections of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of that Country, that as at his return thither upon the blessed Restauration of his most Sacred Majesty, he knew himself oblig'd enough and was so kind as to give them a visit, so they by their coming in great numbers to meet him, their joyfull reception of him, their great caressing of him when he was there, their forward hopes to enjoy him as their

Bishop, their trouble at his departure, their unwillingness to let him go away, gave signal Testimonies that they were wise and kind enough to understand and value his great worth.

But while he lived there he was like a Diamond in the dust (or *Lucius Quinctius at the plow*) his low fortune covered a most valuable Person, till he became observ'd by Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Lord President of *York*, whom we all knew for his great Excellencies, and his Great but Glorious misfortunes. This rare Person espied the great abilities of Dr. *Bramhall*, and made him his Chaplain and brought him into *Ireland*, as one whom he believed would prove the most fit 510.
instrument to serve in that design, which for two years before his arrival here, he had greatly meditated and resolved; the reformation of Religion and reparation of the broken fortunes of the Church: The complaints were many, the abuses great, the causes of the Church vastly numerous, but as fast as they were brought in, so fast they were by the Lord Deputy referred back to Dr. *Bramhall*, who by his indefatigable pains, great Sagacity, perpetual watchfulness, daily and hourly consultations, reduc'd things to a more tollerable condition than they had been left in by the Schismatical principles of some, and the unjust prepossessions of others for many years before. For at the reformation the Popish Bishops and Priests seemed to conform and did so, that keeping their Bishopricks they might enrich 520.
their Kindred and dilapidate the Revenues of the Church; which by pretended offices, false informations, Fee-farms at contemptible Rents, and ungodly alienations, were made low as poverty it self, and unfit to minister to the needs of them that serv'd the Altar, or the noblest purposes of Religion. For Hospitality decayed, and the Bishops were easie to be oppressed by those that would, and they complained, but for a long time had no helper; till God raised up that glorious instrument the Earl of *Strafford*, who brought over with him as great affections to the Church and to all publick interests, and as admirable abilities as ever before his time did invest and adorn any of the Kings Vice-gerents: and God fitted his hand with an instrument good, as his skill was great. For the first Specimen of his 530.
Abilities and Diligence in recovery of some lost tythes being represented to his late Majesty of Blessed and Glorious memory, it pleased his Majesty upon the Death of Bishop *Downham* to advance the Doctor to the Bishoprick of *Derry*; which he not only adorned with an excellent spirit, and a wise Government, but did more than double the Revenue, not by taking any thing from them to whom it was due, but by resuming something of the Churches Patrimony, which by undue means was detained in unfitting hands.

But his care was beyond his Diocess, and his zeal broke out to warm all his Brethren, and though by reason of Favour and Piety of King *James*, the escheated Counties were well provided for their Tythes, yet the Bishopricks were not so well; 540.
till the Primate, then Bishop of *Derry*, by the favour of the Lord Lieutenant and his own incessant and assiduous labour, and wise conduct, brought in divers impropriations, cancell'd many unjust alienations, and did restore them to a condition much more tolerable; I say much more tolerable; for though he rais'd them above contempt, yet they were not near to envy, but he knew there could not in all times be wanting too many that envyed to the Church every degree of prosperity, so *Judas* did to Christ the expence of Oyntment, and so *Dyonisius* told the Priest when himself stole the golden Cloak from *Apollo*, and gave him one of Arcadian home-spun, that it was warmer for him in Winter and cooler in Summer. And for ever since the Church by Gods blessing and the favour of Religious Kings 550.
and Princes, and Pious Nobility hath been endowed with fair Revenues; *inimicus homo*, the Enemy hath not been wanting by pretences of Religion to take away Gods portion from the Church, as if his word were intended as an instrument to rob his houses, but when the Israelites were governed by a θεοκρατία, and God was their King, and *Moses* his Lieutenant, and things were of his management, he was pleas'd by making great Provisions for them that ministred in the service of the Tabernacle, to consign this truth for ever, that Men as they love God, at the same rate are to make provisions for his Priests. For when himself did it, he not only gave the forty-eight Cities, with a mile of *Glebe* round about their City, every way, and yet the whole Country was but a hundred and forty miles long or 560.
thereabouts from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, but besides this they had the tythe of all increase, the first fruits, offerings, vowes, redemptions, and in short, they had twenty-four sorts of dues as *Buxtorf* relates; and all this, either brought to the Barn home to them without trouble, or else as the nature of the thing required, brought to the Temple, the first to make it more profitable, and the second to declare that they received it not from the People but from God, not the Peoples kindness but the Lords inheritance; in so much that this small Tribe of *Levi*, which was not the fortieth part of the People, as the Scripture computes them, had a revenue almost treble to any of the largest of the Tribes. I will not insist on what *Villalpando* observes, it may easily be read in the forty-fifth chapter of *Ezekiel* concerning that 570.
portion which God reserves for himself and his service, but whatsoever it be, this I shall say that it is confessedly a Prophecy of the Gospel, but this I add, that they had as little to do, and much less than a Christian Priest, and yet in all the twenty-four courses the poorest Priest amongst them might be esteemed a rich

Man. I speak not this to upbraid any Man, or any thing but Sacriledge and murmur, nor to any other end but to represent upon what great and Religious grounds the then Bishop of *Derry* did with so much care and assiduous labour endeavour to restore the Church of *Ireland* to that splendor and fulness, which as it is much conducing to the honour of God and of Religion, God himself being the Judge, so it is much more necessary for you than it is for us, and so this wise Prelate rarely well understood it, and having the same advantage and blessing as we now have, a Gracious King, and a Lieutenant Patron of Religion, and the Church, he improv'd the *deposita pietatis* as *Origen* calls them, the gages of Piety, which the Religion of the Ancient Princes and Nobles of this Kingdom had bountifully given to such a comfortable competency, that though there be place left for present and future Piety to inlarge it self, yet no Man hath reason to be discourag'd in his duty, insomuch that as I have heard from a most worthy hand, that at his going into *England*, he gave account to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* of thirty thousand pounds a year, in the recovery of which he was greatly and principally instrumental. But the goods of this World are called waters by *Solomon*. Stollen waters are sweet, and they are too unstable to be stopt: some of these waters did run back from their proper channel and return to another course than God and the Laws intended, yet his labours and pious Counsels were not the less acceptable to God and good Men, and therefore by a thankful and honourable recognition, the Convocation of the Church of *Ireland* hath transmitted in record to posterity their deep resentment of his singular services and great abilities in this whole affair. And this honour will for ever remain to that Bishop of *Derry*; he had a *Zerrubbabel* who repair'd the Temple and restor'd its beauty, but he was the *Joshua*, the high Priest, who under him ministred this blessing to the Congregations of the Lord.

But his care was not determin'd in the exteriour part only and accessaries of Religion, he was careful, and he was prosperous in it to reduce that Divine and excellent Service of our Church to publick and constant exercise, to Unity and Devotion; and to cause the Articles of the Church of *England* to be accepted as the rule of publick confessions and perswasions here, that they and we might be *populus unius labii*, of one heart, and one lip, building up our hopes of Heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that *Shibboleth* which made this Church lisp too undecently, or rather in some little degree to speak the speech of *Ashdod*, and not the language of *Canaan*; and the excellent and wise pains he took in this particular, no Man can dehonestate or reproach, but he that is not willing to confess that the

Church of *England* is the best reformed Church in the World. But when the brave Roman Infantery under the Conduct of *Manlius* ascended up to the Capitol to defend Religion and their Altars from the fury of the Gauls, they all pray'd to God, *ut quemadmodum ipsi ad defendendum Templum ejus concurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum, numine suo tueretur*, that as they came to defend his Temple by their armes, so he would defend their persons and that cause with his Power and Divinity. And this excellent Man in the cause of Religion found the like blessing which they prayed for; God by the prosperity of his Labours and a blessed effect gave testimony not only of the Piety and Wisdom of his purposes, but that he loves to bless a wise Instrument when it is vigorously imployed in a wise and Religious labour. He overcame the difficulty in defiance of all such pretences as were made even from Religion it self to obstruct the better procedure of real and material Religion.

These were great things, and matter of great envy; and like the fiery eruptions of *Vesuvius* might with the very ashes of Consumption have buried another Man. At first indeed as his Blessed Master, the most Holy Jesus had, so he also had his *annum acceptabilem*. At first the product was nothing but great admiration at his stupendious parts; and wonder at his mighty diligence and observation of his unusual zeal in so good and great things; but this quickly pass'd into the natural daughters of envy; suspicion and detraction, the spirit of obloquy and slander. His zeal for recovery of the Church Revenues was called Oppression, and Rapine, Covetousness and injustice, his care of reducing Religion to wise and justifiable principles was called Popery and Arminianism, and I know not what names, which signifie what the Authors are pleased to mean, and the people to conster and to hate; The intermedial prosperity of his person and fortune, which he had as an earnest of a greater reward to so well meant labours, was suppos'd to be the production of illiberal Arts and wayes of getting; and the necessary refreshment of his wearied spirits, which did not alwayes supply all his needs, and were sometimes less than the permissions even of prudent charity, they call'd intemperance; *dederunt enim malum Metelli Naevio poetae;* their own surmises were the bills of accusation, and the splendor of his great ἀγαθοεργία or doing of good works was the great probation of all their calumnies. But if envy be the accuser, what can be the defences of innocence?

Saucior invidiae morsu, quaerenda medela est,
Dic quibus in terris sentiet aeger opem?

Our Blessed Saviour knowing the unsatisfiable angers of Men, if their mony or

estates were medled with, refus'd to divide an inheritance amongst Brethren; it was not to be imagin'd that this great person invested, as all his Brethren were with the infirmities of mortality, and yet imployed in dividing and recovering and apportioning of Lands, should be able to bear all that reproach which jealousie and suspicion, and malicious envy could invent against him. But ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν πολλὰ μανθανόυσιν οἱ σοφοί said *Sophocles*; and so did he, the affrightments brought to his great fame and reputation made him to walke more warily, and do justly, and act prudently, and conduct his affairs by the measures of laws, as far as he understood; and indeed that was a very great way. But there was *aperta justitia, clausa manus,* Justice was open, but his hand was shut, and though every slanderer could tell a story, yet none could prove that ever he received a bribe to blind his eyes, to the value of a pair of gloves. It was his own expression when he gave glory to God, who had preserv'd him innocent. But because every mans cause is right in his own eyes, it was hard for him so to acquit himself, that in the intrigues of law and difficult cases, some of his Enemies should not seem (when they were heard alone) to speak reason against him. But see the greatness of truth and prudence, and how greatly God stood with him. When the numerous Armies of vexed people, *Turba gravis paci, placidaeque inimica quieti*, heap'd up Catalogues of accusations, when the Parliament of *Ireland* imitating the violent procedures of the then disordered English, when his glorious Patron was taken from his head, and he was dis-robed his great defences, when Petitions were invited, and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and manag'd with Art and Power, when there were above two hundred Petitions put in against him, and himself denyed leave to answer by word of mouth; when he was long imprison'd, and treated so, that a guilty Man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations, yet then he himself standing almost alone like *Callimachus* at *Marathon* invested with Enemies, and cover'd with arrowes; defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence, and answered the Petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of Fact and Testimony of Law, that his very Enemies were asham'd and convinc'd; they found they had done like *Aesop's* viper, they licked the file till their tongues bled; but himself was wholly invulnerable. They were therefore forc'd to leave their musterolls and decline the particulars, and fall to their ἐν μέγα to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws; the way by which great *Strafford* and *Canterbury* fell; which was a device, when all reasons fail'd, to oppress the Enemy by the bold affirmation of a conclusion they could not prove, they did like those *Gladiatores* whom the

Romans call'd retiaries, when they could not stab their Enemy with their daggers, they threw nets over him, and cover'd him with a general mischief. But the Martyr King, *Charles* the First, of most glorious and Eternal Memory; seeing so great a Champion likely to be oppress'd with numbers and despair, sent what rescue he could, his Royal Letter for his Bail, which was hardly granted to him, and when it was, it was upon such hard terms, that his very delivery was a persecution. So necessary it was for them, who intended to do mischief to the publick, to take away the strongest pillars of the house. This thing I remark to acquit this great Man from the tongue of slander, which had so boldly spoken, that it was certain something would stick, yet was so impotent and unarm'd, that it could not kill that great fame which his greater worthiness had procur'd him. It was said of *Hippasus* the *Pythagorean*, that being ask'd how and what he had done: He answer'd, *nondum nihil, neque enim adhuc mihi invidetur.* I have done nothing yet, for no Man envies me. He that does great things, cannot avoid the tongues and teeth of envy, but if calumnies must pass for evidences, the bravest Hero's must alwayes be the most reproached Persons in the World.

690.

Nascitur Aetolicus, pravum ingeniosus ad omne;
Qui facere assuerat, patriae non degener artis,
Candida de nigris, et de Candentibus atra.

700.

Every thing can have an ill name, and an ill sence put upon it; but God who takes care of reputations as he does of lives, by the orders of his providence confutes the slander *et memoria justorum sit in benedictionibus*, that the memory of the righteous Man might be embalm'd with honour, and so it hapned to this great Man; for by a publick warranty, by the concurrent consent of both Houses of Parliament, the Libellous Petitions against him, the false records and publick monuments of injurious shame were cancell'd, and he was restor'd *in integrum* to that fame where his great labours and just procedures had first estated him; which though it was but justice, yet it was also such an honour, that it is greater than the virulence of tongues, which his worthiness and their envy had arm'd against him.

710.

But yet the great scene of the troubles was but newly open'd. I shall not refuse to speak yet more of his troubles, as remembring that S. *Paul*, when he discourses of the glories of the Saints departed, he tells more of their sufferings than of their prosperities, as being that laboratory and Crucible in which God makes his Servants vessels of honour to his glory: the storm quickly grew high; *et transitum est a linguis ad gladios*, and that was indeed ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα; iniquity

had put on armes; when it is *armata nequitia*, then a Man is hard put to it. The Rebellion breaking out, the Bishop went to his charge at *Derry*, and because he was within the defence of Walls, the execrable Traytor Sir *Phelim O'Neill* laid a snare to bring him to a dishonourable death. For he wrote a Letter to the Bishop; pretended Intelligence between them, desir'd that according to their former agreement such a gate might be deliver'd to him. The Messenger was not advis'd to be cautious, not at all instructed in the art of secrecie, for it was intended that he should be search'd, intercepted and hang'd for ought they car'd: but the arrow was shot against the Bishop, that he might be accused for base conspiracy, and dye with shame and sad dishonour. But here God manifested his mighty care of his Servants; he was pleas'd to send into the heart of the messenger such an affrightment, that he directly ran away with the Letter, and never durst come near the Town to deliver it. This story was publish'd by Sir *Phelim* himself, who added, that if he could have thus ensnar'd the Bishop, he had good assurance the Town should have been his own, *sed bonita Dei praevalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis*, The goodness of God is greater than all the malice of Men; and nothing could so prove how dear that Sacred life was to God, as his rescue from the dangers. *Stantia non poterant tecta probare Deos*, to have kept him in a warm house had been nothing, unless the roof had fallen upon his head, that rescue was a remark of Divine favour and Providence. But it seems Sir *Phelim's* Treason against the Life of this worthy Man had a correspondent in the Town; and it broke out speedily; for what they could not effect by malicious stratagem, they did in part by open force, they turned the Bishop out of the Town, and upon trifling and unjust pretences search'd his carriages, and took what they pleas'd till they were asham'd to take more; they did worse than divorce him from his Church, for in all the Roman divorces, they said, *tuas tibi res habeto*, take your goods and be gone; but plunder was Religion then; however, though the usage was sad, yet it was recompenc'd to him by his taking Sanctuary in *Oxford*, where he was graciously receiv'd by that most incomparable and Divine Prince; but having serv'd the King in *Yorkshire* by his pen, and by his Counsels, and by his interests return'd back to *Ireland*, where under the excellent conduct of his Grace the now Lord Lieutenant, he ran the risque and fortune of oppressed vertue.

But God having still resolv'd to afflict us, the good Man was forc'd into the fortunes of the Patriarchs, to leave his Country and his Charges and seek for safety and bread in a strange Land; for so the Prophets were us'd to do, wandring up and down in sheeps clothing, but poor as they were, the World was not worthy of

them, and this worthy man despising the shame, took up his Cross and followed his Master. *Exilium causa ipsa jubet sibi dulce videri, et desiderium dulce levat Patriae.* He was not asham'd to suffer, where the cause was honourable and glorious; but so God provided for the needs of his banished, and sent a man who could minister comfort to the afflicted, and courage to the persecuted, and resolutions to the tempted, and strength to that Religion for which they all suffered.

And here this great Man was indeed triumphant. This was one of the last and best scenes of his life, ἡμέραι γὰρ επίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι. The last dayes are the best witnesses of a Man. But so it was, that he stood up in publick and brave defence for the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England.* First by his sufferings and great example, for *verbis tantum Philosophari non est Doctoris, sed histrionis*, to talke well and not to do bravely is for a Comedian, not a Divine: but this great Man did both; he suffered his own calamity with great courage; and by his wise discourses strengthned the hearts of others.

For there wanted not diligent tempters in the Church of *Rome*, who (taking advantage of the afflictions of his Sacred Majesty, in which State Men commonly suspect every thing, and like men in sickness are willing to change from side to side, hoping for ease and finding none) flew at Royal game, and hop'd to draw away the King from that Religion which his most Royal Father, the best Man, and the wisest Prince in the World, had seal'd with the best blood in Christendom; and which himself suckt in with his education, and had confirm'd by choice and reason, and confess'd publickly and bravely, and hath since restor'd prosperously. *Milletiere* was the Man, witty and bold enough to attempt a zealous and a foolish undertaking, and address'd himself with ignoble indeed but witty arts to perswade the King to leave what was dearer to him than his eyes. It is true it was a wave dash'd against a rock, and an arrow shot against the Sun, it could not reach him; but the Bishop of *Derry* turn'd it also, and made it to fall upon the shooters head; for he made so ingenious, so learned and so acute reply to that book, he so discover'd the errors of the Roman Church, retorted the arguments, stated the questions, demonstrated the truth, and sham'd their procedures, that nothing could be a greater argument of the Bishops Learning, great parts, deep judgement, quickness of apprehension, and sincerity in the Catholick and Apostolick Faith, or of the follies and praevarications of the Church of *Rome.* He wrote no Apologies for himself; though it were much to be wish'd, that as *Junius* wrote his own life, or *Moses* his own story, so we might have understood from himself how great things God had done for him and by him; but all that he permitted to God and was silent

in his own defences, *gloriosus enim est injuriam tacendo fugere, quam respondendo superare*; but when the honour and conscience of his King, and the interest of a true Religion was at stake; the fire burnt within him, and at last he spake with his tongue; he cryed out like the Son of *Croesus*, ἄνθρωπε μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον; take heed, and meddle not with the King, his person is too sacred, and Religion too dear to him to be assaulted by vulgar hands. In short, he acquit himself in this affair with so much Truth and Piety, Learning and Judgement, that in those papers his memory will last unto very late succeeding Generations.

But this most Reverend Prelate found a nobler adversary, and a braver scene 800.
for his contention. He found that the Roman Priests being wearied and baffled by the wise discourses and pungent arguments of the English Divines had studiously declined any more to dispute the particular questions against us, but fell at last upon a general charge, imputing to the Church of *England* the great Crime of Schisme; and by this they thought they might with most probability deceive unwary and unskilful Readers; for they saw the Schism, and they saw we had left them, and because they consider'd not the causes, they resolv'd to out-face us in the charge. But now it was that *dignum nactus argumentum,* having an argument fit to employ his great abilities,

Consecrat hic praesul calamum, calamique labores, 810
Ante aras Domino laeta trophaea suo.

The Bishop now dedicates his labours to the service of God and of his Church, undertook the question, and in a full discourse proves the Church of *Rome*, not only to be guilty of the Schism by making it necessary to depart from them, but they did actuate the Schisms and themselves made the first separation in the great point of the Popes Supremacy, which was the *Palladium* for which they principally contended. He made it appear that the Popes of *Rome* were Usurpers of the rights of Kings and Bishops, that they brought in new Doctrines in every Age, that they impos'd their own devices upon Christendom as Articles of Faith, that they prevaricated the Doctrines of the Apostles, that the Church of *England* only 820
return'd to her Primitive purity, that she joyn'd with Christ and his Apostles, that she agreed in all the Sentiments of the Primitive Church. He stated the questions so wisely, and conducted them so prudently, and handled them so learnedly, that I may truly say, they were never more materially confuted by any man, since the questions have so unhappily disturbed Christendom. *Verum hoc eos male ussit*: and they finding themselves smitten under the fifth rib, set up an old Champion of their own, a *Goliath* to fight against the Armies of *Israel*. The old Bishop of *Chalcedon*,

known to many of us, replyed to this excellent book; but was so answer'd by a rejoynder made by the Lord Bishop of *Derry*, in which he so press'd the former arguments, refuted the Cavils, brought in so many impregnable authorities and probations, and added so many moments and weights to his discourse, that the pleasures of reading the book would be the greatest, if the profit to the Church of God were not greater.

Flumina tum lactis, tum flumina nectaris ibant,
Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.

For so *Samson's* riddle was again expounded; *out of the strong came meat, and out of the eater came sweetness*; his arguments were strong, and the eloquence was sweet and delectable; and though there start up another combatant against him, yet he had only the honour to fall by the hands of Hector: still *haeret lateri lethalis arundo*; the headed arrow went in so far, that it could not be drawn out, but the barbed steel stuck behind. And when ever Men will desire to be satisfied in these great questions, the Bishop of *Derry's* book shall be his Oracle.

I will not insist upon his other excellent writings; but it is known every where with what Piety and acumen he wrote against the Manichean doctrine of fatal necessity, which a late witty Man had pretended to adorn with a new vizor; but this excellent person wash'd off the ceruss and the meretricious paintings, rarely well asserted the Oeconomy of the Divine Providence, and having once more triumph'd over his adversary, *plenus victoriarum et trophaeorum*, betook himself to the more agreeable attendance upon sacred offices; and having usefully and wisely discours'd of the sacred Rite of Confirmation, impos'd hands upon the most illustrious Princes, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, and the Princes Royal, and ministred to them the promise of the Holy Spirit, and ministerially establish'd them in the religion and service of the Holy Jesus, *and one thing more I shall remark, that at his leaving those parts upon the Kings return; some of the Remonstrant Ministers of the Low Countries coming to take their leaves of this great Man, and desiring that by his means the Church of* England *would be kind to them, he had reason to grant it, because they were Learned Men, and in many things of a most excellent belief, yet he reprov'd them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too neer and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the Socinians.*

He thus having serv'd God and the King abroad, God was pleas'd to return to the King and to us all, as in the *dayes of old, and we sung the song of David.*

In convertendo captivitatem Sion; when *King David* and all his Servants

returned to *Jerusalem*, this great person having trode in the wine-press, was called to drink of the wine; and as an honorary reward of his great services and abilities was chosen Primate of this National Church. In which time, we are to look upon him as the King and the Kings great Vicegerent did, as a person concerning whose abilities the World had too great testimony ever to make a doubt. It is true, he was in the declension of his age and health; but his very ruines were goodly; and they who saw the broken heaps of *Pompey's* Theatre, and the crushed Obelisks and the old face of beauteous *Philaenium*, could not but admire the disorder'd glories of 870
such magnificent structures which were venerable in their very dust.

He ever was us'd to overcome all difficulties, only mortality was too hard for him, but still his vertues and his Spirit was immortal; he still took great care, and still had new and noble designes, and propos'd to himself admirable things. He govern'd his Province with great justice and sincerity,

Unus amplo consulens Pastor gregi,
Somnos tuetur omnium solus vigil.

And had this remark in all his Government, that as he was a great hater of Sacriledge, so he professed himself a publick enemy to non-residence, and often would declare wisely and religiously against it, allowing it in no case, but of 880.
necessity or the greater good of the Church. There are great things spoken of his Predecessor St. *Patrick*, that he founded seven hundred Churches and Religious convents, that he ordain'd five thousand Priests, and with his own hands consecrated three hundred and fifty Bishops. How true the story is, I know not; but we were all witnesses that the late Primate, whose memory we now celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of providence in one day consecrate two Archbishops and ten Bishops; and did benefit to almost all the Churches in *Ireland*, and was greatly instrumental to the re-endowments of the whole Clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferiour to none of his most glorious Antecessors. 890.

Since the Canonization of Saints came into the Church, we find no Irish Bishop Canoniz'd, except S. *Laurence* of *Dublin*, and S. *Malachy* of *Down*; indeed *Richard* of *Armagh's* Canonization was propounded, but not effected; but the Character which was given of that Learned Primate by *Trithemius* does exactly fit this our late Father. *Vir in Divinis Scripturis eruditus, saecularis Philosophiae, jurisque Canonici non ignarus, clarus ingenio, sermone Scholasticus, in declamandis Sermonibus ad populum excellentis industriae.* He was learned in the Scriptures;

skill'd in saecular Philosophy, and not unknowing in the Civil and Canon Laws (in which studies I wish the Clergy were with some carefulness and diligence still more conversant) he was of an excellent spirit, a Scholar in his discourses, an early and 900.
industrious Preacher to the People. And as if there were a more particular Sympathy between their souls, our Primate had so great a veneration to his memory, that he purpos'd if he had liv'd, to have restor'd his monument in *Dundalk*, which time, or impiety, or unthankfulness had either omitted or destroyed. So great a lover he was of all true and inherent worth, that he lov'd it in the very memory of the dead, and to have such great examples transmitted to the intuition and imitation of posterity.

At his coming to the Primacy he knew he should at first espie little besides the ruines of discipline, a harvest of thornes, and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the People, the Churches possess'd by Wolves and intruders, Mens hearts greatly 910.
estrang'd from true religion, and therefore he set himself to weed the fields of the Church; he treated the Adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuk'd them sharply. He visited his charges diligently, and in his own person not by proxies and instrumental deputations, *quaerens non nostra, sed nos, et quae sunt Jesu Christi;* he design'd nothing that we knew of but the redintegration of Religion, the honour of God and the King, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and the service of God in the Churches. And still he was indefatigable, and, even as the last scene of his life, intended to undertake a Regal visitation. *Quid enim vultis me otiosum a Domino comprehendi*, said one, he was not willing that God should take him un-imployed: 920.
But good Man he felt his Tabernacle ready to fall in pieces; and could go no further; for God would have no more work done by that hand; he therefore espying this, put his house in order, and had lately visited his Diocess and done what he then could to put his charge in order; for he had a good while since receiv'd the sentence of death within himself; and knew he was shortly to render an account of his stewardship. He therefore upon a brisk alarm of death, which God sent him the last *January*, made his will; in which besides the prudence and presence of spirit manifested in making just and wise settlement of his Estate, and provisions for his descendants; at midnight, and in the trouble of his sickness, and circumstances of addressing death, still kept a special sentiment and made confession of Gods 930.
admirable mercies and gave thanks that God had permitted him to live to see the blessed restauration of His Majesty and the Church of *England*, confess'd his faith to be the same as ever, gave praises to God that he was born and bred up in this

Religion, and prayed to God and hop'd he should dye in the Communion of this Church, which he declar'd to be the most pure and Apostolical Church in the whole World.

He prayed to God to pardon his frailties and infirmities, relyed upon the mercies of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, and with a singular sweetness resign'd up his soul into the hands of his Redeemer. But God, who is the great *Choragus* and Master of the Scenes of Life and Death, was not pleas'd then to draw 940
the Curtains; there was an Epilogue to his Life yet to be acted and spoken. He return'd to actions and life and went on in the Methods of the same procedure as before; was desirous still to establish the affairs of the Church, complain'd of some disorders which he purpos'd to redress, girt himself to the work; but though his spirit was willing, yet his flesh was weak, and as the Apostles in the vespers of Christs passion, so he in the Eve of his own dissolution was heavy, not to sleep, but heavy unto death, and look'd for the last warning, which seiz'd on him in the midst of business; and though it was suddain, yet it could not be unexpected, or unprovided by surprize; and therefore could be no other then that εὐθανασια which *Augustus* us'd to wish unto himself, a civil and well natur'd death, without 950.
the amazement of troublesom circumstances, or the great cracks of a falling house, or the convulsions of impatience. *Seneca* tells that *Bassus Aufidius* was wont to say; *Sperare se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu, si tamen esset, habere aliquantum in ipsa brevitate solatii.* He hop'd that the pains of the last dissolution were little or none; or if they were, it was full of comfort that they could be but short. It hapened so to this excellent Man; his passive fortitude had been abundantly tried before, and therefore there was the less need of it now. His active graces had been abundantly demonstrated by the great and good things he did; and therefore his last Scene was not so laborious, but God call'd him away something after the manner of *Moses*; which the Jews express, by *osculum oris Dei*, the kiss of 960.
Gods mouth, that is, a death indeed fore-signified, but gentle, and serene and without temptation.

To summe up all, he was a wise Prelate, a learned Doctor, a just Man, a true Friend, a great Benefactor to others, a thankfull beneficiary where he was oblig'd himself. He was a faithfull Servant to his Masters, a Loyal Subject to the King, a zealous Assertor of his Religion against Popery on one side, and fanaticism on the other. The practice of his Religion was not so much in forms and exteriour ministeries, though he was a great observer of all the publick rites and ministeries of the Church, as it was in doing good for others. He was like *Myson* whom the

Scythian Anacharsis so greatly prais'd; ὁ Μύσων ἦν οἰκον οἰκῆσας καλως; he govern'd his family well, he gave to all their due of maintenance and duty, he did great benefit to mankind; he had the fate of the Apostle S. *Paul*; he pass'd thorough evil report and good report, as a deceiver, and yet true. He was a man of great business and great resort. *Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo*, as the Corinthian said. There was alwayes some body in *Cydons* house; he was μερίζων τὸν βίον ἔργῳ καὶ βίβλῳ, he divided his life into labour and his book; he took care of his Churches when he was alive, and even after his death, having left five hundred pounds for the repair of his Cathedral of *Armagh* and S. *Peter's* Church in *Drogheda*. He was an excellent Scholar, and rarely well accomplish'd; first instructed to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience. *Melanchthon* was us'd to say, that himself was a Logician, *Pomeranus* a Grammarian, *Justus Jonas* an Orator, but that *Luther* was all these. It was greatly true of him; that the single perfections which make many men eminent, were united in this Primate and made him illustrious.

At, At, Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget: cui pudor et justitiae soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas
Quando ullum invenient parem?

It will be hard to find his equal in all things. *Fortasse tanquam Phoenix anno quingintessimo nascitur* (that I may use the words of *Seneca*.) *Nec est mirum ex intervallo magna generari Mediocria et in turbam nascentia saepe fortuna producit: eximia vero ipsa raritate commendat.* For in him was visible the great lines of *Hooker's* judiciousness, of *Jewel's* learning, of the acuteness of Bishop *Andrewes*; He was skil'd in more great things than one; and as one said of *Phidias*, he could not only make excellent statues of Ivory, but he could work in stone and brass; he shewed his aequanimity in poverty, and his Justice in Riches; he was useful in his Country, and profitable in his banishment, for as *Paraeus* was at *Anvilla, Luther* at *Wittenburg*, S. *Athanasius* and S. *Chrysostom* in their banishment, S. *Jerome* in his retirement at *Bethlehem*, they were Oracles to them that needed it; so was he in *Holland* and *France* where he was abroad, and beside the particular endearments which his friends receiv'd from him, for he did do relief to his Brethren that wanted, and supplyed the Souldiers out of his store in *Yorkshire*, when he himself could but ill spare it; but he receiv'd publick thanks from the convocation of which he was President, and publick justification from the Parliament where he was Speaker; so that although as one said, *Miraculi instar vitae iter, si longum, sine offensione percurrere,* yet no man had greater Enemies, and no Man had greater

justifications.

But God hath taken our *Elijah* from our heads this day. I pray God that at least his Mantle may be left behind, and that his spirit may be doubled upon his successor; and that we may all meet together with him at the right hand of the Lamb, where every Man shall receive according to his deeds, whether they be good, or whether they be evil. I conclude with the words of *Caius Plinius, equidem beatos puto quibus Deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda.* He wrote many things fit to be read, and did very many things worthy to be written, which if we wisely imitate we may hope to meet him inthe resurrection of the just; and feast with him in the Eternal supper of the Lamb, there to sing perpetual Anthems to the honour of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to whom be all Honour, etc.

FINIS.

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Textual Notes

A Funerall Sermon preached at the Obsequies of ... the Lady Frances, Countess of Carbery.

1650: = First edition
1651: = *XXVIII Sermons*, first edition
1654: = *XXVIII Sermons*, second edition
1667: = *Ten Sermons*

Emlyn] *Emlim*[1]
Mullinger] *Mollinger*

ED1. *am*] *Am*
ED2. *a house*] *1651, 1654: the house*
ED5. *alleviate or divert your sorrow*] *1651, 1654: alleviate your sorrow*

10-11. *The time ... another.*] [*The time ... another.*]
34. beasts] *1651, 1654:* beast
36. *Statutum est;*] [*Statutum est*]
37. *once to die*] *1651, 1654: to once die*
38. decree] *1651, 1654:* degree
45. *die;*] *die*]
46. *again.*] *again*]
59. grape,] grape
95. and the sleepings] *1667:* and sleepings
108. imposthumations.] imposthumations).
146. neighbourhood] neigbourhood

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[1]All emendations to the copy text are descibed in these textual notes. Substantive variants between the copy text and any other collated editions are also noted, that is, where there is a substantive variant between the edited text and the copy text and no furthervariants are given, it is the case that all other collated editions agree with the copytext.

156. Nain] Naim

157. resurrection] rusurrection

176. of the eternall] *1654:* of eternal

213. *Catiline's*] *Catilines*

237. bear] 1667: bore

260. *neither doth ... any man;*] [*neither doth ... any man*]

326. *yet*] [yet]

326-27. *For all .. from him.*] [*For all ... from him.*]

340. lives, between] lives between

342. *Isaac*] *Izaak*

381. proportions] propositions

367. *et*] *&*

388. derive] *1651, 1654:* drive

388. and] &

393-94. *Christ ... with him.*] [*Christ ... with him.*]

397. at all] *1651:* all at

414. Holy] H.

465. *Scepsius*] *Sceptius*

465. *Cineas*] *Cyneas*

469. as soon] assoon

471. all the world] *1667:* the whole world

487. have] Have

507. a Noblenesse] *1651,1654:* her Noblenesse

508. us all] *1651:* all us

549. *tacit*] *1650, 1651: tacet* (in errata list of *1651*)

617. and placed] & placed

630. and the] & the

634. favour and] favour &

635. and early] & early

654. latter] *1654:* later

733. finall state] *1654:* finall estate

796. and to] & to

751. and] &

798. *et*] *&*

68. τὸ] ὃ
94. body,] body;
95. of;] of:
176. *Earth*] *Eearth*
177. only them] in them
216. Blessed] B.
216. *Sadducees*] *Sadduces*
218. Blessed] B.
232. *Ezra*] *Esra*
238. *God for*] *God [for*
239. Blessed] B.
253. *Their God*] [*Their God*]
283. Blessed] B.
300. *the ... Abraham*] [*the ... Abraham*]
311. *only;*] *only*]
336. *if ... hopes*] [*if ... hopes*]
347. *et*] *&*
365. *horto Eden,*] *horto Eden*
365. *of Eden;*] *of Eden;*]
366.*let his soule ... him,*] [*let his soule ... him*]
373. Septuagint] LXX.
373. Ecclesiastes 2.5] Eccles.2.5.
375. *Xenophon*] *Zenophon*
375-76. *agrum ... consitum:*] [*agrum ... consitum:*]
398. and visions] & visions
410-11. *To him ... God*] [*To him ... God*]
426. *Essenes*] *Essens*
445. make] Make
477. *with Abraham*] *with Abrahams*
485. S. *Stephen*] S. *Steven*
486. *et*] *&*
498-99. that wax ... *sunt*] [that wax ... *sunt*]
502. altars.] altars*
503-04. *therefore ... them*] [*therefore ... them*]
523. Sadducees] Sadduces

513. *this day ... Paradise*] [*this day ... Paradise*]
520. δύο] δύν
521. χἀτέραν] κἀτέραν
551. *God,*] *Gods,*
573. *Blessed*] *B.*
574. so] *so*
574. *Martyr.*But] *Martyr. [ubi supra]* But
578. and] &
593. etc.] &c.
596-97. *Thou shalt ... just*] [*Thou shalt ... just*]
597-98. *The Heavens ... things*] [*the Heavens ... things*]
601-02. *and not ... coming*] [*and not ... coming*]
613. Blessed] B.
614. S.*Jude*] S.*Jud.*6
656. not] nor
667. *Lord*] *Lord;*
730. *prayer.*] *prayer.**
775. comfort?] comfort.
804. forty] 40
822. *non*] *n.*
870. Mother,] Mother
911. *Charles V*] *Charles* 5
983. and in] & in
989. that our] this our

A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops

1661: = First edition

1663: = Second edition

1667: = *Ten Sermons*

Errata = listed in errata of first edition.

ED1. *Justices*] *Iustices*
ED21. David] Dd.
ED23. *sixteen hundred*] 1600.
ED27. *sixteen*] 16.
ED28. *thirty-five*] 35.
ED40. St. Jerome] St. Hierom
ED70. *loser*] *1661: looser 1663, 1667: loser*
ED73. our] my

20-21. *whom the Lord ... houshold.*] [*whom the Lord ... houshold.*]
26. καιρῷ] *1661:* χαιρῶ *1663, 1667:* καιρῶ
31-32. *Blessed is the Servant ... doing*] [*Blessed is the Servant ... doing*]
33. Family?] Family:
38. where] *1667:* were
63. Bishop] Bp.
82. but by its being indifferently]
1661: but indifferently
1663,1667: but by its being indifferently *Errata*
90. Bishop] Bp.
95. Bishops] Bps.

96-97. and δεῖ] & δεῖ

98. St. *Paul's*] St. *Pauls*

105-06. St. *Paul; other things ... come,*] St. *Paul;*
[other things ... come,

127. this must be] *1667:* this be

141. twelve] XII.

141. seventy-two] LXXII.

147. seventy-two] LXXII

149. seventy-two] LXXII

154. seventy-two] LXXII

157-58. St. *James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*]
St. *Iames* the Bp. of *Ierusalem*

165. *Primasius*)] *Primasius,*)

165. Bishop] Bp.

167. Bishops] Bps.

169-70. *In stead of ... Lands,*] [*In stead of ... Lands,*]

170. that is,] [that is,]

172. and Successors] & Successors

172. *et qui*] *& qui*

175. *et patres*] *& patres*

176. *et constituit*] *& constuit*

176. *St. Augustine*] St. *Austin*

177. Bishops] Bps.

187. St. *Clement* Bishop] St. *Clement* Bp.

189. Asian Bishops] Asian Bps.

189. St. *John*] St. *Iohn*

191. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

191. St. *Augustine*] St. *Austin*

192. St. *Pacian*] *Pacianus*

192. St. *John Damascene*] St. *Iohn Damascen*

195. Bishops] Bps.

199. Bishops] Bps.

201. St. *Augustine*] St. *Austin*

202. Bishops] Bps.

204. St. *Jude*] St. *Iude*

206. St. *Jude*] St. *Iude*

209. three hundred] 300.

210. Bishops] Bps.

213. rul'd)] rul'd,)

217. St. *Vincent of Lerins's*] *Vincentius Lirinensis's*

222. question] qestion

227. little)] little,)

247. and their] & their

271-72. *I will give ... righteousness*] [*I will give ... righteousness*]

272. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

273-74. *The spirit ... Rulers,*] [*The spirit ... Rulers,*]

274. Bishops] Bps.

296. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

297. *et*] *&*

303. *et*] *&*

321. fortieth] 40th.

322. twenty-fourth] 24th

331. Septuagint] LXX

343. St. *John*] St. *Iohn*

345-46. *He that will ... Minister,*] [*He that will ... Minister,*]

352. Bishops] Bps.

368. *Clement*] *Clemens*

368. *Mark*] *Marcus*

369. *Epaphroditus*] *Epaphroditas*

369. St. *James*] St. *Iames*

369. *Evodias*] *Evodius*

422. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

423. *John,* Bishop of *Jerusalem*] *Iohn* Bp. of *Ierusalem*

423. endeavoured] he endeavoured

426. Bishops] Bps.

450-427(Julian)] *Iulian*

440. failure] *1661, 1663:* failer *1667:* failure

442. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

442. *etc.*] *&*

443. alone] [alone]

444. also] [also]

447. *Hosea*)] *Hosea,*)

463. Apostle)] Apostle,)

472. Bishop] Bp.

474. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

474. *et mundi*] *& mundi*

475. *et Ecclesiae*] *& Ecclesiae*

475. *etc.*] *&c.*

476. Bishop] Bp.

481. -Priests, the] -Priests the

481-83. *Aaron: God give ... ever.*] *Aaron: [God give ... ever.]*

487. fortieth] 40th

502-05. St. *Chrysostom, It is ... Masters.*]
St. *Chrysostom, [It is ...Masters.]*

519-20. *Remember them ... conversation.*]
[*Remember them ... conversation.*]

539. Unity] Vnity

541. St. *John*] St. *Iohn*

541-42. three hundred] 300.

553. Religion. That] *1661:* Religion, the Gentry being little better then servants while they live under the Presbytery. That
1663,1667: Religion. That *Errata*

555-56. hand, the Gentry ... Presbytery. And]
1661: hand, and
1663,1667: hand, the Gentry ... Presbytery. And

568. Bishop] Bp.

574. Bishops] Bps.

604. deserve] *1661:* discern *1663,1667:* deserve *Errata*

619. *et*] *&*

621. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

648. *Jacob*] *Iacob*

649. *Jacob*] *Iacob*

651. one hundred thousand] 100000.

654. hundred] 100.

660. Upon] Vpon

663. Bishop] Bp.

664. Arch-Bishop] Arch-Bp.

666. *St. Vincent Ferrer*] *Vincentius Ferrerius*

666. *Valencia*] *Valentia*

666. *Lerida*] *Ilerda*

666-67. St. *Bernardine* of *Siena*] *Bernardinus Senensis*

667. *Siena, Urbino*] *Sens, Urbin*

671. *arca*] *1667: area*

671. *St. Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

674. St. *Chrysostom's* six books *De Sacerdotio*]
St. *Chrysostom's six books de sacerdotio*

674. *Apologetica*] *Apologetie*

674-75. St. *Gregory Nazianzus*] St. *Greg. Naz.*

675. *St. Gregory*] St. *Greg.*

675-76. St. *Dionysius's* eighth epistle to]
St. *Dionysius's* 8th *epistle to*

676. St. *Jerome*] St. *Hierom*

676. St. *Augustine's*] St. *Austin's*

677. *Bishop*] Bp.

677-78. St. *Jerome's* one hundred and thirty-eighth]
St. *Hierom's* 138th

679-80. *work out ... trembling,*] [*work out ... trembling*]

697. *et*] *&*

712. *hassovevim*] *1663, 1667: hassovelim*

752. *Joseph*] *Ioseph*

1661: = First edition

1667: = *Ten Sermons*

ED1. *ought*] *Ought*
ED6. tot et] tot &
ED25. Aulus Gellius] A.Gellius
ED66. *first,*] *1.*
ED67. *secondly,*] *2ly*
ED68. *thirdly,*] *3ly*
ED68. *first,*] *1.*
ED70. *secondly,*] *2ly,*
ED74. *thirdly,*] *3ly,*
ED133. and the Low Countries,] Low Countries,

44. *Goliath's*] *Goliah's*
84-85. *If an Angel ... Gospel;*] [*If an Angel ... Gospel;*]
106. First,] 1.
129. Secondly,] 2ly,
150. Thirdly,] 3ly,
209. St.*Jerome's*] S.*Hierom's*
230. First.1. Let] 1. Let
244. Secondly, every] 2. Every
265. Thirdly, in] 3. In
285. St.*Teresa*] S.*Teresa*
308. 1. That] That
347. *et emendare*] *& emendare*
347. *et componere, et modis*] *& componere, & modis*

544. part of it?] *1661:* part of? *1667:* part of it?
545. thirty-sixth] 36.
571. *Atlantic*] *Atlantick*

Via Intelligentiae: A Sermon preached to the University of Dublin

1662 = First Edition, 1662

1667 = *Ten Sermons*, 1667

ED29. Mr.Hooker] Mr. Hooker
ED30-35. *Such is ... subject.*] [*Such is ... subject.*]

Text. John 7.17] 7 JOHN 17
55. possibly] *1667*:possible
77. should be.] should.
96. *Andreas Fricius Modrevius*] *Modrevius, Andreas Frisius*
99. *The Hague*] the *Hague*
211. κακια] *1662:* κανια *1667:* κακια
224. *Arrian*] *Arianus*
255. observ'd,] observ'd
271-72. Truth: *That ... Opinion.*] [Truth *That ... Opinion.*]
276. Thirteenth] 13.
293. *Jonah,*] *Jonas,*
308. *et*] &
320. and spend] & spend
374. St. *Isidore*] St. *Isidor*
432. *etc.*] *&c.*
439. and it is] and is
548. *Jerusalem*] *Ierusalem*
558. scent] 1662: sent 1667: scent
559. St.*Chrysostom*] St.*Chrysostome*
596. and so] & so
618. teach] *1667*:reach
635. skill'd] skil'd
827. *et*] &
828. St.*Augustine's*] St.*Austin's*
840. pray to the] pray the

849. *eius*] *ejus*

851. υψωμα] *1662:* υψμα *1667:* υψημα

857. *et*] *&*

923. *et*] *&*

9607. Heretical and] Heretical &

9855. that is Christ is] *1667*:that is

1005. St.*Chrysostom,*] St.*Chrysostome,*

1012. saviour] savour

1027-29. But if ye ... prevaile.] [But if ye ... prevaile.]

1663A: = First edition
1663B: = Second edition
1663C: = Third edition
1667: = *Ten Sermons*

23. *Adam's*] *Adam*'s

51. or no?] or no,

86. in the morrow] *1667:* the morrow

93. And] nd.

102. ὁ παλαιγενὴς] *1663A:* ὁπαλαιγενὴς *1663B:* ὁ παλαιγενὴς *1663C:* ὁπαλαιγενὴς *1667:* ὁπαλαιγενὴς

110. St. *Augustine*] S. *Austin*

126. *deniers*] *denyers*

178-97. Jesus. Everything ... dead. For he] *1663A, 1663B*: Jesus. For he

205. *iam*] *jam*

220. If] *If

248. *et redire*] *& redire*

270. off:] of:

275. figure;] *1663B:* figures;

285-86. fall and the spring] *1667*: Fall and Spring

288. Jonah] Jonas

296. St.*Augustine*] S.*Austin*

320. by a Resurrection] *1667:* by resurrection

342. *Acilius*] *Attilius*

363. *Hinnom*] *Hinnon*

390. *Paul's*] *Pauls*

400. of Death] [of Death]

424. *Iam*] *Jam*

427. something] *1663C, 1667:* nothing

435. οὐκετ] οὐκ ετ

438. and we] & we

439-40. excellent Funeral Oration] *1663B:* excellent Oration

451. whilest she] *1663B*: whilest we

471. *Antoninus*] *Antonius*

476. *palmarum*, young] *palmarum* young

481. *Yorkshire*] *York-shire*

483. *Northallerton*] *Northalerton*

491. *Ripon*] *Rippon*

542. brought] *1663A,1663B:* bought *1663A,1667:* brought

559. forty-eight] 48.

560. a hundred and forty] 140.

563. twenty-four] 24.

568. fortieth] 40th

569. *Villalpando*] *Villalpandus*

570. forty-fifth chapter] 45.

571. reserves] *1663B:* reserved

574. twenty-four] 24.

589. thirty thousand pounds] 30000 l.

599. *Joshua*] *Joshuah*

613. Gauls] Gaules

620. Instrument] *1663A, 1663B:* Instructour

620. it] *1663B:* he

646. Blessed Saviour] B.S.

669. two hundred] 200.

678. *Aesop's*] *Aesops*

702. *Candentibus*] *1663B: Gandentibus*

705. slander] *1663A, 1663B*: slanderer

705. *et memoria*] *& memoria*

722. *O'Neill*] *o Neale*

749. *Yorkshire*] *York-shire*

757. *et*] *&*

778. *Milletiere*] *Millitiere*

782. shooters] *1663B:* shooters's

826. fifth] fift

827. *Goliath*] *Goliah*

836. *Samson's*] *Sampson's*

848. *et*] *&*

850. Rite] *1663A, 1663B:* right

882. seven hundred] 700.

883. five thousand] 5000.

884. three hundred and fifty] 350.

892. *Malachy*] *Malachias*

904. *Dundalk*] *Dundalke*

915. *et*] *&*

946. Eve] *1663A, 1663B:* Eves *1663:* Eve *1667:* eye

970. Μύσων] μύσων

977-78. five hundred pounds] 500l.

978. *Armagh*] *Ardmagh*

978. *Peter's*] *Peters*

981. *Melanchthon*] *Melancthon*

986. *et*] *&*

993. *Hooker's*] *Hookers*

993. *Jewel's*] *Jewels*

993. *Andrewes*] *Andrews*

1002. *Yorkshire*] *York-shire*

1012. *Caius*] *Cajus*

1018. etc.] &c.

COMMENTARY

Introduction

The commentary should be used with reference to the following principles.

- References to the text are by line number.
- Reference to other works is given in full within the text of the commentary except in the case of works referred to on several occasions. These works are given in the "List of Abbreviations".
- All references to classical works are to the Loeb editions except where stated. However, the form of the reference is given in standard format. Therefore, "Pliny, *Natural History*, VII.12.52" means Pliny, BookVII, Chapter 12, Section 52 and does not refer to the volume of the Loeb edition.
- All references to Taylor's works are to the Eden edition.
- Imprints of works are London unless otherwise stated.
- Sidenotes given in the copy-text are denoted by *margin:*

Abbreviations

ED = Epistle Dedicatory.

GMigne = Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca, 162 volumes (Paris, 1857-1912).

LMigne = Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina, 221 volumes (Paris, 1844-1902).

AV = Authorised Version of the Bible (1611).

Tilley = Morris P.Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England* (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1950).

CSPD = Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.

CSPI = Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland.

A Funerall Sermon Preached at the Obsequies of the Right Honourable and most vertuous Lady, the Lady Frances, Countesse of Carbery.

The sermon was probably preached in a private chapel in or near the house of Golden Grove. It has been among the most admired of Taylor's sermons. Bonney, Taylor's first biographer, found in it "a strain of eloquence that has seldom been surpassed".[1] Frank Huntley, one of the most recent students of Taylor, asserts that "the best sermon of Taylor is the sermon on the Countess of Carberry [*sic*]".[2] The admiration is well placed but it has to be said that this is one the most conventional and derivative of Taylor's sermons. Many of the conventions used are highlighted in the commentary while general discussion of Taylor's preaching can be found in Chapter Two.

Taylor's sermon and his references to Lady Carbery in his Epistles Dedicatory to *The Great Exemplar* (II.503-04), *Holy Dying* (III.257-60) and *XXVIII Sermons* (IV.323-26) are the fullest biography available of that lady. Only a few facts can be added. She was the daughter of Sir James Altham of Oxley, Hertfordshire and his co-heiress. She was Richard, Earl of Carbery's second wife and married him at Acton, London on 8 August 1637, although her Latin epitaph suggests that the date was June. She was then sixteen years old and her husband about thirty-seven.[3] Carbery had had two sons by his first wife, Bridget, but both died before 1640. According to the Latin epitaph, Frances bore him ten children. There were four sons: Francis, John, Altham and one boy born prematurely. There were further six daughters: Frances, two Elizabeths, Mary, Margaret and Althamia. Apart from the premature boy, only one of the Elizabeths and Mary failed to outlive their mother. Lady Carbery died 9 October 1650, aged twenty-six, a few days after the birth of Althamia. In July 1652 Lord Carbery married Lady Alice Egerton, daughter of John, first Earl of Bridgwater, but their marriage had no issue.

Of his works, Taylor dedicated only the third part of *The Great Exemplar* to Lady Carbery. His epistle does not give many clues about the lady's character but is simply an oblique acknowledgement of her husband's patronage. In the

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[1] Henry Kaye Bonney, *The Life of Jeremy Taylor* (1815), p.86.

[2] Frank L.Huntley, "Heads for an Essay on the Seventeenth Century Funeral Sermon in England", *Anglican Theological Review* 38 (1956), 226-34, p.233.

[3] For further details of the Vaughan family see Francis Jones, "The Vaughans of Golden Grove", *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1963), pp.96-145.

second edition of this work, Taylor attached a further epistle to Alice, the third Lady Carbery. In it he speaks of the death of the second Lady Carbery. "I have much ado to refrain from telling great stories of her wisdom, piety, judgment, sweetness, and religion; but that it would renew the wound and make our sins bleed afresh at the memory of that dear saint" (II.505). The epistle of *Holy Dying* to Richard, Earl of Carbery eulogises the Lady Frances in terms similar to the funeral sermon though possibly more exalted. He speaks of her as

> ... a greater beauty, which is now dressing for the brightest immortality, and from her bed of darkness calls you to dress your soul for that change, which shall mingle your bones with that beloved dust, and carry your soul to the same quire, where you shall sit and sing for ever.

He goes on to imply that *Holy Dying* is a kind of monument to her memory.

> My Lord, it is your dear lady's anniversary, and she deserved the biggest honour, and the longest memory, and the fairest monument, and the most solemn mourning; and In order to It, give me leave, my lord, to cover her hearse with these following sheets (III.257-58).

In the Epistle dedicatory to *XXVIII Sermons* Taylor also claims that it was Lady Carbery's "hunger and thirst of righteousness" which was the impetus behind those sermons. However, despite the hyperbole of Taylor's nineteenth- century biographers, there is no reason to believe that Taylor knew Lady Carbery very well, that she was especially pious or that these works were intended as a monument to that piety. It is evident in the Dalston sermon that Taylor did not know his subject very well. This commentary shows how conventional the Carbery sermon is and how it obliquely praises Carbery himself. Further, In the introduction I have also shown that there was a more Important Impetus behind these works, that of maintaining the presence of Anglican teaching In the hearts and minds of its faithful.

The only other source of Lady Carbery's biography Is Richard, Earl of Carbery's "Advice to his Son".[4] The Earl here speaks of his deceased wife.

> It is not a yeare since I could have Intertayned Death with much cheerefullnesse. For then your Excellent mother (my dearest Wife and Heart) was upon earth, who having the same soule, as I may say, had alsoe the same Cares and Designe for Posterity with me, upon whose strict conformity to my desires, steady Prudence and

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[4]Edited by Virgil B.Heltzel, *Huntington Library Bulletin* II(1937), pp.59-105.

> most tender Love I could have built very strong hopes of your future happinesse (p.73).

Later on, in exorting his son to honour his parents he writes:

> This which I have sayd concerning your Duty to me, is alsoe appliable to the memory of your Excellent and most affectionate Mother; for a personall observance you cannot pay her. I most strictly Chardge you often to call to mind , that you and your Brother John have entered into a solemne ingagement unto me under your handes to imitate the honour and Excellency of the Deare Saint, the best of Wives, the best of Mothers and Frlnds ... Remember, Francke, shee had more panges in your bringing up then your bringing forth, and shee hath beene an Excellent Nurse to your mind, regarding more the straightnesse and health of that then of your Body, though this was cared for with the greatest tendernesse imaginable (p.75-76).

The "Advice" was written in August-September of 1651. The influence of Taylor is clear: or perhaps it was the Earl who influenced Taylor.

ED3. cypresse] The cypress tree is a symbol of death and resurrection taken from classical sources. It was customary for the Greeks and Romans to throw a sprig of the tree into the coffin of the deceased.

ED3-4. bottle: of tears] Psalm 56.8. Bottles, often of decorated glass, containing the tears of the bereaved were cherished in Egypt and Palestine and placed in tombs.

ED10-11. her picture ... water-colours] Terms associated with portrait painting were frequently applied to biographical writing in funeral sermons. See, for example, John Bradshaw, *Death Disarmed; The Grave Buried ... a Sermon at the Interment of Mr.Henry English* (1650): *So neither dare I with some falsifying Limners set out a Complexion with Colours beyond the Life.* See also, Thomas Brooks, *A String of Pearles ... discovered in a Sermon ... at the Funeral of (that Triumphant Saint) Mris. Mary Blake* (1657), *I know I am not able to paint out your sorrow;* Gaspar Hickes, *The Life and Death of David. A Sermon Preached at the Funeralls of ... William Strode* (1645), *... his excellencies, which deserve to be drawn and flourished by the most curious pencill;* Anthony Walker, Εὕρεκα, Εὕρεκα, *The Virtuous Woman found* (1678), *... the Icon, Idea, Character and Picture of a truly Wise, Religious, Godly, Gracious Woman;* Thomas Reeve, *A Cedars Sad and Solemn Fall* (1661), *... it [the deceased's portrait] was but half drawn in the Pulpit, I now present it to you as I had pensilled it by myself.*

ED17-18. dead trunk ... altar] See the Latin epitaph on p.6 which is in the shape of a pillar. "Temple" here is equivalent to "church" as in, for example, George Herbert's *The Temple* or Crashaw's *The Steps to the Temple*.

ED22. things ... this breach] It was a commonplace to imply that the decease of a loved one was somehow due to the sinfulness of those that remain.

ED23. Dear departed Saint] Referring to the deceased as a saint was among the commonest of funeral sermon conventions. The idea was generally to heighten the theme of the departed one as an example worthy to be imitated. The most famous usage is in Milton's Sonnet XIX to his deceased wife which begins: *Methought I saw my late espoused saint/ Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave*. Taylor's application of the term to Lady Carbery is undoubtedly linked to his oblique praising of the Earl discussed in the commentary on lines 553-89 below. The doctrinal background to this literary convention is discussed in the commentary on lines 227-41 below. However, considering the overuse of the convention in funeral sermons it is ironic to find Taylor saying in his *Dissuasive from Popery* (1664) that we do not *know who are saints, excepting very few* (VI.254).

ED24. weep no more] Isaiah 30.19, Revelation 21.4.

Latin epitaph] This was added to the 1651 edition of *XXVIII Sermons*, clearly as an interpolation. (See Chapter Four.) Reflection on the custom of providing such epitaphs is given by a Dr.Ducke in an epistle attached to *A Funerall Sermon Preached by Dr.Gouge ... At the Funeralls of Mrs. Margaret Ducke* (1646). Ducke says that *examples of Conjugall love* are greater among the Romans and that he seeks to imitate the *Inscriptions which the Romanes of all degrees did usually put upon the Urnes, containing the ashes of their deceased Wives*. Ducke cites his source for the epitaph as Joseph Scallger and Janus Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae*. Taylor may also have been influenced by John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments with in the united Monarchie of Great Britaine* (1631) as he clearly was while writing *Holy Dying*. See Robert Gathorne-Hardy, "Montaigne among the English", *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 September 1947, p.465.

The following is a translation of the epitaph, provided by Mr. Allan Hood of the Edinburgh University Classics Department.

Sacred to piety and memory

Richard, Earl of Carbery, set up this monument of his exceptional grief and like fate and state to himself while alive and neither desiring nor fearing death, and to his most beloved wife, the countess Frances, who was snatched from the embraces of his most holy love in the prime of life by the accidents of childbirth. She was (dear reader, let a tiny tear-drop flow), she was the first among chaste women, the most loving of wives, an excellent mother, a woman of placid speech, stern virtue, and most pleasant conversation ; a good conscience made her face joyful, a beauty surpassing the wifely made her loveable. Born of a distinguished family, she had a not inconsiderable fortune; for she was sole heiress with her one full sister. She lived for 13 years, 4 months and two days in most holy matrimony with her husband, whom she loved most dearly and esteemed scrupulously; she knew him to be most sensible, realised him to be most loving, and saw that he was an excellent husband, and she rejoiced. She bore a numerous family, handsome, upright, of outstanding beauty and potential: four male children – Francis Lord Vaughan, John, Altham, and a fourth born premature; and six female – the ladies Frances, two Elizabeths, Mary Margaret, and Althamia, [a few days after whose birth she fell asleep in death]. She was survived by all her male children (if you exclude the one born premature), and by all the female children, except for the first Elizabeth and Mary. She died, full of piety and indeed of hope, on the 9th October 1650. Drenched by the tears of all her relatives, she is buried in this cemetery, where, when it seems good to God the Best and Greatest, her most sorrowful husband hopes he should be laid. Meanwhile he devotes his time to mourning and more especially to piety, so that in his time so devout, noble and Christian a couple may rejoice together in the bosom of Jesus, until the crowns are prepared which they are to receive at the coming of the Lord.

AMEN

When he dies, this marble will tell what modest virtue still bids be not mentioned; meanwhile, observe his life, and you will read what posterity will later love and cherish inscribed here.

Pray and go your way

4–13. When our blessed Saviour … severall graves] Taylor evidently alludes to the condition of the Church of England here although the passage is ostensibly about the destruction of the Temple of the soul, that is, the body. It was common for both Anglican and non-conformist to refer to their conditions in Biblical terms. For example Taylor, in his preface to *The Golden Grove* (VII.589): *… [those] who have seen Jerusalem in prosperity … must now take care that the young men who were born in the captivity, may be taught how to worship*

the God of Israel after the manner of their forefathers. The "storm" of line five is a usual oblique reference to the Civil War as in the epistle to *The Liberty of Prophesying* and Gaspar Hickes, *The Life and Death of David. A Sermon Preached at the Funeralls of ... William Strode* (1645): *in your family ... I found the first safe and quiet harbour after my wanderings and tossings in the common storme.* See also, John Duncon, *The Holy Life and Death of the Lady Letice, Vi-Countess Falkland* (1653): *It hath fared with me (by the extraordinary blessing of God) as sometimes it doth with Shipwracked Mariners, to be cast off a tempestuous Sea, into a rich Island.* Like Taylor, Duncon had found a haven in the patronage of a noble family; in this case, the Cary family.

5. Magister aspice ... stones are here] Mark 13.1.

10–11. The time ... another] Mark 13.2.

17–18. Adam ... superadditions of God] This is consistent with Taylor's controversial view of the Fall as expounded in *Unum Necessarium* and *Deus Justificatus.* In these works, to the horror of church authorities such as Duppa and Sanderson, Taylor argued that the unfallen Adam was not immortal in his nature but through a special grace from God. Therefore, the fall did not corrupt his nature but removed him from God's favour. See Brian Duppa's letter to Richard Bayly in Eden (I.xlii–xliii) and Robert Sanderson's letter to Thomas Barlow (*Works*; ed. Jacobson, VI.381).

23. ingraffed] Alternative spelling of *engraffed*, an obsolete form of *engrafted*, i.e. grafted in, as a scion of one tree grafted onto another.

24. Cien] Alternative spelling of *scion.*

25–28. his portion ... grave] Matthew 6.30: *Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow Is cast Into the oven: shall he not much* nor *clothe you, O ye of little faith?*

32–33. Pharia ... ruitura labor] Martial, *Epigrams*; I.88.4: "the nodding weight of the Pharian stone , the perishable gift which vain toil makes to the dust".

36–37. It is ... judgment] Hebrews 9.27.

50. wafting] Moving to and fro.

55. the sting of a Bee] Possibly taken from Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*,I.41 (Everyman edition p.290). Montaigne quotes from Cicero *apis aculem sine clamore ferre non possumus (Tusculan Disputations* II). Florio translates, *we cannot abide to be stung of a Bee, but must rore and crie out.*

58. obnoxious] Liable or exposed to harm.

68. consumption] A wasting of the body by disease or a wasting disease.

74–78. No man ... death] Taylor found these stories In Pliny's *Natural History* VII.53.181. Once again he has concatenated several separate stories. Pliny speaks of: "Quintus Aemilius Lepidus who bruised his great toe in the doorway of his bedroom just as he was going out; Gaius Aufidius who after he had gone out hit his foot against something in the Concilium when he was on the way to the Senate. Also an envoy ... just as he wanted to leave the senate-house expired on the threshold". These anecdotes form part of a catalogue of *mortes repentinae*, sudden deaths. Florio's Montaigne, I.19 (Everyman p.78) also quotes the stories of Lepidus and Aufidius. However, Taylor's use of the story of the envoy and his use of the word "threshold" here suggests he had referred to Pliny, although he may have been led to do so by reading Florio.

77-78. Quod ... in horas] "No man is hourly armed against surprise". Horace, *Odes*, II.13. Montaigne uses this quotation In the same essay as the stories mentioned above (lines 74–80). The essay Is entitled "That to Philosophize Is to learne how to die". Montaigne's quotation occurs Immediately before the Lepidus/Aufidius stories, (Everyman, p.77) and this adds weight to the argument that Taylor used Montaigne's essay as a source for part of this sermon.

79–80. sicknesses ... darknesse] Psalm 91.6.

84. Posterns] Figuratively, obscure or hidden entries. The literal meaning of *postern* is a door or gate distinct from a main entrance; a back or private door.

85–86. land ... forgetfulnesse] Psalm 88.12.

91. Angel-keeper] The belief that each man had a guardian angel was widespread. See Taylor's *XXV Sermons* (IV.657) and Izaak Walton's *Life of Dr. Donne*: " ... [I] commend this following consideration: That there be many pious and learned men that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a

particular *guardian Angel*, to be his constant monitor ...". (*Lives of Donne and Herbert*, edited by S.C.Roberts (Cambridge, 1949), p.20-21.)

96. capable of help] Able to be affected by (medical) remedy.

108. imposthumations] Formations of an imposthume, that is, a pus-filled swelling or abscess.

112. decoctions] Digestions. Food was thought to be absorbed by a process analagous to cooking.

125. it falls ... apace] Psalm 58.7: *Let them melt away as waters which run continually.*

140. Nature ... art] Cp. Florio's Montaigne I.30 (Everyman, p.219): *All things (saith Plato) are produced, either by nature, by fortune, or by art.*

150-51. inter se ... tradunt] Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II.76. Also quoted by Montaigne I.19 (Everyman, p.87). Taylor was undoubtedly looking at Maontaigne's quotation since it misses out three lines of the original. The translation of the lines quoted is "mortal creatures live dependent one upon another/ and like runners pass on the torch of life".

156. Lazarus] There are two Lazaruses in the Bible. Taylor is probably referring to the story of Dives and Lazarus in Luke 16 here as he goes on to discuss this in line 170 onwards. The other Lazarus was the brother of Martha and Mary who was also raised from the dead by Jesus in John 11.

156. the widows ... Nain] Luke 7.11.

157. Tabitha] Alias Dorcas, she was resurrected by St.Peter in Acts 9.36.

167. the maiden of twelve years old] Luke 8.42,49.

173. bands of nature] Fetters of the mortal body.

178-79. saw ... more] Psalm 49.19.

185-86. Blessed are they ... power] Revelation 20.6.

188. written in the book] Revelation 13.8.

190. dead ... sins] Ephesians 2.1.

192. from ... life] John 5.24.

197. haled] An early form of *hauled*.

197–99. from ... day] Jude 6.

199. in sensu favoris] In the favoured sense.

205. vessels of wrath] Romans 9.22.

206. not ... scattering] Matthew 12.30.

208–09. all ... sun] Ubiquitous phrase in Ecclesiastes, but does not occur elsewhere in the Bible.

209–13. Agamemnon ... us] Most of this passage is adapted from Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I.37. "... there is no difference between a HIppocentaur who has never existed and King Agamemnon, and ... M.Camillus makes no more account of the present civil war than I should make now of the capture of Rome in his lifetime?"

211. Hippocentaur] Synonym for "centaur". Early conceptions of the centaurs (for example, in *The Iliad*) saw them as a race of men. "HIppocentaur" was sometimes used to denote the later concept of the half horse and half man of mythology.

211. Cicero ... conspirac[illegible]] Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, 67 and *Pro Plancia*, 85.

214. Camillus] Probably Marcus Furius Camillus, Roman soldier and dictator of the fourth century BC.

224. considerable] Worthy of consideration.

224–27. Aristotle ... rescind] *Nicomachean Ethics* I.11: *That the happiness of the dead is not influenced at all by the fortunes of their descendants and their friends in general seems too heartless a doctrine, and contrary to accepted beliefs.* However, Aristotle goes on to say that what happens to the living doesn't affect the dead enough to change their happy/unhappy state.

227. rescind] Abrogate, annul, revoke or cancel.

227–41. And the Church … our state] Taylor's own views about the function of the saints in the Church as a whole is dealt with in his sermon entitled "The Faith and Patience of the Saints" which is in *XXVIII Sermons*. In this Taylor says of the visible Church: " … as Christ's blood did cement the corner-stones, and the first foundations; so the blood and sweat, the groans and sighings, the afflictions and mortifications, of saints and martyrs, did make the superstructures, and must at last finish the building". A succinct statement of the Anglican Church's teaching on the matter of devotion to the saints is given by Herbert Thorndike.

> … the exercise of that Communion which all member's of God's Church hold with all member's of it, ordained by God, for the means to obtain for one another the grace which the obedience of Our Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased for us without difference, whether dead or alive; because we stand assured that they have the same affection for us, dead or alive, so far as they know us and our estate, and are obliged to desire and esteem their prayers for us, as for all the members of Christ's Mystical Body.

Herbert Thorndike, *An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England* (1659).

229–31. S.Ambrose … world] St.Ambrose, *De Excessu Fratris* I.78, LMigne 16.1372.

239–49. And we … find it] Taylor deals with duties to the dead in *Holy Dying* (III.452–53).

246. S.Paul … Onesiphorus] *Margin:* 2 Tim 1.18.

250. Relict] The surviving spouse. This usage still survives in Scots legal terminology.

250. woman … new relations] Historical research has shown that the number of remarriages among widows greatly declined in the seventeenth century. This may have been for economic reasons but the influence of the church was not negligible. St.Paul, in 1 Timothy 5, provided a biblical precedent for the disapproval of remarrying widows because they "cast off their first faith". The church fathers elaborated on this theme and it was also taken up by Vives in his *Instruction of a Christian Woman*. It is therefore rather surprising to find Taylor defending the woman's right to remarry here. See Barbara J.Todd, "Remarrying Widows" in *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, edited by Mary Prior (London, 1985).

264. solennities] Alternative spelling of *solemnities*.

266–72. For so have ... grave] This passage is undoubtedly inspired by Florio's Montaigne III.13 (Everyman p.352). *You cannot be recovered; for the most you can be but tampered withall, and somewhat under propt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.* Montaigne then quotes four lines from Maximianus and Florio adds a translation.

269–70. *Donec certa ... auxilium*] Maximianus, alias Cornelius Gallus, elegy 1.173. Florio's translation reads: *Till all the frame dissolv'd a certaine day,/ The props with th'edifice doth oversway.*

278. the thinking heart] See Robert Sanderson, *Two Sermons* (1635), p.306: *The heart ... is ... very often in Scripture ... taken more largely, so as to comprehend the whole soul ... and consequently taketh in the thoughts, as well as the desires of the soul.* See, for example, Isaiah 10.7: *... he meaneth not so, nor does his heart think so.*

278. working hand] Possibly allusion to 1 Corinthians 4.12: *And labour working with our own hands ..*

285–86. for which ... in houses] Ecclesiastes 12.5: *... man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.* However, it was not uncommon for persons of dignity to hire professional mourners to follow the hearse. Perhaps Taylor implies that this was done for Lady Carbery. John Gauden gives an interesting insight into funeral customs in his *Funerals made Cordials: In a Sermon ... Preached at the solemn Interment of the Corps of the Right Honourable Robert Rich* (1658). He begins by defending the Anglican funeral rite against the "supercilious browes" of the "super-reforming Reformers". But he then warns

> ... if you know not how to make a holy, rational and religious use of their *death*, much good may you have with those *dumb shewes* which you have lately taken up, with your silent solemnities and processions at the *Funerals of your Christian friends*; much comfort may you have in your *burnt wine* and *biscuits*; in your *black cloaks* and *ribbands*; in your *mourning gloves* and *boxes of sweet-meats*; which you somtimes get and gape for at *Funerals* (p.95).

See also "Funerals" in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London, 1970–83), X, 152–153.

287–88. Ζεὺς ... ἐστίν] *Margin* Il.γ, i.e. Homer, *The Iliad*, γ.309. "But this I ween Zeus knoweth, and the other immortal gods, for which of the twain the doom of death is ordained".

292–304. Vain are ... after it] Cp. Montaigne I.57 (Everyman, p.369):

> What fondnesse is it, for a man to think he shall die, for, and through, a failing and defect of strength, which extreme age draweth with it, and to propose that terme unto our life, seeing it is the rarest kind of all deaths and least in use? We only call it naturall, as if it were against nature to see a man breake his necke with a fall; to be drowned by shipwracke; to be surprised with pestilence, and as if our ordinarie condition did not present these inconveniences unto us all. Let us not flatter ourselves with these fond-goodly words; a man may peradventure rather call that naturall, which is generall, common and universall. To die of age, is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much lesse naturall than others.

Taylor's sermon and Montaigne's essay *Of Age* continue along parallel lines for some time after this passage.

313. passe] Situation.

314–15. God ... person] Galatians 2.6.

320–21. shall we go ... seen] Psalm 39.13.

322–23. Miser ... vitae] Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, III.898–99. Quoted by Montaigne I.19 (Everyman. p82). Translation: "poor man, poor man, they say, one fatal day has robbed you of all these prizes of life".

330–35. When Pompey ... nihil] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, III.1–45. Translation of the Latin quotation reads : "either no feeling remains to the soul after death, or death itself matters not at all".

332. presently] At that time.

338–39. longae ... est] Lucan, *Pharsalia* I.457: *If their tale be true, death is but a point in the midst of continuous life.*

341. comfortable] Encouraging, reassuring.

342–43. God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob] A most common phrase ubiquitous in both seventeenth-century literature and the Bible, for example, Exodus

3.6,15,16.

343. all do live to him] Luke 20.38.

343-47. I desire ... heavens] *Margin: vide* 1 Cor[inthians].15.18. 1 Thess[alonians] 4.16. Rev[elation] 14.13. John 5.24. These are references to general proofs of resurrection rather than to the source of Taylor's quotations.

343-44. I desire ... better] A liberal adaptation of Philippians 1.23: *... having a desire to depart and to be with Christ; which is far better.*

344-46. blessed ... follow them] Revelation 14.3

346-47. our ...heavens] Mark 14.58.

348-49. S.Paul ... Lord] 2 Corinthians 5.8.

352. clothed ... making] A concatenation of 2 Corinthians 5.2, *... earnestly desiring to be clothed with our house which is from heaven*, and 2 Corinthians 5.1, *... we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God.*

353. all tears ... eyes] Revelation 7.17 and 21.4, echoing Isaiah 25.8.

358. Kingdomes ... world] Revelation 11.15.

361-62. tanquam ... domo] Hebrews 11.9 has "tanquam In allena", i.e. "as In a strange country". The phrase "in domo aliena", "In the house of a stranger" occurs in Proverbs 5.10.

367. proportions] I have emended this from the copy-text's "propositions" for two reasons. First, there is no definition in the OED which can make the word "propositions" fit into this passage comfortably. Secondly, "proportions" is obviously consistent with the meaning since the passage discusses the true and distorted appearance of things.

369-73. and we here ... impotent] Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, I.119 cites the example of an oar thrust Into water In his argument for concluding that the senses are weak and unreliable. Montaigne I.41 (Everyman p.290) also cites this example, *A straight oare being under water seemeth to be crooked.*

373–74. At cum … venerit] "But when it shall go out into the free heaven likewise shall it come to its own home". Source unidentified as yet.

383–84. Among beasts … have] Cp. Montaigne I.42 (Everyman p.294): *Plutarke saith in some place,* That he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie betweene man and man. *He speaketh of the sufficiencie of the minde, and of internall qualities.* Possibly the source is not Plutarch but Pliny's *Natural History* VII.12.52: " … the reason why there are more differences in man than in all the other animals is that his swiftness of thought and quickness of mind and variety of mental character impress a great diversity of patterns, whereas the minds of the other animals are sluggish, and are alike for all and sundry, each in their own kind".

393–94. Christ died … with him] *Margin:* 1 Thesssalonians 5.10.

408–09. S.Paul … body] 2 Corinthians 12.3.

414. immissions] Insertions, the opposite of "emissions".

437. Prisoners of hope] Zechariah 9.12.

443. the body … out of tune] The ubiquitous image of the soul as a harmony and the body as an instrument out of tune has its source in Plato, *Phaedo* 85E–86D.

460. Tables] Either as in tablets, for writing on, or as in tables at the front of a book, i.e. an orderly list of contents.

464. Simonides] Simonides of Ceos (c.556–468 B.C.) is usually recognised as the originator of the mnemonic art. See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria,* XI.2.11, Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations,* I.24.59 and Pliny, *Natural History,* VII.24.89.

464. Theodectes] A rhetorician (c.375–334 B.C.) admired by Aristotle, "his memory was so strong, that he could repeat any number of verses after they had been read to him only once". See Quintilian and Cicero as cited above.

465. Hortensius] Quintus Hortensius Hortaus (114–50 B.C.), orator and consul. See Quintilian, XI.2.22,26 and Pliny, VII.24.89.

465. Seneca] The Elder Seneca gives an account of his own excellent memory in the Preface to his *Controversiae,* I.

465. Scepsius Metrodorus] Metrodorus of Scepsis. See Quintilian and Pliny as cited for **Hortensius.**

465. Carneades] Carneades (c.214–129 B.C.) was the founder of the New Academy and an influence on Cicero. His inclusion here is probably a mistake. As the mistake is not demonstrably the compositor's or even Taylor's I have not emended. The correct name is probably Charmadas or Charmades. In his *Institutio Oratoria*, XI.2, Quintilian mentions almost all the men that Taylor mentions here as notable for their memories and Quintilian is probably the source of this part of the sermon. However, at XI.2.26 he speaks of "Charmadas and Metrodorus of Scepsis", not "Carneades". Cicero also mentions Charmadas in his *Tusculan Disputations*, I.24. It is possible, however, that the error may have been contained in early editions of these writers and that Taylor intended "Carneades".

465. Cineas] Friend and ambassador to Pyrrhus at Rome. See Pliny, the Elder Seneca and Cicero in the places cited above.

467. Herod's son of Athens] I have no idea who is meant here.

467. Bathyllus] Pythagorean philosopher; there is an account of him in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, VIII.83 but no clue as to why Taylor cited him as an example here.

477–79. (as S.Paul ... accepted of him] A combination of 1 Thessalonians 5.10 and 2 Corinthians 5.9.

480–81. light of his countenance] Psalm 89.15.

487. I have ... Sermon] That the deceased was another "text" on which to be preached was among the most common of commonplaces. Taylor uses it here and in his sermon for Sir George Dalston: *I have now done with my text, and been the expounder of this part of the Divine oracle: but here is another text and another Sermon* (lines 756–57). See also, for example, Edmund Barker, *A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of ... Lady Elizabeth Capell* (1661). Barker says that every man's life is a holy text. Scripture is *a legible, this [the deceased] is a visible Text ... A Text affording much plenty and variety of seasonable matter, both for the more vigorous quickning of your affections for the present, and also for the future example of your piety.*

492-93. When Martha ... Sermon] John 11.1-45.

499. I chose ... genealogy] This is a variation on the formal requirements as outlined in the introduction and one often used. Robert Boreman, *A Mirrour of Christianity* (1669) shows the purpose of this disinclination: *Her being descended from, and related to an Ancient Noble Family is the slenderest part or piece of her Character and Glory.*

544-53. She had ... her Lord.] Francis Cheynell, *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism* (1643), in a passage which specifically mentions Taylor, complains that " the men of this strain" began to refer to Christ as "Lord" and "Master" and that hence "you could scarce tell ... whether they did respect Christ or their Patrone most" (p.46). Cheynell's allegation seems to have specific relevance here.

549-51. Si gaudet ... Naevius est] Martial, *Epigrams*, I.68.4, translating here as "If glad, if tearful, if mute of him she speaks. She dines, she drinks healths, asks, denies or nods: Naevius is everything". This is a strange and interesting usage of Martial's original. In the original epigram the name is Naevia (feminine) not Naevius (masculine). The subject of the epigram is Rufus who, in Martial's view, is irrationally besotted with Naevia. Naevia is presented as two-faced, untrustworthy and certainly unworthy of Rufus's devotion. Could Taylor's adaptation of Martial have been an adverse comment on the Earl of Carbery? Either this or Taylor must have copied his quotation from a commonplace book and adapted it without knowledge of its source.

552. enamell] Figurative usage with the idea of an additional or perfecting adornment.

553-89. the virtue ... relations] Taylor gives the impression that he is praising his patron, Lord Carbery, here. Anthony Walker, *The Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker* (1690), provides evidence that praising a man obliquely through his wife was a not unknown practice. He relates that he is anxious "for the avoiding an *Envidious Suspition* that I design my own *Honour* behind the Curtain, and would slily *steal* a *Reputation* under Pretence of *praysing* her". It was generally thought, following from 1 Corinthians 14, that husbands were responsible for educating their wives in things both temporal and spiritual. Thus to praise the wife was to praise the husband. See extracts from Vives' *The office and dutles of an husband* (1550) in Foster Watson, *Vives and the Renascence Education of*

Women (London, 1912). Taylor's epistles to *Holy Dying* and *XXVIII Sermons* also offer this oblique praise to Carbery as does the Latin epitaph.

564. relishes] Samples, with connotations of tasting.

569–70. She forsook ... her God] *Margin*: Proverbs 2.17.

573. curious] Careful, attentive.

611–12. a very ... preached] See Epistle Dedicatory to *XXVIII Sermons*: *My Lord, I shall but prick your tender eye if I shall remind your lordship how diligent a hearer, how careful a recorder, how prudent an observer, how sedulous a practiser, of holy discourses she was* ... Being "a recorder" implies the common practice of taking down sermons in note form, in Lady Carbery's case because *she was desirous to place before her eye, that by those windows they might enter in and dwell in her heart...*

612. sometimes] I.e. sometime; in the past.

624. readily ... work] 2 Timothy 3.17.

625. prevented] Anticipated, met beforehand.

626. She drinks ... river] Psalm 36.8.

632. Bonum ... adolescentia] An adaptation of Lamentations 3.27.

638. jealous] Solicitous, vigilant in caring.

640. intail a curse] There is a sermon entitled "The Descending and Entailed Curse Cut Off" in *XXVIII Sermons* (IV.357).

651. parcels] Portions.

651. accounts] Statements about conduct or responsibilities. Sometimes means specifically the final accounts of conduct required at the judgment seat of God.

658. trimm'd her lamp] Matthew 25.7.

660. Altar of incense] Exodus 30.27.

666. Fiscus] Literally, the public funds held by a provincial governor or the

Emperor, as opposed to the Senate.

669. neighbour] Situated close to a thing.

676. camphyre] I.e. camphor.

692–93. like one ... hand] Proverbs 29.16.

699. Magnifica ... excutit] Seneca, *Troades*, 575. "When death draws near It drives out boastful words".

707. sic ... gauderet] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I.74: "departed from life with a feeling of joy in having found a reason for death". Also quoted in Montaigne II.11 (Everyman p.111).

712. Grave est ... jugum] Seneca, *De Providentia*, IV.7. "To the tender neck the yoke is heavy".

714–15. Emori ... non curo] Sir Thomas Browne, in section 44 of *Religio Medici* uses this quotation. He translates "I would not die, but care not to be dead". However, in Montaigne II.13 (Everyman p.330), the form is the standard one of *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihili aestimo*: "I do not want to die, but being dead I reckon as nothing". This case is a good support for the policy of not standardising quotations according to modern editions.

731–37. She had ... I shall be saved] The form of this passage is very common both in sermons and other biographical writing. In the cause of representing exemplary death, the deceased is described as having some kind of spiritual experience and revelation of their future death and salvation. There is a famous example in Izaak Walton's life of Herbert: *And having obtained Mr.Woodnot's promise ... he said, "I am now ready to die". After which words he said, "Lord forsake me not now my strength faileth me: but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus. And now Lord, Lord, receive my soul".* (*Lives of Donne and Herbert*, ed.Roberts (1949), p.113.) Compare also, R[obert] B[oreman], *A Mirrour of Christianity ... the Life and Death of ... Alice, Dutchess Duddely* (1669) and *A Funerall Sermon Preached by Dr.Gouge ... At the Funeralls of Mrs. Margaret Ducke* (1646).

733. deliquium] Literally, an eclipse of a heavenly body but used of mystical experience in later Latin. The word appears in Andrewes (*Ninety-Six Sermons*,

V.268) and in Hammond (*Thirty-one Sermons*, p.158) where it means a trance or out-of-body experience.

736. book of life] The book containing the names of the saved as frequently referred to in the Book of Revelation.

745. abbreviature] The process of abbreviating or shortening.

748-49. Jucundum ... ver ageret] Catullus, LXVIII.16. Also quoted by Montaigne I.19 (Everyman p.80). In James Michie's translation: "in the gay green-leaved spring of my youth".

768. fond] Foolishly tender or doting.

776. materiall] Serious, attending to serious things.

781-82. Et cum ... meos] Martial, *Epigrams*, I.88.9. "And when Lachesis shall have spun to their end my latest years, I charge that in none other sort my ashes lie".

786-87. Nemo ... munere] "No-one has lived too short a life who has performed the perfect duty of perfect virtue". Source unidentified as yet.

798. Mors illos ... laudant] Seneca, *De Providentia*, II.12. "Death consecrates those whose end even those who fear must praise".

A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of that worthy Knight, ... Sr. George Dalston of Dalston in Cumberland.

Taylor's sermon for Sir George Dalston is interesting from two points of view. First, Taylor gives a detailed account of his understanding of the state of the separated soul. Secondly, his biography of Dalston accords with the Cavalier ethos of the mid-seventeenth century. The sermon begins conventionally with piled-up testimonies that the soul is immortal and then proofs of the miserable state of mortal man. But after the first three hundred lines and for the next four hundred, Taylor becomes bound up in the discussion of the state of the separated soul. A letter from Taylor to John Evelyn dated 29 August 1657 (I.lxvi-lxvii) sheds light on the commentary Evelyn appears to be writing on *De Providentia*[5] Evelyn has obviously expressed concurrence with the views of that essay. Taylor continues:

> But Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soule; that is, its agreeable^was to the apostles' creed, or current of scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing, I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other may be true. For the soul may be immortal, and yet not beatified until the resurrection. ... That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment, I doe believe next to an article of my religion ...The places of scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny.

Clearly then, the subject of Taylor's sermon for George Dalston is an extension of his discussion with John Evelyn and may have been a topic of debate generally among the London Anglican circle. Some parts of Taylor's teaching on the state of the soul after death had already been published in the last pages of *The Great Exemplar* (II.715-29), "Considerations upon the accidents happening in the interval after the death of the Holy Jesus, until his resurrection".

Although the least lauded and least discussed of Taylor's funeral sermons, the sermon for Sir George Dalston has many points of interest and has always been taken as the best source of his subject's biography. Willlam Hutchinson's *History of the County of Cumberland* (1794) and Samuel Jefferson's *History and*

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[5]One assumes that this is the essay by Seneca.

Antiquities of Carlisle (1838) are two works that quote Taylor at length. However, there is more to be said about Sir George Dalston than has been written in these or Taylor's work.

Sir George Dalston came from a family of influence in his native Cumberland. Several branches of the Dalston family existed and Sir George's was distinguished by the title Dalston of Dalston. The family seat of Dalston Hall lies a little way north-west of the village of Dalston and a few miles south-west of Carlisle. Sir George inherited the Hall from his father Sir John Dalston (1556-1633) with twelve other estates in Westmorland and Cumberland. Sir George matriculated Fellow-Commoner from Queen's College, Cambridge *ca.* 1596 but his date of birth is unknown.[6] He had a half-sister born in 1580, the daughter of Sir John and his first wife, and a younger brother born in 1595.[7] On 11 February 1604, he married Catherine Tamworth, co-heiress of John Tamworth of Hallstead, Leicestershire and received through her a third share in eight further estates worth £3,600 per annum. Catherine Dalston died in 1614, having had six children. The eldest of these was her son William, of whom more later.

Although Taylor states that Sir George was MP for Cumberland for forty years, this cannot be strictly true. The first list of MPs in which he appears is that of the third parliament of James I, beginning in 1620.[8] He is not in the list for 1603 but there is no list available for the parliament beginning 1614. The last list in which he appears is that of the members assembled at the King's Anti-Parliament at Oxford from 22 January to 16 April 1644. Taylor's statement could only be true if Dalston was a member of the 1614 parliament and his "disablement" from sitting as an MP, because he was a member of the King's parliament at Oxford, is disregarded. This would mean he was considered an MP up until his death, since the formal dissolution of the Long Parliament did not take place until 1660. The *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* shows that he was captain of the fort of Carlisle in 1608 and "captain of the citadel" of Carlisle in 1633. A series of letters spanning the period November

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[6] *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* edited by John and J. A. Venn, Part 1, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922), II, p.5.

[7] [John] Francis Haswell, "The Family of Dalston", *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series, X (1910), pp.201-70.

[8] William Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England* 12 vols. (London, 1806-12), I, p.1180.

1635–January 1637 refers to Dalston's role as a Parliamentary Commissioner. There are also a series of references to him as a J.P. for Westmorland in 1639. Sir George was created a knight bachelor at Whitehall on 26 June 1607.[9]

It is worth mentioning something of Sir George's heir, Sir William Dalston. He was born at Smardale, Westmorland, which was probably Sir George's home until he inherited Dalston Hall. Sir William is listed as having been admitted to St.John's College, Cambridge at the age of seventeen in 1631.[10] I rather think the date should be 1621, which would make his birthdate 1604. If he was seventeen in 1631, his birthdate would have been 1614. If his mother died in 1614 and he was the eldest of six children, this is impossible. Sir William was knighted on 31 July 1641 and created a baronet earlier the same year.[11] He was a Colonel of Horse in the King's army and an MP for Carlisle at the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640. He was at the Oxford parliament with his father in 1644.[12]

The last thing of importance to note about Sir George Dalston and his son are the reports of their sufferings in the Royalist cause. Both were disabled from sitting as MPs for their "deserting the service of the house", that is, being with the King at Oxford in 1644. Cokayne (*Complete Baronetage*) reports of Sir William that "during the rebellion both he and his father were great sufferers, paying as much as £3,700 to the sequestrators". A longer report says:

> Sir George Dalston ... was a zealous royalist, and, with his son, Sir William, suffered considerably from his attachment to the king's interest. During the severe and long protracted siege of Carlisle by the parliamentary forces in 1644–45, he was compelled to retire before General Lesley, who seized upon his mansion, and converted it into his headquarters, while the siege continued.[13]

Despite the fact that it lasted from October 1644 to June 1645, very little was written about the siege of Carlisle at the time and nothing further has come to light about the seizure of Dalston Hall. However, further information about the Dalstons' sequestration is available in *The Calendar of the Committee for*

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[9] William Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), II, p.142.
[10] *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* II, p.5.
[11] George E. Cokayne, *The Complete Baronetage*, 6 vols. (Exeter, 1902), II, p.81.
[12] Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, II, p.605 and III, p.219.
[13] Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Carlisle*, p.344.

Compounding (15 November 1645, pp.960-61). This shows that Sir George Dalston was fined £700 for having sat as an M.P. at Oxford plus a further £220 which was originally charged on his son. Sir William had originally been fined £3,600 but managed to get this reduced to £3000 on the grounds that he had taken the Oath and Covenant, he had never opposed Parliament's forces in the field and he had voluntarily submitted to Parliament on 2 July 1644. No such facts are recorded about Sir George who apparently accepted his fate without protest, an act which no doubt contributed to his reputation as sufferer for the King's cause.

Whether Taylor was acquainted with Dalston before his last illness and death is debatable. Certainly he could not have known him well. Throughout the biographical part of the sermon Taylor implies that he is not qualified to speak personally of his subject's life. For example, at line 893 he says "I have heard it told by them that knew his life" and similarly at line 888. However, their paths might have crossed in several ways. First, Dalston's estate at Hallstead, Leicestershire was only a few miles from Taylor's living at Uppingham. Secondly, it is just possible that Taylor met William Dalston at Cambridge. Thirdly, Taylor was probably in Oxford at the time of the King's parliament in 1644 and may have met either of the Dalstons there. A contemporary parliamentarian newspaper reported that Taylor had been "packt out of his Rutland-shire living for Malignancy and forced to return again to All-Soules Colledge for shelter." [14] *Mercurius Aulicus* reported his sequestration on 11 May 1644 but it is likely to have taken place some time before this. However, whether Taylor had met Dalston or not, the latter's Royalist credentials were probably sufficient for him to have preached his funeral sermon.

Something needs to be said about the publisher of this sermon, for this is Taylor's only work of the period 1648-1660 that was not published by Richard Royston. Professor William P. Williams quotes a letter to Evelyn of 4 June, 1659: "Sir, Mr.Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, in S.Paul's Churchyard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives he transmits to me carefully; and so will Mr.Royston though I do not often imploy him now".[15] Williams also quotes a letter of 9 April 1659 which names Allestrye, at the Bell,

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[14] *Mercurius Britannicus*, No.54, 14-21 October 1644.

[15] *A Bibliography of Jeremy Taylor to 1700* (DeKalb, Ill., 1971), 89.

as Taylor's correspondent. Professor Williams concludes that there "must have been some coldness" between Taylor and Royston and then adds that perhaps "it may have been thought insecure to send much correspondence through Royston".

At first sight, there seems no clear reason why James Allestrye, John Martin and Thomas Dicas should be preferred as publishers. The major figure here is James Allestrye. According to Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers, 1641-1700* Allestrye had a shop at the sign of the Bell, in St. Paul's Churchyard from 1652 to 1664. It was a very large shop patronised by the wealthy and learned. Allestrye published jointly with John Martin until 1658 (not 1660 as Plomer states) when their joint venture was joined by Thomas Dicas. In the years 1656-59 the bulk of their published works was in foreign languages including grammars and works by Euclid and Hippocrates. Hence, the publication of Taylor's sermon was a diversion for them.

No demonstrable reason for the change of publisher is available. However, a number of facts about both James Allestrye and Richard Royston at this time are available and point to an interesting state of affairs. First, it is clear that Richard Royston was heavily involved in the affairs of the Hammond/Sheldon party. A glance at the works published by him between 1640 and 1660 shows that he was the chief publisher of Anglican polemical and devotional works during this period. Further, a number of letters from prominent members of the Anglican party show that he was a major participant in their attempts to organise and maintain an Anglican resistance to the Cromwellian government via the printing press. For example, Hammond wrote to Ussher on 10 December 1650 that any "notes for the press" the latter would care to communicate to him should be given to Royston who "will safely convey them to me".[16] Letters from Hammond of 5 February 1649, 7 October 1650, 6 December 1650 and 10 June 1651 clearly demonstrate that Royston was a conveyor of messages, proofs and books as well as a publisher completely at the behest of Hammond himself who was directing the "resistance" from his country retreat in Bedfordshire. Royston had been fined and imprisoned on several occasions in 1645, 1649 and 1653.

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16 "Illustrations of the State of the Church during the Great Rebellion", *The Theologian and Ecclesiastic* Vols VI-XVI (1848-54), VI, 128.

James Allestrye was also known by Hammond, Sheldon and their party. His kinsman was Richard Allestree, the Anglican divine and member of Christ Church who had many of his sermons published after the Restoration. A letter from George Morley to Sheldon of 12 July 1653 mentions that all the latter's requests for books had been met by purchases at Allestrye's shop. (*Theologian and Ecclesiastic*, XIII, 244.) The preaching of funeral sermons by Anglicans was a grave offence at the time Taylor preached at the funeral of George Dalston. A number of facts point towards a single conclusion. First, Taylor is styled "J.T." on the title-page. This occurs on one other work only: the *Discourse on Friendship* (1657) printed for Richard Royston. It is unusual to find a work by Taylor with such a surreptitious reference to its authorship. Secondly, as my introductory essay demonstrates (p.xix), Taylor was soon (December 1657) to be called to account for his preaching activities. Thirdly, although the sermon was preached in September 1657, it was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 16 June 1658, one day after Conway wrote to Rawdon reporting that he had procured Cromwell's pass for Taylor's journey to Ireland. Given that Royston was known to the authorities as an Anglican "agent" it does not seem impossible that the change of publisher was a matter of expediency. Humphrey Robinson's letter to Joseph Williamson of 30 September 1657 says that Taylor's sermon was "preacht soe accurate[ly] and with that variety of warninge that I hope we may see it in print".[17] Robinson does not mention *where* the sermon was preached but it was almost certainly in a private house. A short article by W.J.Brown[18], describing a manuscript by John Evelyn which contains summaries of sermons by Taylor of the period 1654-59, shows that the four sermons Evelyn attended after 1655 were all preached "in a private place" or "house", whereas the Duke of Rutland's chapel and St.Gregory's church had been venues for his London preaching before this date. The reason is obvious: Anglican preaching was not to be tolerated after 1655. I take the word "accurately" to mean that Taylor's delivery was unusually precise or careful and indicating that he was preaching according to some previously laid-out model. This could imply that the sermon was read but it is more likely Robinson perceived that Taylor had memorised his sermon from a fully written copy. Robinson recognised this as a hint ("warninge") that the sermon was to be

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[17] State Papers Domestic, 18/156.

[18] "Jeremy Taylor's Sermons", *Times Literary Supplement*, 11 January 1952, 25.

printed.

An alternative theory might be connected with John Evelyn. John Martin and James Allestrye published Evelyn's *Sylva, Or A Discourse of Forest-Trees and the Propagation of Timber* (1664), and also his *Pomona* (1664) and *Kalendarium Hortense* (1666), in their capacity as Printers to the Royal Society. It is very possible that it was Evelyn who instigated the publication of this sermon and that he was already acquainted with Allestrye and Martin.

6. vex the souls] Job 19.2.

18. Captain ... sufferings.] Hebrews 2.10.

22. it behoved ... glory.] Hebrews 2.10.

28–31. And therefore Cicero ... evil men.] I have been unable to identify the source of this reference. In *Tusculan Disputations*, I.98, Cicero, quoting from Plato's *Apology*, 41B, says "What delight should I feel [in the after-life] at meeting Palamedes, at meeting Ajax and at meeting others overthrown by an unjust sentence?" The other names listed by Taylor are not cited here. Either Taylor added them himself or he is referring to an intermediate source.

30. Orpheus] Orpheus is reputed to have been torn to pieces by the followers of Dionysius.

31. Socrates] He was sentenced to death by drinking hemlock. His last hours are related in Plato's *Phaedo*.

31. Palamedes] In the post-Homeric cycle of Trojan legend, Palamedes was drowned by Odysseus and Diomedes.

31. Thraseas] Thrasea Paetus, a Stoic philosopher who was condemned to death by Nero in 66 AD.

31. Lucretia] She was raped by Tarquinius Superbus and later committed suicide. The fullest account of her story occurs in Livy I.58.2.

31. Papinian] The Roman jurist Aemilius Papinianus (b. *ca.* 140 AD) was guardian to Geta and Caraculla, his friend's sons. Caraculla had him put to death in the year 212.

32-33. εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθες ... ἀποδέδεικται] Very close to Plato, *Phaedo*, 77A: "it does not seem to me proved that it [the soul] will still exist when we are dead".

34-35. Abel died ... Cain] Genesis 4.2-8. Jesus described Abel as "righteous" in Matthew 23.35.

40. opprobrious] Attended by shame or infamy. Taylor can only mean this in a physical sense, i.e. that excellent men have died obscure or humiliating deaths while at the same time their souls are worthy of immortality.

48-51. Apotheoses ... Corne] The religious ceremony of ἀποθεωσιν or *consecratio* was a rite involving the deification of any person who had performed great things in the service of humanity. The source of this passage is Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II.xxiv: "Human experience moreover and general custom have made it a practice to confer the deification of renown and gratitude upon distinguished benefactors. This is the origin of Hercules, of Castor and Pollux, of Aesculapius, and also of Liber ... and this also is the origin of Romulus".

49. braver] "Brave" here means "admirable" or "worthy". Taylor deprecates the practice of *apotheosis* by his use of the comparative in order to show that those who could obtain the status of gods were not so very much removed from the condition of every man.

50. Castor, and Pollux] The Dioscuri, the sons of Zeus, were worshipped as gods from 484 BC and had several temples consecrated to them in Rome.

50-51. Liber Pater ... Corne] Liber Pater was an Italian god of fertility and especially wine who was associated with Dionysius. However, Cicero distinguishes the "Liber" mentioned in his passage (in *De Natura Deorum*, II.xxiv) from this figure. Liber Pater must be *him that taught the use of Vines* and his partner Libera, who was an associate of Ceres, must be *her that taught them the use of Corne* in Taylor's citation. Clearly, Taylor was confused as to whom Cicero was referring.

54. Pherecydes the Syrian] That is, Pherecydes of Syros *ca.* 600-550 BC. He was the teacher of Pythagoras and the first to maintain the transmigration of souls. Cicero mentions him as the first to maintain the immortality of the soul

in *Tusculan Disputations*, I.xvi.38.

54. Pythagoras of Samos] The best account of Pythagoras's beliefs is given in Diogenes Laertius, VIII.14.

55. Zamolxis the Gete] Zamolxis or Samolxis was a deity of the Getae who taught them Greek and Egyptian ideas about immortality. There is an account of him in Herodotus IV.95.

55. Neighbours of Euphrates] Taylor probably means the Babylonians. His source is likely to be Herodotus but I have been unable to pinpoint the reference.

55–56. the inhabitants ... Immortalists] Herodotus describes these people at IV.93 although he does not give them a name but says they "pretend to be immortal". The Ister, by which they were said to live, was the Greek name for the lower Danube.

57–59. ὅτι ὐκ ... ἄγαθα] Herodotus IV.95: he says that Pythagoras taught the Immortalists that none *should ever die, but that they should go to a place where they would live for ever and have all good things*.

62–63. Hercules ... this truth.] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I.32–35, mentions all the names cited here except, of course, his own and that of Socrates. However, Cicero's meaning is that the deeds of great men belie a belief in life after death or "who would be such a madman as to pass his life continually in toil and peril"? Taylor's use of the word "preach" here may allude to the commonplace that a man's life is a visible sermon.

62. Themistocles] Athenian democratic statesman, *ca.* 528–462 BC.

62. Epaminondas] Theban commander d.362 BC.

62. Cimon] Cimon the second, Athenian statesman and soldier.

62. Ennius] Quintus Ennius, b.329 BC, was known as the "father of Roman poetry". In Horace, *Epistles*, II.1.50, he is referred to as claiming that Homer's soul had transmigrated to his body.

63. Phidias] Athenian sculptor b.*ca.* 490 BC.

63–64. Κυριώτερα ...μὴ] Plato, *Epistles*, 311D: "the divinings of men who are godlike are of more authority than those of men who are not".

64–65 οἱ δὲ ... ἀκούωσιν] Plato, *Epistles*, 311C: "the most upright do all they can to ensure that they shall be well spoken of in the future".

68–69. τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ... ἐνθάδε] Plato, *Epistles*, 311C: "Now I count this is a proof that the dead have some perception of things here on earth."

69–71. αἱ δε ...φάσι] Plato, *Epistles* 311D: "for the best souls divine that this is so, while the worst deny it".

72–73. yet ... say so] Earlier in Epistle II (311A), which is Taylor's source here, Plato cites various eminent Greek men as illustration of how people will talk of others after their death. He does not say that these eminencies believed in life after death. However, perhaps the words "say so" are roughly as "preach" in lines 62–63.

85. tumults] Commotions or disturbances by a mob; insurrections. Taylor's meaning is that as civil disturbances can be quelled by the rule of law, the agitations of the passions (ruled by fire and water) can be allayed by the soul. The image is the commonplace of the body politic.

86–87 Λείπεται ... ἐνέργεία] Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, II.736b.27–29: "It remains, then, that Reason alone enters in, as an additional factor, from outside, and that it alone is divine, because physical activity has nothing whatever to do with the activity of reason".

89. God breathed ... life] Genesis 2.7. The Hebrew word for the soul is formed from the verb "to breathe".

98–102. Thus Orpheus ... Ape.] This passage is taken from Plato's *Republic*, X.620, from that part of the book which is usually referred to as the "Myth of Er" in which the protagonist enters the underworld and relates his findings to mortals on his return.

99. Thamyris] A Thracian bard, he claimed he could beat the Muses in a contest but they blinded him to make him forget his skill.

100–02. Tyrant princes ... pismires] This part of the passage does not appear

in *The Republic* "Pismires" are ants.

104–05. Herod ... another body] Mark 6.14.

105–06. the common ... Prophets] Matthew 16.14.

108. rencontres] Contests, meetings of opposing forces.

115. St.Paul ... extasy] 2 Corinthians 12.4. A full discussion of St.Paul's rapture may be found in the commentary on lines 418–26 below.

123–24. liberty ... sons of God] Romans 8.21: *... the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.*

129. Fiscus] In Rome, the Emperor's private purse as opposed to the public treasury. Taylor uses the word in the Carbery sermon, line 666.

151. changed into glories] 2 Corinthians 3.18: *[we] are changed into the same image from glory to glory.*

153. calamitous] Full of affliction and misery.

154–56. He that ... follow me] Matthew 16.24.

159. preach'd Christ crucified] 1 Corinthians 1.23.

170–71. his holy Name] A formulaic phrase throughout the New and Old Testaments.

175. eyes ... weeping] Lamentations 2.11: *Mine eyes do fail with tears.*

176. New Heavens ... Earth] Isaiah 65.17 and throughout the NT.

177. miserabili] The vulgate version of Taylor's text for this sermon reads *Si in hac vita tantum ... sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus.* Thus *miserabili* is probably a reference to the *miserabiliores* of this verse. However, in classical Latin *miserabili* has a meaning nearer "pitiable ones" than "miserable ones".

187. peevish] Malignant, harmful.

196. reserves] Things set apart for future use. In this case, things done in this world with view to the next.

197. conjugation] Combination, joining together.

204-12. but ... knife] Cp. Milton's *Lycidas* 113-31. The image of the devouring wolf comes from John 10.1-28. Wolves were often associated with Roman Catholics, particularly the Jesuits, in Taylor's time. The image of rotting sheep originates in Dante *Paradiso* XXIX.106-07.

214. Hierocles] A New Platonist *ca.* middle of the fifth century BC. He wrote a commentary on Pythagoras.

216. Sadducees] Jesus denied their views on the resurrection in Mark 12.18 and Luke 20.27. Josephus gives a detailed account of this sect in *The Jewish War.*

224-25. θεὸς ... μιθαπόδοτης] Εὐεργετης, "benefactor", is used to describe God in Hebrews 11.6. Both εὐεργετης and μιθαπόδοτης appear in the pseudepigraphical literature. However, I have been unable to locate this precise combination. It may be a compilation of Taylor's own.

227-28. He ... seek him] Hebrews 11.6.

232-33. τὸ ... συνεχῶς] Philo, *De Plantatione,* 89. "The title 'God Eternal' is equivalent to 'He that is, not sometimes gracious and sometimes not so, but continously and always ...'".

236-3 . Wherefore ... them a city] Hebrews 11.16.

239-40. God ... Jacob] Ubiquitous in the Bible but occurs first in Exodus 3.6, 15, 16.

243-51. Abraham ... a great way off] Broadly, these events are covered in Genesis 13-25.

249. the ejection of Ishmael] Genesis 21.9-20.

249. the lad] Ishmael is described as "the lad" in Genesis 21.17. The same term is applied to Isaac in Genesis 22.12.

250. Isaac's sacrifice] Genesis 22.1–20.

261. summed up by St.Peter] In 1 Peter 3–13.

262–63. St.Clement ... immortalis] "If God is just, the soul is immortal". St.Clement of Rome is known to have written only one work, the *Epistle to the Corinthians*, *ca.*96 AD, although a second epistle is attributed to him. However a number of works exist which have formerly been attributed to him but are now recognised as being composed by some other hand. The quotation here comes from *Recognitionum* III.40, GMigne I.1300.

267–68. therefore ... reward] Luke 14.14: *for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just*

272–73. God my ... Elihu] Job 35.10.

281. intermedial] Intermediary.

288. Jacob's ladder] Genesis 28.12, *And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it*

289. inlet] Admission, entrance.

291. Dives and Lazarus] The story of Dives and Lazarus, often cited in funeral sermons, occurs in Luke 16.19–31.

297. discubitus] The word occurs in the Vulgate at Ecclesiasticus 41.24 and Mark 12.39. The latter verse, which is clearly that in Taylor's mind, reads *et in primis cathedris sedere in synagogis, et primos discubitus in caenis*. The AV translates this as *And the chief seats in the synagogue, and the uppermost rooms at feasts*. However, as Taylor highlights here, the noun is formed from the supine stem of *discumbere*, to lie down.

298–99. John ... Jesus] John 21.20.

299–300. κόλπος ... Abraham] Luke 16.23, κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. The Authorised Version translates this as "Abraham's bosom" but Taylor is surely using catachresis in translating κόλπος as "bay" in this context. However, the word may signify "any bosom-like hollow, a bay or gulf" (Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*).

304–05. Blessed ... labours] Revelation 14.3.

324. presently] At present.

344–95. And now ... comforted] A useful gloss on this part of the sermon is provided in Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery* (1664), section IV (VI.193–204) and *The Second Part of the Dissuasive from Popery* (1668), book II, section II, "Of Purgatory" (VI.543–572). Taylor appears to have used much of the argument of the Dalston sermon in these places.

346–47. Justorum ... tormentum mortis] Wisdom 3.1. AV: *But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them.*

348–50. And ... Mount Tabor] Luke 9.30; Matthew 17.3; Mark 9.4.

351. praesentes apud Dominum] 2 Corinthians 5.8.

353. S.Paul ... alive] Philippians 1.23.

355–56. that day ... Paradise.] Luke 23.43.

356. without peradventure] Out of the realm of uncertainty, beyond question.

356–63. Now ... garden of Eden] Taylor's assessment here is supported by modern studies of the use of the term "paradise". The Septuagint used παράδεισος to translate the Hebrew *gan*, garden. So, in the OT, "paradise" was simply an earthly paradise or place of great beauty. However, in apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings the term came to denote the state of the blessed after death. For example, Testament of Abraham 20.14 and 1 Enoch 60.8. 1 and 2 Esdras are usually the first two books of the Apocrypha and the closest to OT sources. By "the time of Esdras" Taylor means simply "the time of the apocryphal writings".

364. comprecation] A praying together, a joint supplication.

364–65. Sit anima ... Eden.] Eden found this quotation in the *Thesaurus Antiquitatam Sacrum* of Ugolinus where it is listed as by Pesikta in his commentary on Deuteronomy. Taylor often gives Latin translations of Hebrew phrases: he either translated from the Hebrew himself or he is dependent on some Latin source such as Buxtorf. However, the phrase Taylor cites here is a commonplace blessing in Hebraic literature. Maimonides, for example, in his

Guide of the Perplexed, begins his Epistle: *My honored pupil Rabbi Joseph, may the rock guard you, son of Rabbi Judah, may his repose be in Paradise.*

366-67. let his ... unto him] John 15.16: *But when the comforter is come ...* The Testament of Levi, 18.10, tells how the gates of Paradise shall be opened to the Messiah at the Last Judgment.

374-76. Cicero ...consitum] The quotation is from *De Senectute*, 59. The Loeb edition translates it as "a certain well-planted park". Cicero is translating from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, IV.20.

376. Vivarium] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, II.20.4.

377. Pollux] *Onomasticon*, 9.13.

383-85. Λέγουσι ... εἰδησεως] Philo, *De Plantatione*, 36. *For they say that in the garden there are trees in no way resembling those with which we are familiar, but trees of Life, of Immortality, of Knowledge.*

393. ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παράδεἰσου] I have been unable to find a source for this.

394. παράκλησιν] A noun meaning "comfort, consolation", παράκλησιν appears in a number of NT passages, e.g. 2 Corinthians 1.4-7, 2 Thessalonians 2.16. However there is nowhere in the NT where this word is linked with paradise and I have not been able to find any other source where it is.

395. παράκλεῖται] Luke 16.25, in the story of Dives and Lazarus.

396-98. He knew ... Paradise] 2 Corinthians 12.2-4.

398-406. The raptures ... below.] Taylor deals with one of the most debated parts of scripture here. It is discussed in detail in Andrew T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet* (Cambridge, 1981). Not all commentators agree with Taylor that St.Paul does not place Paradise in the Third Heaven or that he speaks of two separate experiences here. Taylor describes the OT depiction of the heavens: a lower atmospheric heaven, a higher stellar heaven and finally the "heaven of heavens". Taylor evidently took this from Hugo Grotius's commentary on this place (*Annotationes* p.322). Grotius also says that *More Hebraeorum distinguitur mundus supremus a Paradiso.* Taylor takes this to

mean that the Jews did not identify Paradise with the Third Heaven. Taylor may also have been familiar with 2 Enoch 31.1: "I went out to the East, to the paradise of Eden, where rest has been prepared for the just, and it is open to the third heaven, and shut from this world". The ambiguity here gives the view that Paradise is not in the Third Heaven some authority. However, 2 Enoch 8.1, Apocalypse of Moses 37.5 and 3 Baruch 4.8 all imply that Paradise is situated in the Third Heaven. The Ascension of Isaiah places Paradise in the seventh heaven.

402. wrapt] An alternative spelling of rapt. .

410–11. To him ... of God] Revelation 2.7.

415–16. τὴν ... ψυχὴ] Philo, *De Opficio Mundi*, 154: "reverence towards God, the greatest of virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality".

420–21. They shall ... them] Revelation 3.4, *and they shall walk with me in white*, and 14.13 *and their works follow them*.

426. state of separation] It should be noted that Paradise is seen as the abode of the soul separated from the body as opposed to the soul reunited with the body in the resurrection.

426. Essenes] The sect and their doctrines are described in Josephus, *The Jewish War*, II.120–61. The Essenes were one of the three major Jewish sects, the others being the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

427–31. Χῶρον ... breaths] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, II.155: *a place which is not oppressed by rain or snow or heat but is refreshed by the ever gentle breath of the west wind*.

433–34. Diodorus Siculus] I.96 records how the Greeks, notably Orpheus, took ideas about Hades from the Egyptians.

434–39. Tertullian ... of men] *Apologeticus* 47, LMigne I. 581-88.

437–38. flaming sword ... Paradise] Genesis 3.24.

443–44. Ne rapias ... meorum] Psalm 102.24. The Vulgate of Sixtus V and Clement VIII reads *Ne rapias me in dimidio dierum meorum*. AV: *take me not*

away in mid-time of my days.

448. lost the sting] *O death where is thy sting?,* 1 Corinthians 15.55.

449. coronet] Taylor uses this word to denote the lesser glory of the state of separate souls as opposed to the "Crown" of the resurrection. "Crown of righteousness" appears in 2 Timothy 4.8.

464. μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ] With Abraham.

465-67. the analogy ... best place] Luke 14.8-11 refers to the customs of the Jewish feast. In the time of Jesus the Jews had adopted the Roman custom of lying on couches at the meal table. The most honourable guests were placed on the couch nearest to the master of the house.

475-76. S.John called Paradise] In Revelation 2.7.

480. S.Stephen ... spirit] Acts 7.59.

481-83. S.Polycarp ... κυρίῳ] "Because they are in the place that is due to them, beside the Lord", GMigne V.1013.

485-86. Scimus ... choris] "We know that our Nepotian is with Christ and in the choir of mingled saints". St.Jerome, Letter 60.7. To Heliodorum, Bishop of Altinum, to console him for his nephew Nepotian's death.

493. under the Altar] Revelation 6.9 : *I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God.*

498-500. Councel ... disquieted] The Council of Eliberis (Illiberis or Elvira) took place *ca.* 300 AD. Eliberis or Elvira is believed to have stood on the present site of Granada. Canon 34 *Forbids to burn lights in cemetries during the day lest the spirits of the faithful should be disturbed.* (Edward H.Landon, *A Manual of the Councils of the Holy Catholic Church,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1909), I.248.)

503-05. therefore ... among them] Revelation 7.15.

511-18. εἰς ἅδου **... Hades]** Taylor is correct in saying that Hades signifies only "the place of the dead". However, his argument that both *Paradisus* and *Gehenna* are in Hades appears to be produced purely by analogy with the classical antecedents, the *Elysian fields* and *Tartara.* Not all classical sources

would support Taylor's idea that the latter were both in Hades. *The Iliad* is a notable exception. *Gehenna* was originally the valley of Hinnom which surrounds Jerusalem. It became a place where the citizens could burn their rubbish and was later used figuratively as a name for Hell.

520-21. Καὶ ... ὁδὸν] "For we think there are two paths in Hades, one way for the just, the other for the unjust". Diphilus, in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromatum* V.14, GMigne IX.180. However, this is also given in Henry Hammond's *A Paraphrase and Annotations Upon all the Bookes of The New Testament, Briefly Explaining all the Difficult Places thereof* (1652), on Matthew 11.23, where the source is given as "Philemon's Iambicks". This is also correct and the quotation occurs in Philemon *Fragments* 246.5.

524. τὰς ... ἀναιροῦσι] Josephus, *The Jewish War,* II.165: "punishments in the underworld, and rewards, they will have none of them".

526-28. n vain ... once] St.Augustine, epistle CLXIV to Evodius, LMigne XXXIII.709-718.

530. the mentions ... S.John] Revelation 22.2: *In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life ...*

535. immerged] Plunged, immersed, with connotations of sinking.

537. divertisements] Diversions, in the sense of recreations or entertainments.

540. gripes of Publicans] "Gripes" is probably nearest the modern usage of "clutches". "Publicans" is extended from the Biblical usage to mean any tax or money collector.

542. symbolical] Presumably Taylor's meaning here is that our existence in Paradise will be a type or symbol of the life to come at the resurrection.

546. antepast] Foretaste.

550. ἐν ... αυτοῦ] 1 John 2.28.

551-53. For now ... he is] 1 John 3.2.

555-58. Tertullian ...sentences] Tertullian, *De Anima* 58, LMigne II.795. "In the mean time to punish or cherish the soul in hell which has an expectation of

another judgment, ...". The final part of this does not make much sense.

558–59. habitacula ... scriptura] St.Ambrose, *De Bono Mortis*, chapter 10: *the scripture calls these dwellings 'repositories of souls'.*

560. promptuaries] Storehouses, repositories.

561. Refrigerium] Literally, as in Acts 3.19, a refreshment. Tertullian also uses the term in the passage containing the quotation at 591–92. Taylor himself uses the term in his sermon "Christ's Advent to judgment" (IV.41–42). There, he condemns the concept of the word as a "holiday", or "ease of pain" for the damned. He cites a Roman Missal of 1626 and Prudentius, Hymn V, as his sources.

562–63. Donec ... promissione] Tertullian, *Adversus Marcion* IV.34, LMigne II.475.

565–66. Author ... Orthodoxos] Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*. In the second part of the *Dissuasive* (VI.59), Taylor reveals that the authorship of these questions was under dispute. This explains his guarded reference here and the distinction of "the writer of the questions" from Justin at lines 630–31.

566. presently] At once, without delay.

567–69. εἰς ...ἀνταποδόσεως] "Keeping watch over the regions worthy of them, until the day of resurrection and retribution". Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones ... ad Orthodoxos*, q.75, GMigne VI.1317.

571–72. Θαυμασίας ... Nazianzen] "He rejoices and delights in a wonderful joy". *Funebris oratio in laudem Casarii*, GMigne XXXV.781.

572–75. They see ... humanity] Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones*, q.75, GMigne VI.1317–18.

578. dispensation] The divine ordering or management of the world. Similar to Taylor's use of "oeconomy".

589–90. God ... made perfect] Hebrews 11.40.

592–94.the spirits ... fulfilled] Revelation 6.9–11.

596–97. Thou ... the just] Luke 14.14.

597–98. the Heavens ... things] Acts 3.21.

599–600. Henceforth ... that day] 2 Timothy 4.8.

604. depositum] 2 Timothy 1.14: *Bonum depositum custodi per Spiritum Sancti.* AV: *That good thing which was committed to thee keep by the holy Ghost [which dwelleth in us]* "Depositum" is therefore the capability of immortality entrusted to us by God but not realisable until the resurrection.

607–09. Here we ... beatitude] 1 Corinthians 13.12.

611–12. Art thou ... time] Matthew 8.2.

614–15. They are ... day] Jude 6: *And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains unto the judgement of the great day.* Thus we may deduce that Taylor identified "devils" as fallen angels.

616. the Devils ... tremble] James 2.19.

626–35. Justin Martyr ... αναπαυσεως] "To take up their souls to heaven ... until the day of retribution and resurrection". Justin Martyr, *Ad Tryphon*, GMigne VI.655 and also *Ad Orthodoxos* as quoted at 596–98 above.

638–40. Concerning ... Greek] Taylor gives a detailed account of the difference of the Greek and Roman churches on this point in the second part of the *Dissuasive* (VI.562–65).

642. Councel of Florence] The Council Taylor refers to is that of 1439. This was a desperate attempt to reconcile the differences between the Greek and Roman churches. Finally a joint creed was issued in which the doctrine of purgatory was accepted. When the Great Schism was complete, in the late fifteenth century, the Eastern Orthodox churches renounced this doctrine.

647. Oeconomy] A word much used by Taylor, as it is by Henry Hammond and members of the Cambridge Platonist circle, it is usually used to denote the divine system of governing the world.

648–49. the reapers ... fire] Part of the parable of the tares, Matthew 13.30–40.

667–69. Blessed ... follow them] Revelation 14.13.

673. Non tanget ... mortis] Wisdom 3.1. Cf. lines 347–48.

688–89. Tophet ... Kings] Isaiah 30.33. Tophet was in the Valley of Hinnom, the type of Gehenna, the Hebrew Hell.

696. ' a new creature] Galatians 6.15.

700. the common receptacle of souls] Presumably Taylor means Hades, which he has already decribed as having two ways, one for the just and one for the wicked (lines 542–552).

717. notices] Intimations.

726. asperity] A harsh sound.

730. be sober ... prayer] 1 Peter 4.7.

733. ductile] Pliant, capable of being moulded.

743–44. Sed cum ... meas] Avianus, *Fabulae*, XIX: "But in that day when the threatening axe shall hew your fine limbs, how you would then wish you had possessed my thorns".

748. propitiatory] Specifically, the covering of the Ark of the Covenant, which signifies God's mercy at the Last Judgment.

753. life ...God] Colossians 3.3.

760. he ... speaketh] Hebrews 11.4.

763–66. Linquenda ... sequetur.] Horace, *Odes*, II.14.21. In the translation by James Michie (London, 1964) this reads: "Farewell to lands, home, dear and affectionate/Wife then. Of all those trees that you tended well/ Not one, a true friend, save the hated/ cypress shall follow its short-lived master".

787. comportment] Personal bearing or demeanour.

788. proper] Special, distinctive to the person in question.

796. stabiliment] Something which gives stability, a support.

797. tiring room] A tiring-house, i.e. a dressing room, usually used of the dressing room in theatres. "Dressing" can simply mean preparation for some particular purpose. For example, in the Epistle to *Holy Dying* (III.257) Taylor says that the lady's soul is "now dressing for her brightest immortality".

799. hopeful] Full of hope, expectant of some desired outcome.

806. Magistratus indicatorum] "The office points to the man". A common Latin proverb included in Erasmus, *Adages*, I.10.76, where the form is *Magistratus indicat virum*.

810. humours] The four cardinal humours, that is, blood, choler, phlegm and black choler or melancholy, which make up the body.

814. allay] Abatement, tempering.

819–20. Gravissimi ... est] Pliny, *Epistles* IV.8: "even in slighter instances, a mark of approbation from so wise and judicious a prince is highly glorious".

822–23. Neque ... absolvi] Theodoric in Cassiodore, *Variarum* V.36, LMigne LXXX.669. "No-one at all is worthy to be condemned by anyone, who merits aquittal in our judgment".

825. magazines] Storehouses.

865. Oves ... meam] John 10.27.

870. his Mother] I.e. the Church of England. Cp. George Herbert, "The British Church", *I joy, dear Mother, in thy face ...* .

871. a man in Christ Jesus] 2 Corinthians 12.2.

876-77. such which ... religion] A clear reference to Dalston's conduct before the Committee for Compounding.

886 relatives] People with whom one has a relationship rather than kin.

889–90. friendship ... friendship] Taylor wrote *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship* in 1657. The work took the form of a letter to "the Most Ingenious and Excellent Mrs. Katherine Philips" and closely follows its source, Cicero's *De Amicitia*.

897. sumpters] Either pack-horses or the saddle-bags to be found thereon.

911–12. oportet ... intercedere] quoted in Famianus Strada, *De Bello Belgico* (1650), p.18.

920. pertinacious] Usually used in a pejorative sense as obstinate or stubborn but here Taylor probably has in mind the Latin root *pertinax* meaning "very tenacious".

928. weep no more] Revelation 7.17; 21.4.

946. still voice of God] Job 4.16.

972–75. Ergo Quintilium ... parem] Horace, *Odes*, I.24.5–8. In James Michie's translation this reads: "So now Quintilius sleeps the sleep which men/ Never recover from: and who knows when/ Honour, Good Faith and naked Truth will find/ his parallel again among mankind".

977. χρησος ἀνερ] I have not been able to find this combination in the Greek NT Lexicon.

991–93. Come ye ... world] Matthew 25.34.

A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops.

On 27 January 1661, Jeremy Taylor had the unusual honour of preaching a sermon at his own consecration. He was one of ten bishops and two archbishops to be consecrated on that day as the culmination of an elaborate ceremonial designed to recall the Lord Lieutenantship of the Earl of Strafford. The latter had been a devotee of pomp and occasion: the occasional splendour of Ireland's mass consecration would not have been a disappointment to him.

The consecration was performed in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Taylor had already experienced preaching there on the preceding Christmas Day. *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* for 7–14 January 1661 reports: "That most Reverend and learned Dr. Bramhall, Lord Primate of Ireland, preached in his Formalities on Christmas Day at Christ-Church [Dublin] and Dr.Jeremy Taylor, Lord Bishop of Down and Conner, preached the same day at St.Patricks ...". The celebration of Christmas would have been one of the first signs that the episcopalian order was again in the ascendancy. The magnificence of the consecration ceremony was clearly seen as a further celebration of that fact. The account of Dudley Loftus, *The Proceedings Observed in Order to, and in the Consecration of the Twelve Bishops at St.Patricks Church, Dublin*, (London, 1661), describes this Thomason received a copy of this work on 13 February 1661.

Loftus begins by listing the bishops to be consecrated. Bramhall had already been consecrated in a previous ceremony. That left two further Archbishops: James Margetson (Dublin) and Samuel Pullein (Tuam). Other than Taylor, the bishops were Michael Boyle (Cork), Robert Pryce (Fearnes and Laughlin), George Baker (Waterford), Robert Leslie (Dromore), Edward Worth (Killalloe), George Wild (Derry), Edward Synge (Limerick), John Parker (Elphin), Henry Hall (Killalla and Aghconry). The consecrators were John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, John Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, Griffith Williams Bishop of Ossory and Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore. Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher participated but did not lay on hands.

The day began at seven in the morning. The bishops-elect "in their Albs and Caps" assembled at the Dean of Christ Church's house. The other bishops, the consecrators, also assembled in "their Corner'd Caps, Rochets and Chimers".

These were followed by the Deans, Prebendaries, Canons, Petit Canons, Vicars Choral and Choristers of the two cathedrals (Christ's and St.Patrick's) in their formal dress. Meanwhile the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Doctors of Divinity and Law, Bachelors of Divinity and "all other inferiour Graduats" of Trinity College, in their gowns and hoods, assembled at the West Gate of Christ-Church. However, the procession was headed by: "The Mayor and Aldermen in Scarlet with the Sheriffs and Common Council of the city in their respective habits. The General Convention of Ireland led by their Speaker, Sir William Dumvill, having the Mace carried before him, both which were so desirous to shew their respect to the Bishops, as they voluntarily gave their presence to the whole solemnity without the least invitation". The assembly of bishops, divines *et al.* then followed, two by two. Then, Loftus reports, "The above said orders proceeded with a silent solemn, and slow paced gravity, untill the time of entrance into the West Gate of St.Patricks Church, when the Vicars and Choristers did proceed singing into the Quire and there continued singing the *Te Deum*". The distance from Christ Church to St.Patrick's is about a quarter of a mile.

When all concerned were seated, "The Office of common prayer was then celebrated by the Dean of the said Church, which ended, Dr.Jeremiah Taylor ... did ascend the Pulpit, during the singing of the *praevent nobis*". Unfortunately, Loftus does not tell us anything of the sermon itself, only that when he "ended his sermon he was conveyed by the Virger to his Stall". Loftus also reports that "Upon his Lordships descent from the pulpit" an anthem was sung.

The consecration itself then took place. It "was celebrated according to the Canon of that Office", that is according to the procedure laid out in *The Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons: According to the Appointment of the Church of England* (1660). This contains the set forms of prayer, procedure and readings for the rite of consecration. It specifies that the consecration should take place immediately before the communion and Loftus confirms that this was so on this occasion. However, an anthem especially composed for the occasion by Dr.William Fuller, Dean of St.Patrick's, was added to the accepted rite. The words of the anthem were:

> Now that the Lord hath re-advanc'd the Crown;
> Which thirst of Spoyl, & frantick zeal threw down:
> Now that the Lord the Miter hath restor'd
> Which, with the Crown, lay in the dust abhor'd:

Praise him ye Kings, Praise him ye Priests
Glory to Christ, our High Priest, Highest King.

May Judah's Royal Scepter still shine clear!
May Aaron's Holy Rod still Blossoms bear!
Scepter and Rod, Rule still, and Guide our Land!
And These whom God Anoints, feel no Rude hand,
May Love, Peace, Plenty wait on Throne and Chair,
And may both share in blessings, as in Care.

Angels look down, and Joy to see
Like that above, a Monarchie.
Angels look down, and Joy to see
Like that above, an Heirarchie.

The act of consecration was then performed followed by communion. Then "the whole Procession did attend the Primate to his lodging". The occasion appears to have been a popular spectacle since Loftus reports a "multitude of people in the streets" and that these showed an "extraordinary reverence" and uttered "Eulogies and Benediction" to the passing dignitaries. Another contemporary witness, writing in *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* for 11–18 February 1661, reports that "All was done without any confusion, not the least of clamour heard, many prayers and blessings from the people, whose throng was great, and the windows throughout the long passage filled with spectators".

Not much more can be said about the occasion. The historical context is discussed in "The Biographical Background" (Chapter One). Of the sermon itself, Loftus reports that

> The Bishop of Downes Sermon was such as gave great and general satisfaction, being elegantly, religiously, and prudently composed, and so convincingly satisfying the judgments of those who have opposed the order and jurisdiction of Episcopacy, as that the Lords, Justices, the Lord Primate, and the general Convention have all of them severally ordered and desired the speedy impression thereof, which is the cause that no more shall be said in this place of Commendation, it being so soon to appear in the lustre of its own excellency.

Much of this sermon has been reworked from material contained in *Of the Sacred Order and Office of Episcopacy* (1641). The places where the two works are particularly close have been noted in the commentary below. Towards the latter end of the sermon Taylor hits a more emotional note than can be found in any other of his occasional sermons and invokes the lessons and set forms

of the consecration rite itself. These places have also been noted in the commentary but a general discussion may be found in Chapter Two.

It should also be noted that identification of patristic sources does not necessarily imply that Taylor had read those works. With so many commentaries and polemical works for him to draw on it is impossible to pinpoint his exact sources. He may have been familiar with the patristic sources at first hand or he may have lifted quotations and commonplaces from other works.

ED.16–17. Rivet ... reliquiis] Andrew Rivet, Professor of Theology at Leyden University. He wrote several works against Hugo Grotius, one of which, *Grotianae Discussionis* Διαλυσις *Rivetiani* is the source here. (*Opera Theologica*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam, 1651–60), III.1187.) Rivet was translated into English by the Presbyterian William Twisse in 1652 and his works were written against by Thomas Pierce.

ED.18–19. Walo Messalinus ... antiquissimam] Walo Messalinus was the pseudonym of Claude de Saumaise or Claudius Salmasius. The reference here is to *De Episcopis et Presbyteris contra D. Petavium* (Leyden, 1641), p.7.

ED.21–22. David Blondell ... John] Blondell discusses the consecration of the earliest bishops after the apostles in his Preface to *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris* (1646), p.11. However, he does not specifically mention the date "35 years after the death of S.John".

ED.29. colourably] Upon the grounds of reason or legality.

ED.32. palliate] Taylor's usage plays upon "colourably" in line 29.

ED.35. immerged] Immersed, with connotations of drowning or sinking.

ED.40. In toto ... est] "It is decreed throughout the world". St. Jerome, Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, on Titus 1.2, LMigne XXVI.597.

ED. 45–46. Where ... gone] The charge was that the Bishops had gone and that therefore the distinctive quality of the Anglican church was no longer visible. See Henry Hammond, *Of Schisme* (1654), p.174–79.

ED.49–50. for which ... blood] See Byron S. Stewart, "The Cult of the Royalist

Martyr", *Church History,* 38 (1969), 175-87. Stewart shows how the celebration of Charles I's martyrdom was celebrated after the Restoration and into the nineteenth century. 30 January, the anniversary of his death, was designated for his remembrance and this occasion spawned hundreds of sermons on the topics of rebellion and obedience.

ED.53-54. Si quis ... esse] *Margin:* Ep.69. St. Cyprian, Epistle 69, *Ad Florentium Pupianum*[19] *Corpus Scriptorum* vol. III, part 1, 733.6.

ED.56. material] Important, of substantial import.

ED.58. countervail] To be of equal force or effect on the contrary side.

ED.63. Oeconomy] A prudent action of management.

ED.69. walking] Conduct or behaviour.

ED.70-71. We will ... people] *Margin:* Jerem[iah].9.1.

ED. 72. we can do nothing ... things] John 15.5 *without me ye can do nothing*; Philippians 4.13 *I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.*

ED. 73-74. Domine ... nobis] *Margin:* Esa.26.12. Isaiah 26.12. AV:*Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us: for thou also hast wrought all our works in us.*

ED. 76-78. Finally ... Faith] *Margin:* 2 Thes[salonians].3.1[,2].

4. τίs ...οἰκονόμος] Luke 12.42: *who then is that faithful and wise steward.*

8-9 Every ... Matthew] *Margin:* Cap 24.25. Matthew 24.45.

18. direction] Usually the address on a letter or parcel but here simply "form of address".

18. indigitation] From Latin *indigitare*, to call upon, therefore, indication by a name.

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[19]Readers should note that the arrangement of epistles, not only Cyprian's but many others too, often varies from one edition to another. Due to the confusing arrangement of his letters in Migne, references to Cyprian's letters are to the *Corpus Scriptorum* edition.

24. διδόναι σιτομέτριον] Luke 12.42: *to give them their portion.*

25–26. τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ] Matthew 24.45: *food in due season.*

29. αρμαλιὴν ἐἵμμηνον] Theocritus 16.35. However, Theocritus' usage is really more like *rations*, or the *portion* of Taylor's text.

41–42. the keyes ... Ensigne] In Matthew 16.19, Jesus says to Peter *I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* Therefore keys became an iconographical symbol of Peter and subsequently of the episcopal office. Taylor's making them keys to a *house* refers back to his text and the Bishop's office as a stewardship over God's household.

43. twelve ... Israel] Matthew 19.28: *Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me ... ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* The rulers of the twelve tribes of Israel, as described in the OT, were seen as the types of the twelve Apostles who became rulers of the New Israel.

52. Heresies ... cold] Matthew 24.12: *And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.*

61–62. Quod ... Cyprian] *Margin:* Epist. 73. ad Jubaj. This quotation does not appear in the letter cited.

64–65. observed ... Christ] *Margin:* 1 Tim[othy].6.14.

66–67. it is ... undeniable] Commentary on 1 Timothy 15–16, LMigne XVII.510. This work is probably not by St.Ambrose.

80–81. enumerations ... Testament] *Margin* Ro[mans].12.6/Ephe[sians].4.11/1 Cor[inthians].12.28.

82. indifferently communicated] "Indifferently" here means indiscriminately or alike, "communicated" means bestowed as a name to be shared. Therefore, Taylor is saying that the appellation "presbyter" was bestowed alike on all "Superior Clergy".

86. πρεσβύτεροι **... Deaconship]** *Margin:* Acts 1.25. In the AV, πρεσβύτεροι is translated as "ministry" here.

88. propriety] Strictness of meaning or sense.

93–94. against ... witnesses] *Margin:* 1 Tim.6.14. 1 Timothy 5.19. But AV has "elder" not "presbyter" here.

97–98. You must ... mouths] *Margin:* 1 Titus 11/& 2 Titus 15. Titus 1,11: *Whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not ...*

99–100. set ... wanting] Titus 1.5.

101. other ... come] 1 Corinthians 11.34.

104. some ... not] *Margin:* [Revelation] Cap 2 v.2.: *Thou hast tried them which say they are Apostles, and are not, and hast found them lyers.*

106. Diotrephes] 3 John 9,10: *I wrote unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.*

107. St.Philip .. baptiz'd] Acts 8.4–8. This refers to St.Philip the Evangelist and not Philip the Apostle.

118. stabiliment] Something which gives stability or support.

130. in partem sollicitudinis] "Into a post of watchful concern".

132. τίς ἄρα καὶ σήμερον] "This very day", but doesn't appear in this form in the NT.

135. τάξις γεννητικὴ] St.Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, LV.4, GMigne XLII.508D.

137. regiment] Government, rule over.

141. seventy-two Disciples] Luke 10.1 says that *After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also* ... However, some Greek and Latin versions specify seventy-two.

157–58. St.James ... Jerusalem] St.James here is to be distinguished from the son of Zebedee and brother of the apostle John. Taylor discusses this James at length in *Episcopacy* (51ff).

158–59. Other ... Brother] *Margin:* Gal[atians].1.19.

161. Matthias] Matthias was the successor to Judas. See Acts 1.23-26.

162. Barnabas] Acts 14.14.

163. ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν] *Margin:* 2 Cor[inthians].8.23./Philip[pians].2.25.

164-65. Epaphroditus ... Philippians] Philippians 2.25: *Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellowsoldier, but your messenger* ... Theodoret, in his commentary on this place represents Epaphroditus as "bishop" (επισκοπους) of Phillipi. Also Primasius in his commentary (LMigne LXVIII.634).

165-66. τοὺς ... αποστόλους] "These now called bishops used to be called apostles". Theodoret, commentary on 1 Timothy 3, GMigne LXXXII.804.

169-70. In stead ... Lands] *Margin:* Psalm 45.16.

172-73. Et nati ... illis] Virgil, *Aeneid,* III.98. "Even his children's children and their race that shall be born of them".

174-76. De prole ... Augustine] "From the offspring of the Church there grew for her a 'paternity', that is, the bishops, whom she has borne and calls fathers and has established in the sees of the fathers". St. Augustine, *In Psalmum* XLIV, LMigne XXXVI.513.

179-202. After ... Churches] This part of the sermon bears a close resemblance to section ten of *Episcopacy.*

184-86. We can ... had] St.Irenaeus,*Adversus Haereses,* III.3.1 (GMigne VII.848).

188-89. Thus ... John] Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus adversus Haereticos,* LMigne II.44-45.

189-94. that Bishops ... Carthage] This is very similar to *Episcopacy,* section 12 (V.47-50).

189-92.] *Margin: in* 1 Cor[inthians].12/*in* Psalm 44.

191. St.Cyprian] Any of Cyprian's letters on the baptism of heretics would provide evidence that Cyprian believed in the apostolic succesion. These are grouped together in LMigne III. 1043-1267.

191. St.Jerome] See Jerome's commentary on Psalm 44 (LMigne XXVI.1013-18).

191. St.Ambrose] *Episcopacy* cites Ambrose on Ephesians 4 and 1 Corinthians 12.28 (LMigne XVII.385-93).

191. St.Augustine] Augustine affirms the apostolic succession in his commentary on Psalms 44.17 (LMigne XXXVI.513).

192. Euthymius] On Psalm 44 (GMigne CXXXVIII.487).

192. St.Pacian] *Margin:* Epist.1.Simpronianum. St.Pacian was Bishop of Barcelona, *ca.* 310-92. The reference here is to his Epistle 1, to Sympronian (LMigne XIII.1051).

192. St.Gregory] Pope St.Gregory I, Homily on the Gospels, 26 (LMigne LXXVI.1197).

192. St.John Damascene] His three orations *Pro Sacris Imaginibus*, II.12 (GMigne XCIV.1295).

192-93. Clarus a Muscula] He is quoted by St. Augustine in his *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* II.226 (LMigne XLIII.257).

193. St.Sixtus] I.e. Pope Sixtus III in his second letter (LMigne L.587-92).

193. Anacletus] Pope Anacletus, epistle *De Oppressione Episcoporum* (LMigne CXXX.59).

193. St.Isidore] St.Isidore of Seville in his report of the Council there (*Concilium Hispalense*, LMigne LXXXIV.591).

194. St.Silvester] Silvester was Pope from 314-335. There were records of councils held during his pontificate in 315, 324, and 325. However, these were spurious. (LMigne VIII.814-22 prints all the remains of St.Silvester.)

194. Councel of Carthage] Taylor probably refers to Cyprian's epistle LXXI to Pope Stephen (LMigne III.1085) which is a report on the Synod of Carthage held in 255.

198-99. Cogitent ... elegerit] *Margin:* Epist.65.ad Rogat. *Corpus Scriptorum*, Epistle III to Rogatianus, p.471.; this has *Meminisse* instead of *Cogitent*. "But

Deacons should remember, that the Apostles, that is, Bishops, the Lord chose".

201. nemo ignorat] *Margin:* Quaest. V. & N. Test. q.197. St.Augustine, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, question 97, LMigne XXXV.2299.

203. Gnostics ... order] 1 Timothy 6.20. This is the only passage in the NT which mentions the Gnostics by name. Other NT sources which Taylor mentions here speak of "false teachers". (2 Peter 2.10-22; Jude 8-16)

205. ἐν αντιλογιᾳ Κορὲ] Jude 11.

205-07 in the ... Priest] Numbers 16.1-11.

209. Constantine] Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor of Rome (*ca*274-337).

218. quod semper ... omnibus] Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitoria adversus Haereses*, chapter 2, LMigne L.640. This quotation represents one of the lynchpins of Taylor's thought. In his Epistle Dedicatory to the first edition of *Polemical Discourses*, in which *Episcopacy* was reprinted, Taylor answers critics who claimed that the *Liberty of Prophesying* and *Episcopacy* contradicted each other: "I have been told that my discourse of Episcopacy relying so much upon the authority of the fathers and councils, whose authority I so much diminish in my Liberty of Prophesying, I seem to pull down with one hand what I build with the other". However, Taylor says, this is not the case for "episcopacy relies not upon the fathers and councils, but upon scripture, upon the institution of Christ or the institution of the Apostles, upon an universal tradition and an universal practise" (V.4). Taylor goes on to discuss the use of the Fathers in more detail. His point is that although the evidence of the Fathers is not enough to give authority to a practice or doctrine it is evidence of that which was accepted *always, everywhere and by everyone*. In fact, Taylor concludes his argument in *Episcopacy* using this same quotation from Vincent of Lerins (V.226). Taylor's position over the use of the Fathers is roughly that of William Chillingworth. Taylor again espouses this view in his sermon to the clergy of Down, *The Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine* (VIII.531).

223-26. For ... probation] Taylor gives this list in *Episcopacy*, section 19, as examples of church rites instigated by apostolical ordinance.

226. probation] Act of proving, demonstration.

233. Councel of Chalcedon] AD 451. One of the four ecumenical councils taken as authoritative by the Anglican church.

234-36. Ἐπίσκοπον ... Presbyter] Fulton, *Index Canonum*, 192-193.

244-45. Simon... order] Acts 8.9-24, especially Acts 8.18: *And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy ghost was given, he offered them money.*

247-48. ψεύσασθαι ... πνεῦμα] Acts 5.3. Cf. *Via Intelligentiae*, 475.

271-72. I will ... righteousness] *Margin:* Isai[ah].60.17. The Greek is from the Septuagint, see 275 below.

273. Principes ... Episcopos] *Margin: Hunc locum etiam citat S.Clemens Ep.ad.Cor.* St.Jerome, commentary on Isaiah 60.17, the side-note says that St.Clement also cites this place in his Epistle to the Corinthians.

274-76. For ... Jews] *Margin:* Neh[emiah].11.10.

276. Hellenist Jews] Taylor usually uses this epithet to denote the Septuagint. Thus all his references in lines 275-81 are to the Septuagint which conveniently uses the word επισκοπος to translate Hebrew words generally meaning "overseer". The AV does not translate the Hebrew word as "bishop" in any of the cases Taylor refers to.

276-77. Joel ... Priests] Nehemiah 11.9. This is probably what the side-note opposite 289-90 is meant to refer to.

277-78. the son ... Levites] Nehemiah 11.22.

279. ἐπίσκοπους ... God] *Margin* 2 Kin[gs].11.18.

280-81 ἐπίσκοπος ... Priest] *Margin* Numb[ers].4.16.

287. post-coenium] Literally, "after a meal", therefore a reference to Jewish customs after a meal. The word does not appear in Latin dictionaries. Taylor is saying that Jesus's acts at the Last Supper were simply the Jewish custom of the time; the head of the household took bread, spoke a benediction over it and distributed it to everyone at the table.

288. type] As Taylor defines it in *The Great Exemplar,* something which points to some future event by a parallel likeness, particularly as applied to the OT as supplying "types" of the NT. *And the nature of types is, in shadow to describe by dark lines a future substance* (II.229–30).

296–97. Esto ... suscipe] *Margin:* Epist.ad Evagrium/Epistol.ad Nepot.. St Jerome, Epistle 52 to Nepotian, LMigne XXII.533. "Be subject to your bishop, and likewise accept the father of souls".

300. the great ... Souls] 1 Peter 2.25: *For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.*

302. Ecclesiae ... potestas] St.Cyprian, Epistle LIX to Cornelius, Corpus Scriptorum, p.667, *the majestic and divine power of governing the church.*

303–04. rem ... Cyril] "A great and precious thing in the sight of the Lord". Source unidentified as yet.

305. τῶν ... ὅρον] "The limit of what is wished for among men". Isidore Pelusiot, Epistles II.71, GMigne LXXVIII.513.

311–13. He is ... God] St.Cyprian, Epistle LXVI.4 to Florentius, Corpus Scriptorum, p.730.

314–16. Salt ... Christ] Most of these epithets are not applied specifically to bishops. Once again, Taylor is stretching his point for rhetorical effect.

314. Salt of the Earth] Matthew 5.13.

314–15. Lights ... candlestick] Matthew 5.15.

315. Stars and Angels] Revelation 1.20.

315. Embassadors of God] 2 Corinthians 5.20.

315–16. Dispensors ... God] 1 Corinthians 4.1.

316. Apostles ... Christ] 2 Corinthians 8.23.

317–18. πεπιστευμένος ... κυρίου] "Entrusted with the people of the Lord". Apparently Biblical but not locateable as yet.

319–2[illegible] καὶ ... **Paul]** *Margin:* Hebr[ews].13.17. If the side-note is correct, Taylor's Greek is only very loosely that of the original. The AV has *for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account.*

321–22. fortieth ... Antioch] Fulton, *Index Canonum*, 246–47.

327. Κυριότης καὶ διακονία] Two terms very open to interpretation, possibly "bearer of the ruling power" and "helper".

329. κλῆρος ... ἀποστολῆς] *Margin:* Acts 1.25. Acts 1.25 is not quite like this in the Greek. The AV has: *this ministry and apostleship.*

330–32. in Isaiah ... nechosheth] *Margin:* Isaiah 60.17. The AV translation of Isaiah 60.17 has *I will make thy officers peace and thine exactors righteousness.*

333. ἐργοδιώκτης, φορολόγος, πράκτωρ] "A taskmaster, a tribute-speaker, an officer". Only πρακτωρ appears in the NT at Luke 12.58.

333–34. interlineary ... Exactores] Taylor means that the interlineary translation renders *nechosheth* by *exactores.* The Vulgate has *praepositos.*

339. ἀναγκαστικὸν] *Margin:* 1 Pet[er].5.1.5. αναγκαστικον, *by way of compulsion*, occurs in 1 Peter 5.2 where it is translated as *by constraint.*

339. αἰσχροκερδῶς] Also occurs in 1 Peter 5.2 translated by the AV as *for shameful gain.*

341. not ... sake] Titus 1.11.

341–42. ὡς ... **Luke]** *Margin:* Luke 22.27.

342–43. ὡς ... **Mark]** *Margin:* Mark 10.43.

343–44. ὡς ... **John]** *Margin:* John 13.13. John 13.14, but not an exact quotation.

345–46. He that ... Minister] Matthew 20.27.

363–66. St.Epiphanius ... greater] *Margin:* Lib.3.Tit.1. *Adversus Haereses*, III.75.5, GMigne XLII.510.

367. recorded ... life] Philippians 4.3: *And I entreat thee also, true*

yoke-fellow, help those women which laboured with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow labourers, whose names are in the book of life.

367. their ... Gospel] 2 Corinthians 8.18.

367-69. Timothy ... Simeon] The persons mentioned here are treated in more detail in *Episcopacy,* sections 14-18 (V.50-68).

368. Clement and Linus] Section 17 of *Episcopacy* deals with "St.Linus and St.Clement at Rome". Linus was the successor to St.Peter as Bishop of Rome, according to some sources, notably St.Irenaeus in *Contra Haereses* book III. 3.3. Clement was the successor to Linus.

368. Mark] *Episcopacy* section 16 deals with "St.Mark at Alexandria".

368. Dyonisius] I.e Dyonisius the Areopagite, Bishop of Athens. See Eusebius IV.23 GMigne XX.383-390.

368. Onesimus] *Episcopacy* section 15 names him as Bishop of Ephesus. In Colossians 4.7-9 he is mentioned as the *faithful and beloved brother* of Paul.

368. Caius] In 1 Corinthians 1.14 he is mentioned as a member of the church of Corinth. In Romans 16.23 he is called *host of the whole church. Episcopacy* quotes from Origen's commentary on Romans in calling him Bishop of Thessalonica.

369. Epaphroditus] Philippians 2.25: *Yet I supposed it necessary to send you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow soldier, but your messenger, and he that ministered to my wants.* Theodoret therefore considered him Bishop of Philippi (GMigne LXXXII.575).

369. Evodias] This is ambiguous. In Philippians 4.2, which Taylor has just referred to, St.Paul refers to an Evodias or Euodias as one of the *yokefellows* whose name is in the book of life. This figure is a woman and not a bishop. However, there was also an Evodius (d.*ca.* 64AD) who was the suœssor to Ignatius as Bishop of Antioch. Taylor may think that the two are the same.

369. Simeon] Again, this is somewhat ambiguous but Taylor makes mention in *Episcopacy,* e.g. section 6(V.24-25), of a Simeon Cleophas, Bishop of Jerusalem.

This is St.Simeon, mentioned by St.Epiphanius as the brother of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, and successor to that office. He is identifiable therefore with the Simon of Matthew 13.55.

371. stories] Historical relations, narratives. See also "story" in the following line.

371. Thucydides] An Athenian (*ca.* 460–400 BC) who wrote the history of the war between Athens and Sparta.

388–89. peak ...perfect] 1 Corinthians 2.6.

401. itch of disputing] *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* p. 406 (I.108): "The itch of disputing is the scab of the church". First appeared in Sir Henry Wotton's *Panegyrick to King Charles* (1649).

409–11. St.Paul ... Apostle] *Margin:* 1 Tim[othy].1.19./2 Tim[othy].3.9. The Greek here, meaning "a pure conscience" occurs in 1 Timothy 3.9. The other place, 1 Timothy 1.19, reads *Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck*

419. ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι] This appears as ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους in Acts 15.22 and translates as "leading men".

423. John ... Jerusalem] St.Jerome wrote a number of works against John, Bishop of Jerusalem (d.417), for example Epistle LXXXII in LMigne XXII.736 and the *Libra contra Joannes Hierosolymitamum*, LMigne XXIII.

426. peculiar] Special concern.

427. Julian] Julian the Apostate, 331–363. Roman Emperor 361–363. His ambition was to purge the Roman Empire of Christianity.

428. dispark] To eradicate the quality of a park from a piece of land, in this case to allow sheep to stray (i.e. by removing the enclosures).

429. hard shifts] Resources, means to achieve an end (usually a living) necessitated by stressful circumstances.

440. failure] The copy-text reading of "failer" is a recognised but obsolete form of "failure". However, as the word is clearly misleading to the modern reader I

have emended.

442. Impie faciunt] *Margin:* in Cap.2.Zeph. St.Jerome's commentary on Zephaniah is in LMigne XXV.1357–87. However, I have been unable to pick out Taylor's exact reference.

445–47. none **... people]** *Margin* Lib.I.Ep.4. St.Cyprian, Epistle LXVII, Corpus Scriptorum , p.735–44.

447–48. Sacrificia ... defiled] Hosea 9.4. AV: *... their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners.*

457–58. We ... prayer] Acts 6.4.

462. Abimelech] Genesis 21.22.

462. Melchisedek] Genesis 14.17–20.

463–64. without ... Greater] Hebrews 7.7.

464. we know ... sinners] John 9.31.

464–65. the effectual ... Man] James 5.16.

474–75. Cum ... Episcopus] *Margin:* Dial.adv.Lucifer. St.Jerome, *Dialogue against the Luciferians*, LMigne XXII.167. But Taylor's version is only loosely like that given in Migne.

481. son of Sirach] The author of Ecclesiasticus otherwise called The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach.

481–83. God ... ever] *Margin:* Eccl[esiasticus].45.26.

486–87. οἱ **... Bishop]** *Margin:* & 24c Concil.Antioch. The thirty-ninth canon of the Apostles in Fulton, *Index Canonum*, 92–93.

490–99. The consequent ... lambs] this paragraph runs through the topics of a part of the consecration service. The 1660 rite prescribes that after the laying on of hands

> ... the archbishop shall deliver him [the bishop being consecrated] the Bible saying.

> Give heed unto reading, exhortation and doctrine. Think upon these things contained in this book. Be diligent in them, that the encrease coming thereby, may be manifest to all men. Take heed unto thy self, and unto teaching, and be diligent in doing them: for by doing this thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee. Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf: feed them, devour them not: hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind together the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost, be so merciful, that ye be not too remisse: so minister discipline, that you forget not mercy, that when the chief Shepherd shall come, ye may receive the imarcessible crown of glory, through Jesus Christ etc.

This represents the culmination of the consecration rite. There are clearly other echoes of it in Taylor's sermon.

491. We ... God] *Margin:* 1 Cor.4.1,2,3. 1 Peter 4.10: "... good stewards of the manifold grace of God".

492. it is ... faithful 1 Corinthians 4.2.

492–94. we preach ... correct] 2 Timothy 4.2.

494. Pastores ... meum] *Margin:* Jer[emiah].3.15.

496. comfort ... heart] Isaiah 61.1, *... he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted,* and Psalm 147.3, *He healeth the broken in heart and bindeth up their wounds.*

497–99. those ... lambs] John 21.15–17. This part of the Gospels was prescribed to be read at the consecration rite.

502–05. It is ... Masters] St.Chrysostom, *De Recipiendo Severiano,* GMigne LII.423.

517. experimentum ... Christus] 2 Corinthians 13.3.

519–20. Remember ... conversation] *Margin:* Hebr[ews].13.7. The side-note is placed by the preceding quotation (line 517) in the copy-text.

524. amusement] Distraction.

525. iron shore] This is an unusual phrase but "iron" here probably means "unyielding" therefore "stony" or "hard".

527. Vox ... verborum] Proverbial, equivalent to "actions speak louder than words".

530-31. nognam ... bands] *Margin:* Zech[ariah].11.7., *... and I took unto me two staves; the one I called Beauty, and the other I called Bands; and I fed the flock*

532-33. atque ... charitatis] *Margin:* Cap.11. Hosea 11.4.

534. cords] Taylor translates *funiculis* literally as cords or strings.

567. decree ... great] Eusebius, *De Vita Constanti,* Book IV.27, GMigne XX.1175.

569. St.Nicholas] I.e. St.Nicholas, Bishop of Myra. His life was the source of countless stories and legends but I have been unable to find any reference to the incident cited by Taylor.

571-72. Arcadius and Honorius] Sons of the Roman Emperor Theodosius I, they both became Emperors themselves. Their reign (effectively in tandem) was noted for its cruelty and tyranny.

574. challenge] Claim as a right.

578. Galatians ...ey] Galatians 4.15.

58. ἡσυχάζειν τὸ βαρβαρικόν] "Remain silent to the barbarians".

589. εἰς δυναστέιαν] "To a sovereign/ruler".

609. διχοτμήσει ... κύριος] "Cut asunder the worthless stewards". Not from the NT.

612. ἵνα ... ταμήση] Approximate to Homer, *The Odyssey,* XVIII.339: "that he may cut thee limb from limb".

619. Non est ... Petri] "It is not easy to stand in Paul's place, and to hold the rank of Peter". St.Jerome, Epistle XIV to Heliodorum, LMigne XXII.353.

623-24. ut quicquid ... Apostolorum] "And whatever will declaim, whatever will speak, let it be the teaching of the Apostles". I have been unable to locate this.

627–28. Origen ... invisible] Origen, Homily on Numbers, XI.4, GMigne XII.647–48.

631. rarely well] Remarkably well.

641–48. If I ... others] St.Bernard of Clairvaux, Epistle XLII to Henry, Archbishop of Sens. This is usually printed as a separate treatise, *De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum Tractatus.* The reference is to Chapter 1, LMigne CLXXXII.809–10.

663–67. St.Bernard ... Ferrara] I have been unable to find exact sources for any of these references. A general work such as the New Catholic Encyclopaedia confirms most of the facts but I have no idea what Taylor's source is here.

670–71. **Electus ... Jerome]** "The elected bishop walks out upon round stones; refusing, he comes in under the arches". Source unidentified as yet.

674. St.Chrysostom's... Sacerdotio] GMigne XLVIII.623–92.

674–75. Apologetica ... Nazianzus] GMigne XXXV.407–514.

675. pastoral ... Rome] St.Gregory the Great (Pope Gregory I), *Regulae Pastoralis Liber,* LMigne LXXVII.12–127.

675–76. St.Dionysius's ... Demophilus] I have been unable to identify the Dionysius referred to or the recipient of this letter.

676. Letters ... Jerome] GMigne XLIII.391–92.

676–77. St.Augustine's ... Valerius] Epistle XXI, LMigne.88–90.

677. St. Bernard's ... Malachy] LMigne CLXXXII.1073–1118.

677–78. St.Jerome's ... Fabiola] In LMigne XXII.698–724, epistle LXXVIII.

679–80. work ...trembling] Philippians 2.12.

682–84. Do this ... eye lids] *Margin:* Prov[erbs].6.3,4.

688. indifferent] Without inclination or feeling towards something.

691–92. It is ... tables] Acts 6.2. However, AV has *reason* for *fit.*

696–98. Civitas ... pastui] *Margin: D.Bernard ad Henr.Episc.Senensem. Despite the side-note, I have not been able to trace this quotation in the Epistle to*

Henry, Archbishop of Sens, which is in LMigne CXXXII.

711–12. Invenerunt me vigiles] *Song of Songs 3.3.*

712. hassovevim] *A transliteration of a Hebrew word, presumably meaning they have found me out. The repeated appearance of Hebrew words transliterated into Roman characters in this sermon probably implies that the printer had no Hebrew type.*

713–15. Let ... inconfusibilem] *Margin: 2 Tim[othy] 2.[15.].*

719. idol] *Inert, inactive.*

720–21. when ... right] *Matthew 25.32: he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.*

735–36. less ...itself] *Luke 15.7.*

743–44. Scire ... extenderunt] *St.Gregory, Regulae Pastoralis Liber, 3.4, LMigne LXXVII.54: "For superiors should know that if ever they do what is wrong, they deserve as many deaths as were the examples of perdition given to their subjects".*

748. propense] *having propensity, inclined.*

751–52. Ex ... Master] *Genesis 41.40, in which, after Joseph's interpretation of his dreams, Pharoah honours him saying Thou shalt be ruler over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou.*

763–64. I was ... meat] *Matthew 25.42.*

765. required] *Inquired of.*

766–67. Where ... thee] *Margin: Jer[emiah].13.20,21.*

A Sermon preached at the Opening of the Parliament of Ireland

There is little background to be added to that of the introductory essays except to say something of the occasion. One eye-witness account survives, that of the Kingdomes Intelligencer for 13-20 May 1661:

Dublin, May 8

> This day the lords Justices and the two Houses of Parliament being met together, rode in great State to St.Patrick's Church: Before the Lords Justices, were born the Robe Royal by the Earl of Kildare; the Cap of Maintenance, by the Viscount Montgomery, and the Sword by the Lord Baltinglas. The whole proceeding was carried on as best became the gravity of so great a Solemnity; nor were the People a little joyed to see themselves now fully represented by so many worthy Patriots legally called together by his Majesties Writ; but that which made this Proceding most accomplished, was to behold the most reverend Archbishops and Bishops of this Kingdom, by whose pious and prudent management of affairs, the Church hath lately recovered much of her ancient Reverence, several of her grand opposers being perswaded to an high respect for her.

The argument of the sermon bears a strong resemblance to that of The Liberty of Prophesying and the discourse "Of Obedience" in The Great Exemplar (II.106-125). I have highlighted similar passages in the commentary. A discussion of the intellectual background to the sermon may be found in Chapter Three. This is one of the plainest of Taylor's sermons and contains less quotation than the other occasional sermons.

Title-page. Salus ... consulentium] Proverbs 11.14., AV: *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.*

ED 6-7. Aurelius ... sequi] Capitolinus, Life of Marcus Antoninus, in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, XXII.4: "It is juster that I should yield to the counsel of such a number of such friends than that such a number of such friends should yield to my wishes, who am but one".

ED 17. obey ... sake] 1 Corinthians 10.25, *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles,* that *eat, asking no question for conscience sake*, or Romans 13.5, *Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake.*

ED 20. Quid faciam tibi] Hosea 6.4: *quid faciam tibi Ephraim quid faciam tibi*

Iuda AV: *O Ephraim what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee?*

ED 23–25. Corrumpitur ... Gellius] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* I.13.16–19: "he thought that the authority of a commander was weakened and made of no effect, if one might reply to orders which he received, but without consideration of counsel". Taylor's Latin varies from most standard editions but his quotation is identical to that given in John Hales's *Golden Remains* (1659) p.20.

ED 27–28. Utilius ... consilium] Unidentified as yet.

ED 31. strong meat] Hebrews 5.12. See ED 61 below.

ED 40–41. Him ... disputations] Romans 14.1.

ED 51. a bile in his arme] "Bile" is an alternative spelling of "boil". "Boil", rather than "bile" obviously, with the talk of disease and lancing, fits Taylor's sense here much better. The word *boil* could apply to any tumourous or pus-filled excrescence.

ED 57–58. comport themselves] Conduct or behave themselves, with the nuance of putting up with or tolerating.

ED 59. anodynes] Figuratively, anything that soothes wounded feelings.

ED 61. that cannot ... milk] Hebrews 5.12 : *For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not strong meat*

ED 73. Rebellion like Witchcraft] 1 Samuel 15.22–23, the text of the sermon.

ED 83–108. And after ... folly] Cp. *The Liberty of Prophesying*, section XVII, "Of Compliance with disagreeing Persons, or weak Consciences, in general". Many non-conformist contemporaries of Taylor accused him of violating the principles of *The Liberty of Prophesying* in his post-Restoration works and episcopal career. Patrick Adair in his *True Narrative*, for example, and a modern historian of the Irish presbyterian church, W. D. Killen, have been insistent on Taylor's hypocrisy in this. However, this part of the parliament sermon is clearly

drawn from the former work. A full exposition of the relationship between *The Liberty of Prophesying*, the Parliament sermon and *Via Intelligentiae* is contained in Chapter Three of the introduction.

ED 88–89. their ... trifle] See 2 Samuel 15, in which Absalom, son of David, tries to seize his father's throne, gathering about him the malcontents of Judah. The Eden edition of Taylor points out the similarity between this passage and one in "The Return of Prayers" (IV.68): *... every good man be careful that he do not mingle his devotion in the communions of heretical persons and in schismatical conventicles: for although he be like them that follow Absalom in the simplicity of their heart, yet his intermedial fortune, and the event of his present affairs, maybe the same with Absalom.*

ED 88. simplicity ...hearts] 2 Samuel 15.11.

ED 97. Quicunque vult] *Quicunque vult servari*, whosoever will be saved, are the first words of the Athanasian creed.

ED 113–14. children ... old] Isaiah 65.20: *for the child shall die an hundred years old: but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.* Taylor's usage of the phrase does not reflect the meaning of the Biblical passage and this is not unusual in his use of quotation.

ED 122–23. as Marcus ... nesciret] Valerius Maximus, VI.4. This is a corruption of the original which reads *tunc Manius Curius praefatus non opus esse eo cive rei publicae, qui parere nesciret.* Taylor's usage means something like "You have no business for a citizen who does not know how to obey".

ED 137-38 But ... Livings] Undoubtedly a reference to the events of Taylor's first visitation to his diocese of Down and Conner. See p.xxxii–xxxiv of my introduction.

ED 142–43. I shew ... way] 1 Corinthians 12.31.

ED 144–45. Si vis ... Saint] "If you would be perfect in a short time, be obedient even in the smallest things". Unidentified as yet.

ED 146–48. I had ... Pachomius] Unidentified as yet.

ED 154. He that ... eyes] John 9.6.

ED 155. collyrium] An application or salve for the eyes.

ED 159. way of Peace] Luke 1.79.

ED 163. Neophytes] Novices; specifically, ones newly admitted to a church or religious body.

ED 164. in interiora domus] The closest to this phrase occurs in Psalm 48.12 of the Iuxta Hebraicae edition: *interiora sua domus in saecula*.

ED 177. all ... blessed] Luke 1.48, the words of Mary, mother of Jesus: *from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed*.

ED 178. old paths] Jeremiah 6.16: *... stand ye in the ways, and ask for the old paths where is the good way ...*

9. Statutum non bonum] No good statute, law.

11. equity] Impartiality, even-handed dealing.

14-15. every ... wilderness] Jeremiah 2.24. Taylor also uses this reference in the Epistle Dedicatory of *The Liberty of Prophesying*.

17-22. Christ ... mortem] Philippians 2.7,8: *... [Christ] made himself of no reputation and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross*.

22-23. the author ... Faith] Hebrews 12.2: *Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith*.

23. admonetur ... est] St.Cyprian, epistle I ad Donatum, Corpus Scriptorum p.650. "Every age should be reminded that what has happened at some time can happen [again]".

32-41. for he ... imposture] See discourse "Of Obedience" in *The Great Exemplar*.

34-35. gave ... nippers] Isaiah 50.6.

36-37. he ... righteousness] Matthew 3.15: *And Jesus answering, said unto him, [John the Baptist] Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil*

all righteousness.

44. consumed by fire] In the OT this phrase was frequently used and associated with God's indignation against man's sin.

45–46. David ... talis] 1 Samuel 21.9: *Et ait David: Non est huic alter similis, da mihi eum.* AV: *And David said: There is none like that; give it me.*

46–48. Abraham ... more] Genesis 22. 1–13.

53. reductively] Indirectly, by reduction, by inference.

66–67. a company ... God] Numbers 14.2. *Prince of the People* and *Priest of God* are general terms in the OT used to denote a man of special authority in the eyes of God (e.g. 1 Kings 14.7 and 16.2 for the former and Genesis 14.18 for the latter).

68. *Margin:* Nullum majus aut infeliciter feracius quam inobedientia. "Nothing is as great or more productive of unhappiness than disobedience". Seneca. This must be either a corruption or from another author since it cannot be traced in the concordance to Seneca and "inobedientia" is not a classical noun.

68. corruptio ... pessima] I.e the corruption of the best is the worst. Proverbial.

74–75. Apostolus ... Jewes] "Every man is his own Apostle". This is quite possibly a Latin translation of the Mishnah, Berakoth 5.5, and possibly Taylor's own. The phrases "say the Jewes" and "saith the Jewish Proverb" usually denote a rabbinical source rather than a Biblical one.

75–76. he that ... me] Luke 10.16.

84–85. If ... Gospel] Galatians 1.8: *But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*

87–88. paulo .. angelis] Psalms 8.6 : *Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis.* AV: *For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels.*

93–94. he that ... ordinance] Romans 13.2.

114–15. building ... Booth] A reference to the Jewish Feast of Booths, an agricultural thanksgiving going back to the time of the exodus from Egypt when the Israelites lived in tents or booths.

115. going ... Jerusalem] In *The Great Exemplar* (II.97–106) Taylor discusses the significance of the obedience of Joseph and Mary in taking Jesus to the temple. This precedes the discourse "Of Obedience"(II.106–25) which has so much similarity to what Taylor says in this sermon.

115–16. washing ... water] Exodus 19.10: *And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to day and to morrow and let them wash their clothes.* Exodus 30.21: *So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not.*

117–19. And ... ceremony] Matthew 3.13–17; Mark 1.9.

119. nullius ... debitor] "A debtor of no penitence". Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 12, LMigne I.1322. Taylor quotes this phrase on numerous occasions throughout his works.

134. Can ... us?] Romans 2.14.

139–40. things ... report] Philippians 4.8.

160–61. call no ... Rabbi] Matthew 23.8,9.

179–80. they do ... visions] Acts 2.17: *And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall dream dreams.*
Again, Taylor uses Biblical phrases but not the sense.

186. pretend] Make profession of (not necessarily falsely).

209. qui devoratur ... Pastoribus] Unidentified as yet.

248–49. a wise ... confident] Proverbs 14.16.

250–64. and the ... Fear] This passage summarises the discussion of the difference between the young and old given in Aristotle *Ars Rhetorica* 1389b. The Greek phrase ισων και ταχα, "possibly it may", comes from that work. However, the same small phrase is quoted in a similar summary of Aristotle on

p.6 of the sermon "Of Dealing with Erring Christians" in John Hales, *Golden Remains* (1659).

253. μάντις ... καλῶς] I.e. "the best of seers is he who guesses well". This is cited in Plutarch's *Moralia*, "De oraculorum defectu" 432C, and attributed to Euripides.

255. Man ... knows] In *The Liberty of Prophesying* (V.363) Taylor gives the Latin form of this quotation: *Hominis est haec opinari, Dei scire.* He states that this is "Xenophanes in Varro". Eden found this quotation in St. Augustine's *City of God*, LMigne XLI.207.

261–62. Qui pauca ... pronunciat] "He who considers but a few things, easily pronounces judgment". This exact quotation appears in Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* I.5.7. It is evidently from one of the Latin translations of Aristotle being a quotation of "De Generatione et Corruptione". Taylor was probably unaware that he was quoting Aristotle, having lifted the quotation straight from Bacon. Why else would he quote Aristotle in Latin when he knew him in the Greek?

267–68 Res ... Law] "Legal judgments take on the status of a truth". Unidentified as yet.

270. Nimis ...alienum] Theodoric, in a letter in Cassiodore's *Variarum* II.26, LMigne LXIX.560. "It is very unjust that he who has created another man's realm should suffer loss".

284–85. In omnibus ... Teresa] "I can be deceived in all things, but in obedience I can not". Not from the *Vita* and not identified as yet.

294. they ...devil] 1 Timothy 3.6: [a bishop should be] *Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil.*

314–15. Truth ... other] Cp. John Smith, *Select Discourses*, p.99, *Justice and Mercy kiss each other*. "Truth and Peace" are linked in the Bible, e.g. 2 Kings 20.19, Isaiah 39.8 etc. However, see Psalm 85.10: "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other".

315–17. did ... sentence] Hebrews 6.16.

325–30. I exhort ... honesty] 1 Timothy 2.1,2.

332. ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ] In 1 Timothy 2.2, "in all godliness".

339. Divinatio ... eius] Proverbs 16.10. AV: *A divine sentence is in the lips of the king: his mouth transgresseth not in judgment.*

343–48. Justinian ... tradere] *Margin:* L.8.cod.*De veteri jure enucleando*.The Latin translates as "Let Augustus be asked for a remedy ... so that he can correct and arrange and transfer to appropriate rules and measures all new occurences". "Augustum" should rather be "Augustus". Unidentified as yet.

353–54. Bona ... Kells] "A good conscience is like Joseph's Cup". *Margin:* Petrus Cellensis lib. de Conscientia. Peter of Kells (Petrus Cellensis), *Liber de Conscientia*, LMigne CCII.1086.

354. Joseph's Cup] Genesis 44.2–17, Joseph hid his silver cup in Benjamin's sack so that when it was found therein, Benjamin would have to atone for its apparent theft by becoming Joseph's servant.

358. By me ... justice] Proverbs 8.15: *By me Kings reign, and princes decree justice.*

362. μὴ ἔριζε ... *Laertius*] This quotation is given as a side-note in *The Great Exemplar*, "Of Obedience" (II.121). A footnote in the Eden edition says that this phrase is attributed to Pittacus in the *Sententiae Septem Sapientiam* printed by Aldus in 1495. Certainly Pittacus was included in Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers* but there is no record of this saying.

368–69. It seemed ... Jerusalem] Acts 15.28.

369–72. and yet ... made so] The Council of Jerusalem is described in Acts 15.1–35. Acts 15.28,29 outlines the "necessary things", that is, *That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well.*

376–78. Remember ... follow] Hebrews 13.7.

379–80. they ... Saviour] Matthew 23.2,3: *The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe ...*

386. subjected ... Prophets] 1 Corinthians 14.32.

391–93. When Aaron ... Moses was] Numbers 12.1–8.

394. Ruach hakkodesh] *Margin* רוח הקודש Literally, this means "the holy spirit". In post-biblical times it meant specifically the spirit of prophecy that comes from God and that was given to Moses. John Smith, in his discourse "On Prophecy" gives a detailed discussion of this phrase (*Select Discourses* p.237–48).

395–96. wherefore ... Moses] *Margin* Num.12.6,7,8. Numbers 12.8.

420. asperse] Bespatter with damaging reports and charges.

429. the law ... sinners] 1 Timothy 1.9.

431. with ... Soul] Micah 6.7: *Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?*

451. Praesumptio ... imponentis] "Presumption is placed in favour of authority". Source unidentified.

458–60. God hath .. KING] In *The Great Exemplar* (II.121) Taylor mentions *the golden rings that tie the purple upon the prince's shoulder.*

471. strangely] To a very uncommon degree.

478–79. Nihil ... Ammianus] Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIX.2.18, "royal power is nothing else than the care for others' welfare".

494–95. Optimus ... pereundi] *Margin:* Seneca. This is from *De Clementia*, I.1.8. However Taylor's version not only differs verbally but alters the sense of modern standard versions. Taylor's sense is "it stands best with a republic when there is nothing lacking except the licence of self-destruction". Seneca uses the the words "nihil deest nisi licentia pereundi" but in a description of some men's vision of a libertine society.

509. speak ... dignities] See 514 below.

514. to despise government] 2 Peter 2.10.

524. Corah] In Numbers 16, Corah led a rebellion against Moses and was swallowed up by the ground. He is very commonly used as a type of rebellion

by Taylor's contemporaries.

524. Doeg] In 1 Samuel 21.7, a man who reported what he had heard of David to King Saul who commanded him to kill Abimelech and countless others.

524. Balaam] A heathen occultist in Numbers 22–24, he enraged Balak by prophesying the happiness of Israel.

525. Jeroboam] Jeroboam I, who in I and II Kings is portrayed as a corruptor of Jewish worship. His end is referred to in 2 Chronicles 13.5: *Then the men of Judah gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah.* The "men of Judah" are types of the true sort of Jewish worship.

525. Uzzah] In 2 Samuel 6.6,7, Uzzah is struck dead for touching the Ark.

525. Ananias, and Sapphira] In Acts 5.1–10, Ananias and his wife Sapphira were struck down for lying to Peter about a transaction of land.

525. Julian] Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor 361–363 AD, who attempted to purge the empire of Christianity.

526. sacrilegious] There is a parallel for this use of the adjective as a noun in *Rules and Advices to the Clergy* (I.109): *...the formidable examples of God's anger poured forth upon rebels, sacrilegious, oppressors of widows and orphans, and all persons guilty of crying sins.*

533. Britans] I.e. Britons, as in the Celtic race, therefore the Irish.

534–35. res sacrae] Sacred things.

536–37. Ad magnas ... Cicero] Again an adapted form of the original, this seems to be from *De Divinatione* II.33.70. Taylor's version translates as "we retain religion among the citizens to the great service of the State".

539–40. Mark ... them] Romans 16.17.

549–50. Beatus ... Jesuite] "Blessed is he who preaches unheard of words". Alphonsus de Vargas, *Relatio ad Reges et Principes Christianos de Stratagematis et Sophismatis politicis Societatis Jesu* (1636), p.45–46, quoting Poza.

551–52. No man ... better] Luke 5.39.

552. Quod primum verum] "Because the truth is first". Eden gives this as Tertullian but I have been unable to pinpoint where.

555–56. the gates ... Church] Matthew 16.18.

561. the things ... Peace] Luke 19.42.

563–64. Leontius ... follow] Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.20, GMigne LXVII.1102.

568–69. Ye cannot ... sacrifice] *In text* Prov[erbs]. 21.3. *To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.*

569–70. the Sun ... Shield] Malachi 4.2: *But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.* Psalms 84.11: *... the Lord God is a sun and a shield.*

578. ... a wise ... Brethren] Proverbs 17.2: *A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame, and shall have part of the inheritance among brethren.*

589–90. doing ... to] Proverbial, Morris P.Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England* (Ann Arbor,Mi., 1950) D395, and Matthew 7.12.

594–95. I will ... sacrifice] Matthew 9.13 referring to Hosea 6.6.

595–96. Perierat ... subvenisset] "Everything that God has made has been wasted unless mercy comes to help". Chrysologus, Sermon XLII, LMigne LII.319.

598–99. Ex ... sperant] *Margin:* Seneca. *De Clementia* I.1.9: " all men hope to have the same from mercy".

604–06. Naturae ... rogi] Juvenal, Satire XV.138: "It is at Nature's behest that we weep when we meet the bier of a full-grown maiden, or when the earth closes over a babe too young for the funeral pyre".

612. rain-bow] Genesis 9.13: [God speaking to Noah] *I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of covenant between me and the earth.*

613–14. in the ... dies] Ezekiel 18.32.

619. in ... mercy] Possibly Habbakuk 3.1: *in wrath remember mercy.* James 2.13: *For he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgment.*

629-30. Righteousness ... people] Proverbs 14.34.

642-43. Seek ye ... you] Matthew 6.33.

Almost nothing is known about the circumstances in which this sermon was preached. Taylor says in his Epistle dedicatory that "I had publish'd it also to my Clergy at the Metropolitical visitation of the ... Primate of Armagh" (ED 24-25) but it is not known when this took place. Williams and Gathorne-Hardy state that "the visitation was probably in August 1661" but without giving any source for their assertion. However, this does seem the most likely date. There are only three possible periods: first, the period between the consecration of the bishops on 27 January 1661 and the opening of the parliament on 8 May of that year; secondly and thirdly, the parliamentary recesses of 31 July-6 September 1661 and 22 March-17 April 1662 respectively. Both Taylor and Bramhall were members of the House of Lords and Bramhall was the Speaker. While both clearly undertook diocesan work while Parliament was in session it is unlikely that a major undertaking such as a visitation could be organised during those times. The first period, 27 January-8 May 1661, is unlikely since that is the period of Taylor's own visitation, recounted in the introduction (p. xxxii-xxxiv). *Via Intelligentiae* does not appear in the Stationers' Register but it may well have been published late in the year which makes the 1662 date possible for Bramhall's visitation. Taylor could have preached the sermon to the members of Trinity College, Dublin at any time after his appointment as its Vice-Chancellor in January 1661.

Taylor's career as Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College is discussed in detail by Charles J. Stranks in his *Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor*. For the present purpose the best summary of Taylor's connection with the College is given by Thomas Carte: [20]

> He [Taylor] was the person, whom the Marquis of *Ormonde* pitched upon to reform the disorders of the College of *Dublin*, and to qualify him with power for that end, made him Vice-Chancellor of the University. When he came over into Ireland, he found the disorders much greater than he imagined, though they were but the natural consequence of a long war, unsettled times, and an evil incompetent government set over them. There was indeed an heap of men and boys, but no body of a College; no one Member, either Fellow or Scholar having any

[20] *An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde* 2 vols. (London, 1736), II.208-09.

> legal title to his place, but thrust in by tyranny and chance. [Carte goes on describe the election of the first fellows by Taylor, the Provost (Thomas Seele) and the Visitor (James Margetson, Archbishop of Dublin).] ... They were confirmed by the King, and thus was a perfect College formed; yet still there was but an imperfect University. They had no publick Statutes relating to an University; no established forms of collating degrees; no publick lectures or schools; no Regius Professor of Divinity, and scarce any Ensigns academical. The Bishop of *Downe* at the Marquis of *Ormonde's* desire, set himself to collect and frame such a body of Statutes for an University, as were necessary, honourable and useful to the Society, and fit for the Chancellor's approbation; a work for which he was admirably qualified, nor could there have been found another person, whose talents so well fitted him to finish what the great Archbishop *Laud* had left imperfect, having only digested and established a body of Statutes for the College.

There are a number of Taylor's letters to Ormonde on University matters reprinted in Eden's revision of Heber's *Life* (I.xciv-xcv, xcix-c). Eden also reprints a letter from Taylor to some Divinity students at Trinity in which he recommends some basic reading to them (I.lxxxviii-xc). Sir James Ware, in his *A Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland* (1704) notes that Taylor's "Funeral Obsequies were celebrated with great Solemnity the 3d. Sept [1667] ... in the University of *Dublin*".

One thing that is remarkable about this sermon is the extent to which it draws upon the *Select Discourses* of the Cambridge Platonist John Smith, first published, edited by John Worthington, in 1660. A look at the commentary will demonstrate Taylor's plethora of borrowings from Smith's work. He particularly drew upon the discourses entitled "On the True Way of Attaining Divine Knowledge" and "On the Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion" in *Via Intelligentiae*. Taylor seems to have borrowed from Smith's work in all of his post-Consecration sermons. The Parliament and Bramhall sermons, included in this volume, have significant references to the *Select Discourses*. However, two other sermons included in the 1663 *Seven Sermons* obviously draw upon Smith. These are "The Righteousness Evangelical Describ'd" which draws upon Smith's "On Legal and Evangelical Righteousness" and his "On the Shortness of a Pharisaical Righteousness". Further Taylor's "The Christian's Conquest Over the Body of Sin" draws upon Smith's "On a Christian's Conflicts with, and Conquests over, Satan".

Taylor's interest in, and involvement with, the Cambridge Platonist circle is marked in the post-Restoration period. He is alleged to have been friendly with

Henry More through his patroness Anne, Viscountess Conway. The remains of the latter's extensive correspondence with More is published by Marjorie Hope Nicolson in the *Conway Letters* (1930). There is enough evidence in these to suggest that More was also corresponding with Taylor. The link with More has been frequently mentioned. However, the diary and correspondence of John Worthington gives further evidence of Taylor's involvement with the Cambridge Platonist group. It appears that Taylor was responsible for bringing two members of that group, George Rust and Francis Marsh, over to Ireland and he appears to have been closely involved with both of them. John Worthington's diary and correspondence contain a sequence of letters to and from Samuel Hartlib. [21] The letters between 7 June 1659 and 23 April 1661 (I.135–305) often refer to George Rust's search for a position. Another series of letters between Worthington and Benjamin Whichcote (Vol.I.223–25) refer to a similar search by Francis Marsh. On 19 April 1661 Worthington was able to write to Hartlib: " Mr. Rust (whom Mr. Brereton knows and you know by his MS.) is going over to Ireland, to be dean of Downe, being invited thither by Dr. Taylor the bishop; and Mr. Marsh (sometime my pupil, and Fellow of Caius College) is there already, and made dean of Armagh" (vol I.301). Apart from the correspondence with Henry More, here is evidence of a direct involvement in the Cambridge circle. On 23 April 1661, Hartlib wrote to Worthington: "Mr. Rust is certainly an accurate scholar, and I may say the like of Mr. Marsh. You should do well to exchange letters with them" (I.305). Clearly, Taylor would have had a great deal of contact with Rust in diocesan duties. Francis Marsh later married Taylor's second daughter Mary. John Evelyn met them and made the following entry in his diary for 25 March 1680: "To the *R: Society* where I met an *Irish Bishop* with his Lady who was Daughter to my worthy & pious friend Dr. *Jer: Taylor* late Bish: of *Downe* & *Conner,* they came to see the *Repositoria,* she seemed to be a knowing Woman beyond the ordinary talent of her sex". At this time, Marsh was Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh and he became Archbishop of Dublin in 1682. There is an entry on him in the DNB.

Title-page. Ad majorem Dei gloriam] "To the greater glory of God".

ED 7-8 Vocata ... poterat] Livy I.8.1: "he called the people together, since

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[21] Edited by James Crossley, Chetham Society vols. XIII and XXXVI (1847 and 1855) and by Richard Copley Christie, vol. CXIV (1886).

nothing else but law could unite them into a single body politic".

ED 15–16. Christs way ... life] John 14.6: *I am the way, the truth, the life*, an idea central to Taylor's whole argument in this sermon.

ED 29–35. Mr.Hooker ... too subject] Hooker's *A Learned Discourse of Justification, Works*, edited by Keble (1845), III.546.

ED 41–42. Stand thou ... righteousness] *Margin:* Eccl[esiastic]us 5.10 Vulg. edit. lat.. AV has *Be steadfast in thy understanding*.

1–2.] John Smith gives the same quotation from John 7.17 on the title page to "The True Way or Method of Attaining Divine Knowledge".

3–9. The Ancients ... Image of Truth] George Rust appears to allude to this anecdote in his funeral sermon for Taylor (I.cccxxiv–xv). I have not been able to find an exact source for the fable. The closest I have found is fable 183, "attributed to AEsop", in Roger L'estrange's *Fables of AEsop and Other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflections* (1699). In this, *Jupiter appointed Mercury to make him a composition of Fraud and Hypocrisie and to give every artificer his dose out*. The fable continues in a vein quite unlike Taylor's but I have not been able to find any more similar source.

10. Truth and Peace] Commonly linked in the OT, e.g 2 Kings 20.19; Isaiah 39.8; Esther 9.30 *etc*.

10–11. bound ... life] 1 Samuel 25.29: *... but the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God ...*

11. Prince of Peace] Isaiah 9.6.

15. ἥμερος ... νομοθεσία] The word νομοθεσία is usually used in the Apocrypha specifically in reference to Mosaic law, however, this quotation is close to Aristotle *Politics* 1263b15; Εὐπρόσωπος μὲν οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη νομοθεσία, καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν. "Such legislation therefore has an attractive appearance, and might be thought to be humane".

16. ὑγρὸν ... ἦθος] This quotation is given in John Hales's *Golden Remains* p.25: *Goodness, I say, not that Metaphysical conceit which we dispute of in our Schools ... but that which the common sort of men do usually*

understand, when they call a man Good ... ὑγρὸν καὶ μείλιχον ἦθος, *a soft, and sweet, and flexible disposition.*

17. asperities] Hardships, difficulties.

18–20. The Eagle ... feathers] "A feather destroys me, the feathered one". Proverbial, this occurs in Erasmus's *Adages* I.6.52 and in various Greek sources including AEsop and AEschylus.

24. homines ...pietatis] "Men of great religion and almost no piety". Unidentified as yet.

31–33. Eudamidas ... it] Taylor may have taken this from Montaigne II.28 (Everyman p.429) but he evidently referred to the source, Plutarch's *Apothegmata Laconica* 220D, since Montaigne does not mention Archidamas at all.

42–43. Multiplyinge-glasse ... fantasticall] Multiplying-glass, OED 2: *A toy consisting of a concave glass or lens, the surface of which is cut into numerous facets so as to give many reflexions of the subject observed.* The first listing of the word in the OED is dated 1671 so one might reasonably suppose that the multiplying-glass was novel at the time of Taylor's writing.

45. ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀβάταις] "In unfrequented ways". Source unidentified as yet.

54. doing the will of God] John 7.17, i.e. Taylor's text.

62. Ubicunque ... rempublicam] Velleius Paterculus II.62. "Wherever they themselves were, they asserted there was a state". Mr. Allan Hood informs me that *praetendebant* is a more likely verb in this context.

92. Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants] The Remonstrants were Dutch followers of Arminius who set forth their points of divergence from stricter Calvinism in a "remonstrance" to the States General in 1610. They were expelled from the Netherlands by the Synod of Dort (1618–19). The members of this Synod are probably the Contra-Remonstrants that Taylor refers to. In his *Five Disputations of Church-Government, and Worship* (1659), Richard Baxter identifies the Synod of Dort as a watershed. The older Anglican divines accepted the findings of the Synod. But the "New Strain" of Anglicans, to whom Baxter was so opposed, sympathised with the position of the Remonstrants on

the major doctrines of predestination, free-will, effectual grace, perseverance and assurance of salvation. Laud, Bramhall, Hammond and Thorndike are amongst those identified as being of the "New Strain".

96. Cassander] George Cassander (1513-1566) liturgist and humanist accused of "excessive tolerance". His works were placed on the *Index* In Puritan invective, "Cassandrian" was used like "Grotian" as a term of abuse for someone suspected of Popish leanings. Cassander was a forerunner of Grotius in that he wanted a reconciliation between Rome and the reformed churches.

96. Andreas Fricius Modrevius] I.e Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski (1503-1572), Polish writer of Latin in favour of merging the Catholic and Protestant churches.

97. Spalato] Marcantonio de Dominis (1566-1624), Archbishop of Spalato, the modern town of Split in Yugoslavia. He went to England in 1616 and was appointed Dean of Windsor and Master of the Savoy by James I. In 1617 he wrote *De Republica Ecclesiastica* which questioned the jurisdiction of the Pope over bishops. After his return to Rome he was seized by the Inquisition, condemned as a heretic and later died in prison in the Castel Sant'Angelo. He was pilloried in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624), where he appears as "The Fatte Bishop". There are two engravings of him, one satirical in R. C. Bald's edition of the play (Cambridge, 1929).

97. Grotius] Hugo Grotius or De Groot (158?-1645) was one of the greatest influences on seventeenth century theological thought. He was an Arminian and a seminal figure in the development of thought within the Great Tew circle. (For more on this see Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Great Tew Circle" in *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (London, 1987).) However, his works were cited by men of various positions including Milton who met him in Paris in 1638.

98. Ferdinand the Second] (1578-1637) Holy Roman Emperor and central figure in the Thirty Years War. His position was one of "moderate absolutism".

106-07. Lucian's ... pleased] *Philopseudes* 35: "whenever we came to a stopping-place, he would take either the bar of the door or the broom or even the pestle, put clothes on it, say a certain spell over it, and make it walk, appearing to everyone else to be man".

109. Questions de auxilius Divinae gratiae] Unidentified as yet.

122. Battalia] Order of battle; disposition or arrangement of troops for action. From Italian *battaglia*.

132. rule over your faith] Possibly 2 Corinthians 1.24: *Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand.*

137. for ... Charity] This may be a reference to the debate between Edward Knott, a Catholic, and William Chillingworth. Knott's work of 1634 was entitled *Charity Maintained* and contained a defence of the Roman Catholic church against the accusation of lack of charity in the diagnosis and persecution of heretics. Knott goes on to accuse the Protestant churches of lack of Charity because, in their failure to give a single set of doctrines and a sure authority, they allowed souls to perish. Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants* (1638) was written as an answer to Knott's work.

147–49. if the ... not] This question is dealt with in detail in *The Liberty of Prophesying*, section 15, "How far the church or governors may act to the restraining false or differing opinions" (V.531–33), although the whole work discusses the distinction between "differing opinions" and heresy.

158–59. we can ... disputations] Genesis 8.9: *But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the earth.*

159–60. Every man is a lyar] Romans 3.4: *... yea, let God be true, but every man a liar ...*

165. What is Truth] John 18.38.

166. Cisterns] The word "cisterns" is commonly used in patristic writing and throughout Christian literature as a term denoting a repository of the waters of life, as opposed to the fountains of God from whence the waters issue.

168. umbrages] Shadowy appearances, faint representations.

173. our Method ... artificiall] "Artificiall" means "displaying special art or skill" here. Therefore, Taylor is being ironic in saying that although we may think our method displays special skill because it is learned, in fact that skill is

inappropriate.

177–78. and ... Amen] 2 Corinthians 1.20: *For all the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen.*

181. we will ... light] The phrase "walk in the light" is formulaic in the Bible but Taylor is probably referring to 1 John 1.7 and 2.9 where the light as truth is the theme.

182. impediments ... us] Hebrews 12.1: *... let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us.*

185–86. The feare ... thereafter] *Margin:* Psal[m]. 111. ver[se] 10.

187–89. I have ... Commandements] *Margin:* Psal[m]. 19. [19].

198–200. The way ... knowledge] Cp. John Smith, *Select Discourses*, p.2: *Were I indeed to define* Divinity, *I should rather call it a* Divine life *then a* Divine science.

211. Κακια ... ἀρχῆς] Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 1140b19, "vice is destructive of the first principle".

213–14. the sweet ... out] Homer, *The Odyssey* IX.346.

217. Bonum jucundum] Literally, "good pleasant", thus "good" in a fleshly rather than moral/spiritual sense.

224–33. I remember ... understand] Arrian, *In Epictetus*, I.10. This anecdote is also used in Taylor's earlier sermon "The deceitfulness of the heart" (IV.416–17).

230. presently] At that time.

235–36. the wolfe ... Agnus] "Lupus in fabula" is a proverbial Latin saying meaning something like "speak of the devil". But there is a definite source here in one of the many fables attributed to AEsop (AEsopica). Details of this are given in the Appendix to the Loeb edition of Babrius and Phaedrus, 688 (p.585).

236. belly] "The belly wants ears" is proverbial. See *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* p.45 (B286). Tilley B286.

245. nollem factum] Terence, *Adelphi*, II.1.11. The phrase means, roughly "I

shan't care for that".

255. Rabbi Moses ... Oblation] Refers to Moses Maimonides who is referred to as "Rabbi Moses" by John Smith and in the titles of early published editions of his works. Smith gives substantial accounts of Maimonides' teaching on the Law in his discourse "Of Legal Righteousness". There is no quotation quite like Taylor's here but several that cover similar ground.

269–71. Arius ... Church] Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* LXIX (GMigne XLII) contains the Greek quotation here and is a detailed account of the Arian heresy which denied the divinity of Christ. The analysis of cause and effect is probably Taylor's own.

277. Whosoever ... God] Romans 13.2.

280. the gain-saying of Corah] Jude 11: *Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gain-saying of Core.*

284–86. Let ... God] Romans 13.1.

287. over ... Lord] 1 Thessalonians 5.12.

288. notorious] I.e. well-known, a matter of common knowledge.

291–92. it is Sealed ... heare] *It is sealed within* could be a reference to Revelation 5.1: ... *a book written within ... sealed with seven seals.* The rest of the quotation could be either Jeremiah 5.21 or Ezekiel 12.2.

293–94. doest ... death] Jonah 4.4,9.

296–97. kill ... service] John 16.2: *They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.*

308–09. Obedite ... Prophet] This does not appear to be a direct quotation of the Bible. However, Jeremiah 27 takes obedience and God's approval as its main theme.

313. all ... world] Colossians 3.5.

314. that day ... Testament] Corinthians 3.14.

321–22. the Pythagoreans ... φιλοσοφεῖν] Cp. John Smith, "The True Way etc.", p.10: *... and therefore they [the Platonists] so much solicit a* χωπισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος *as they are wont to phrase it, a separation from the Body in all those that would* καθαπως φιλοσοφεῖν, *as Socrates speaks, that is indeed, sincerely understand Divine Truth.* Smith has just been talking about the Pythagoreans but it is still difficult to see why Taylor has mistakenly attributed the Greek quotation to them. The Greek phrase is close to Plato's *Phaedo*, 67a.

325. Apicius] a *bon viveur* of the Augustan period, he wrote a famous cookery book, *De Re Coquinaria*. Here, his name is evoked simply as a paradigm of "the fat glutton" tied to wordly sin.

330–31. animal ... natum] "An animal created for conviviality". Juvenal, I.141.

334. Felix] Acts 23–25. Felix was a cruel governor of Judaea who had been moved by Paul's speeches.

340. amabilities] Lovable qualities.

341–42. become ... woman] Probably a reference to 1 Kings 11.4: *... when Solomon was old ... his wives turned away his heart after other gods ...*

361. ut nudi ... crucifixum] "They follow the naked crucified man with a [mind] stripped bare". Source unidentified as yet.

363–64. Ἐν ... παρεισάγουσιν] "In the pretance of expounding [the Scriptures] they introduce things of their own". St. Basil, *Homilia In Hexaemeron*, GMigne XXXIX.189.

366. ἀνάβασις ... σπηλαίου] Quoted by John Smith (*Select Discourses*, p.11): *Besides, many other ways they had, whereby to rise out of this dark body* - ἀνάβασεις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου, *as they are wont to call them - several steps and ascents out of this miry cave of mortality, before they set any sure footing with their intellectual part in the land of light and immortal being.* The Greek quotation, translating as "ascent from the cave", comes from Plotinus *Enneads* II.9.6 referring back to to Plato's *Republic* VII where the allegory of the cave is discussed.

370. Demetrius] In Acts 19, Demetrius is a silversmith who made shrines for Diana. Paul opposed these.

370. by this ... livings] Acts 19.25.

373-74. Χρὴ ... ψυχοῦσθαι] "It is necessary that the soul itself be animated from these very things". St. Isidore Pelusiot, epistle IV.65, GMigne LXXVIII. 1121. Quoted by Simon Patrick in his funeral sermon for John Smith, *Select Discourses* p.515.

376. a man ... Masters] Matthew 6.24; Luke 16.13.

384-87. Tu quoque ... regnant] Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* I, Loeb p.172: "You too, if you want/ Clearly to see the truth/ And want to walk straight/ Cast out joy/ Cast out fear ... The mind is clouded, checked/ Where these hold sway".

389. Tua ... Imago] "Your image lies to you". This seems to parody Virgil's second Eclogue, 27: *si nunquam fallit imago,* "if the (mirror-)image never lies".

389-90. when ... γενέσει] Cp. John Smith, "The True Way etc.", p.17: Ἄνθρωπος συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσαι ... *that Complex and Multifarious man that is made up of Soul and Body.* The source is Simplicius, Preface to *In Epictetus.*

391. Congeniall] Innate, i.e congenital.

392-95. ἀμυδρὸν ... **of sense]** Cp. John Smith, "The True Way etc.", p.17: *The knowledge of these men I should call* ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν *in Plutarch's phrase; a Knowledge wherein Sense and Reason are so twisted up together.*

395-96. Εὖγε ... πάθεσι] *Margin:* Nazianz. ad Philagrium. I.e. Gregory Nazianzen, epistle 32 to Philagrium (GMigne XXXVII.69). "Good that you are a philosopher during pasions/sufferings". This phrase is quoted in Simon Patrick's funeral sermon for John Smith (*Select Discourses,* p.511).

402. In passionibus ... habitat] See John Smith, "The True Way etc", p.9-10: ... *this is that* ψυχικος ἀνερ, *that natural man that savours not the things of God. Corrupt passions and terrene affections are apt of their own nature to disturb all serene thoughts, to precipitate our judgments, and warp our*

understandings. It was a good maxim of the old Jewish writers ...[Hebrew version of In passionibus etc.] ... the Holy Spirit dwells not in terrene and earthly passions. The ultimate source is the Talmud.

405–06. the voyce ... wisely] Psalm 58.5.

407–09. as Plato ... Passion] Cp. John Smith, "The True Way etc.", p.18: Ἄνθροπος κατα την λογικαι ζωαι οὐσιωμένος *the man that looks at himself as being what he is rather by his Soul then by his Body.* The source is Simplicius, Preface to *In Epictetus.*

419. Ecce ... Deus] Psalm 77.7: *Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum: cantabo, et psalmum dicam.* AV: *My heart is fixed, O Lord, my heart is fixed: I will sing and give praise.*

420–21. Speak ... heareth] 1 Samuel 3.9.

428. wise unto salvation] 2 Timothy 3.15.

429–30. Qui facit ... mei] Matthew 7.21: *he that doeth the will of my Father.*

431–33. Add ... etc.] *Margin:* 2 Pet[er] 1.5[–8]: *... add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; And to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; And to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity. for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

437–38. ὀφθαλμὸς ... [Plotinus ?] "The eye which is not sun-like does not see the sun". Plotinus *Enneads* I.6.9.

442. θεοδίδακτος] This word, which occurs in the NT in John 6.45 and 1 Thessalonians 4.9, is much used by the Cambridge Platonists. For example John Smith, "A Discourse of Legal Righteousness", p.287: *Therefore the best acquaintance with Religion is* θεοδίδακτος γνωσις, *a knowledge taught by God.*

443–44. Nemo ... Irenaeus] *Margin:* lib 6 c.14. St. Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* IV.6.4, GMigne VII.988. "No-one can know God unless he is taught by God".

456–57. Ye have ... things] *Margin:* 1 Joh[n] 2.27.

458. all things ... Godlinesse] 2 Peter 1.3.

462–63. Sol ... hominem] Claudius Coelestinus *De his quae mundo mirabiliter eveniunt* (Paris, 1542), p.27.

471–72. ψεύδεσθαι **... Ghost]** Acts 5.3.

473–74. Wise unto Salvation] 2 Timothy 3.15.

495–96. after ... trembles] A combination of Hebrews 9.27 and James 2.19.

525. Knowledge ... edifieth] 1 Corinthians 8.1.

528. purifie ... spirit] 2 Corinthians 7.1.

548–49. Gods holy ... flame] Possible reference to Revelation 3.12.

550–51. The Naturall ... discerned] 1 Corinthians 2.14.

555. unconditedJ Unseasoned, unflavoured.

556–58. A voluptuous ... game] Diodorus Siculus, V.3.2.

558–59. Ἀδύνατον ... κατάνυξιν] St.Chrysostom, *De Compunctione ad Demetrium* I.7. GMigne XLVII.404.

561–62. Pilato ... answer] Clearly a comment on John 18.38 but the source has not been found.

571. in obsequium Christi] 2 Corinthians 10.5.

571–72. loving ... mind] Matthew 22.37: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.*

577–80. And ... judgment] Genesis 18.17.

583–86. Many ... understand] *Margin:* Dan[iel] 12.10.

593. Cabinet] Secret receptacle or store-house.

599–600. λόχῳ ... νοερᾷ] John Smith (*Select Discourses* p.17): *we shall then fasten our minds upon him* λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, *with such a serene understanding,* γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ *such an intellectual calmness and serenity as will present us with a blissful, steady, and invariable sight of him.*

604–05. If we ... light] *Margin:* Eph[esians). 5.14.

612. hid ...God] Colossians 3.3: *For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.*

613. Promo-condus] This word is not listed in any of the standard Latin dictionaries. It appears to be formed from the verb *promere*, to bring out and the substantive *condus*, a steward or one who stores provisions. Listings of the use of *condus* often link it with *promo*, as in, e.g., Plautus, *Pseudolus* II.2.14: *condus, promus sum, procurator peni.* The meaning of Taylor's usage seems to imply simply a server or provider.

618. Moses ... Egyptians] The source of this commonplace is Exodus 2 which describes how Moses was reared as an Egyptian after his adoption by Pharoah's daughter. Also Acts 7.22: *And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*

625. Tradidit ... Moses] Juvenal 14.102: *All that Moses committed to his secret volume.*

628. there ... Spirit] 2 Corinthians 3.6: *Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.*

633–34. which ... worthy] Probably a reference to Revelation 5.2: *And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the Seals whereof ..*

63[illegible]–3[illegible]. We may ... learning] In the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon (Chaldea) recruits four of the wisest of the "children of Israel" (1.3) to serve at his court. These were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, otherwise known as Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. In Chapter 5, Daniel is called upon to interpret a dream of Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar's son, who has become King. AV 5.13,14: *Then was Daniel brought in before the king. And the king spake and said unto Daniel, Art thou that Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father had brought out of Jewry?/ I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is In thee, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee.*

639. Cabala] The *Cabala* was a Rabbinical book of mystical interpretations of

the OT. Reference to the *Cabala* and its method are commonplace in the period. The Cambridge Platonists were particularly fascinated by it and Henry More wrote a work entitled *Conjectura Cabbalistica* (1653).

641–42. Γνῶσις... analogies] Cp. John Smith (*Select Discourses p.1*): γνῶσις ἑκάστων δὶ ὁμοιότητος γίνεται *as the Greek philosopher well observed – every thing is best known by that which bears a just resemblance and analogy with it* The source is Plotinus *Enneads* I.8.1.

647. perfect ... God] 2 Corinthians 7.1.

649. indeficient] Unfailing or unceasing.

650. ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ θεοῦ] "the radiance of God". The word ἀπαύγασμα occurs only once in the NT, in Hebrews 1.3, but not in conjunction with τοῦ θεοῦ.

652–53. Ἀλλ' ... εὐμαθίης] Translates as "but I light the torch of learning in the mind of pure mortals". Source as yet unidentified.

655. they ... finger] John 20.25: ... *Except I [Thomas] shall see in his hands the prints of the nails, and put my finger into the prints of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe*

661. Unction from above] 1 John 2.20.

662. this ... it] Genesis 28.12.

673. Thomas and Scotus] St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, scholastic theologians of the thirteenth century. Scotus opposed the Aristotelianism of Aquinas and his followers as being too theoretical and too speculative. Scotus asserted the primacy of faith and works.

681–82. The ... discerned] 1 Corinthians 2.14.

684–85. a blind ... saw] Proverbial; e.g. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* II.1 and Shakespeare 2 Henry VI, II.1.125. But cp. John Smith, "The True Way etc.", p.15: ... *that which can no more be known by a naked Demonstration, then Colours can be perceived of a blinde man by any Definition or description he can hear of them*

691–92. δικαιοσύνη ... αληθείᾳ] Marcus Aurelius III.4. This phrase is quoted in Simon Patrick's funeral sermon for John Smith (*Select Discourses* p.509).

697. The answer ... conscience] 1 Peter 3.21.

707. bone ... flesh] Genesis 2.23: *And Adam said. This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.*

710–11. The Woman ... evertit] Luke 15.8.

716–18. The mouth ... acceptable] *Margin:* Proverbs 10.31,32.

731–32. the men ... doors] See also *Episcopacy,* Epistle Dedicatory (V.11). In 1536 the citizens of Geneva ejected their Bishop Peter de la Baume, who was also prince of their city-state, thus declaring a republic.

737. Nolumus hunc regnare] Luke 19.14: *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos.* AV: *We will not have this man to reign over us.*

756–57. But ... species] See Aquinas, *Summa* Part 1a, Quaestio L.4.

757–58. and what ... separation] Aquinas, *Summa,* Part 1a, Quaestio 17.11.

758–59. what ... sin] Aquinas, *Summa,* Part 1a, Quaestio 18.7.

771. viam intelligentiae] Despite Taylor's attribution of this phrase to Solomon this is not an identifiable quotation from the vulgate. The closest to Taylor's sense is Proverbs 21.16: *The man that wandreth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead.* Interestingly, in the vulgate *the way of understanding* is *via doctrinae.* Perhaps the title of Taylor's sermon is intended as an anti-Catholic point.

785–86. for ... Religion] Cp. John Smith, "The True Way etc.", p.8 : *Jejune and barren speculations may be hovering and fluttering up and down about Divinity, but they cannot settle or fix themselves upon it: they unfold the plicatures of truth's garment, but they cannot behold the lovely face of it.*

791–93. He ... him.] *Margin:* John 14.21.

799–802. For ... glory] 1 Corinthians 15.20: *Brethren, be not children in*

understanding: howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men.

804. he was ... Earth] Numbers 12.3.

809. at the ... Gamaliel] Acts 22.3: *I [Paul] am verily a man which am a Jew ... yet brought up in this city [Cilicia] at the feet of Gamaliel ...*

813–17. And ... learned] Isaiah 29.11,12.

826–28. Etiamsi ... expression] "Even if, because of the slowness of our intellect and unworthiness of our life, the truth has not yet revealed itself in all its clarity". Unidentified as yet.

830–32. St.Paul ... Lie] *Margin:* Rom[ans] 1.25,26.

832–33. God ... joy] *Margin:* Eccl[esiastes] 2.26.

835–36. The Comforter ... things] *Margin:* John 14.26.

840–42. If ... him] John 14.15,16.

849. Secreta ... eius] Unidentified, but "Jewish Proverb" probably indicates a Rabbinic source. Cp. *In passionibus* etc. (line 406), clearly a Latin translation of the Hebrew and called a "Proverb".

851. ὕψωμα ... διδασκομένων] Not from the NT. "The height of learning".

853–54. ἃ γὰρ ..., Aristotle ..] *Nicomachean Ethics* 1103a,34–35: "We learn an art or craft by doing the things that we shall have to do when we have learnt it".

855–56. Quisquis ... perficiat] *Margin:* St. Au[gus]tin[e] De gratia Christi lib.1.c.14. LMigne XLV.368: "Thus when the Lord teaches it is through the grace of the Spirit. Moreover, he so teaches that whatever a man learns under such tuition, he not only perceives the process of discovery, but also desires by the exercise, and accomplishes in continuous action".

855–56.] Immediately under the side-note shown above: *Margin:* Nullum bonum perfecte noscitur quod non perfecte amatur. Aug.lib.83 qu de gratia Christi. This translates, "Nothing good can be completely known unless it is completely loved".

872–74. St. Peters ... what] Matthew 17.1–8; Mark 9.2–8; Luke 9.28–36.

875-76 Wisdom ... Redemption] 1 Corinthians 1.30.

882. building ... Faith] Jude 20.

902–04. For ... Ben Sirach] *Margin:* Eccl[esiastic]us 21.11. However the phrase *will not enter into a polluted soul* is from the book of Wisdom 1.4: *For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter: nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.*

920. ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία] 1 Timothy 1.10; 2 Timothy 4.3; Titus 2.1. AV: *sound doctrine.*

923. oblitus ... lene] Ammianus Marcellinus 22.11.5: "and, forgetful of his calling, which counselled only justice and mildness". This phrase is quoted in John Hales, *Golden Remains*, p.26.

925. Bellarmine] Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), French cardinal and Jesuit.

926. note] Sign, mark, indicator.

946. there ... Law] Matthew 23.23: *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith ...*

948–49. These ... unregarded] Matthew 23.23, continuing from above, *... these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.*

952. θειότερόν .. ἀποδείξεως] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.2, GMigne XI.656.

956-57. like ... Israel] Ruth 4.11.

957-58. and ... down] Judges 16.25–31.

958-59. My ... change] Proverbs 24.21.

962–71. In the ..foundation This a cabbalistic interpretation but I have not traced a specific source.

978. the gates ... .hurch] Matthew 16.18.

988. endeared] Made more loved.

1000. Give ... Doctrine] 1 Timothy 4.13.

1005–21. St. Chrysostom ... Ghost] *Margin:* Liber de consummat. saeculi inter opera Ephrem Syri. This work is not in the Migne volumes of Chrysostom's works. It must be suppositious.

1011. Evodias] St.Evodias of Antioch d.*ca.* 64 AD.

1013. Ignatius] St.Ignatius of Antioch, bishop, theologian and martyr, d. *ca.* 110 AD.

1014. Hippolytus] 170–236 AD, presbyter and Bishop of Rome.

1016. Athanasius] St.Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, 295–373 AD.

1016. Gregory Nyssen] St.Gregory of Nyssa (335–394).

1017. Ephrem the great Syrian] Lived 306–373.

1023–24. your ... you] Luke 21.15: *For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist*

1025. Myron] An account of Myron's sculptures is given in Pliny's *Natural History,*XXIV.19.57–59.

1027. become ... lights] John 6.35, Christ's words on John the Baptist: *He was a burning and a shining light*

1028. do ... unrighteousness] Romans 1.18: *For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness*

1028. walk in light] 1 John 1.7; Revelation 21.24.

1028. live in the spirit] Galatians 5.25.

1031. Colocynths] Bitter-apples, members of the gourd family.

There are two contemporary reports of the death and funeral of Archbishop John Bramhall. The first occurs in *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* headed "Dublin June 27":

> On Thursday last (June 25) died that learned and most Reverend Prelate Dr. Bramhall heretofore Lord Bishop of *London-Derry* and late Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* and Primate of all *Ireland*, who (were there no other testimonies of his eminent merit) will be sufficiently known by saying, This is He who was so precious to these two Renowned Patriots Arch-Bishop *Laud* and the Earl of *Strafford*, since whose death He hath by his learned Works, Disputations and Conversation both at home and abroad justified the Doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and confuted all those malicious Slanders against his late Majesty and his Gov[ernmen]t both in Church and State.[22]

A report of his funeral also occurs in the same newspaper headed "Dublin July 16":

> This day the Exequies of the late most pious & reverend Father in God, *John* Lord Archbishop of Armagh and late Primate of all *Ireland*, were celebrated with all convenient order and state, his Corpse being carried in a Herse from his house in Oxmanton, to its resting place in Christ-Church Dublin, where the Right reverend the Lord Bishop of Down preached his Funeral-Sermon; and in it gave such a sufficient Narrative of the Life of that most honourable person. The Sermon you shall (next week) have in print, for the satisfaction of those who have respect to his Memory; which will live, notwithstanding the Obloquies of malitious Detractors.[23]

There is also a Latin funeral oration, delivered apparently after the burial of the body, by Dudley Loftus but this is pure encomium and does not impart anything of the occasion or add anything to the information given in Taylor's sermon.[24]

Taylor's sermon provides one of the primary sources for a biography of Bramhall. The other main source is the life by John Vesey, Bishop of Limerick, which was prefixed to the first complete edition of Bramhall's works (Dublin,

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22 *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* 27, 29 June-6 July 1663.

23 *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* 31, 27 July-3 August 1663.

24 Dudley Loftus, *Orationis funebris ... Johannes Archepiscopi Armachani ... XVI die Julii, 1663* (Dublin,1663).

1677). An entry in Sir James Ware's *History of the Bishops of Ireland*,[25] one in *Biographica Britannia* and one in the DNB are the other major sources. Vesey's is still the fullest account.

John Bramhall was born at Pontefract, Yorkshire and was baptised there on 18 November 1594. He was admitted to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge on 21 February 1609. He obtained the following degrees: B.A. 1612, M.A. 1616, B.D. 1623, D.D.1630. He took orders in 1616 and later married a widow by whom he obtained wealth. He inherited a good library from her previous husband, also a clergyman. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York made him his chaplain after his public disputation with Hungate, a jesuit and Houghton, a priest, in 1623. In July 1633 he went to Ireland as Wentworth's chaplain and set about the long task of reclaiming ecclesiastical affairs from ruin. He was consecrated Bishop of Derry on 16 May 1634. Shortly after the impeachment of Strafford (Wentworth) in 11 November 1640, the presbyterians of the Ulster dioceses drew up a petition against the bishops. Bramhall was the most prominent object of attack because of his association with Strafford himself. Bramhall was sent to prison but later freed through intercession by the King. Bramhall fled to England and then to the continent, landing at Hamburg on 8 July 1644. He is considered to have spent most of the time between this date and 1648 at Brussels, preaching and administering to Anglicans via the English Embassy. In 1648 he went back to Ireland and had several narrow escapes before returning to the continent where he wrote many of his defences of the Anglican church. He did not return to England until 1660 and was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh on 18 January 1661. The situation about this time is described in my introductory chapter "The Biographical Background" . Bramhall died of a stroke (his third) on 25 June 1663. In doctrine Bramhall was a follower of Laud and Ussher. His many polemical works defended the Church of England against the charge of schism, asserted the apostolic succession of bishops and wrote against the Catholics most often. He also wrote several works against Thomas Hobbes, whom he met while in Paris, sometime before 1646.

Taylor probably knew Bramhall very well. The only documentary evidence we have of this is the "Eight Unpublished Letters by Jeremy Taylor" edited by

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[25] Included in the *Whole Works* ed. Harris.

William P. Williams, [26] The tone of these, although they really only discuss diocesan and parliamentary affairs, points to a relationship that goes beyond the strictly necessary.

14–16. For liberty ... point] Cp. John Smith, *Select Discourses*, "Of the Existence and Nature of God", p.134: *And therefore the more the Results of our Judgments tend to an Indifferency, the more we find our Wills dubious and in suspense what to chuse; contrary inclinations arising and falling within each enter-changeably, as the Scales of a Ballance equally laden with weights; and all this while the Soul's Liberty is nothing else but a fluctuation between uncertainties, and languisheth away in the impotency of our Understandings. Whereas the Divine Understanding beholding all things most clearly, must needs beget the greatest Freedome that may be; which Freedome as it is bred in it, so it never moves without the Compass of it.*

22–27. For ... dust] Genesis 3.14: *And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly thou shalt go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.*

33. a worm and no Man] Psalm 22.6.

36. dye daily] 1 Corinthians 15.31.

44. The dead ... first] 1 Thessalonians 4.16.

47–48. whether ... Easter] Leviticus 11.29 numbers the tortoise amongst the unclean animals but the other two references are a mystery.

68. the Proverb ... two] Talmud *Berakoth* 4b provides this comment on Daniel 10.13.

71–73. And therefore ... dyed] Luke 16.19–31.

75–76. Gods ... children] This may well be an adaptation of the story in 1 Kings 3 where two mothers dispute the true parenthood of a baby. In verse 26 it is said of the true mother that *her bowels yearned upon her son.* It is also

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[26] *Anglican Theological Review*, 38 (April 1976), 179–93.

said in Genesis 43.30 that Joseph's *bowels did yearn on his brother.* This is another example of Taylor's using a plausibly biblical phrase without a specific reference.

84. the Alpha and Omega **]** Revelation 1.8,11: *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord.*

85–86. Jesus ... ever] Hebrews 13.8.

89. Hermetick seal] OED 2b: airtight closure of a vessel by fusion, soldering or welding.

89. signature] This clearly plays on the idea of an "Hermetick seal" and a seal's being the authorisation of a document. Possibly Taylor's usage of "Hermetick seal" has a wider meaning than that given in the OED.

109–22. Valde ... side] Even though the bulk of what is said here is commonplace, this passage appears to have been influenced by a sermon of Lancelot Andrewes's on the Resurrection, preached 6 April 1606 on 1 Romans 6.9–11 (*Ninety-Six Sermons*, 5 vols., *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (Oxford, 1843–56), II.190. Andrewes's version runs:

> Mary Magdalene saw it first, and reported it. "They believed her not". The two that went to Emmaus, they also reported it. They believed them not. Divers women together saw Him and came and told them; "their words seemed to them ληπος, an idle, feigned, fond tale". They all saw Him, and even seeing Him, yet they doubted. When they were put out of doubt, and told it but to one that happened to be absent, it was St.Thomas, you know how peremptory he was; "not he, unless he might not only see with his eyes , but feel with his fingers, and put his hand into his side". And all this he did. St.Augustine saith well: *Profecto valde dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur a nobis*; all this doubting was by them made, that we might be out of doubt, and know that Christ is risen.

The quotation from St.Augustine is particularly significant. A note in the Eden edition gives St.Leo the Great (Sermon LXXIII (LMigne LIV.395)) as the source here rather than Augustine. If it is true that the quotation is not from Augustine then we might conclude that Taylor "borrowed" quotations from other writers without any recourse to their source.

100–01. For ... death] Acts 2.24: *Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death: because it was not possible that he should be holden of it.*

free among the dead] Psalm 88.5.

102-03. φρίξέν ... βηλοῦ] Synesius, Hymn 8.19-23. "Then ancient Hades quailed before you, and the folk-devouring hound withdrew from the threshold".

111-13. Mary .. not] Mark 16.9-11; John 20.18.

113-14. divers ... him] Matthew 28.9 and Luke 24.11.

115-16. The two ... told it] Luke 24.13.

116-17. St.Peter ... all] Luke 24.34 and 1 Corinthians 15.5.

119. he ... eleven] Luke 24.36.

121-22. he ... James] 1 Corinthians 15.7.

122. suffered ... side] John 20.27.

123. appeared to St.Paul] Acts 9.3-6 and 1 Corinthians 15.8.

123. was ... once] 1 Corinthians 15.6.

130-31. he appeared ... Heaven] Acts 9.3-6 and 7.56.

140. notorious] Commonly or generally known.

141. story] Narrative of fact.

157. title] In this context the word probably means a right or entitlement.

200-01. Combustusque ... rogus] Dracontius, *Carmina de Deo*, I.654-655. LMigne LX.756. "And the old-man, having been cremated, comes out of the tomb fully grown, the pyre, consuming, gives limbs".

205. admonetur ... est] *Margin:* St.Cyprian ad Donat. That is, Epistle I ad Donatum, Corpus Scriptorum, p.650. "Every age should be reminded that what has happened at some time can happen [again]". Cp. Parliament sermon line 23.

213. fashioned ... terrae] Psalm 139.15: *My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.* However, the phrase *in secreto terrae* does not occur in the Vulgate

version.

220. S.Paul's demonstration] In 1 Corinthians 15.35–38 St.Paul uses the analogy of the seed to demonstrate the resurrection of the body.

231–32. Pliny ... grave] Pliny XXX.6.

232–33. in Valerius ... pile] Pliny VII.52.173: "Gaius Aelius Tubero, a former praetor, is recorded by Messala Rufus and most authorities to have been recovered from the pyre". Valerius Maximus was an author of the first century AD. He compiled *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri*, a handbook of examples for rhetoricians. Although he draws frequently upon Pliny, this example does not appear in his volume.

233–4. Plutarch ... live] Refers to an inhabitant of the Cilician city of Soli (in Greek Σολευς) mentioned in Plutarch "De sera numini vindicta" (*Moralia* 563b).

235–37. in Valerius ... dayes] Valerius Maximus I.8.12. However, *Aeris Pamphilius* is synonymous with the Er of book X of Plato's *Republic* and Valerius clearly acknowledges his source. I can't imagine why Taylor cites Valerius in this case when there are references to the relevant place in Plato in other of his works, e.g. the Dalston sermon (98–102).

235–37. Glaucus ... again] This a frequently cited story which appears in a variety of sources, e.g. Appollodorus *Bibliotheca* III.3.1 and Hyginus *Fabulae* CXXXVI. However, Eden gives Clearchus Soleus as a source here.

246–47. Sleep ... Mother] Again this is a commonplace but Taylor may well be drawing on Pliny VII.50.107 again here.

248–50. Soles ... dormienda] [Catul.] is added after this quotation, i.e. Catullus, *Carmina* V.4–6.

251. κοιμητήρια] Formed from the noun κοιμήσις, sleep. The word occurs in Ecclesiasticus 46.19 and 48.13.

261. call'd ... grave] John 11.43.

262. the trumpet ... Archangel] 1 Corinthians 15.52: *for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall all be changed*. 1 Thessalonians 4.16: *For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a*

shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God and the dead in Christ shall rise first.

264–65. all .... voice] John 5.28.

272–76. the story ... Egypt] Philip Camerarius, *Operae Horarum Subcisivarum sive Meditationes Historicae* (Frankfurt, 1602), p.339.

279–81. Quae ... volucres] *Margin:* Dracuntius de opere Dei. That is, Dracontius I.642, LMigne LX.756: "What now was vegetation, lies as wood, only to be vegetation again/ The birds of the air are naked with their old feathers/ And new plumage clothes the restored birds".

283–84. the Eagle ... youth] Isaiah 40.31.

286. the words of Job] Job 19.26,27.

287. the prayer ... Ephraim] Ezekiel 37.

288. return ... belly] Jonah 2.1–3.

293–94. S.Paul ... κόσμῳ] Ephesians 2.12.

294–95. they ... World] Ephesians 2.12.

296–301. S.Augustine ... Union] *De mirabili sacri scriptorum*, I.3, LMigne XXV.2154.

315–17. ye which ... Israel] *Margin:* Luke 14.14. The actual reference is Matthew 19.28.

327. via ... life] John 14.6.

336–37. Blessed ... resurrection] *Margin:* Rev[elation] 20.6.

337–38. the dead ... first] *Margin:* 1 Thes[salonians] 4.16.

338–39. for ... power] Revelation 20.6.

342–48. When ... torment] This story appears in both Pliny VII.53 and Valerius Maximus I.8.12.

349. a portion for Devils] Cp. Psalm 63.10: *They shall fall by the sword: they*

shall be a portion for foxes.

350. everlasting burning] Isaiah 33.14: *who shall dwell with everlasting burnings?*

350–51. look ... pierced] Zechariah 12.10.

359. makes ... wicked] Isaiah 53.9.

367–68. receive .. bad] 2 Corinthians 5.10.

269–70. For ... glorious] Phillipians 3.21: "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned unto his glorious body ...".

371–72. lyes ... ashes] Job 30.19: *He hath cast me into the mire and I am become like dust and ashes* or 42.6, *Wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes.*

372. that ... feeble] Baruch 2.18: *But the soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry soul, will give thee praise and righteousness, O Lord.*

373. feasted ... lambe] Revelation 19.9: *... Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.*

375–76. οὐ καλὸν ..ανθρώποιο] Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sentences* 102. "It is not good to unstring the harmony of man".

379–80. Καὶ ... τελέθονται] Phocylides, *Carmen Admonitorium* 98–99. "And swiftly we hope to come from earth to light when they have left our mortal remains, and hereafter they become gods".

392–93. If when ... life] *Margin:* Rom[ans] 5.10.

395. friend of God] James 2.23: *he [Abraham] was called the friend of God,* i.e because he was righteous.

400–402. Enter ... moment] *Margin:* Isaiah 26.20: *Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.*

409. exuere hominem] The phrase does not occur in the Vulgate. Two places

in the AV give the sense, Ephesians 4.22, *That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man* and Colossians 3.9, *seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds*.

410. Vinum Myrrhatum] Either a reference to Mark 15.23 in the Vulgate, *Et dabant ei bibere murratum vinum*, "and they gave him wine with myrrh to drink" or possibly Pliny XIV.15 in which the ancient custom of spicing wines is discussed.

412–16. the Great ... Gods] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII.7.2. "Make ready Cyrus; for thou shalt soon depart to the Gods".

416. Tiar] I.e.tiara.

424–25. Jam ... cogitant] Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* I.3.5. "Now other men have their prebends, whether they think of them or not".

432. monthly minds] See *Liberty of Prophesying* (V.511): *And as for those other ends of upholding that opinion which possibly its patrons may have, as for the reputation of their church's infallibility, for the advantage of dirges, requiems, masses, monthly minds, anniversaries and other offices for the dead, which usually are very profitable, rich, and easy.* A "monthly mind" is therefore a remembrance of the dead a month after their decease.

434–35. ἔπεὶ ... ἔοντος] "Since a friend who is mindful of a dead comrade grieves for him also when he is no more". Homeric, but apparently not Homer.

440–41. Who all ... report] Hebrews 11.39.

449–54. When ... interview] Acts 9.39.

454. εὐφημισμος] A rhetorical figure using an auspicious word for an inauspicious one, cp. "euphemism".

461. πάντες ... φορέουσιν] "For everyone, having mixed splendid gifts, carry [them]". Again, Homeric but not Homer.

470–71. Augustus ... Funeral] Source unidentified as yet.

471. Marcus ... his] Capitolinus's life of Augustus in *Scriptores Historiae*

Augustae II.4.

471–72. Gratian ... Consul] Source unidentified as yet.

473–74. Obstetricari gravidae animae] "To bring forth the heavy [i.e. pregnant] souls". Possibly a Latin version of Plato's *Thaetetus* 150B in which Socrates the "midwife" talks about delivering the souls of others.

483. three] This should be two, see Vesey's *Life*.

501. caressing] Treating with kindness or favour.

505–06. Lucius ... plow] Source unidentified as yet.

533. Bishop Downham] George Downham d.1634, son of William Downham, Bishop of Chester.

547. Judas ... Oyntment] Matthew 26.7–15 and Mark 14.3–10 connect Judas's betrayal with this incident.

547–49. Dyonisius ... Summer] Valerius Maximus I.1.3. This anecdote is recounted in almost identical words in Taylor's sermon "The invalidity of a late or death-bed repentance" (IV.403).

551–52. inimicus homo] Matthew 13.28: *et ait illis inimicus homo hoc fecit* AV: *And he said unto him, an enemy has done this*.

559. Glebe] Land assigned to a clergyman as part of his benefice.

561. from ... Beersheba] The phrase is formulaic in the OT and used to indicate the length and breadth of Israel. Dan was the most northerly city of the Israelites.

561–62. the ... increase] I.e. a tax on profits, as in Deuteronomy 14.28: ... *thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thy increase the same year*.

563. Buxtorf] I.e. Johann Buxtorf the elder.

567–69. this ... Tribes] *Margin:* Numb[ers] 1.46.[& 3] 39. For 46 read 47. *Margin:* Selden Hist[ory] of Tythes [(1618)], c[hapter] 2. Selden does not actually give the computation cited here but simply gives an account of the tithes due to the Levites and notes that they were treated favourably.

569. Villalpandus] Juan Baptista Villalpando in *In Ezechielem explanationes*.

572–75. it is ... Man] *Margin:* See Philo περι του τινα γερα ιβεως. This side-note appears to be very corrupt. Consequently, the source has not been identified.

583. deposita pietatis] *Margin:* Tract.35 in S.Matth. The phrase occurs already in Tertullian's *Apologeticus*; LMigne I.533.

583. gages] Things of value deposited to ensure the performance of some action and liable to forfeiture in case of non-performance.

590–91. But ... Solomon] Possibly Proverbs 9.17: *Stolen waters are sweet*
596: resentment] Feeling .
598. Zerrubbabel] Ezra 5.2: *Then rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Jozadale, and began to build the house of God which is at Jerusalem.*

599. Joshua] See 591 above.

605–06. populus unius labii] Genesis 11.1: *erat autem terra labii unius et sermonum eorundorum.* AV:*And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech.*

607. Shibboleth] In Judges 12.6 a test word by which the Ephraimites revealed their accent and thus themselves to their enemies. Hence, in a modern sense, a catchword or mark of a sect or party.

608–09. the speech ... Canaan] Esdud, principal port and stronghold of the Philistines was situated North East of Gaza. It contained a temple to Dagon and its idolatry was attacked by the Maccabees (1 Maccabees 5.68, 10.84). The "speech of Ashdod" is therefore the opposite to the "language of Canaan" since Canaanite was supposed to be closest to Biblical Hebrew. See, for example, the Preface to the AV which speaks of *the language of Canaan, that is, Hebrew.* See Nehemiah 13.24: *And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak the Jews' language ...*

610. dehonestate] From Latin *dehonestare* meaning to dishonour, disgrace, disparage.

611–17. Ut ... Divinity] Lucius Annaeus Florus 1.7. "And just as they had rushed

to defend his Temple, so they asked God to guard their brave deeds with his divine power".

627. annum acceptabilem] Probably Luke 4.19: *praedicare annum Domini acceptum* AV: *To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.* Referring back to Isaiah 61.2.

634. conster] Alternative spelling of "construe", i.e., in this case, to interpret in a bad sense, misconstrue.

635. intermedial] Intermediary, interim.

636. earnest] Used figuratively, a foretaste or pledge of something to be received in greater abundance in the future.

640. dederunt ... poetae] This is an adaptation of the rejoinder given against the poet Gnaeus Naevius (270–199 BC) by the consul Metellus : *Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae.* Eden says the origin of the phrase occurs in a note to Cicero *Against Verres* I.10 by Asconius.

641. ἀγαθοεργία] The word appears in Acts 14.17 and 1 Timothy 6.18. It means "doing good".

644–45. Saucior ...opem] Unidentified. "The bite of envy wounds, a remedy must be sought, but where on earth can a sick man find a defence"?

648. ἀπ' **... Sophocles]** Aristophanes, *The Birds* 376, "Yet to clever folk a foeman very useful hints may show".

664. Turba ... quieti] Martial, *De Spectalis* 4: "A crowd dangerous to peace and a foe to tranquil rest".

672–73. Callimachus ... Marathon] Source unidentified as yet.

678. Aesop's viper] In John Ogilby *The Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse, and adorn'd with Sculpture* (1651), the twenty-seventh fable, a workman has been filing a statue of Gorgon watched by a viper. The viper then tries to devour the file in the workman's absence because it thinks it is responsible for torturing snakes (on the Gorgons's head). Ogilby draws the moral: *Fools that with spleen and fury are possest,/Not mind their own, nor publick interest:/ Some, vext abroad, on their domesticks fall;/ Or bruise their knuckles on a*

senselesse wall

679. musterolls] Literally an official list of officers or men in the army or a ship's company but extended figuratively to mean any meticulous survey or list. Taylor probably has in mind a list of meticulous points or objections to Bramhall's doctrine or behaviour.

680. ἔν μέγα] Loosely, "in general".

684. retiaries] A *retiarius* was a Roman gladiator who carried a net with which to entangle his adversary.

695 Hippasus the Pythagorean] Mentioned by Iamblichus and by Diogenes Laertius (VIII.84) as one of the elder Pythagoreans. He is also mentioned by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* (I.3) as believing in fire as the cause of all things.

700–02. Nascitur ... atra] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.313: " When the fullness of time was come, a son was born to the wing-footed god Autolycus, of crafty [in this reading "wicked"] nature, well versed in cunning wiles. For he could make white of black and black of white".

705. et ... benedictionibus] Proverbs 10.7. AV: *The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot* In the Vulgate, however, this is *memoria iusti cum laudibus et nomen impiorum putrescet*

709. in integrum] Unhurt, uninjured, blameless.

718–19. et ... gladios] "And is changed from the tongue to the sword". Unidentified.

719. ἀδικία ... ὅπλα] Aristotle, *Politics* 1253a: χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα, "for unrighteousness is most pernicious when it puts on weapons".

722. Sir Phelim O'Neill] (1604–1653), soldier and hero of the Irish Rebellion. The anecdote here is confirmed in Vesey's life.

734-35 sed ... hominis] "But the goodness of God is more likely to prevail than all the malice of men". Source unidentified.

737. Stantia ... Deos] Martial I.12.12: "a standing roof could not witness to the

gods".

745. tuas ... habeto] "Keep your things for yourself".

754-55. so the ... were] Hebrews 11.37: "... they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented".

757. Exilium ... Patriae] Source unidentified as yet. " The cause of exile, spurring on itself, is sweet to see, and the sweet desire for my homeland lifts me up".

763. ἡμέραι ... σοφώτατοι] Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 1.52-53. "But the days that are still to come are the wisest witnesses".

766-67. Verbis ... histrionis] Source unidentified. "To philosophise wholly with words is not for the teacher but the actor".

778. Milletiere] Theophile Brachet de la Milletiere who wrote a tract entitled *The Victory of Truth for the Peace of the Church, to the King of Great Britain* (The Hague, 1653). In this he suggested that the best solution to Charles's problems was to to become a Roman Catholic. In reply, Bramhall wrote *An Answer to Monsieur de la Militiere his impertinent Dedication of his Imaginary Triumph* (1652).

789. Junius] Probably the pseudonym of Richard Young, author of *The Victory of Patience and Benefit of Affliction* (1636).

792-93. gloriosus ... superare] St.Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Evangelia* I.18.4, LMigne LXXVI.1153.

794-95. the fire ... tongue] Psalm 39.3: *My heart was hot within me, while I was musing the fire burned: then spake I with my tongue*

795. the son ... Κροῖσον] Herodotus 1.85. Croesus's son was dumb. As a Persian was about to slay Croesus, his son said his first ever words : "Man, do not kill Croesus".

816. Palladium] In Greek and Latin myth the image of the goddess Pallas in Troy on which the safety of the city was said to depend. Thus, "palladium" came to mean anything on which the safety of a nation or institution was said

to depend.

812–17. The … contended] Refers to *A Just Vindication of the Church of England from the Unjust Aspersion of Criminal Schism* (1654). Bramhall argued in this that the Roman Catholic Church was a pollution of the primitive church and thus the causer of schism. Also, that the ancient 'Britannic' (i.e. Celtic) church was the model for the Church of England and thus it could not be called schismatic.

820. prevaricated] Turned from the straight course or meaning, perverted.

825. Verum … ussit] Virgil *Eclogues* 8.83: *Daphnis me malus urit*, "Me cruel Daphnis burns".

826. smitten … rib] 2 Samuel 2.23.

827. Bishop of Chalcedon] Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon 1625–31. He wrote a large number of works including *A Brief Survey of the Lord of Derry [Bramhall] his Treatise of Schism* (1655).

834–35. Flumina … mella] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.111.

836–37. out … sweetness] Judges 14.14: *Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.*

839–40. haeret … arundo] Virgil, *Aeneid* IV.73. Most editions have "harundo" not "arundo". In Montaigne, however, this is cited in identical form to Taylor's in l.38 (p.252 in the Everyman edition).

844–45. he wrote … vizor] The "late witty man" is Thomas Hobbes. In 1656 Bramhall published *A Defence of True Liberty from Antecedent and Extrinsical Necessity being an answer to a late book of Mr.Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, entitled A Treatise of Liberty and Necessity.* Bramhall also wrote *Castigations of Mr. Hobbes* (1657) and also *The Catching of Leviathan or the Great Whale* (1656).

846. ceruss] Alternative spelling of "ceruse", a name for white lead which was a compound used as a paint or cosmetic for the skin.

851. Dukes … Gloucester] Charles II's brothers, Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1639–60) and James, Duke of York (i.e. James II) (1633–1701).

862. In ... Sion] Psalm 126 (Vulgate 125).1: *In Convertendo Dominum captivitatem Sion.* AV: *When the lord turned again the captivity of Zion.*

876–77. Unus ... vigil] "One shepherd looking after his huge flock/ Alone awake, guards the sleep of all". Source unidentified.

882–87. St.Patrick ... Bishops] In the *Tripartite Life of St.Patrick* the figures given are 365 Bishops, 3000 priests and 365 churches. This is also the reckoning of the Irish Antiquary Sir James Ware (*Works* (1764) I.22).

890. Antecessors] Predecessors.

892. S. ... Dublin] St.Lawrence O'Toole (1128–80), first archbishop of Dublin.

892. S. ... Down] St.Malachy O'Morgair (1094–1148), Bishop of Down in 1137 and thereafter Archbishop of Armagh.

892–97. Richard ... industriae] *Margin:* De scriptor[ibus] Ecclesiasticis. Taylor's quotation from Trithemius's work of this name is exact. The subject is Richard Fitzralph (1300–60), a controversialist who influenced Wycliff. The process of his canonisation was dropped in 1399 but there were shrines to "St.Richard of Dundalk" as late as 1545. Johannes Trithemius (or Trittenheim) (1462–1516) wrote a great many works of ecclesiastical history. His *De Scriptoribus* is a handbook to Christian writers of the post-patristic period.

914–15. quaerens ... Christi] 2 Corinthians 12.14: *... I seek not yours but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents but the parents for the children.* Taylor's Latin reads " seeking not ours but us, and those who are with Jesus Christ". This is clearly directed towards the clergy in the audience.

919–20. Quid ... comprehendi] "What, do you want me to be taken by God when I am idle"? Source unidentified.

940. Choragus] In Greek drama, the leader of the chorus.

949–50. and ... himself] Suetonius, "Life of Augustus" 99.

952. Bassus Aufidius] Seneca the Elder mentions him in his *Suasoriae* but the quotation attributed to him here does not appear.

953–54. Sperare ... solatii] *Margin:* Epist[le] 30.14. [Referring to the *Seneca* in

the text]. "I hope, first of all, that there is no pain at the moment when a man breathes his last; but if there is, one will find an element of comfort in its very shortness".

960. osculum oris Dei] Cp. John Smith, "A Discourse of Legal Righteousness", p.291: *And therefore in Breshith Rabba ... [on Canticles, "let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth"] O that God would kiss us with the kisses of his mouth!*

He ... καλῶς] This is something of a puzzle. Myson, a philosopher of the sixth century BC, appears in Diogenes Laertius I.9 where Anarcharsis is told of the former's superlative "wise-heartedness". However, the Greek quotation here comes from Maximus Tyrius 15, "Myson ruled his household well". Taylor appears to be confused about his sources again here.

974. Semper ... domo] "Always something in Cydon's house". The source here is Suidas, under αει τις in his *Lexicon* (edited by Ada Adler, 5 vols., Lexicographi Graeci (Leipzig, 1938), I.63, entry 642). The proverb is in Greek but includes the words "said the Corinthian". This again suggests an intermediary source for Taylor's usage.

975-76. μερίζων ... βίβλῳ] *Margin:* Synes[ius] ep[istle] 57.

981. Melancthon] Philip Melancthon (1497-1560), intimate friend of Luther.

982. Pomeranus] Johann Bugenhagen (1485-1558), known as "Dr. Pommer" because he was from Pomerania, was also an intimate friend of Luther.

982. Justus Jonas] Jodocus Koch (1493-1555), a Lutheran theologian at Wittenberg.

985-88. At, At ... parem] Horace, *Odes* I.24. Also quoted (in a different form) in the Dalston sermon 972-75.

989-92. Fortasse ... commendat] Seneca, *Epistles* 42: "The Phoenix springs into existence only once every five hundred years. And it is not surprising, either, that greatness develops only at long intervals; Fortune often brings into being commonplace powers, which are born to please the mob; but she holds up for our approval that which is extraordinary by the very fact that she makes it rare".

994. Phidias] Athenian sculptor born *ca.* 490 BC.

997. Paraeus was at Anvilla] Unidentified.

998. S.Athanasius ... banishment] Athanasius was banished (*ca.* 356) to the Libyan desert for six years, during which time he wrote many of his major works.

1005, Miraculi ... percurrere] "The journey of life, if it is a long one, is almost a miracle if it runs through without harm". Source unidentified.

1012–13. Caius ... legenda] Pliny, *Epistles* 6.16. " Happy I esteem those, whom providence has gifted with the ability either to do things worthy of being written, or to write in a manner worthy of being read."

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N.B. All editors listed in connection with the Loeb Classical Library have also contributed an English translation of the work edited.

Where there is more than one place of publication, for example, London and New York, I have listed only the British place-name.

All entries are in strictly alphabetical order. Therefore, for example, *Thaetetus* comes before *The Republic*.

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Appendix

A Checklist of Jeremy Taylor's Works

This checklist includes only Taylor's major works in their first editions. A few minor publications have been omitted as have works to which Taylor contributed, for example, the *New and Easie Institution of Grammar* (1647). Full details of all Taylor's works may be found in William P. Williams and Robert Gathorne-Hardy's *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jeremy Taylor to 1700* (DeKalb, Illinois, 1971). Works are listed under the year given on the title-page. I have not given details of the six occasional sermons and their editions here. These may be found in Chapter Four.

Abbreviations:
SR = date entered in the Stationers' Register. All entries under Richard Royston unless stated.

Thom = date entered on Thomason's copy.

1638

A Sermon Preached in St.Maries Church in Oxford. Upon the Anniversary of the Gunpowder-Treason. Oxford, printed by Leonard Litchfield. SR: 18 April 1656.[1]

1642

Of The Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy, By Divine Institution, Apostolicall Tradition, and Catholick Practice. Oxford, printed by Leonard Litchfield. SR: 18 April 1656.

1646

A Discourse concerning Prayer Ex tempore, or By pretense of the Spirit.

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[1]A number of works were entered in the Stationers' Register by Royston on this date. It was at this time that he printed *A Collection of Polemical Discourses* having taken over the rights of those of Taylor's works first published by Litchfield and Francis Ash.

Oxford, printed by Leonard Litchfield.[2]

1647

Θεολογια Εκλεκτικη: *A Discourse Of The Liberty of Prophesying. Shewing The Unreasonableness of prescribing to other mens Faith and the Iniquity of persecuting differing opinions.* London, printed for Richard Royston. SR: 8 March 1647. Thom: 28 June 1647. Three editions before 1700.

1649

An Apology for Authorised and Set Forms of Liturgie: against the Pretense of the Spirit London, printed for Richard Royston. SR: 18 April 1656.

The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life according to the Christian Institution. Described in the History of the Life and Death of the ever Blessed Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World. London, printed by Roger Norton for Francis Ash. SR: 26 October 1648 by Ash, and 24 November 1651 assigned to Royston. Eight editions before 1700.

1650

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living. In which are described the Means and Instruments of obtaining every Vertue, and the Remedies against every Vice, and Considerations serving to the resisting all temptations. London, printed by Roger Norton for Richard Royston. SR: 7 March 1650 by Francis Ash and 27 November 1651 by Royston. Eight editions before 1700.

A Funeral Sermon Preached at the Obsequies of ... the Lady Frances, Countesse of Carbery. London, printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston.

1651

XXVIII Sermons Preached at Golden Grove; Being for the Summer half-year ... Together with a Discourse of the Divine Institution, necessity, Sacredness, and

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[2]This is an early version of the *Apology for Set Forms* (1649).

Seperation of the Office Ministeriall. London, printed by Roger Norton for Richard Royston. SR: 8 April 1651.

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying. In which are described The Means and Instruments of preparing our selves, and others respectively, for a blessed Death: and the remedies against the evils and temptations proper to the state of Sicknesse. London, printed for Richard Royston. SR: 23 June 1651. Thom: 3 September 1651. Seventeen editions before 1700.

1652

A Short Catechism for the institution of Young persons In the Christian Religion. London, James Flesher for Richard Royston. SR: 18 March 1652. Thom: 3 September 1652.

A Discourse of Baptisme, its Institution and Efficacy upon all Believers. London, James Flesher for Richard Royston. SR: 1 July 1652. Thom: 27 November 1652.

1653

XXV Sermons Preached at Golden-Grove: Being for the Winter half-year ... London, Ellen Cotes for Richard Royston. SR: 9 May 1653.

Ενιαυτος: *A Course of Sermons For All the Sundaies Of the Year; Fitted to the great Necessities, and for the supplying the Wants of Preaching in many parts of this Nation.* London, printed for Richard Royston. Five editions before 1700.

1654

The Real Presence And Spirituall of Christ In The Blessed Sacrament Proved Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. London, printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston. SR: 9 November 1653. Thom: 23 November 1653.

1655

The Golden Grove, Or, A Manuall of Daily Prayers and Letanies, Fitted to the dayes of the Week. London, printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston. SR:

25 January 1655. Thom: 13 December 1654. Thirteen editions before 1700.

Unum Necessarium. Or, The Doctrine and Practice of Repentance. London, printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston. SR: 3 May 1655. Thom: July 1655.

1656

Deus Justificatus, Or, A vindication of the glory of the Divine Attributes in the Question of Original Sin. London, printed for Richard Royston. SR: 12 September 1656.

1657

A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship, with the Rules of conducting it. London, printed for Richard Royston. SR: entered as part of *Polemicall Discourses.*

1658

A Collection of Offices Or Forms of Prayer Publick and Private. Fitted to the needs of all Christian Assemblies In cases Ordinary and Extraordinary. London, printed by J.Flesher for R.Royston. SR: 16 June 1657.

A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of ... George Dalston.

1660

Ductor Dubitantium, Or The Rule Of Conscience In all her generall measures; Serving as a great Instrument for the determination of Cases of Conscience. London, printed by James Flesher, for Richard Royston. SR: 18 April 1656.

The Worthy Communicant Or A Discourse of the Nature, Effects, and Blessings consequent to the worthy receiving of the Lords Supper And all the duties required in order to a worthy preparation: ... London, printed by R.Norton for John Martin, James Allestry and Thomas Dicas. SR: 27 May 1660.

1661

A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops

A Sermon Preached At the opening of the Parliament of Ireland.

Rules and Advices To the Clergy Of The Diocesse of Down and Connor: For their Deportment in their Personal and Publick Capacities. Dublin, printed by John Crooke. SR: entered by Andrew Crook, 18 September 1661.

1662

Via Intelligentiae. A Sermom [sic] Preached to the University of Dublin.

1663

The Righteousness Evangelicall Describ'd. The Christians Conquest Over the Body of Sin. Fides Formata, Or, Faith working by Love. In Three Sermons Preach'd At Christ-Church Dublin. Dublin, printed by John Crook.

A Sermon Preached in Christ-Church, Dublin: at the Funeral of ... John, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh.

Χρισις τελειωτικη. *A Discourse of Confirmation. For the use of the Clergy and Instruction of the People of Ireland.* Dublin, printed by John Crooke, sold by Samuel Dancer.

Εβδομας Εμβολιμαιος, ... *Being Seven Sermons.*

1664

A Dissuasive From Popery To the People of Ireland. Dublin, printed by John Crooke, sold by Samuel Dancer.

1667

Δεκας Εμβολιμαιος, ... *Being Ten Sermons.*

The Second Part of the Dissuasive From Popery: In Vindication of The First Part, And Further Reproof and Conviction Of The Roman Errors. London, printed for R.Royston. SR: 29 June 1667.