

NO CROSS NO CROWN

William Penn

Abridged by ANNA BRINTON

PENDLE HILL HISTORICAL STUDIES Number Seven



PENDLE HILL PUBLICATIONS
WALLINGFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

Published 1944 by Pendle Hill
Republished electronically © 2006 by Pendle Hill
http://www.pendlehill.org/pendle_hill_pamphlets.htm
email: publications@pendlehill.org

Foreword

This pamphlet, an abridgment of William Penn's *No Cross No Crown*, is published in October, 1944, in commemoration of the tercentenary of Penn's birth. It is a companion to *Barclay in Brief*, by Eleanore Price Mather, Pendle Hill Historical Study Number Three, and *The Inward Journey of Isaac Penington*, by Robert J. Leach, Historical Study Number Six. These three texts are issued to make available in handy form the thought of three early leaders of the Society of Friends whose writings are too lengthy for the present mood. As Penn himself puts it, large books "especially in these days grow burdensome both to the pockets and minds of too many."

Barclay deals with belief, Penington with experience, and Penn with practice. *No Cross No Crown* began as a tract for the times of the extravagant Stuart kings and ended as Penn's religious legacy to his country and to the world of Christians. The glory of Christianity being, as Penn insists, the purity of those who profess it, the cure for Christendom's defection can only come through "that divine grace and power by which the wills of men are made conformable to the will of God." This condition is brought about through daily self-denial and through worship by which is meant "waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently upon God."

Pride, power, worldly honor and respect, rank, wealth, luxury, and every form of excess are adverse both to religion and to the public welfare. The temperance Penn pleads for is both politically and religiously good. "True Godliness," he writes in the most famous sentence in *No Cross No Crown*,

“does not take men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it and excites their endeavours to mend it.” Of equal importance is the statement: “Christians should keep the helm and guide the vessel to its port, not meanly steal out at the stern of the world, and leave those that are in it without a pilot, to be driven by the fury of evil times upon the rock or sand of ruin.”

While youth still presses for social reformation and maturity urges the claim of inward perfecting, *No Cross No Crown* will remain a readable and instructive manual of Christian behavior.

Introduction

The title of William Penn's most widely known religious book, *No Cross No Crown*, was bequeathed him by Thomas Loe. It was through the ministry of this traveling Friend from Oxford that the principles of Quakerism were first made known to him. As a boy of twelve he had heard Loe preach, on Admiral Penn's invitation, in their Irish home in County Cork. Young William was so struck by the impression which this sermon made upon the entire household that he wondered if they might not all turn Quaker. At twenty-three, when in Ireland on his father's business, Penn again heard Thomas Loe who spoke on the words “There is a faith that overcomes the world and there is a faith that is overcome by the world.” Penn's conviction was by this time well under way. The fashionable side of London life no longer interested him. The diarist Pepys was told that William had become “a Quaker again or some very melancholy thing.” A year later William Penn was called to the death bed of Thomas Loe. “Taking me by the hand,” writes Penn, “he spake thus, ‘Dear heart, bear thy cross, stand faithful for God and bear thy testimony in thy day and generation, and God will give thee an eternal crown of glory, that none shall

ever take from thee. There is not another way. This is the way the holy men of old walked in and it shall prosper.”

Soon after Loe’s death Penn was confined for eight months in the Tower of London on a charge of blasphemy. One outcome of this leisure was his earliest version of *No Cross No Crown*, a one-hundred-and-eleven-page pamphlet printed in 1669. The argument was practical, a young man’s plea to eight of his personal friends, whom he identifies by their initials in the preface, to leave off pride, indulgence, foppishness and extravagance that debauches the rich and grinds down the poor. The marks of social distinction must go too, “hat-honor, titular respects,” fashionable clothes and recreations. “Be you entreated,” says Penn, “to eye that Divine principle engrafted on your minds, in all its holy, meek and self-denying instructions, that being mostly exercised thereby, you may be weaned from the glittering follies of the world and sensibly experiment the delights of the soul which are the inseparable companions of such retirements.” The Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, wrote Penn regarding this pamphlet that he thought it “in the main very sober and good, though it may be over strict in some things.”

To modern taste the phrase *No Cross No Crown* smacks too strongly of what Penn calls the “recompense of reward.” We prefer to think that righteousness is sought solely for its own sake. But it must be admitted that both thought and words are Scriptural, and to the early Friends the propriety of such language was unquestioned. Both Testaments abound in promises of reward. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews pressed on “toward the mark for the prize,” the athlete’s prize which was the crown or wreath of wild olive, and Paul wrote of Jesus that “for the joy that was set before him” he endured the cross.

The crown which results from the cross is the invisible sign of “temperance and sanctity of the mind.” Penn’s

negative form of the antithesis helps toward our tolerance of his title. In his conclusion Penn, with his sturdy realism and his strong sense of rhythm, boldly carries further the contrast: "No cross, no crown; no temperance, no happiness; no virtue, no reward; no mortification, no glorification."

"Mind not," he continues, "the difficulties of your march. Great and good things were never enterprised and accomplished without difficulty, which does but render their enjoyment more pleasant and glorious in the end."

The best in Penn's later social program is already present in this first edition of *No Cross No Crown*. From prison he could impartially assess the inequalities of privilege and resources in England. Already he knew that good men make a good nation. He pleads for integrity and personal responsibility. Honor all men, shun pride, behave seriously, be content with little: so shall there be enough for all, rents reduced, intelligent husbandry, happy homes, human beings serving as "stewards to each other's exigencies." "When the pale faces are more commiserated, the griped bellies relieved, the naked backs clothed; when the famished poor, the distressed orphan, God's works and your fellow creatures, are provided for, then I say, if then, it will be early enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleasures."

But Penn was not ascetic. He valued outward as well as inward well-being. He would have goods equitably distributed and a plenty for all, but men's minds should not be set on money. To uphold this, as all his other arguments, he is ready with a scriptural anecdote. "If he that had loved God and his neighbor and kept the commandments from his youth" was excluded from being a disciple because he sold not all and followed Jesus, it was because Christ knew "for all his brags, that his mind was rivetted therein," the implication being that if this rich young man had enjoyed his possessions with "Christian indifference" they might have been continued.

Half or more than half of this pamphlet is quotation. "This is the way the holy men of old walked in," Thomas Loe had said, "and it shall prosper." From these men of old and from women too so far as he could quote them, Penn supplies his readers with actual statements, having observed "the power which examples and authorities have put upon the minds of the people, above the most reasonable and pressing arguments." Biblical characters take the lead throughout, though in Part II pious pagans precede the early Christians who are followed by men and women of more modern times.

In the years which followed his first imprisonment, William Penn was engaged in a steady struggle for liberty of conscience. "Force," he says, "may make a hypocrite, 'tis faith grounded upon knowledge and consent that makes a Christian." "The Christian religion entreats all but compels none." Persecution was raging all through this time and informers, who were called by George Fox "the devil's nuthooks," were constantly besetting Friends, breaking up their meetings, depriving them of their goods, and throwing them into jail. Penn often shared these trials.

In 1670, Admiral Penn died. His son William was now twenty-six, handsome, wealthy, and in good standing with the king. At twenty-eight he married Gulielma Springett and with her lived a happy, active life, traveling in the ministry, arguing with opponents, publishing pamphlets. He accompanied George Fox and a few others on a visit to Holland and Germany.

In this period Penn's idea of a settlement in the New World took definite shape. He participated in the development of New Jersey and in 1681 received from Charles II a huge grant of land in payment of debts to his father. This tract the king called Pennsylvania.

While William Penn was projecting his "Holy Experiment," preparing its Frame of Government, and collecting

colonists, *No Cross No Crown* was still brewing in his mind. He had not yet fully acquitted himself of his debt to Thomas Loe.

In 1675, the Second Day's Morning Meeting which had charge of Quaker publications directed that *No Cross No Crown* be reprinted, but five years later it was still in process of emendation and the second edition did not finally appear until 1682, the year of Penn's first voyage to America. This second edition of six hundred pages in small octavo became far more widely known than the early pamphlet. It was reprinted more than fifty times and was a standby in meeting house and family libraries.

At least five translations of *No Cross No Crown* have been published. William Sewell brought out a Dutch version in Amsterdam in 1687. There are two French translations, the first published in Bristol, 1746, is by Claude Gay. The second, printed in London, 1793, is by Edward P. Beidel. There were also two German translations, a Pymont imprint of 1825 by George Uslar, and a London edition, 1847, from the press of J. Wertheimer.

Norman Penney's London edition, 1930 (966 pages), is the most convenient modern reprint. William Charles Braithwaite in the *Second Period of Quakerism*, draws a detailed comparison between the 1682 edition and the pamphlet of 1669. The pamphlet was never reprinted but a number of copies are extant.

The present abbreviation has taken account of both versions, and in three passages — retreats, p. 13, the tempter and the preserver, p. 21, and sitting loose to possessions, p. 32, — the amplification of 1694 is included. In reducing the text to one-half the compass of the early version and one-tenth the size of the 1682 edition, the whole argument has been preserved. The quotations are mainly omitted. It is noteworthy that the sections on society and the public good belong to the Tower of London version;

those on faith and worship to the 1682 edition. Enough of Penn's religious phraseology is included to show that he accepted the terms of his time. The world, the flesh, the devil, hell, and the anguish of the damned are mentioned, though not dwelt upon.

The whole emphasis is on conduct as the expression of obedience to God. Every encouragement is given for man to mend his ways. Says William Penn to his reader: "Thou hast to do, I grant thee, with great patience, but that also must have an end: therefore provoke not that God that made thee to reject thee."

More characteristic is such an exhortation as this: "O Reader, What rests to us, then, that we must do, to be thus witnesses of his power and love? Come Reader be like him, for this transcendent joy lift up thy head above the world, then thy salvation will draw nigh indeed."

A hundred years after the appearance of the second edition, Charles Lamb wrote to Samuel Taylor Coleridge. "I am just beginning to read a most capital book, good thoughts in good language — William Penn's *No Cross No Crown*. I like it immensely." Stephen Grellet, a French refugee of noble family who became one of the greatest ministers in the Society of Friends, records an experience on Long Island in 1795 which became the turning point in his life. He says, "I now took up again the works of William Penn and opened upon *No Cross No Crown*. The title alone reached my heart. I proceeded to read it, with the help of my dictionary, having to look for the meaning of nearly every word. I read it twice through in this manner. I had never met with anything of the kind; neither had I felt the Divine witness in me operating so powerfully before."

Readers will be surprised to discover how strongly their interest is gripped by Penn's vigorous moralizing. His exhortations still retain their reaching power. Because of his exuberant fluency, it has seemed worthwhile to prepare

this abridgement of *No Cross No Crown*, preserving the essence which has not grown obsolete. It is as urgent today as when young William Penn concluded his pamphlet in the Tower of London “to live a humble, serious and self-denying life. So shall we be delivered from every snare, no sin shall gain us, no frowns scare us and the Truth shall be more abundantly exalted.”

No Cross No Crown

Preface

Come, Reader, hearken to me awhile; I seek thy salvation; that's my plot; thou wilt forgive me. A Refiner is come near thee, his grace hath appeared to thee; receive its leaven, and it will change thee; his medicine, and it will cure thee; he is as infallible as free; without money, and with certainty. A touch of his garment did it of old; it will do it still; his virtue is the same, it cannot be exhausted. He turns vile things into things precious; for he maketh saints out of sinners, and almost gods of men. What rests to us then, that we must do, to be thus witnesses of his power and love? This is the Crown; but where is the Cross?

Christ's Cross is Christ's way to Christ's Crown. This is the subject of the following discourse, first writ during my confinement in the Tower of London, in the year 1668, now reprinted (1682) with enlargements that thou, Reader, mayest be won to Christ; and if won already, brought nearer to him. 'Tis a path God in his everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age; then he took me by the hand and led me out of the pleasures, vanities, and hopes of the world. I have tasted of Christ's judgments, and of his mercies, and of the world's frowns, and reproaches. I rejoice in my experience and dedicate it to thy service in Christ.

To my country, and to the world of Christians I leave it. May God, if he please, make it effectual to them all and

turn their hearts from that envy, hatred, and bitterness they have one against another about worldly things (sacrificing humanity and charity to ambition and covetousness, for which they fill the earth with trouble and oppression) that receiving the spirit of Christ into their hearts, the fruits of which are love, peace, joy, temperance and patience, brotherly kindness and charity, they may in body, soul, and spirit, make a triple league against the world, the flesh, and the devil, the only common enemies of mankind; and having conquered them through a life of self-denial and the power of the cross of Jesus, they may at last attain to the eternal rest and kingdom of God.

So desireth, so prayeth,
Friendly Reader,

Thy fervent Christian friend,
WILLIAM PENN

Worminghurst in Sussex,
the 1st of the 6th month, 1682.

The Defection Of Christendom

Though the knowledge and obedience of the doctrine of the cross of Christ be of infinite moment to the souls of men, for that is the only door to true Christianity, and that path the ancients ever trod to blessedness, yet with extreme affliction, let me say, it is so little understood, so much neglected and, what is worse, so bitterly contradicted by the vanity, superstition, and intemperance of professed Christians, that we must conclude that the generality of Christendom do miserably deceive and disappoint themselves in the great business of Christianity.

For, let us be never so tender and charitable in the survey of those nations that intitle themselves to any interest in the holy name of Christ, if we will be just too, we must needs acknowledge that after all the gracious

advantages of light, the writings, labours, and martyrdom of his dear followers in all times, there seems very little left of Christianity but the name. The deity they truly worship is the god of the world. To him they bow with the whole powers of soul and sense. What shall we eat? What shall we drink? What shall we wear? And how shall we pass away our time? Which way may we accumulate wealth, increase our power, and enlarge our territories?

This miserable defection from primitive times, when the glory of Christianity was the purity of its professors, I cannot but call the second and worst part to the Jewish tragedy upon the blessed Saviour of mankind. For the Jews, from the power of ignorance and the extreme prejudice they were under to the unworldly way of his appearance, would not acknowledge him when he came, but for two or three years persecuted, and finally crucified him in one day. But the false Christians' cruelty lasts longer: they have first, with Judas, professed him and then, for these many ages, most basely betrayed, persecuted, and crucified him, by a perpetual apostacy in manners from the self-denial and holiness of his doctrine, their lives giving the lie to their faith. If a man ask them, "Is Christ your Lord?" they will cry, "God forbid else. Yes, he is our Lord." "Very well; but do you keep his commandments?" "No. How should we?" "How then are you his disciples?" "It is impossible," say they. "What! would you have us keep his commandments? No man can." What! impossible to do that, without which Christ hath made it impossible to be a Christian? Is Christ unreasonable? That common apprehension — that they may be children of God, while in a state of disobedience to his holy commandments; disciples of Jesus, though they revolt from his cross; and members of his true church, that is without spot or wrinkle, notwithstanding their lives are full of spots and wrinkles — is, of all other deceptions upon themselves, the most pernicious to their eternal condition.

For they are at peace in sin and under a security in their transgression. Their vain hope silences their convictions and overlays all tender motions to repentance, so that their mistake about their duty to God is as mischievous as their rebellion against him.

The Remedy

O Christendom! my soul most fervently prays that, after all thy lofty profession of Christ and his meek and holy religion, thy unsuitable and unchristlike life may not cast thee at that great assize of the world and lose thee so great salvation at last. Hear me once, I beseech thee. Can Christ be thy Lord and thou not obey him? Or, canst thou be his servant and never serve him?

Now, behold the remedy! an infallible cure, one of God's appointing, and that universal medicine which no malady could ever escape.

But thou wilt say, "What is Christ, and where to be found? And how received and applied in order to this mighty cure?" I tell thee then: first, that he is the great spiritual light of the world that lights every one that comes into the world, by which he manifests to them their deeds of darkness and wickedness, and reproveth them for committing them. Secondly, that he is not far away from thee. Thou, like the inn of old, hast been full of other guests; thy affections have entertained other lovers, wherefore salvation is not yet come to thy house, or at least into it, though thou hast been often proffered it, and hast professed it long. But if he calls, if he knocks still, that is, if his light yet shines, if it reproveth thee still, there is hope thy day is not over, nor is repentance yet hid from thine eyes. For this blessed work of reformation did Christ endue his apostles with his spirit and power. And truly, God so blessed the faithful labours of these poor mechanics, yet his great ambassadors to

mankind, that in a few years many thousands, very strangers to the work of his spirit in their hearts, were inwardly struck and quickened to the word of life. Indeed, the glory of the Cross shined so conspicuously through the self-denial of their lives that daily bore it, that it struck the heathen with astonishment, and in a small time so shook their altars, discredited their oracles, struck the multitude, invaded the court and overcame their armies, that it led priests, magistrates, and generals in triumph after it, as the trophies of its power and victory.

And while this integrity dwelt with Christians, mighty was the presence and invincible that power that attended them; it quenched fire, daunted lions, turned the edge of the sword, out-faced instruments of cruelty, convicted judges, and converted executioners. In fine, the ways their enemies took to destroy increased them. Their care was not how to sport away their precious time, but how to redeem it. For they, having with Moses seen him that is invisible and found that his loving-kindness was better than life, chose rather to sustain the afflictions of Christ's true pilgrims than to enjoy the pleasures of sin.

By this short draught of what Christendom was, thou mayst see, O Christendom, what thou art not, and consequently what thou oughtest to be. But how comes it that from a Christendom that was thus meek, merciful, selfdenying, suffering, temperate, holy, just, and good, so like to Christ, whose name it bore, we find a Christendom now that is superstitious, idolatrous, persecuting, proud, passionate, envious, malicious, selfish, drunken, lascivious, unclean, lying, swearing, cursing, covetous, oppressing, defrauding, with all other abominations known in the earth?

I lay this down as the undoubted reason of this degeneracy, to wit, the inward disregard of thy mind to the light of Christ shining in thee. For as thy fear towards God,

and holy abstinence from unrighteousness, was at first not taught by the precepts of men, but by that light and grace which revealed the most secret thoughts and purposes of thine heart, setting thy sins in order before thee and reproving thee for them, not suffering one unfruitful thought, word, or work of darkness to go unjudged, so, when thou didst begin to disregard that light and grace, to be careless of thy holy watch that was once set up in thine heart, and keptst not sentinel there, as formerly, for God's glory and thy own peace, the restless enemy of man's good quickly took advantage of this slackness, and often surprised thee with temptations, whose suitableness to thy inclinations made his conquest over thee not difficult.

Thou didst omit to take up Christ's holy yoke, to bear thy daily cross; thou wast careless of thy affections, and keptst no journal or check upon thy actions; but declinedst to audit accounts in thy own conscience with Christ thy light, whereby the holy fear decayed and love waxed cold, vanity abounded and duty became burdensome. Then up came formality, instead of the power of godliness; superstition in place of Christ's institution; the pure eye grew dim which repentance had opened, and those worldly pleasures that make such as love them forget God, began now to recover their old beauty and interest in thy affections and, from liking them, to be the study, care, and pleasure of thy life. Thus religion fell from experience to tradition, and worship, from power to form, from life to letter, so that a man may say with truth: thy condition is worse by thy religion, because thou art tempted to think thyself the better for it, and art not. For look! at what door thou wentest out, at that door thou must come in; and as letting fall and forbearing the daily cross lost thee, so taking up and enduring the daily cross must recover thee. Nothing short of this will do; for as it is sufficient so is it indispensable: no crown, but by the cross.

The Cross

The cross of Christ is a figurative speech, borrowed from the outward tree, or wooden cross, on which Christ submitted to the will of God in permitting him to suffer death at the hands of evil men. So that the cross mystical is that divine grace and power which crosseth the carnal wills of men, and so may be justly termed the instrument of man's holy dying to the world and being made conformable to the will of God. The preaching of the cross, therefore, in primitive times was fitly called by Paul, that famous and skilful apostle in spiritual things, the power of God; though to them that perish, then, as now, foolishness, embraced by none, if they may be believed, but half-witted people of stingy and singular tempers, affected with the hypochondry and oppressed with the power of melancholy.

Well, but then where does this cross appear, and where must it be taken up? I answer, within, that is, in the heart and soul; for where the sin is, the cross must be. Custom in evil hath made it natural to men to do evil; and as the soul rules the body, so this corrupt nature sways the whole man; but still, 'tis all from within.

Experience teaches every son and daughter of Adam an assent to this; for the enemies' temptations are ever directed to the mind, which is within; if they take not, the soul sins not; if they are embraced, lust is presently conceived (that is, inordinate desires). Here is the very genealogy of sin.

But how and in what manner is the cross to be daily borne? The way, like the cross, is spiritual, that is, an inward submission of the soul to the will of God as it is manifested by the light of Christ in the consciences of men; the way of taking up the cross is an entire resignation of soul to the discoveries and requirings of it.

Self-Denial

What is the great work and business of the cross respectman? I shall pursue the question with the best knowledge God hath given me in the experience of several years' discipleship.

The great work and business of the cross in man is selfdenial, a word little understood by the world, but less embraced by it; yet it must be borne for all that. The Son of God is gone before us, and by the bitter cup he drank, and baptism he suffered, has left us an example, that we should follow his steps.

What is our cup and cross that we should drink and suffer? They are the denial and offering up of ourselves, by the same spirit, to do or suffer the will of God for his service and glory, which is the true life and obedience of the cross of Jesus, narrow still, but before, an unbeaten way. For when there was none to help, not one to give knowledge or direct the course of poor man's recovery, he came in the greatness of his love and strength, and though clothed with the infirmities of a mortal man, being within fortified by the almightiness of an immortal God, he travelled through all the straits and difficulties of humanity.

Oh, come! let us follow him, the most unwearied, the most victorious captain of our salvation, to whom all the great Alexanders and mighty Caesars of the world are less than the poorest soldier of their camps could be to them. They vanquished others, not themselves; Christ conquered self, that ever vanquished them. They advanced their empire by rapine and blood, but he by suffering and persuasion; he, never by compulsion, they always by force, prevailed. Misery and slavery followed all their victories; his brought greater freedom and felicity to those he overcame. In all they did, they sought to please themselves; in all he did, he aimed to please his Father.

'Tis this most perfect pattern of self-denial we must follow, to do which let us consider self-denial in its true distinction and extent. There is a lawful and an unlawful self, and both must be denied. The lawful self, which we are to deny, is that conveniency, ease, and enjoyment, and plenty, which in themselves are so far from being evils that they are the bounty and blessings of God to us: as husband, wife, child, house, land, reputation, liberty, and life itself — these are God's favours, which we may enjoy with lawful pleasure, and justly improve as our honest interest. But when God requires them, I say, when they are brought in competition with him, they must not be preferred; they must be denied. It is too much the sin of the best part of the world that they stick in the comforts of it, and 'tis lamentable to behold how their affections are bemired and entangled with their conveniences and accommodations in it.

But on the other hand it is not for nought that the disciples of Jesus deny themselves; and indeed, Christ himself had the eternal joy in his eye. 'Twas this recompense of reward, this eternal crown of righteousness that in every age has raised in the souls of the just an holy neglect, yea, contempt of the world.

The way of God is a way of faith, as dark to sense, as mortal to self. Speculation wont do, nor can refined notions enter. "They that do my will," says the blessed Jesus, "shall know of my doctrine." There is no room for instruction where lawful self is lord and not servant. For self can't receive it, that which should be oppressed by self, fearful, and dares not. Oh, what will my father or mother say? How will my husband use me? Or, finally, what will the magistrate do with me? For though I have a most powerful persuasion, and clear conviction upon my soul of this or that thing, yet considering how unmodish it is, what enemies it has, and how strange and singular I shall seem to them. I hope God will pity my weakness; if I sink, I am

but flesh and blood; maybe hereafter he may better enable me; and there is time enough. Thus selfish, fearful man.

But deliberating is ever worst, for the soul loses in parley, the manifestation brings power with it. Never did God convince people, but upon submission he empowered them. They that want power are such as don't receive Christ in his convictions upon the soul; and such shall always want it. Tack about then, and hearken to the still voice in thy conscience; it tells thee thy sins and misery in them. It opens to thy soul some prospect of eternity.

Even in this world the righteous have the better of it, for they use the world without rebuke, because they don't abuse it. They see and bless the hand that feeds and clothes and preserves them. And as by beholding him in all his gifts, they don't adore them, but him; so the sweetness of his blessings that gives them, is an advantage such have upon those that see him not. Besides, in their increases they are not lifted up, nor in their adversities are they cast down. And why? Because they are moderated in the one, and comforted in the other, by his divine presence.

The Unlawful Self

I am now come to unlawful self, which, more or less, is the immediate concernment of much the greatest part of mankind. This unlawful self is twofold: first, that which relates to religious worship; secondly, that which concerns moral and civil conversation in the world. And they are both of infinite consequence to be considered by us. Christ drew off his disciples from the glory and worship of the outward temple, and instituted a more inward and spiritual cult. People must be acquainted with God as a spirit, consider him, and worship him as such. 'Tis not that bodily worship, nor these ceremonious services, in use among you now, that will serve or give acceptance with this God that is a

spirit. No, you must obey his spirit that strives with you, to gather you out of the evil of the world, that by bowing to the instructions and commands of his spirit in your own souls you may know what it is to worship him as a spirit where the soul is encloistered from sin. And this religious house the true followers of Christ carry about with them, who exempt not themselves from the conversation of the world, though they keep themselves from the evil of the world in their conversation.

The cross of Christ truly overcomes the world, and leads a life of purity in the face of its allurements; they that bear it are not chained up for fear they should bite, nor locked up lest they should be stole away: no, they receive power from Christ to resist the evil, and not only not to offend others, but to love those that offend them, though not for offending them. What a world should we have if everybody, for fear of transgressing, should mew himself up within four walls! No such matter; the perfection of Christian life extends to every honest labour or traffic used among men. This severity is not the effect of Christ's free spirit, but a voluntary humility, trammels of men's own making, without prescription or reason. In all which, 'tis plain, they are their own law-givers and set their own rule, a constrained harshness, out of joint to the rest of the creation; for society is one great end of it, and not to be destroyed for fear of evil: but sin banished that spoils it, by steady reproof and a conspicuous example of tried virtue.

True Godliness. True godliness does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavours to mend it. Christians should keep the helm and guide the vessel to its port, not meanly steal out at the stern of the world, and leave those that are in it without a pilot, to be driven by the fury of evil times upon the rock or sand of ruin.

I must confess I am jealous of the salvation of my own species, having found mercy with my heavenly Father. I would have none deceive themselves to perdition, especially about religion, where people are most apt to take all for granted. The inward steady righteousness of Jesus is another thing than all the contrived devotion of poor superstitious man. And the soul that is awakened and preserved by his holy power and spirit lives to him in the way of his institution and worships him in his own spirit. *Retirement, 1694.* Not that I would be thought to slight a true retirement, for I do not only acknowledge but admire solitude. Christ himself was an example of it; he loved and chose to frequent mountains, gardens, sea-sides. They are requisite to the growth of piety; and I reverence the virtue that seeks and uses it, wishing there were more of it in the world; but then it should be free, not constrained. What benefit to the mind to have it for a punishment and not a pleasure? Nay, I have long thought it an error among all sorts that use not monastic lives, that they have no retreats for the afflicted, the tempted, the solitary, and the devout, where they might undisturbedly wait upon God, pass through their religious exercises and, being thereby strengthened, might with more power over their own spirits enter into the business of the world again. For divine pleasures are found in a free solitude.

Worship

Not keeping to the manner of taking up the cross in worship, as well as other things, has been a great cause of the troublesome superstition that is yet in the world. For men have no more brought their worship to the test than their sins; nay, less. But true worship can only come from a heart prepared by the Lord. He is a spirit, to whom words, place, and time, strictly considered, are improper: 'Tis the language

of the soul God hears, nor can that speak but by the Spirit. So, though Christ taught his disciples to pray, they were, in some sort, disciples before he taught them. And his teaching them is not an argument that everybody must say that prayer, whether he can say it with the same heart, and under the same qualifications, as his poor disciples and followers did; but rather that, as they then, so we now are not to pray our own prayers, but his, that is, such as he enables us to make, as he enabled them then, in which the body ought never to go before the soul.

Preparation. But it may be asked, "How shall this preparation be obtained?" I answer, by waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently, upon God. Here thou must not think thy own thoughts, nor speak thy own words, which indeed is the silence of the holy cross, but be sequestered from all the confused imaginations that are apt to throng and press upon the mind in those holy retirements. It is not for thee to think to overcome the Almighty by the most composed matter, cast into the aptest phrase. No, no. One groan, one sigh from a wounded soul, a heart touched with true remorse, excels and prevails with God. Wherefore stand still in thy mind, wait to feel something that is divine to prepare and dispose thee to worship truly and acceptably. And thus taking up the cross, and shutting the doors and windows of the soul against everything that would interrupt this attendance upon God, how pleasant soever the object be in itself, how lawful or needful at another season, the power of the Almighty will break in, his spirit will work and prepare the heart. 'Tis he that discovers and presses wants upon the soul, and when it cries it is he alone that supplies them. Petitions not springing from such a sense and preparation are formal and fictitious.

Inward Want. Those that are not sensible of inward wants, that have no fears nor terrors upon them, who feel

no need of God's power to help them, nor of the light of his countenance to comfort them, what have such to do with prayer? They know not, they want not, they desire not what they pray for. They pray the will of God may be done, and do constantly their own. They ask for grace, and abuse that they have; they pray for the spirit, but resist it in themselves and scorn it in others. And in this inward insensibility they are as unable to praise God for what they have as to pray for what they have not. "Ye that fear the Lord, praise him; all ye the seed of Jacob, glorify him." Jacob was a plain man, of an upright heart; and they that are so are his seed. And though, with him, they may be as poor as worms in their own eyes, yet they receive power to wrestle with God, and prevail as he did.

Purification. If the touching of a dead or unclean beast made people unfit for temple or sacrifice till first sprinkled and sanctified, can we think so meanly of the worship that is instituted by Christ as that it should admit of unprepared and unsanctified offerings, or allow that those who either in thoughts, words, or deeds do daily touch that which is truly unclean can, without coming to the blood of Jesus that sprinkles the conscience from dead works, acceptably worship the pure God? 'Tis a downright contradiction to good sense: the unclean cannot acceptably worship that which is holy; the impure that which is perfect. But we may by this see that worship is an inward work, that the soul must be touched and raised in its heavenly desires by the heavenly spirit, and that the true worship is in God's presence.

Oh, how is the better part of Christendom degenerated from David's example! He leaves not till he finds the Lord, that is, the comforts of his presence that brings the answer of love and peace to his soul. Nor was this his practice only, as a man more than ordinarily inspired; for he speaks of it

as the way of worship then amongst the true people of God, the spiritual of that day.

Baptism. Christ expressly charged his disciples they should not stir from Jerusalem, but wait till they had received the baptism of the Holy Ghost in order to their preparation for the preaching of the glorious gospel of Christ to the world. And though that were an extraordinary effusion for an extraordinary work, yet the degree does not change the kind. On the contrary, if so much waiting and preparation by the Spirit was requisite to fit them to preach to man, some at least may be needful to fit us to speak to God.

It is not enough to know we want; but we should learn whether it be not sent us as a blessing — disappointments to the proud, losses to the covetous, and to the negligent, stripes; to remove these were to secure the destruction, not help the salvation, of the soul. But if those wants that are the subject of prayer were once agreed upon — though that be a mighty point, yet how to pray is still of greater moment than to pray; 'tis not the request, but the frame of the petitioner's spirit. The *what* may be proper, but the *how* defective.

Faith. 'Tis faith that animates prayer and presses it home. This is of highest moment on our part, and yet not in our power neither, for it is the gift of God: from him we must have it, and with one grain of it more work is done, more deliverance is wrought, and more goodness and mercy received, than by all the runnings, and willings, and toilings of man, with his inventions and bodily exercises. Which, duly weighed, will easily spell out the meaning that so much worship should bring so little profit to the world as we see it does, namely, true faith is lost.

Can the minister then preach without faith? No, and much less can any man pray to purpose without faith. For

worship is the supreme act of man's life, and whatever is necessary to inferior acts, must not be wanting there. But some may say, "What is this faith that is so necessary to worship and that gives it such acceptance with God and returns that benefit to men?" I say, it is a holy resignation to God and confidence in him, which gives sure evidence to the soul of the things not yet seen, and a general sense and taste of the substance of those things that are hoped for.

Pride

Having thus discharged my conscience against that part of unlawful self that fain would be a Christian whilst a plain stranger to the cross of Christ, and in that briefly discovered what is true worship, I shall now more largely prosecute that other part of unlawful self which fills the study, care, and conversation of the world — pride, avarice, and luxury, from whence all other mischiefs daily flow.

Pride is an excess of self-love, joined with an undervaluing of others, and a desire of dominion over them: the most troublesome thing in the world. There are four things by which it hath made itself best known to mankind, the consequences of which have brought an equal misery to its evil. The first is an inordinate pursuit of knowledge. The second, an ambitious seeking and craving after power. The third, an extreme desire of personal respect and deference. The last excess is that of worldly furniture and ornaments.

To the first, 'tis plain that an inordinate desire of knowledge introduced man's misery and brought a universal lapse from the glory of his primitive estate. Adam would needs be wiser than God had made him. It did not serve his turn to know his Creator and give him holy homage, but he must be as wise as God too. This unwarrantable search, and as foolish as unjust ambition,

made him unworthy of the blessings he received from God. This drives him out of paradise; and instead of being lord of the whole world, Adam becomes the wretchedest vagabond of the earth.

Strange that instead of being as gods, Adam and Eve should fall below the very beasts. The lamentable consequence of this great defection has been an exchange of innocency for guilt, and a paradise for a wilderness. But, which is yet worse, in this state they had got another god than the only true and living God; and he that had enticed them to all this mischief furnished them with a vain knowledge and pernicious wisdom, the skill of lies, evasions, and excuses. They had lost their plainness and sincerity; and from an upright heart, the image in which God had made man, he became a crooked, twining, twisting serpent — the image of that unrighteous spirit to whose temptations he yielded up with his obedience his paradisaical happiness.

Nor is this limited to Adam; for all who have fallen short of the glory of God have sinned against that divine light of knowledge which God has given them. They have grieved his spirit, and that dismal sentence has been executed: when thou doest the thing which thou oughtest not to do, thou shalt no more enjoy the comforts of the peace of my spirit. And man becomes as one cold and benumbed, insensible of the love of God, of the light and joy of his countenance, and of the evidence of a good conscience, and of the co-witnessing and approbation of God's Holy Spirit.

So that fallen Adam's knowledge of God stood no more in a daily experience of the love and work of God in his soul, but in a notion of what he once did know and experience, which being not the true and living wisdom that is from above, but a mere picture, it preserves not man in purity, but puffs up, makes people proud, high-minded, and impatient of contradiction. This was the state

of the apostate Jews before Christ came, and has been the condition of apostate Christians ever since he came: their religion standing either in what they once knew of the work of God in themselves, and which they revolted from, or in an historical belief and an imaginary conception and paraphrase upon the experiences and prophecies of such holy men and women of God as in all ages have deserved the style and character of his true children.

As such a knowledge of God cannot be true, so by experience we find that it ever brings forth the quite contrary fruits to the true wisdom. For as this is first pure, then peaceable, then gentle, and easy to be entreated, so the knowledge of degenerated and unmortified men is impure, unpeaceable, cross, and hard to be entreated, perverse, and persecuting, jealous that any should be better than they, and hating and abusing those that are. For they could not bear true vision when it came to visit them, and entertained the messengers of their peace as if they had been wolves and tigers. Yet, 'tis remarkable, the false prophets, the great engineers against the true ones, were ever sure to persecute them as false, and by their interest with earthly princes, or the poor seduced multitude, made them the instruments of malice.

The true knowledge came with the joy of angels, singing, "Peace to the earth and good will towards men." The false knowledge entertained the message with calumnies: Christ must needs be an impostor. They stoned him, and frequently sought to kill him, which at last they accomplished. But what was their motive to it? Why! he cried out against their hypocrisy, the honour they sought of men. To be short, they give the reason themselves in these words: "If we take not some course with him, the people will follow him," that is, he will take away our credit with the people; they will adhere to him, and desert us; and so we shall lose our power and reputation with the

multitude. And, the truth is, he came to level their honour, and by his grace to bring the people to that inward knowledge of God which they, by transgression, were departed from, that so they might see the deceitfulness of their blind guides, who, by their vain traditions, had made void the righteousness of the law. The apostle goes further and affirms, "that the world by wisdom knew not God," that is, it was so far from a help that it was a hindrance to the true knowledge of God.

Well! but what has been the success of those ages that followed the apostolical? any whit better? Not one jot. They have exceeded them, as with their pretences to greater knowledge, so in their degeneracy from the true Christian life; for though they had a more excellent pattern than the Jews, to whom God spoke by Moses his servant, he speaking to the Christians by his beloved Son, the express image of his own substance, the perfection of all meekness and humility, and though they seemed addicted to nothing more than an adoration of his name, yet so great was their defection from the inward power and life of Christianity in the soul that their respect was little more than formal and ceremonious.

Yet about the great and weighty things of the Christian law, as love, meekness, and self-denial, they degenerated and grew high-minded, proud boasters, without natural affection, curious and controversial, ever perplexing the church with doubtful and dubious questions, filling the people with disputations, strife, and wrangling, drawing them into parties, till at last they fell into blood, as if they had been the worse for being once Christians.

Oh, the miserable state of these pretended Christians! that instead of Christ's and his apostles' doctrine of loving enemies and blessing them that curse them, they should teach the people, under the notion of Christian zeal, most inhumanly to butcher one another; and instead of suffering

their own blood to be shed for the testimony of Jesus, they should shed the blood of the witnesses of Jesus for heretics. How it is in our own age, I leave to the experience of the living; yet there is one demonstration that can hardly fail us: the people are not converted but debauched to a degree that time will not allow us an example.

The way of recovery is to come to an experience of the divine work in the soul, to obtain which be diligent to obey the grace that appears in thy own soul, O man! that turns thee out of the broad way into the narrow way. Thou must not look at thy tempter, but at thy preserver; retire to thy solitudes; be a chaste pilgrim in this evil world; and thus thou wilt arrive to the knowledge of God and Christ, a well-grounded assurance from what a man feels and knows within himself.

But let us see the next most common, eminent, and mischievous effect of this evil. Pride does extremely crave power, than which not one thing has proved more troublesome and destructive to mankind. I need not labour myself much in evidence of this, since most of the wars of nations, depopulation of kingdoms, ruin of cities, with the slavery and misery that have followed, both our own experience and unquestionable histories acquaint us to have been the effect of ambition, which is the lust of pride after power.

If we look abroad into remoter parts of the world, we shall rarely hear of wars, but in Christendom, rarely of peace. A very trifle is too often made a ground of quarrel here; nor can any league be so sacred or inviolable that arts shall not be used to evade and dissolve it to increase dominion. No matter who, nor how many, are slain, made widows and orphans, or lose their estates and livelihoods, what countries are ruined, what towns and cities spoiled, if by all these things the ambitious can but arrive at their ends.

But ambition does not only dwell in courts and senates; 'tis too natural to every private breast to strain for power. We daily see how much men labour their utmost wit and interest to be great; to get higher places, or greater titles than they have, that they may look bigger and be more acknowledged; take place of their former equals and so equal those that were once their superiors; compel friends and be revenged on enemies. This makes Christianity so little loved of worldly men — it's kingdom is not of this world, and though they may speak it fair, 'tis the world they love — that without uncharitableness we may truly say, people profess Christianity but they follow the world. Great is their peace who know a limit to their ambitious minds, that are not careful to be great but, being great, are humble, and do good. Such keep their wits with their consciences, and with an even mind can at all times measure the uneven world.

Respect

The third evil effect of pride is an excessive desire of personal honour and respect. Pride loves power that she might have homage and that every one may give her honour. And the practice of the world, even in our own age, will tell us that not striking a flag and not saluting certain ports or garrisons — yea, less things — have given rise to mighty wars between states, to the expense of much treasure but more blood, also the envy, quarrels, and mischiefs that have happened among private persons upon conceit of not being respected to their degree or quality among men, with hat, knee, or title, duels and murders not a few.

I was once myself in France, which was before I professed the communion I am now of, set upon about eleven at night, as I was walking to my lodging, by a person that waylaid me with his naked sword in his hand, who demanded satisfaction of me for taking no notice of him at

a time when he civilly saluted me with his hat; though the truth was, I saw him not when he did it. I will suppose he had killed me, for he made several passes at me, or I in my defence had killed him, when I disarmed him. I ask any man of understanding or conscience, if the whole ceremony were worth the life of one man, considering the dignity of the nature and the importance of the life of man both with reference to God his creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society?

But the truth is, the world is as much out of the way as to true honour and respect as in other things. Did men know a true Christian state and the honour that comes from above, they would not covet these very vanities, much less insist upon them.

And here give me leave to set down the reasons why I, and the people with whom I walk in religious society, have declined several worldly customs and fashions of respect, much in request at this time of day. And I beseech thee, reader, to lay aside all prejudice and scorn and, with the meekness and inquiry of a sober and discreet mind, read and weigh what may be here alleged in our defence. If we are mistaken, rather pity and inform, than despise and abuse, our simplicity.

The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these present customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets in our salutations and addresses, was that savour, sight, and sense that God has given us of the Christian world's apostasy from him. He was a swift witness against every evil thought and every unfruitful work, and we were not offended at his righteous judgments. Now it was that a grand inquest came upon our whole life; every word, thought, and deed was brought to judgment; the root examined and its tendency considered. In the tear and presence of the all-seeing just God, the present honours

and respect of the world, among other things, became burdensome to us; we saw that they grew in the night-time and came from an ill root, that they only delighted a vain and ill mind, and that much pride and folly were in them.

Though we easily foresaw the storms of reproach that would fall upon us for our refusing to practise them, yet we were so far from being shaken in our judgment that it abundantly confirmed our sense of them. For so exalted a thing is man that it was greater heresy and blasphemy to refuse him the homage of the hat and his usual titles of honour, to deny to pledge his healths, or play with him at cards and dice, than any other principle we maintained.

To say that we strain at small things, which becomes not people of so fair pretensions to liberty and freedom of spirit. I answer with meekness, truth, and sobriety: first, nothing is small that God makes matter of conscience to do or to leave undone. Next, as little as they are objected upon us, they are much set by; so greatly, as for our not giving them, to be beaten, imprisoned and refused justice. So if we had wanted a proof of the truth of our inward belief and judgment, the very practice of them that opposed it would have abundantly confirmed us. But we only passively let fall the practice of what we believe is vain and unchristian; in which we are negative to forms.

The world is so set upon the ceremonious part and outside of things that it has well beseemed the wisdom of God in all ages to bring forth his dispensations with very different appearances to their settled customs, thereby contradicting human inventions and proving the integrity of his confessors. Nay it is a test upon the world: it tries what patience, kindness, sobriety, and moderation they have. If the rough and homely outside of truth stumble not their minds from the reception of it, whose beauty is within, it makes a great discovery upon them. For he who refuses a precious jewel because it is presented in a plain box will

never esteem it to its value, nor set his heart upon keeping it. Therefore I call it a test, because it shows where the hearts and affections of people stick, after all their great pretences to more excellent things. But there is a hidden treasure in it: it inures us to reproach; it learns us to despise the false reputation of the world; and finally, with a Christian meekness and patience, to overcome their injuries and reproaches. It weans thee off thy familiars; for by being alighted of them as a ninney, a fool, a frantic, thou art delivered from a greater temptation, and that is the power and influence of their worldly conversation. And last of all, it lists thee of the company of the blessed, mocked, persecuted Jesus, to fight under his banner.

I shall conclude this with one passage more, and that is a very large, plain, and pertinent one: "Honour all men, and love the brotherhood": that is, love is above honour, and that is reserved for the brotherhood. But honour, that is, esteem and regard, thou owest to all men, and if all, then thy inferiors. But why for all men? Because they are the creation of God, and the noblest part of his creation too; they are also thy own kind. Be natural, and assist them with what thou canst; be ready to perform any real respect, and yield them any good or countenance thou canst.

We are, we declare to the whole world, for true honour and respect: we honour the king, our parents, our masters, our magistrates, our landlords, one another — yea, all men, after God's way. Honour was from the beginning, but hat-respects and most titles are of late; there was true honour before hats or titles, and true honour stands not in them. And that which ever was the way to express true honour is the best way still. They that endure faithful in that which they are convinced God requires of them, though against the gain and humour of the world and themselves too, they shall find a blessed recompense in the end. However, Christians are not so ill bred as the world thinks, for they

show respect too, but the difference lies in the nature of the respect they perform, and the reasons of it.

The world's respect is an empty ceremony; the Christian's is a solid thing, for fine apparel, empty titles, or large revenues are the world's motives, but the Christian's motive is the sense of his duty in God's sight: first, to parents and magistrates; and then to inferior relations; and lastly, to all people, according to their virtue, wisdom, and piety. We shall easily grant our honour, as our religion is more hidden. Our plainness is odd, uncouth, and goes mightily against the grain; but so does Christianity too, and that for the same reasons. Oh, that Christians would look upon themselves with the glass of righteousness, that which tells true and gives them an exact knowledge of themselves! And then let them examine what, of them and about them agrees with Christ's doctrine and life.

Thou For You

There is another piece of our non-conformity to the world that renders us very clownish to the breeding of it, and that is our plain and homely speech, using "Thou" for "You," and that without difference or respect to persons. Words of themselves are but as so many marks set and employed for necessary and intelligible means, whereby men may understandingly express their minds and conceptions to each other, from whence comes society. It seems the word "Thou" looked too lean and thin a respect to proud emperors; and therefore some, bigger than they should be, would have a style suitable to their own ambition, a ground we cannot build our practice on, for what begun it only loves it still.

But some will tell us: custom should rule us; and that is against us. But it is as easily answered that though in things reasonable or indifferent custom is obliging or harmless, yet in things unreasonable or unlawful she has

no authority. To use the same word for One and Many, when there are two, and that only to please a proud and haughty humour in man, is not reasonable in our sense, which, we hope, is Christian, though not modish. But I would not have thee think it is a mere Thou or title, nakedly in themselves, we boggle at, but the esteem and value the vain minds of men do put upon them, that constrains us to testify so steadily against them.

Wherefore let me beseech thee, reader, to consider the foregoing reasons, which were mostly given me from the Lord, in that time when my condescension to these fashions would have been purchased at almost any rate; but the certain sense I had of their contrariety any the meek and self-denying life of holy Jesus required my disuse of them and faithful testimony against them. It was extreme irksome to me to decline and expose myself, but I dared not gratify that mind in myself or others.

Rank And Beauty

But pride stops not here. She excites people to an excessive value and care of their persons; they must have great and punctual attendance, stately furniture, rich and exact apparel, especially if they have any pretence either to blood or beauty. The one has raised many quarrels among men; and the other among women, and men too often, for their sakes, and at their excitements.

What a pudder has this noble blood made in the world! Whose father or mother, great-grandfather, or great-grandmother, was best descended or allied? What stock, or what clan, they came of? Methinks, nothing of man's folly has less show of reason to palliate it. This is like being the true church because old, not because good, for families to be noble by being old, and not by being virtuous. No such matter! To be descended of wealth and titles fills no man's

head with brains, nor heart with truth: those qualities come from a higher cause.

But I must grant that the condition of our great men is much to be preferred to the ranks of inferior people for they have more power to do good, and, if their hearts be equal to their ability, they are blessings to the people of any country. They have more time to observe the actions of other nations; to travel; and view the laws, customs and interests of other countries; and to bring home whatsoever is worthy and imitable. And, to say true, if there be any advantage in such descent, 'tis not from blood, but education, for blood has no intelligence in it, and is often spurious and uncertain; but education has a mighty influence and strong bias upon the affections and actions of men.

But personal pride ends not in nobility of blood; it leads folks to a fond value of their persons, especially if they have any pretence to shape or beauty. It would abate their folly if they could find in their hearts to spare but half the time to think of God which they most prodigally spend in washing, perfuming, painting, patching, attiring, and dressing. In these things they are precise and very artificial, and for cost they spare not; but which aggravates the evil — the pride of one might comfortably supply the need of ten. No age can better tell us the sad effects of this sort of pride than this we live in; as, how excessive wanton, so how fatal it has been to the sobriety, virtue, peace, and health of families in this kingdom.

Human Relations

A proud man is a kind of glutton upon himself, and how troublesome a companion, ever positive and controlling and, if you yield not, insolent and quarrelsome; yet at the upshot of the matter, cowardly: but if strongest, cruel! Pride destroys

the nature of relations; it turns love into fear, and makes the wife a servant, and the children and servants, slaves. The proud man makes an ill neighbor too, for he is an enemy to hospitality; he despises to receive kindness, because he would show none, nor be thought to need it. He values other men as we do cattle, for their service only; and, if he could, would use them so; but, as it happens, the number and force are unequal.

But a proud man in power is very mischievous; for his pride is the more dangerous by his greatness, since from ambition in private men it becomes tyranny in him. The men of this temper would have nothing thought amiss they do; no, they will rather choose to perish obstinately than, by acknowledging, yield away the reputation of better judging to inferiors; though it were their prudence to do so. And, indeed, 'tis all the satisfaction that proud great men make to the world for the miseries they often bring upon it that, first or last, they leave their real interest to follow some one excess of humour, and are almost ever destroyed by it. This is the end pride gives proud men and the ruin it brings upon them, after it has punished others by them.

But above all things, pride is intolerable in men pretending to religion. For what should pride do with religion, that rebukes it? or ambition with ministers, whose very office is humility? But alas, when all is done, what folly, as well as irreligion, is there in pride! What crosses can it hinder, what disappointments help, or harm frustrate? It delivers not from the common stroke; sickness disfigures; pain misshapes; and death ends the proud man's fabric. Six foot of cold earth bounds his big thoughts.

Wealth

I am come to the second part of this discourse, which is avarice, or covetousness, an epidemical and a raging

distemper in the world, attended with all the mischiefs that can make men miserable in themselves, and in society. Oh, that this thing was better considered! For by not being so observable nor obnoxious to the law as other vices are, there is more danger for want of that check.

'Tis plain that most people strive not for substance, but wealth. Some there be that love it strongly, and spend it liberally when they have got it. Though this be sinful, yet 'tis more commendable than to love money for money's sake. That is one of the basest passions the mind of man can be captivated by: a greater and more soul-defiling one there is not in the catalogue of concupiscence. Which should quicken people into a serious examination how far this temptation hath entered them, because the steps it maketh into the mind are almost insensible, which makes the danger greater. Do we not see how early they rise, how late they go to bed, how full of the shop, the warehouse, the customhouse, of bills, bonds, charter-parties, they are, running up and down as if it were to save the life of a condemned innocent?

To conclude, wealth is an enemy to government in magistrates, for it tends to corruption: and the great reason why some have too little, and so are forced to drudge like slaves to feed their families and keep their chin above water, is because the rich hold hard, to be richer and covet more, which dries up the little streams of profit from smaller folks. There should be a standard, both as to the quantity and time of traffic, and then the trade of the master should be shared amongst his servants that deserve it. This were both to help the young to get their livelihood, and to give the old time to think of leaving this world well, in which they have been so busy.

Covetousness has caused destructive feuds in families; it betrays friendship, and where money masters the mind it extinguishes all love to better things. The covetous man

is like the poles, always cold: an enemy to the state, for he spirits their money away; a disease to the body politic, for he obstructs the circulation of the blood, and ought to be removed by a purge of the law. 'Twas upon these rich men that Christ pronounced his woe, saying: "Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation here." What! none in the heavens? No, unless you become willing to be poor men, can resign all, live loose to the world, have it at arm's end, yea, underfoot, a servant, and not a master.

Luxury

I am now come to the other extreme and that is luxury, an excessive indulgence of self in ease and pleasure. A disease as epidemical as killing, it creeps into all stations and ranks of men, the poorest often exceeding their ability to indulge their appetite, and the rich frequently wallowing in those things that please their eye and flesh. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, delicate washes, stately furniture, costly cookery, and such diversions as balls, masques, musics-plays, romances, which are the delight and entertainment of the times, belong not to the holy path of Jesus and his true disciples. Oh, that the sons and daughters of men would consider how cruel they are to his creatures, how lavish of their lives and virtue, how thankless for them! Forgetting the giver, and abusing the gift, they lose tenderness, and forget duty, being swallowed up of voluptuousness.

Nor is it otherwise with recreations, as they call them, for these are nearly joined. Man was made a noble, rational, grave creature: his pleasure stood in his duty and in using the creation with true temperance and godly indifference. If the recreations of the age were as pleasant and necessary as they are said to be, unhappy then would Adam and Eve have been, that never knew them. Then the best recreations were to serve God, be just, follow their vocations,

mind their flocks, do good, exercise their bodies in such practices as might be suitable to gravity, temperance, and virtue.

Nay, such are the remains of innocence among some Moors and Indians to our times that if a Christian, though he must be an odd one, fling out a filthy word, it's customary with them, by way of moral, to bring him water to purge his mouth. If, then, the distinguishing mark between the disciples of Jesus and those of the world is that one minds God's kingdom and that the other minds eating, drinking, apparel, and the affairs of the world, be you entreated for your souls' sake to reflect a while upon yourselves, what care and cost you are at, of time and money, what buying and selling, what dealing and chaffering, what writing and posting, what noise, hurry, bustle and confusion, what little contrivances, what rising early, going to bed late, what expense of precious time is there about things that perish. And is not the world, this fading world, writ upon every face?

That which further manifests the unlawfulness of these numerous fashions and recreations is that they are either the inventions of vain, idle, and wanton minds to gratify their own sensualities or the contrivances of indigent and impoverished wits, who make it the next way for their maintenance, in both which respects, and upon both which considerations, they ought to be detested as diverting from more lawful, more serviceable, and more necessary employments.

How many pieces of riband, and what feathers, lacebands, and the like, did Adam and Eve wear in paradise, or out of it? What rich embroideries, silks, and points had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Susannah, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary use to curl, powder, patch, paint, wear false locks of strange colors, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, shoes and slippers laced with silk or silver lace, and ruffled

like pigeons' feet, with several yards, if not pieces of ribands? How many plays did Jesus Christ and his apostles recreate themselves at?

I know I am coming to encounter the most plausible objection men are used to urge, when driven to a pinch: "But how shall those many families subsist, whose livelihood depends upon such fashions and recreations as you so earnestly decry?" I answer: It is a bad argument to plead for the commission of the least evil, that never so great a good may come of it. If you and they have made wickedness your pleasure and your profit, be ye content that it should be your grief and punishment, till the one can learn to be without such vanity, and the others have found out more honest employments.

'Tis the vanity of the few great ones that makes so much toil for the many small. Would men learn to be contented with few things, such as are necessary and convenient, all things might be at a cheaper rate, and men might live for little. If the landlords had less lusts to satisfy, the tenants might have less rent to pay, and turn from poor to rich, whereby they might be able to find more honest and domestic employments for their children than turning shifters and living by their wits, which is but a better word for their sins. And if the report of the more intelligent in husbandry be credible, lands are generally improvable; and were there more hands about more lawful and serviceable manufactures, they would be cheaper, and greater vent might be made by which a benefit would redound to the world in general. Nay, the burden lies the heavier upon the laborious country that so many hands and shoulders, as have the lust-caterers of the cities, should be wanting to the plough and the useful husbandry.

Let such of those vanity-hucksters as have got sufficient be contented to retreat and spend it more honestly than they have got it; and such as really are poor be rather

helped to better callings: this were more prudent, nay, Christian, than to consume money upon such foolish toys and fopperies. We cannot, we dare not, square our conversation by the world's: no, but by our exceeding plainness to testify against such extravagant vanity.

I know that some are ready further to object: "Hath God given us these enjoyments on purpose to damn us if we use them?" I answer that what God made was good, but in the whole catalogue the scriptures give, I never found the attires, recreations, and way of living, so much in request with the called Christians of these times; no, certainly. God created man a holy, wise, sober, grave, and reasonable creature, fit to govern himself and the world.

The Public Good

Every one that pretends to seriousness ought to suspect himself, as having been too forward to help on the excess, for every man should be so wise as to deny himself the use of such indifferent enjoyments as cannot be used by him without too manifest an encouragement to his neighbor's folly. People are not to weigh their private satisfactions more than a public good. Wherefore it is both reasonable and incumbent on all to make only such things necessary as tend to life and godliness, and to employ their freedom with most advantage to their neighbors.

If men and women were but thus adorned, impudence would soon receive a check, virtue would be in credit, and excess not dare show its face; then primitive innocency and plainness would come back again, and that plain-hearted, downright, harmless life would be restored of not much caring what we should eat, drink, or put on.

The temperance I plead for is not only religiously but politically good; 'tis the interest of good government to curb and rebuke excesses; it prevents many mischiefs; luxury

brings effeminacy, laziness, poverty, and misery, but temperance preserves the land. It keeps out foreign vanities and improves our own commodities: now we are their debtors, then they would be debtors to us for our native manufactures. We cannot but loudly call upon the generality of the times and testify both by our life and doctrine against abuses if possibly any may be weaned from their folly.

When people have first learned to fear, worship and obey their Creator, when the pale faces are more commiserated, the pinched bellies relieved, and naked backs clothed, when the famished poor, the distressed widow, and helpless orphan, God's works, and your fellow creatures, are provided for, then, I say, if then, it will be early enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleasures. But that the sweat and tedious labour of the husbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men; that the cart, the plough, the thrash, should be in that continual severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed the inordinate lusts and delicious appetites of the twentieth, is so far from the appointment of the great Governor of the world, and God of the spirits of all flesh, that to imagine such horrible injustice as the effects of his determinations, and not the intemperance of men, were wretched and blasphemous, especially since God hath made the sons of men but stewards to each other's exigencies and relief.

I therefore humbly offer an address to the serious consideration of the civil magistrate, that if the money which is expended in every parish in vain fashions could be collected in a public stock, there might be reparation to the broken tenants, work-houses for the able, and almshouses for the aged and impotent. Then should we have no beggars in the land, the cry of the widow and the orphan would cease, nay, the exchequer's needs, on just

emergencies, might be supplied by such a bank: it would be a noble example of gravity and temperance to foreign states, and an unspeakable benefit to ourselves at home.

Alas! why should men need persuasions to what their own felicity so necessarily leads them to? This vanity and excess are acted under a profession of the self-denying religion of Jesus, whose life and doctrine are a perpetual reproach to the most of Christians. For he (blessed man) was humble, but they are proud; he forgiving, they revengeful; he meek, they fierce; he plain, they gaudy; he abstemious, they luxuriose; he chaste, they lascivious; he a pilgrim on earth, they citizens of the world: in fine, he was meanly born, poorly attended, and obscurely brought up; he lived despised, and died hated of the men of his own nation. If you will listen to the light and grace that comes by him and which he has given to all people, and square your thoughts, words, and deeds thereby, and live soberly and godly, then may you with confidence look for the blessed hope, and joyful coming, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

O Lord God! Thou lovest holiness, and purity is thy delight in the earth. Wherefore. I pray thee, make an end of sin, and finish transgression, and bring in the everlasting righteousness to the souls of men, that thy poor creation may be delivered from the bondage it groans under, and the earth enjoy her sabbath again, that thy great name may be lifted up in all nations, and thy salvation renowned to the ends of the world.