

room of the Prisoners, to be waſted and ſpent out upon the ſame Punishment whereto the Priſoner was liable; *Ejuſmodi pœna conſumendi*, the very words of the Law. Could any Man now imagine the Watch could now be either ſo careleſs, or ſuch Cowards as to let our Saviour be ſtole away? Men durſt as well have fetch'd him from the Croſs as from the Grave.

But ſay that they were ſuch maim'd Soldiers, as that they had neither Eye to watch, nor Heart to ward; yet the Sepulcher it ſelf was ſo impregnable, that it alone would ſecure the Body. There could be no Burglary, nor breaking it up, no undermining; the Soil was Pickax proof, a firm Rock ſpread out of the Roots of *Golgotha*, gabion'd and rough-caſt with Flint. No removing of the Tombſtone, that beſides its weight and ſullenneſs to give way, was rib'd and clasp'd down with Iron Bars and Bonds; the Closure ſodder'd with the Seal of the Sanhedrim. Their *ἠσφαλίσαντο τὸ τῆρον*, and *σφραγίσαντες τὸ λίθον*, their fortifying the Sepulcher, and ſealing up the Stone, ſays it was ſo, in the latter Verſe of the former Chapter. For tho he ſhould revive, yet the High Priests never meant he ſhould riſe more, either by his own, or by the ſtrength of others. The Watch was but a ſtale to colour their pretence, and to lead their request to *Pilate*. The Womens, *Who ſhall roll us away the Stone?* was a matter more than they imagin'd, a Task above the ſtrength of a Man. A whole ſet of Leavers could not lift it; no rolling it away but by the force of an Angel.

And now look into the Grave, ſee the remains of the Reſurrection, the impartial Witneſſes and ſilent Sayings that he was not ſtole away. The Linen and Grave-Clothes wherein he was involv'd, lin'd and loden with a compound of Myrrh, Aloes and Maſtick, Gums and Spices *Arabick*, Unguents and Balms of *Gilead*, a Searcloth both coſtly and maſſy, *ὡς εἰς λίπην ἐκατόν*, to the worth or weight of an hundred Pounds, ſomewhat unweildy to be handled: the Kerchief ſo wrapt and diſpleited, as tho yet it had not been us'd; and yet ſo laid aſide, as tho he would have come again. What manner of Men would leave theſe things thus? His Friends would not for ſhame have ſtript him, and carry'd him away naked. His Foes would have eſteem'd the Linen and embalming Compounds far beyond his Body. Friend or Fo, or Neuter, they durſt not ſtay to ſlea the glewy Searcloth from his Skin, and give a diligent folding to the Kerchief. But if notwithstanding he was ſtole away, why was not ſearch made to recover his Body? No Hue and Cry to purſue the Malefactors? No Proclamation out for their Attachment? Why

were not the Women apprehended, or taken up on Suspicion? Why not so much as question'd? Question'd! about what? The Soldiers knew well enough he was not stoln away; for they sat by, and mark'd it; they were the Watch, and they did watch, they were not asleep; which is my last Contradictory.

Hitherto they talk like Soldiers, of coming by Night, and stealing away; now like Watchmen, in saying they were asleep. So sottish and unreasonable is Malice, that to burn his Neighbour's House, he will set Fire on his own; to bring in an Accusation on Christ and his Disciples, they make Confession of a Crime in themselves; they gull and befool themselves, and say that the Watch was asleep. It may be as Watchmen they durst sleep, 'tis ordinary; but they durst not so as Soldiers, their Discipline too strict, and the Penalty thereof too severe. He that forsakes the Watch, *capite punitur*, 'tis Death (saith *Paulus*) in Law 9. in *Excubias*, §. *de re militari*; and some good Captains interpret Sleep equivalent to Absence. Whatever were the Letter of the Law, Practice made it so; and *Polybius* tells us it was so put in execution. If any Man of the Watch be found asleep (saith he) *Ξυλοκοπεῖ*, he is put to the Bastinado, a capital Punishment, and reach'd to the Head: For the then Bastinado was *Fuste ceditur*; and as they now pass the Pikes, a thousand to one but the Party died under it. A whole Squadron of Men being to do execution, one back Friend or other would dash out his Brains, as now one Pike or other would broach him thro. The Roman Discipline was extreme dogged, and so profess it self, especially toward the Watch. The Ban-dogs of the Capital, because they bark'd not that Night when the *Gauls* surpriz'd it, had their Legs broken, and were split alive upon a two-fork'd Stake set up in publick; and in memory thereof (saith *Livy*) some Dogs were yearly so us'd, for examples sake to make Watchmen beware.

And the *Rounders* are so impartial herein, that they would make execution *ipso facto*. *Epaminondas* walks the Round, and finding one Soldier asleep, some of the Corrounders intreat for him: Well, saith he, for your sakes I will leave him as I found him, and therewithal he stakes him to the Ground with his Halberd; he found him in a dead Sleep, and so he left him. Some dim Prints of that Discipline are seen to this day in our modern Wars, where sometime the Rounder will clap a Musket-shot thro a sleepy Head. But antiently they durst do no other; for to wink at the fault, or delay the Punishment, was in the Governor, *Patrimonii & estimationis damnum*, a loss of Lands and Honour; and in Under-Officers, *Capital*

pitale Supplicium. They durst not then sleep wilfully, and they had no need to sleep, they were not over-watch'd. How the Day-watch stood I have not yet read; but for the Night-watch, all the World knows it was divided into four equal Parts, each containing three Planetary Hours, or one quarter of the Night, how long or short soever. And the turn came about but every third night, and then every third Hour they were reliev'd by putting in a fresh Watch. It was now past the Vernal Equinoctial, no one Night-watch sat full three modern Hours; so three Hours over in above threescore would bring no Over-watching. Seeing then they neither durst nor did, why yet do they say they were asleep? The reason is, they are of the ragged Regiment, mercenary Soldiers, hir'd to it by the Priests with a large piece of Mony. The Provantman will undertake to say any thing, yea to do any thing for Mony; for ten Groats a Week tug at a Wheelbarrow, and for a Stiver more serve the Enemy, and for a Piece pistol a Prince; suffer any thing for Mony, for a Dollar take the Strappado, for a Brace draw at a Decimation. Thus the Priests dealt with the silly Soldiers, as they did with *Judas*, only put them upon Hanging. An old Trick of the Priests, and much in use at this day, saving that now they practise it one upon the other, and so let them; good speed may they have.

But for all this they might be asleep, whether our Saviour were stole away or no. Somewhat the begging Soldiers would have, and they shall; his stealing away we can by no means grant. The Resurrection, an Article of our Creed, the very Groundsel of all our Faith; his Resurrection the Pattern and Pledg of ours, the Tenure whereby we hold our Title to Salvation. But for their being asleep we will not much contend; it is credible they were so, the contrary being neither imply'd, nor express'd in the Scripture. But yet their Sleep is no proof of their Saying. They know the things were done just as they say, for they were asleep the while. A right *Roman Reason*, a proof put from a Priest to serve a sleepy Soldier. If they were asleep, how could they say he was stoln rather than risen? or if they suppose him stoln, how knew they his Disciples did it rather than other Men? This must needs argue in them either Calumny to accuse a Party without Cause, or Levity to lay the Cause upon a wrong Party; either way folly to alledg so senseless a Reason. All our Knowledge is either from Sense or Reason; from Reason they could not have it, that hath made against them all this while; from any Sense they could not, for they were asleep; in Sleep all Sensation is intercepted. They could neither hear, see, smell, taste

taſte nor feel the Diſciples Coming, or their Stealing; if they did, they were not aſleep. If ſome one were awake, and perceiv'd it, why did he not give an Alarm to the reſt? If they underſtood it afterwards from others, why do they not produce authentick Witneſſes? If the Diſciples themſelves confeſs'd it, why were they not puniſh'd, and order taken to ſtop the Rumour of the Reſurrection? There is no way now left, but to pretend the Spirit, as our Enthuſiaſts do, and to ſay, that while they ſlept they had it in a Dream by Revelation. But that is refuted by retortion of the ſame, for by Revelation every Chriſtian knows the contrary, God reveals it unto him.

But why do the Soldiers produce this Reason? The Reason is, they took it upon truſt from the Prieſts. It is an old Error (let us not contend for the Age) to believe that the Prieſt cannot err. But why are the Soldiers got thus to argue againſt themſelves? the reaſon is, no Body elſe durſt do it. In thoſe times the Soldiers bore all the ſway, aſſum'd all power to make Kings and Emperors; but ſince the Prieſt hath done the like, putting the Soldier by. And now the Peaſant thinks 'tis come to his turn, under pretence of his Privilege in Parliament: He would diſpoſe of Kings and Commonwealths, and rather than return it to the Prieſt from whom he hath taken it, would caſt the courſe back again upon the Soldiers. Nothing now contents the Commonalty, but War and Contention: he hath taken a ſurfeit of Peace, the very Name of it grows odious.

Now to give the Soldier his Paſſport, we ſum up four Exceptions againſt his Saying: 1. It is not *verifimile*, the unlikelihood of it hath appear'd in every Contradictory. 2. They were *ignari rerum*, had no Information of what they affirm; neither Eye nor Ear-witneſs of what they ſay, for they confeſs themſelves aſleep. 3. Their Saying is contrary to what they had ſaid before, in the Morning they told another Tale, at the eleventh Verſe of this Chapter; if that were true, this is falſe; if that were not true, why ſhould we believe this, or who will truſt Men in contrary Tales? Laſtly, The Partys were corrupted, hir'd with a large ſum to utter their Saying, at the twelfth Verſe. Theſe two latter lie without the Text, and therefore I wholly forbear them, eſpecially for the point of Corruption; 'tis a crafty Crime, and commonly hard to prove. We alſo forbear the Lie to the Soldier, becauſe he abhors it: But to the Prieſts, who put this Lie in their Mouths, and to their Diſciple-Prieſts, who at this day praſtiſe Lying, and allow it to be lawful, we would mend the old ſaying, *A Liar ſhould have a good memory*, and rather re-

quire in him a good Wit. His Memory serves but to avoid Contradictions of himself, but his Wit to prevent the Contradictions of others, that an Untruth seem not also unlikely. If therefore the Priests would have lied wisely, and with credit, like Satan himself, the Serpent whom they serv'd, they should, as they did formerly, have laid our Saviour to Satan's Charge, and have said, That the foul Fiend came by Night, and fetch'd him away; leaving out, *whilst the Watch slept*, and instead thereof have argu'd from the Descent of the Angel, and the Earthquake: This could not so easily have been discover'd; but it might even as easily, where Faith had a Fortification. Human Reasons urg'd against it are but as Paper-shot. Carnal Wisdom working against God is but Dirt and Rottenness. Our Counsels are confounded, when carry'd against Christ. And so I come to my third and last Cursory, upon the word of our Saviour.

Hitherto we have clear'd the Disciples, but we must also give the Soldier content. There is no such difference, but the matter may be reconcil'd, and the question stated on the Soldier's side. Said I not, it was the fashion? The Soldiers then are in the right, their Saying very sound and Christian; a Disciple of his did come by Night, and stole him away, and the Soldiers were asleep. A Disciple of his, and his most belov'd Disciple, his human Soul, came by Night, was united to his Body, rais'd it, and withdrew it from the Sepulcher by stealth, while the Soldiers were so between sleeping and waking that they perceiv'd it not. Of this Cursory very briefly, as the words lie in order, declining all emergent Controversys, for that our present Quarrel lay only with the Soldier.

We term him a Disciple, who receives knowledg and chastisement from another. As our Saviour was God, his Soul was *ὁ μαθητής*, the truest and most proper Disciple that ever was: it had receiv'd both knowledg and chastisement, as never Man had, knowledg of all manner, both Divine and Human, infus'd and acquir'd; but whether it had no Ignorance, we leave it to the Catholicks: and all manner of chastisement, both exemplary and satisfactory, for all Mankind, the chastisement of our Peace was upon it; but whether it satisfy'd for Reprobates, we leave it to the *Arminians*. His Soul came, it could move, for it was separate; the Soul was from the Body, tho neither from the Godhead: as all the rest of the Disciples, it forsook him on the Cross, and now it came again: but it came not as it went, it went by Violence and foreign Force, the *Jews* expel'd it from him, altho he was also willing it should go; but it came purely voluntary, by a domestick Agent: but whether by virtue of the
 Godhead,

Godhead, or its own motive Faculty, we leave to the Schoolmen. It came then, not as poor *Lazarus's* Soul came to *Abraham's* Bosom, carry'd by Angels, but single, upon its own force, and without any help of others: But whether attended and waited upon by Troops of Angels, we leave it to the Fathers. For the time, it came by Night, not for fear of the *Jews*, as *Nicodemus* came to him, but for love of his Promise, that he might rise the third day. He came the second Night, the Night second to his Passion, but third to the day of his Resurrection, sometime between Midnight and Morning; but at what time we leave it to the Chronologers. The *Unde* of its Coming was from somewhere else, from a distant *Ubi*, for it was not come before it came; but from whence definitively, whether from Heaven or Hell, we leave it to the *Calvinists*. The *Quo* or Term of its coming was the Grave, he subsisted there; but the end of the Comer, was the Reunion to the Body, to make his real Presence there: but whether thereby he became Omnipresent, to be every where while he was in the Grave, we leave to the *Lutherans*. His final Intent, not to organize the Body, it was not dismembered, nor any way corrupted, not so much as *in fieri*, no not dispositively, but to animate those Members, and to raise the Body from the Grave, in which action both the Body and the Soul had their mutual Efficiency, each co-elevating other to make up the Resurrection; but whether these two Agents imply several Operations really distinct, we leave it to the *Nominalists*.

The manner of his Resurrection is so miraculous and ineffable, that bad words express it best. In a moral relation to the *Jews*, it is here term'd stealing; not to shew what our Saviour did in his rising, but to intimate what the *Jews* had committed by their Crucifying. Things of a supereminent nature are fain to borrow words of an inferior signification, when they are related to a low capacity; so God gives himself Attributes, not as he is, but according to the weakness whereby Man apprehends him. And here the Action of our Saviour is set down, not as it is done, but according to the wickedness that the *Jews* had done. The active signification of stealing belongs to our Saviour, but the moral Evil of it reflected upon others. The Law saith, he steals who fraudulently takes away something of another's, with intent to get the thing it self, its use or possession: If this Definition be true, his Resurrection was stealing. His Body was now *cadaver puniti*, the Carcase of one that had publicly suffer'd, and thereby forfeit to the State; no Man might meddle with it further than to bury it, nor that without special permission;
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it was now none of his, his right and possession of it both gone; *tradiderat*, he had made delivery of it, dispens'd and pass'd it away to *Pilate*: *Pilate* dispos'd his Right to bury it, to the Watch to detain it, and now it was theirs. When therefore he took it from the Grave, he stole it; his Repossession of it defrauded all the Predetainers. Said they not also he was a Deceiver? But whether the Angel that roll'd away the Stone, was necessary or ministerial, we leave it to the *Hermonists*. By natural relation his Body was his own, as being the essential and proper Counterpart of his Soul, pre-existent with it in one Person; but morally it was not so, or if it were, yet he might steal it for all that. A Man may steal that which is his own, by interverting that right in it which has been transfer'd to another; and what kind of Theft this was, we leave it to the Lawyers. God forbid we should lay other Theft to our Saviour, than that he attributes to himself, in saying, *He came like a Thief in the Night*, *i. e.* secretly and unawares; so was his conveyance from the Grave, close, without the consent and notice of those that were present; such a carriage we commonly call Stealth. We steal away from a Room, when we depart without the knowledg of the Company; but whether he could convey himself so closely, as to pass thro the Tombstone, we leave it to the Philosophers.

Yet so close it was, that the Watch perceiv'd it not, for they were asleep; they were set to watch it, but they did not. Not to watch, is all one with not to be awake, and that with to be asleep. We commonly call him sleepy who is negligent or careless of what passes, as the contrary we term vigilant; so the Watch was fast asleep, they never gave heed to the Resurrection; that so far from their Belief, that they had no Opinion of it. But if Death be a kind of a Sleep, he is soundly asleep that lies for dead, and so did the Watch, in the fourth Verse of this Chapter, *ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ νεκροί*, for fear of the Angel they fell a shaking, and became as dead Men. His Presence gave them a strong Dormitive, it wrought beyond Sleep. Sleep reaches but only to a Ligation of Sense, but in them all Motion ceas'd, they were exanimate; but whether that Fit held them only by way of *Syncope*, or did determine in a *Cataphora*, or soporiferous Passion, we leave it to the Physicians. Fearful and cowardish Soldiers, more Womanish than Women! At the presence of the Angel the Women stand upright, but the Soldiers fall in a Sound. Help them good Women, unbutton the Soldiers, ye need not fear their Halberds. There's work for you and your Spices, your Odours to comfort and recal their Spirits. Be-
flow

How that Charity on the dying Soldiers which you intended on your dear Saviour, for he is risen and needs them not, but they may benefit the Soldiers. The Soldiers us'd to such Fits, they had one of them the other Night in *Gethsemane*; but whether these Dejections were Sins in the Soldiers, we leave to the *Casuits*. Thus they were κοιμώμενοι, laid as Men asleep; for it signifys rather the Reclination or Posture of one asleep, than the Affection of Sleep it self. He that lies still without Sense or Motion, whether he be in a Sleep, or Trance, or Dead, we say κοιμώμενος; and we call the Church-yard κοιμητήριον, because the Dead lie there as if they were asleep, they stir not: And so we must all be laid; there's no Dormitory. Our Case somewhat like the Soldiers: We are appointed here to watch our Saviour; and as we do it, we are subject to the Soldier's Infirmary, apt to be cast asleep, and become as dead Men. Yet let us not be subject to their fear, our Death is but like their Swooning, that's the worst. We are liable to rise again, and our Resurrection shall be like our Saviour's: His and ours make a mutual Aspect; his the Specimen, and ours the Complement. What he practis'd on himself, he perfects in us: He will come again by Night, and steal us to Glory, while we lie sleeping in the Grave, *Even so come Lord Jesus.*

The Recantation-Sermon.

The Preface before the Sermon.

PERSONAL Prefaces are commonly unpleasant, mine is to me: It is *nomine pœnæ*, it requires my Patience, it intreats yours. I never came here *Sponte*, sometimes upon Request, but now upon Command; to which my Obedience is very voluntary, as willing to give Satisfaction, as any to receive it. I never stood here to shew my self but now, and now not for Worth, or Wickedness, but yet for Weakness, in not discerning the three vital Circumstances of a well-order'd Action, Person, Time and Place. For it I am now Prisoner, to censure, the Spectacle of Submission, and Petitioner for Pardon. It is good to be humble, I like it very well, and use it more than some Men think I do. My present Business is not to repeat that Sermon which the Repeater condemn'd, and left un-
repeated

repeated in the Forenoon. I call it that, for now it is none of mine: It hath been censur'd publickly and justly; and so let it suffer, the Whole for some bad Parts: as usually the Pravity of one Member is destructive to the whole Body. If ye will please to let it die, I will substitute another in the room; whereto (tho enjoin'd by Authority) my self doth most willingly condescend. My Text was also impos'd, and deliver'd in these words, ἡσαν ἅπαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ. In prosecution whereof I humbly crave a fair Construction, and a favourable Acceptation: First, for my Offence past, that my Readiness to acknowledg it may go for one degree of Satisfaction, and sudden Recantation for another. What it wants in Ripeness is supply'd in Sincerity, tho in this the more mature, because the more timely. Secondly, for my present Memory, I have had no time to furnish it: it is a dull and drowsy Faculty, a great deal of do to make it ready; and besides, it is somewhat cowardly in point of Danger. It dares not shew it self; the least Agitation makes it run away; and my self hath partly spar'd it for your sake and the University. My present Sermon is but a Brief, I would desire you to hear it read. You may please to return to the Text; It's written,

Acts 2. 1. the latter part, They were all with one Accord in one Place.

Man ceaseth to be Man, if we conceive him All-sufficient; God only is so: He, he only is All-sufficient, who is only Almighty. Man's Being and his Good is Indigency and Want: his chiefest Business is to contend against it, and his Happiness to abolish it. Private Want is an Occasion of Difference and Dissent; but common Want the common Cause of Concord, the Parent and Procurer of moral Unity, and all human Societies. So all our Assemblies are grounded upon Want, sometimes to give thanks that the past hath been supply'd, but commonly to supply the Wants present. The reason is, that when a Plurality of Agents are united in their Efficacy, the Operation is far more effectual than if each wrought single: and what the single Members cannot obtain apart, they may acquire jointly, being incorporate into one Body. This also is the case of Christ's Disciples, the Want of their Master collects and im-bodies them in together. They want him twice, once on Mount Calvary; there they want his Soul: this gathers them close in Jerusalem; and the door is shut on them, but the Place not specify'd.

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The second time he forsakes them on the Mount Olivet, at the 9th Verse of the former Chapter: then they want his Person; that puts them together again at the 13th Verse, in the upper Room; there they consider of another want, Means to perform their Ministry. *Judas* the Traitor hath hang'd himself, at the 18th Verse, his Bishoprick is void, and they will chuse another in his room, at the 22d Verse; there they prick two, then pray and draw Lots; and at the last Verse *Matthias* is elected and consecrated. All this being finish'd, they yet find another Want, Variety of Languages to utter their Embassy to several Nations, where they were to be employ'd. For this there is another Meeting upon a set Day, the fifth from the Resurrection, and the tenth from the Ascension; and then, as it is in my Text, *They were all with one accord in one place.*

In which may it please you to observe three Circumstances:

1. The Plurality or Number; *They were all.*

2. Their Unanimity or moral Union of Soul; *With one accord.*

3. The Unipresence, or local Union of Body; *In one place.* Of these in their order, as the time hath scanted, and God strengthen'd by weaken'd Thoughts. We begin with the Plurality or Number; *They were all.*

The Expositors run much *pro* and *con*, about the Persons of these *All*, whether therein the *Virgin Mary* and other Women were included: But for the most, they go by conjecture, and either affirm or deny it to serve their own purpose; and seeing the Scripture declares neither, we may exclude them to serve ours. They might be in presence, but not as part of the Assembly, and Partakers of the Benefits. The reason of this Conjecture is, Tho the Women otherwise might receive many Gifts and Graces, yet they were not fit Vessels to be fill'd with the Holy Ghost in this kind, to speak with divers Tongues. The sub-reason is, They might not exercise the Functions for which these Tongues were ordain'd; they were for *prophesying in the Church*, from which *St. Paul* debars the Women, 1 Cor. 14. 24. *Let your Women keep silence in the Church, for it is not permitted unto them to speak.* Let us not be thought overweening for casting now and then a Conjecture diverse from the common current. We are free Denizens of *Christendom*, and may challenge the Liberty of our Thoughts, as well as out-landish Men. Let their Learning not out-look us; for where the Scripture leaves us, all Learning lies lame, and her two Truths are Criticisms and Conjectures. What Persons soever excluded, the Disciples will not: they are order'd in this

this *All*; for the Consistory Cardinals will be in no order; for they make the Canons hold, that the Clause, *All manner of Persons*, doth not include a Cardinal.

The Number is universal; not collective, but representative for the whole primitive Church, who was *all* there, not in their own single, but in the Persons of these (*all*;) who were there for the Acceptation of the Holy Ghost, according to the gracious Promises of our Saviour; or haply, all relatively too, the Number specify'd in the Assembly for the Election of *Matthias*. The total Sum of that *All* was about 120, at the 15th Verse of the former Chapter: the major part was the 12 Apostles. 12 the major part of 120, not in Number, but in Power, and therefore the better part; tho some think otherwise, and thereupon infer, that every ordinary Man is as good as a Bishop. The Number here is 12, not insignificant; the 12 Disciples answering the 12 Patriarchs: for so it pleas'd God, that both the Testaments, the New and Old, should be founded upon *Dodecadies*; as the Church of the Jews under the Law sprung from the twelve Patriarchs, so the Church of the Gentiles under the Gospel from the twelve Apostles.

The Fathers and After-Divines, both antient and modern, do much descant upon the Number of the 12 Apostles, in relation to the 12 Fountains in *Elim*, and 12 Stones in *Aaron's* Breast-plate, the 12 Stones of the Altar, the 12 Loaves of Proposition, the 12 Levites that carry'd the Ark, the 12 Spies sent to search the Land of Promise, the 12 Gates of *Jerusalem*, the 12 Signs of the Zodiack, Months of the Year, and Hours of the Day, with many more the like, some whereof are pious, others but Fancies. Yet in each they frame out a Resemblance, as ye may see at large in *Palmeron*, and divers others. With the twelve Apostles the rest of the Disciples made up one hundred and twenty.

Hereon *St. Austin* morals in his one hundred and sixteenth Sermon *de Temp.* that the Holy Ghost was given ten-fold to the 12 Apostles, because that ten multiply'd by 12 makes up the Product one hundred and twenty. But the Moral of *St. Gregory*, in his 35th Moral, and 3d Chapter, is too mystical, if not merely *Pythagorical*: He would have 120 partly to signify things temporal, partly eternal, by this Deduction; An hundred and twenty by Arithmetical Progress ariseth from one to fifteen; and because the Components are seven and eight, things temporal are conceiv'd by seven, and eternal by eight: of this I conceive not the ground, nor find it approv'd in *Arithmetick*. If thus to break Numbers were rational, a Man might deduce 600 Mysteries from the number 120. *St. Jerom*

prefigures this Number in the Age of *Moses*, whose Years were full one hundred and twenty. With modesty be it spoken, *St. Jerom* might have pretyped it by the Age of Man in general, *Gen. 6. 3.* when God saith of Man, That *his Years shall be one hundred and twenty.* Then put *Moses* and *Man* together, and the Resemblance will be rational: *Moses* a Type of *Christ*, the Scriptures both say and shew it.

As the Law descended first from God upon *Moses* alone, and after him to the People; so the Descent of the Holy Ghost, first from God upon *Christ* alone, and after from *Christ* upon all the Disciples, whose utmost number was about one hundred and twenty Men, and from them communicated to the utmost of Mankind, whose utmost Age is but 120 Years. But for the purpose, this Number is more precisely typed in *2 Chron. 5. 15.* at the latter end of the Verse, by one hundred and twenty Priests sounding on Trumpets, whereas it came to pass that the Trumpeters and Singers were all to make one Sound: so here the Disciples, tho 120 in number, yet but one in accord; which is my second Circumstance, the Unanimity or moral Union of the Soul, *With one accord.*

ὁμοθυμαδὸν: what the word means is shew'd in the fourth Chapter following, at the thirty second Verse, *ἦν ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία*, *They were of one Heart and one Soul*; not physically, but morally, an Union and moral Identity of Souls, not the apprehensive Soul, Understanding or Sense. Accord consists not in Assent of Opinions, or Points of Speculation; for to him that affirms the Sun bigger than the Earth, my Assent or Dissent neither makes nor mars one Accord: the reason is, for that the Judgment in such cases proceeds from natural Reason, and by consequence from Necessity; but in Accord it springs from the Will, from a voluntary Choice and free: for true Accord is an Union of the motive Soul, *ὁμοθυμαδὸν*, an Union of the Will and Affections; not the Faculties themselves, tho much at discord, but in unanimous Actions and Operations resulting from the Faculties, when our *Velle's* and *Nolle's* are one and the same, either concerning the End it self, in the same Fruition or Intention, or concerning the Means that led us to that End. In the Sum, Counsel, and Consent, they favour Choice and Use: and all this not in matters trivial, but things of moment, where there lies a sensible Commodity to a good Community.

Thus was the Unanimity and Accord of the Disciples; First, for the End, they have *one Accord* for the Fruition of the Gospel, and Intent to publish it; especially the Point of Resurrection. Secondly, for the Means, *one Accord* for Counsel and Consent, and *one* for Choice and Use of them. And yet
their

their *one Accord* stands not here, but descends *ad Cor.*: it signifies a Co-heartedness, an Unanimity or concurring in Affection; *one Accord* in Love and Hatred, in Desire and Dislike, in Joy and Sorrow, and so in other Passions irascible; yea, there most of all, for where there lies a *ὑμῶς*, there's most properly *ὁμοθυμαδόν*: where all these agree in one, there's truly one Accord. To this if we superadd a quantity of *Impetus*, a Vehemency to conquer all Impediments or Difficulties of the Action, we hit just on the Nature of the thing; for then we are *ὁμοθυμαδόν*, when our Agreement is the same, and hath the same degrees in Operation; where we have a propense and earnest Concurrence jointly to prosecute the same Good, or shun the same Evil, doing either Action the same way. And thus were the Disciples in their Affections *ὁμοθυμαδόν*, the same Love, Desire, and Joy concerning the publishing of the Gospel, and good News of Salvation; and the same Hate, Dislike, and Sorrow for any Evil that might oppose it. Their Affections, which before were irregular, and cast on Infirmities, as Ambition, Incredulity, Apostasy, were now rectify'd and directed to their right Object. It was not any rude *Accord*, where the worst do rule; neither was it a dissembling *Accord*, with a League in the Mouth, and Discord at the Heart; neither was it a wicked *Accord*, as of the *Ephesians* for their Idolatry, but of *good Men*, with a *good Mind*, and to a *good End*. Thus were the Disciples to receive the Holy Ghost. This *Accord* had God to its Efficient; for as God only makes the Heart, so he only seasons it, and gives it Grace. It had God for its Author, and God for its End, and therefore brings to *one place*; which is my third Circumstance.

In the same place; not the same Place numerically, but relatively, in the same Room. This Place was a high Place, it was an upper Room and comely. We should do all religious Exercises in a decent place; the paring away of Ceremonies doth but take away the Church's Ornaments. Then it was a high Room. At all spiritual Exercises we should ascend. Now it is call'd in Latin *Cœnaculum*, a Room to sup in: All religious Exercises should be begun with the Supper of the Lord; and that must be common too, not for one only: this Room (some say) was belonging to *Nicodemus*; yet this proves not for *Conventicles*: for if we have the like Authority, we will release our Canon. What if we say, this is *Solomon's* Porch? for there were six score Persons, and it was nois'd about by and by, yea by nine of the clock *Peter* was in his Sermon. This therefore is like not to be in a private Chamber: but were not this, yet the other was, *Verse 46*.

God

God would have them join together, to receive the Holy Ghost; for where the Hearts are together it is much, but where they are together, and their Body in one Place, there is all the good Place can afford. Thus we came from the Plurality to the Unanimity, and from the Unanimity to the Unipresence; the first without the second is but confus'd, and the second without the third is but Singularity; but these altogether make a compleat Parliament.

And now for Application of what hath been said to our Parliament: In the Disciples a spiritual Want was the Cause of their Assembly, in the Parliament a temporal Want. The Event in the one was good; God grant it be so in the other. The time of that was after the Resurrection, and so is it of this. The Persons are all alike, Men all, no Women, they are too talkative. The Number alike, *those*, all the Primitive Church; *these*, all the Commonwealth. Of them both our Opinions are alike; the one we honour, and the other too, as true Lawgivers. They were unanimous and unipresent, and so also is the Parliament; they had one Counsel, so have we; their Accord was good, and so is ours; perfect, to cut off all bad Accord. Their Accord resolves a spiritual Welfare, and so is our Accord, to maintain our selves by War. So of these our Opinions are alike; the one would be without War, were they not provok'd thereto, but now 'tis needful; so is our War also. That was an upper Room, high and stately, so is the Parliament; that was in the Suburbs of *Jerusalem*, this of *London*. Now let us praise God for them, and pray for them, that there be not Opposition between them. Let the King be the Head, they the Heart, we the Members. Let it be like the Parliament in Mount *Sinai*, the King and Subjects as God and *Moses*, and we like the *Israelites*. Let God say to the King, that he will help him, and destroy his Enemies: Let the King say to the People, as *David* to the *Gibeonites*; and let the People say to him as *Israel* to *David*, *We will serve and obey thee only, and do what thou commandest us*: and let me pray for them, that they may stand fast in the Faith: and let's all say of them, all that be of *Israel*, as a Congregation of one Mind, that this Union may be ruled by Order; and that like this spiritual one, let's pray there may be *one God, one Mind, one Spirit*; and let all the People say, *Amen*.

Here remains as yet a personal Conclusion. If I heretofore seem'd to deliver any Doctrine contrary to this I now deliver, I utterly renounce it. The last time I had these words, *Now the Peasant thinks, &c.* I had also these words, *Nothing contents the Commonalty, but War and Contention.* I confess there I did

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very ill, forgetting that of Solomon, *There is a time for War, and a time for Peace.* For any other erroneous thing I require your pardon. A Word once spoken cannot be recall'd, it may be stopt. In the same place where the Blot was made, I am come to wipe it out. My last Petition to you is for Patronage from further Trouble.

Phenix

Phœnix XXVII.

*A Brief Account of the new Sect of
Latitude-Men : Together with
some Reflections upon the New
Philosophy.*

By S. P. of Cambridge.

In Answer to a Letter from his Friend at Oxford.

*Quod verum, id antiquissimum.
Fama vix vero favet,
Pejus merenti melior, & pejor bono.*

For my Worthy Friend Mr. S. P. at Cambridge.

S I R,

THAT Aversion which I perceive to be no less in you than in my self, from the impertinent Exchange of mere Words and Complements, would soon put a period to our formerly more frequent Intercourse; but that I have a certain Itch of Curiosity, to know what News there is abroad, which tho it may be is as impertinent, yet it serves to correct the Severity of that other Humour, which

if too much indulg'd, would make the Friendship of those that live at distance too dull and stupid, and no better than what may be between the Living and the Dead. Which Consideration, advantag'd by that natural Inclination of mine, as it hath formerly created you some trouble about matters of no great importance, so it is likely to supply me with frequent Occasions of the same kind for the future; but at present I shall not need to seek for that which obtrudes it self upon me, whether I will or no. I can come into no Company of late, but I find the chief Discourse to be about a certain new Sect of Men call'd Latitude-Men: but tho' the Name be in every man's mouth, yet the explicit Meaning of it, or the Heresy which they hold, or the individual Persons that are of it, are as unknown (for ought I can learn) as the Order of the Rosycrucians. On the one side I hear them represented as a Party very dangerous both to the King and Church, as seeking to undermine them both: on the other side I cannot hear what their particular Opinions or Practices are, that bear any such dangerous Aspect to say the truth, I can meet with nothing distinct concerning them, but that they had their rise at Cambridge, and are Followers for the most part of the new Philosophy, wherewith they have so poison'd the Fountain, that there are like to issue out very unwholesom Streams throughout the whole Kingdom. I should be very glad from your own mouth to be resolv'd of the Meaning of this mystical Name, and the Sect it denominates, which all of a sudden is become so formidable, if we have any Act this Year to invite you to Oxford; if not, pray fail not to do it in as ample a manner in writing: To which if you will add your Thoughts also concerning the New Philosophy, you will not little gratify the rest of your old Acquaintance here, as well as,

Oxford, May
15. 1662.

Sir, Yours, &c.

G. B.

For Mr. G. B. at Oxford.

S I R,

YOURS of the 15th of May I lately receiv'd, wherein when you desire to see me at Oxford next Act (if you have any) it is, I suppose, rather of course than out of any such Expectation; I having been twice already there, and yet could never be so happy as to get you over to our Commencement. Truly it is as far from Cambridge to Oxford, as it is from Oxford to Cambridge; and therefore you must hold me excus'd, if you see me no more there, till you have repaid me with a Visit here: but to say the Truth, I must presently

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after

after the Commencement prepare for my Journey into the North, where my Friends are ready to fall out with me, for neglecting them so long.

2. As for the Question you desire to be resolv'd in, it is more than I dare undertake to do; for tho' this Name of *Latitude-Men* be daily exagitated amongst us, both in Taverns and Pulpits, and very tragical Representations made of them, yet we know as little what it means, as you at *Oxford* do; and I verily believe, the Men of that Sect are as little able to give in a List of their Fraternity, and are as free from any Plot against King or Church, as King *Arthur's* Knights, or the *Rosy Brotherhood*, which you have very happily compar'd them with. And truly it is to be suspected, they fly in the Air too, when they meet in their invisible Conventicles, to promote their unheard of Machinations. A *Latitude-Man* therefore (according to the best Definition I can collect) is an Image of Clouts, that Men set up to encounter with, for want of a real Enemy: It is a convenient Name to reproach a Man that you owe a spite to; 'tis what you will, and you may affix it upon whom you will; 'tis something will serve to talk of, when all other Discourse fails.

3. But you would think I had a mind to shuffle with you, if I should give you only this general Account; for you will not imagine I can be so short-sighted, but that I may be able to see farther into the matter than so. That I may not therefore frustrate your Expectation, I will tell you all that I am able to understand or conjecture concerning it. The greatest part of the Men that seem to be pointed at under that name, are such, whose Fortune it was to be born so late, as to have their Education in the University since the beginning of the unhappy Troubles of this Kingdom, where they ascended to their Preferments by the regular Steps of Election, not much troubling themselves to inquire into the Titles of some of their Electors. They are such as are behind none of their Neighbors, either in Learning or good Manners, and were so far from being sour'd with the Leven of the Times they lived in, that they were always lookt upon with an evil eye by the successive usurping Powers; and the general Outcry was, that the whole University was over-run with *Arminianism*, and was full of men of a Prelatical Spirit, that had apostatiz'd to the Onions and Garlick of *Egypt*, because they were generally ordain'd by Bishops: and in opposition to that hide-bound, strait-lac'd Spirit that did then prevail, they were call'd *Latitude-Men*; for that was the first Original of the Name, whatever Sense hath since been put upon it. This was a certain Bar to their Preferment, as they were sure to find, if any of them came

fore the Committee of Tryers, who (as it was reported) had gotten a List of all those that were ordain'd by the Bishop of *Norwich*. And truly if they that were turn'd out of their Preferments, were esteem'd Martyrs, I know not why these that were debar'd thereof upon the same grounds may not be call'd Confessors.

4. And now this being the State of the University, can it be wonderful, if upon the happy Restitution of the Church, there were a general Readiness in most Men to conform to the Commands and Injunctions thereof? And yet I am sorry to hear some Men, even in those Discourses wherein they should be careful to deliver nothing but the sacred Oracles of God, talk at such a rate, as if they were offended to see so general a Conformity. It seems very strange, that any Son of the Church should be displeas'd to see the Number of her Children to encrease beyond expectation. I hope it is not because they will be the more likely to claim a share in the Patrimony; nay, I am well assur'd it is far from any of her genuine Offspring, that are faithful to her Interest, to be so affected: or if at any time some less-becoming Expression should drop from them, it hath only proceeded from Misinformation and Want of a right Understanding of things, which upon better Thoughts it is likely they could wish unsaid. But it cannot be expected, but the Prosperity of the Church will occasion the flocking in of many less worthy Persons, who will be very ambitious to be accounted in the Number of her Children, who for want of something else to render them more considerable than their Neighbours, must make use of an unmeasurable Ostentation of their Zeal and Forwardness, which they think is best express'd by slandering and reproaching those whom they have outstrip'd, not in Sincerity, but in Shew and Appearance: and it may be some of them may hope to expiate their former Disaffections by their present over-doing, and think to recommend themselves by calling others Hypocrites: It were, I say, a thing to be wonder'd at, if there should not some such Men as these creep into the Church, since it is become a profitable way, who by such unworthy Acts will endeavour to compass their Designs, and by breeding and fomenting publick Differences, will hope to serve their private turns. But I am confident their Number is very small, and that the most part are Men of more noble and generous Spirits, that hate such Unworthiness, however their Names may sometimes be abus'd by some few unquiet Spirits, that make all this noise and stir. For I must tell you, I do not find that the grave Heads, or other prudent Persons of the University, give any countenance to this peevish Talk of some few,
who

who for distinction-sake (if *Latitude* be a Name of Reproach) will not, I hope, be offended to be call'd *Narrow-Men*, notwithstanding. But that there may remain no Suspicion of their Disaffection to the Church in any respect, I will give you a brief account of what I conceive to be their Sentiments in each point relating thereunto; which are the Liturgy, the Ceremonies, the Government, and the Doctrine of the Church. As for the first, they conceive there ought by all means to be a settled Liturgy, it having always been the Practice both of the Jewish and Christian, and more or less retain'd by all reform'd Churches; that there can be no Solemnity of publick Worship without it; that it is the greatest Check to Devotion that can be, to hear Men mix their private Opinions with their publick Prayers, which are for the most part false, and have an evil influence on the Lives of Men; yet this hath been almost the universal Practice for these twenty years. The like may be said of those absurd, ridiculous, blasphemous Expressions that do so frequently occur in extempore Prayers, under the pretence of being familiar with God Almighty; to say nothing of those seditious and traitorous Principles, craftily thereby insinuated into the Minds of People, with greater Authority than in their Sermons could be done, forasmuch as there is a greater Awe and Solemnity in the one above the other: which also shews how uncomely a thing it is for Men to ostentate their Parts and Abilities therein, as they were wont to do by their empty Rhetorickations and tedious Prolivity. Our *Latitudinarians* therefore are by all means for a Liturgy, and do prefer that of our own Church before all others, admiring the Solemnity, Gravity, and primitive Simplicity of it, its Freedom from affected Phrases, or Mixture of vain and doubtful Opinions: In a word, they esteem it to be so good, that they would be loth to adventure the mending of it, for fear of marring it.

As for the Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Worship, they do highly approve that vertuous Mediocrity, which our Church observes between the meretricious Gaudiness of the Church of *Rome*, and the squallid Sluttery of Fanatick Conventicles. Devotion is so overlaid by the Papists, that she is oppress'd and stifled with the multitude of her own Garments. *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui*. Some of our modern Reformers, to make amends, have strip'd her stark naked, till she is become in a manner cold and dead; the Church of *England* only hath dress'd her, as befits an honourable and vertuous Matron. There are few Men so abstractedly intellectual, but that their Devotion had need to be advanc'd with something that may strike upon their outward Senses, and engage their Affections;

and therefore while we live in this Region of Mortality, we must make use of such external Helps, and recommend Religion to the People by those Ornaments, which the Church hath, according to her Prudence, thought fittest for those Ends. The Church of Rome is a luxuriant Vine, full of superfluous Branches, and over-run with wild Grapes, from whence many a poisonous and intoxicating Potion is press'd forth. But the greatest part of Reformers have done like the rude *Thracian* in the Apologue, who instead of moderate pruning and dressing his Vines, as his more skilful *Athenian* Neighbours did, cut them up by the roots; but the Church of *England* is the only well-order'd Vineyard.

In like manner they have a deep Veneration of her Government, which they stedfastly believe to be in it self the best, and the same that was practis'd in the Times of the Apostles. They did always abhor both the Usurpation of *Scottish* Presbytery, and the Confusion of Independent Anarchy; and do esteem it one of the Methods which the Prince of Darkness useth, to overthrow the Church and Religion, by bringing the Clergy into Contempt, which Experience tells us will necessarily follow upon the removing the several Dignities and Pre-eminence among them; for when the Bishops are once level'd with ordinary Presbyters, the Presbyters will soon be trampled on by the meanest of the Laity: and when every Preacher would needs be a Bishop, every Rustick and Mechanick took upon him to be a Preacher.

Lastly, for the Doctrine of the Church, they do cordially adhere to it, as doth sufficiently appear by their Willingness to subscribe to the thirty nine Articles, and all other points of Doctrine, contain'd either in the Liturgy or Book of Homilies; and particularly (whatsoever may be privately whisper'd to the contrary) they do both devoutly adore the blessed Trinity in the Litany, and make solemn Profession of their Orthodox Faith, both concerning it and other Points, in the three Creeds, not excepting that which is commonly ascrib'd to *Athanasius*: nor is there any Article of Doctrine held forth by the Church, which they can justly be accus'd to depart from, unless absolute Reprobation be one, which they do not think themselves bound to believe.

5. Nor is it credible they should hold any other Doctrine than the Church, since they derive it from the same Fountains, not from the *Spinose* Schoolmen, or *Dutch* Systematicks, neither from *Rome* nor *Geneva*, the Council of *Trent*, nor Synod of *Dort*, but from the Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists; in interpreting whereof, they carefully attend to the Sense of the antient Church, by which they conceive the

the modern ought to be guided: and therefore they are very conversant in all the genuine Monuments of the antient Fathers, those especially of the first and purest Ages, not to gather out fine Phrases and quaint Sentences, but that they may discern between the modern Corruptions, and antient Simplicity of the Church; to distinguish between the Doctrines receiv'd in these latter Ages, and those which the primitive Christians receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles. For those Opinions in Religion, how specious soever, are justly to be suspected, whereof there are no Footsteps to be discern'd in that golden Age of Christianity, that was try'd and purify'd in the Fire of Persecution. We are not so secure of the succeeding silver Age of Peace and Prosperity, but that there might be some drossy Mixture, inferior to the golden, but better than the brazen that trod upon its heels,

Sævior ingeniis, & ad horrida promptior Arma;

when the Christians had taken up the Swords formerly of their Persecutors, and drew them one upon another: but,

—*De duro est ultima ferro,
Protinus erupit venæ peioris in ævum
Omne nefas; fugere pudor verumque, fidesque,
In quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolique,
Insidiæque, & vis, & amor sceleratus habendi.*

And by this time sure there was need of Reformation, to bring all things to the primitive Pattern, to purge out the Dross and Tin, and all baser Metals, which the Church of England hath most happily atchiev'd.

And now let no Man accuse them of hearkning too much to their own Reason, since their Reason steers by so excellent a Compass, the antient Fathers and Councils of the Church. For Reason is that Faculty, whereby a Man must judg of every thing; nor can a Man believe any thing except he have some reason for it, whether that Reason be a Deduction from the Light of Nature, and those Principles which are the Candle of the Lord, set up in the Soul of every man that hath not wilfully extinguish'd it; or a Branch of Divine Revelation in the Oracles of Holy Scripture; or the general Interpretation of genuine Antiquity, or the Proposal of our own Church consentaneous thereto, or lastly the Result of some or all of these: for he that will rightly make use of his Reason, must take all that is reasonable into consideration. And it is admirable to consider how the same Conclusions do naturally flow from

from all these several Principles; and what in the faithful Use of the Faculties that God hath given, Men have believ'd for true, doth excellently agree with that Revelation that God hath exhibited in the Scripture, and the Doctrine of the antient Church with them both. Thus the Freedom of our Wills, the universal Intent of Christ's Death, and Sufficiency of God's Grace, the Conditions of Justification, and many other Points of the like nature, which have been almost exploded in these latter degenerate Ages of the World, do again begin to obtain, tho with different Persons upon different accounts: some embrace them for their Evidence in Scripture, others for the concurrent Testimony of the primitive Church for above four hundred years; others for the Reasonableness of the things themselves, and their Agreement both with the Divine Attributes, and the easy Suggestions of their own Minds. Nor is there any Point in Divinity, where that which is most antient doth not prove the most rational, and the most rational the antientest; for there is an eternal Consanguinity between all Verity: and nothing is true in Divinity, which is false in Philosophy, or on the contrary; and therefore what God hath join'd together, let no Man put asunder.

But these Men are generally suspected to be for Liberty of Conscience, and that's a Principle of dangerous consequence, that will undermine the very Foundations of any Church whatsoever. A Church cannot be without Unity and Uniformity: An unlimited Discord of Opinions and Practices will as much obstruct the Edification of God's Temple, as the Confusion of Languages did the building of the Tower of *Babel*. Verily this is true; and the most part of them, who while they are under the hatches deny it, do by their Practices confirm it, whenever they get power into their hands. But how far the Men charg'd with it are concern'd therein, remains to be inquir'd. Tho in the first place I cannot but take notice, that this very Objection confutes the vulgar Calumny cast upon them, as if they were Men of no Conscience; for I dare say, by how much the less of Conscience any Man hath, by so much the less will he care what Impositions are laid on it: tho for my own part, I shall always think him most conscientious who leads the most unblamable Life, tho he be not greatly scrupulous about the Externals of Religion; and for their Lives I think the *Latitude-men* were never tax'd by their greatest Enemy. And now let us soberly consider what was before said; They sincerely embrace all the Articles of Doctrine held forth by the Church, they cheerfully use and approve her Liturgy and Ceremonies, they cordially love and obey her Government: How then can they pursue any Liberty

erty that can be dangerous to her? For in all other things the Church her self leaves them to their liberty, and who shall blame them for using it? But there are some Men, it may be, are offended that the Church is so indulgent a Mother, that will not unnecessarily impose upon the Judgment or Practice of her Children; they would have all things bound up, and nothing free; they would fain be adding some Cyphers to their significant Articles she now propounds, and instead of 39 would make 39000. And 'tis well if they would content themselves with Cyphers, and not add Falsities to make up the Tale. They have, it may be, an ambition to out-do the Assembly's Confession; they would be content that *Aquinas's* Sums were put into the Creed, and all the Janglings of the Schools into the Prayers of the Church; that so by their *Longitude*, they might be even with their Neighbours of the *Latitude*. Others, it may be, think we have not Ceremonies enough; and if they can find any antiquated Rite in some moth-eaten Author, they have an itch presently of bringing it into the Church, without considering whether there be the same reason or use of it now, that may have been in other times and places: and then if their Neighbours will not follow their Example, but think it enough to do what the Rubrick and Canons require, they shall be cry'd out on for disaffected. This is all that Liberty of Conscience they can justly be accus'd of, unless I should add that they are so merciful as not to think it fit to knock People on the head, because they are not of our Church. The Church of *England* hath never yet embued her hands in Blood; and I hope the Zeal of none of her Sons will ever kindle such Flames, as her Stepmother of *Rome* delights to warm her hands at.

And now having taken an impartial View of this so much exagitated Company of Men, we find them so far from being any ways dangerous to the Church, or fit to be disown'd by her, that they seem to be the very Chariots and Horsemen thereof: for by their sober and unblamable Conversation, they conciliate Respect and Honour to her; by their Learning and Industry they defend her; by their Moderation they are most likely to win upon the Minds of Dissenters, who are too many to be contemn'd; by their accommodating themselves to the People, who (as is too too palpable) are possess'd for the most part by the Presbyterians, they may in time bring them over to the Church, and prevent her becoming a Society of Shepherds without any Sheep. For really I fear, if the Fathers of the Church were not wiser than some of their angry Sons, who must needs be thrusting some of their younger Brethren out of doors; if, I say, all that have been reproach'd

with

with the Name of *Latitude*, should be disown'd by the Church, they that remain would be the least Party of Men of any one Denomination in *England*. And to leave themselves so naked, were to tempt Providence for their Preservation; especially considering they stand ready to be assaulted on each hand, by two potent Enemies, the Papists and the Presbyterians, both of them numerous, wealthy, subtle, and industrious, who watch all opportunities of subverting the best Church in the World. And therefore certainly this is no time for her to mutilate her self, or to bleed with intestine War; but let her embrace those that are so ready to serve her, with both her Arms, and let all her Children with joint Affection and Consent oppose the common Enemies.

5. But it will be said, No man is angry that Men conform, but that they have no greater Zeal for what they conform to; they are as Men indifferent, and could be as well content with the contrary. Truly, Sir, either I am mistaken in the Men, or the Charge is very unjust; for I find as many as it hath been my fortune to converse with, that they do very sincerely esteem Episcopal Government, both as in it self the best, and of Apostolical Antiquity. They were always Approvers of a Liturgy, and think that of our own Church may easier be marr'd than mended: That Religion would lose that due Awe and Veneration that ought to be preserv'd in it, if it were not attended with outward Rites and Ceremonies: That private Persons are not the Judges of that Decorum, whereby these things are to be measur'd, but only the Governours of the Church; and that the Church of *England*, as well in these as all other things, is the best-constituted Church in the World. But they presume, no man would have them to think the whole Weight of Religion lies in Externals, or that they are of greater account than the eternal and indispensable Laws of Good and Evil, but that Ecclesiastical Laws are, as the Jews were wont to say, a Hedg about the Laws of God; these ought stily to be observ'd, and therefore the other not to be neglected: That they do not consist so indivisibly, but that if it should seem meet to the Fathers of the Church to make any Alterations, they were equally bound to submit thereto. This is that Latitude they are so tragically accus'd of.

6. But there is another Crime which cannot be deny'd, That they have introduc'd a new Philosophy; *Aristotle* and the Schoolmen are out of request with them. True indeed it is, that *ipse dixit* is an Argument much out of fashion; and *fortasse Philosophus non loquitur ex sua Sententia, sed ex Mente aliorum*, would be accounted as impertinent an Answer. It will scarce

pass for a Philosophical Resolution of any Problem, to say, it is the Nature of the Beast, it is done by virtue of its Form or Quality; They love to search some more particular Cause than the Influence of the Heavens, nor will they be put off with *Complementum Universi*. They embrace a Method of Philosophy, which they think was as much antienter than *Aristotle*, as you conceive *Oxford* was before *Cambridge*; and was as great a Bugbear to the Presbyterians as a Cross or Surplice, and therefore methinks the Church of *England* should have less reason to be offended with it. For my own part, I never had any great skill in it, and am now too old to learn; yet I am far from that Humour reprehended by the Poet:

———*Turpe putant parere minoribus, & qua
Imberbes didicere Senes perdenda fateri.*

And I suppose it is this Freedom and Unconcernedness of mine that makes you think my Opinion worth knowing in a matter that I am so little conversant in, of late years; wherefore I will not undertake to compare the new Philosophy with the old, but instead thereof will tell you a Tale.

7. There was a certain Husbandman, who occupy'd a Farm with an antient Mansion-House, standing in the fields remote from any Town, where there was an old iron Clock in a large wooden Frame, which had been a long while out of kelter; and because he was much troubled to know how the Time pass'd; that he might order his Business accordingly, he resolv'd to get this Clock repair'd: and while he was considering where to find a Man able to do it, it fortun'd that a certain Peripatetick Artificer, something above the degree of a Tinker, came that way, who undertook to mend it; but after he had bestow'd a great deal of work, in oiling the Wheels, filing the Teeth, and hanging on more Weight, and all to no purpose, at last gave it up for nought, and told him it could not be mended. The Farmer, partly out of curiosity, and partly in hope to find out the Defect, desir'd this Artificer to show him the Nature of Clockwork, and what was requisite to make up a perfect Clock. He, tho he knew very little what belong'd to it, yet being a talkative Fellow, and very loth to confess his Ignorance in any thing, began a long Story, that the Nature of Clockwork in general was, *A Principle and Cause of Motion and Rest, by means of an inward Device, of its own Accord, and not by Chance*: but this Clock having no such Nature, it was indeed no Clock, and could not move. He told him also, that there are three things go to the making of a Clock, *the Materials, and the Shape, and the Want of that*
Shape

Shape before it was made; for it was not a Clock before it was made. Now the Materials of a Clock are four, Iron, and Wood, and Cords, and Lead; and besides these there is a Bell at the top, that is of a fifth kind diverse from the other four, and hath a trick of sounding when the Hammer strikes upon it. Iron is a Material very black, and somewhat hard; Wood very hard, and somewhat white; Cord very white, and somewhat soft; Lead very soft, and somewhat black. Here the Farmer interpos'd, and told him, he would never believe but that Iron was harder than Wood; but the Clock-mender reply'd, that in the Art of Clock-making, Softness was nothing but being easily melted. The Farmer urg'd, then Iron would not be hard at all. But his Arrificer wittily replying it was hard to be melted, he was satisfy'd. The Clock-mender went on, telling him there were other Properties also in these Materials, deriv'd from the former; as that Iron and Wood were stiff and unmoving, Cord and Lead flexible and moving. Here the Farmer interrupted him again, telling him the Iron Wheels moved as well as the Cord and Lead, and so did the wooden Hand of the Dial. To which he answer'd, they did not move of themselves, as the Cord and Lead did, and that they moved only to avoid standing still, which is not to be admitted in a Clock. But the Farmer still objected, that he saw no necessity of any such Material as Wood in a Clock; for the Frame might as well be of Iron. To which he reply'd, it was for the Compleatness of the Clock. But, quoth the Farmer, the Bell is hard and black as well as the Iron. No, reply'd the Engineer, it appears only so, but is not so in its own nature, but only hath a Property of sounding. Well, quoth the Farmer, you have told me the Materials of a Clock, which I could have told as well my self, but am never the wiser; for my Jack hath Iron, and Wood, and Cord, and Lead, and if I should hang a Bell on the top of it, it would not prove a Clock. That's true, said the Clockman, for it hath not the Shape of a Clock; now the Shape of a Clock is a certain Trick of Activity in a Piece of Wheel-work, by the Number of Strokes on a Bell, to tell the Hour of the Day. From this Shape there arise several other Properties, as the turning about of the Wheels, the playing of the Ballance, a secret Quality of the Hand pointing to the Hour of the Day, and a secret Agreement between the Hand of the Dial and the Hammer of the Bell: for as often as the Hand points to any Figure, the Hammer strikes just so many Strokes upon the Bell. There is also a hidden Disagreement between the little Weights and the great ones; for as fast as these go down, those go up. There are also some Clocks of another kind, some with an Alarm to waken

a Man at a certain time of the night ; some have Chimes, to play certain Tunes upon Bells : There are also imperfect Clocks call'd Watches, that do not strike, but only have a Dial with a Hand turning round. There are also Sun-dials that tell the Hour of the Day by Shadows. But these are imperfect Clocks, and not compounded of all four Materials. He also reckon'd up a great many famous Clockmakers of several Countries, that he had learnt his Art of, as also how many Clocks he had mended ; and concluded with the Praise of *Vulcan* and *St. Eloy*, and the whole Art of Smiths-work.

8. While they were thus discoursing, in comes a Locksmith of the next Town, who thought himself as well read in *Clock-Philosophy*, as he that had read this long Lecture ; who therefore began to move many Controversies, as that Clocks might be made of other Materials, *viz.* Steel, Brass, or Silver (where, by the way, they digress'd into a long Dispute, whether Steel and Iron differ'd in kind, or in degree only) that a Bell was not any fifth kind, but made up of a mixture of other Metals ; that there were not four Materials of a Clock, but that it might be made up of one or two of them ; that Cords and Plummetts were no necessary Parts of it, for it might be moved by a Spring without them : and many more Questions they disputed about, till they were both weary.

9. The Farmer's Son, who was newly come from the University, where he had been a year or two, and had read *Magirus*, was much taken with these learned Lectures of an ordinary Mechanick, and began to suspect he was some disguis'd Scholar, in that he had philosophically begun with the Definition of Nature ; *Principium, & Causa motus & quietis ejus, in quo est primo & per se, non per accidens.* Then proceeded to the three Principles, *Matter, Form, and Privation* ; after that to the Elements of a Clock, with their Primary and Secondary Qualities : and was well pleas'd with his Judgment, in making the Bell a Quintessence, and to contain the elementary Qualities not *formally*, but *eminently* ; and that *Softness* should signify *Liquability*, answer'd just to *Humidity* signifying *Fluidity* ; and that it was as easy to excuse the Iron from melting, as the Fire from Fluidity. He thought also that he distinguish'd well between natural and violent Motions, and took notice how *evitatio Vacui & complementum Univerſi* did him Knights Service. So likewise he defin'd the Form of a Clock very well, *Aëus primus corporis artificialis organici motum habentis in potentia* : and he believ'd a Trick of *Ætivity* was as good an Interpretation of *ἐντελέχεια*, as *perfecti habia*, which *Hermolaus Barbarus* learnt of the Devil. The Qualities did admirably well flow
from

from this Form, especially the occult Quality in the Dial and its Sympathy with the Bell, as also the Antipathy of the greater and lesser Weights: He also shew'd the several Species of Clocks whether perfectly or imperfectly mix'd; how Watches had only a material vegetative Soul, the Alarum and Chimes resembled the rational, but the ordinary Clock was of the Order of sensitive Creatures; and he had excellently well describ'd the nature of the Beast. He seem'd to be well read in the School-Tinkers, had shew'd that *Vulcan* was antienter than *Aristotle*, and *St. Eloy* as great a Master of Clock-work as *St. Thomas*; only the Lock-smith he thought made foul work with him, and went as much beyond him, as *Carpenter* and *Pemble* the more orthodox *Magirus*: and yet he said he might have moved a great many more perillous Questions, as whether the Hammer were the Intelligencer of the Bell, and consequently whether *forma informans* or *assistens*; whether the Bell did act upon the elementary Parts of the Clock, or they upon the Bell? and if the former, whether it do it by its Blackness, or its Hardness, or its Sound, or by certain Influences; and then whether the Forms of the four Materials did remain in the Clock intire and refracted, or a fifth Form resulting from them all; and whether it were a substantial or accidental Form, whether a Clock and a Watch were specifically or gradually distinct, with many more which he forbore to mention, as he told them, because they could not understand them.

10. All this while the Landlord of this Farmer was in the House to take order about some Reparations, who being an ingenious Gentleman, that had us'd to take in pieces his own Watch and set it together again, and therefore could not be ignorant of the Fabrick of a Clock, having with much patience heard all this Jargon, at last deliver'd the good Man (who, tho no Fool, yet was never the wiser for all this Discourse) from the Impertinences of the Clock-mender and the young Philosopher; shewing him that the Cause of Motion was in the Weights, which by the Multiplication of indented Wheels, and Nuts, was so moderated, that the last Wheel, to the end of whose Axel the Hand was fix'd, was just twelve Hours in turning about; and that there were in every twelfth part of that Wheel certain Pegs, that lifted up the Hold-fast of the Hammer, which by the Motion of other Wheels and Springs would be made to strike several successive Strokes upon the Bell, till the Holdfast catch in the next Notch of a Wheel indented several distances, according to the number of Strokes at each time to be stricken. He shew'd him also that the Teeth of the great Wheel were so worn,
that

that it would not answer to the just Proportion of Time it should move in, and therefore he must get a new one made. In fine, he taught him how the Motion was deriv'd from part to part, that he thorowly understood the whole Fabrick, and could be able to rectify any ordinary Fault that should happen in it. But the Son all this while being as inept at understanding Things, as apt, Parrot-like, to catch at Words, was dissatisfy'd that he should take no more notice of the substantial Form and Qualities of a Clock, and told him that he rejected Principles, and therefore he would not dispute with him.

11. How far the Clock-mender's Discourse resembles the Scholastick Philosophy, or the Gentleman's the Atomical, let others judg. I shall only propound this general Query, Whether it be any better Philosophy, to say that Nature makes the Fire to burn, or there is an inward Principle of Gravity in a Stone that makes it fall down; than it would be mechanical Skill to say that Art makes the Clock strike, or to say that some inward Device makes the Hand of the Dial move. For as Art is to Artificials, so is Nature to Naturals; and may be he spake more truly than he was aware of, that call'd it *Ars Dei*. Then certainly it must be the Office of Philosophy to find out the Process of this Divine Art in the great Automaton of the World, by observing how one Part moves another, and how those Motions are vary'd by the several Magnitudes, Figures, Positions of each part, from the first Springs or Plummetts, as I may say, to the Hand that points out the visible and last Effects. This Physicians have taken the Boldness in part to do, in those little Watches, if I may so call them, the Bodies of Animals; and *Descartes* hath proceeded farthest in the like Attempt, in that vast Machine, the Universe; with how good Success, others are better able to judg: But this I dare boldly say, It was a noble Effort; and if he had wholly fail'd in it, he would have been more pitied, and less envied.

12. This farther I shall add, in the behalf of new and free Philosophy, That the Theater of Nature is much enlarg'd since *Aristotle's* time; and there is no part of the World wherein there are not some notable new Phenomena lately discover'd, that must needs be of great account in natural Philosophy: for in the Heavens, by the help of Telescopes (a new Invention) there are found an innumerable Company of fix'd Stars unknown to the Antients; and amongst the Planets, the *Ansula* of *Saturn*, and four Moons about *Jupiter*, were never heard of till *Galileo's Nuncius Syderius* brought the News; the various Phases of *Venus* (and other Planets) as also her being

sometimes on this side the Sun, sometimes beyond, were the Suspicions of the *Pythagoreans* of old, and the certain Knowledge of latter times, but not agreeable with *Aristotle's* Doctrine. Mountains and Valleys in the Moon were never seen before this Age, and no body now will venture to deny but that she is as opaque as the Earth, and borrows as much Light from her as she lends: That the Sun is full of scummy Spots continually generated and destroy'd, and that he turns round upon his own Axis. They that will not trust *Schiner*, may be inform'd by their own eyes. The appearing of new Stars and disappearing of old, was not consider'd by the Antients, nor their appearing sometimes bigger and sometimes less. That Comets are above the Moon, and the Heavens fluid, since *Tycho* few Men have doubted; and therefore *Aristotle's* Intelligences that moved the solid Orbs, have leave to play. And since that arched Roof is gone, I know not how the Elementary Fire will be kept in: But if it should chance to prove true (and who knows what Posterity may believe, since we have been so hardy as to admit *Antipodes*, which our Ancestors beheld as no less formidable a Bugbear?) that the Earth is a Planet, and the Sun a fix'd Star, and by consequence every Planet an Earth, every fix'd Star a Sun; it would make foul work in the vulgar Philosophy.

13. But let us descend upon the Earth, where we shall find that *Dr. Gilbert*, instead of the *Oxford Fryar's* great black Rock at the North Pole, hath persuaded all Men that the whole Earthly Globe is a Magnet. And tho the Antients knew no more of the Loadstone than its Coition, which they improperly call'd Attraction, we now find it to be no less remarkable for its polar Direction (not without some variation in several places) as also its various Inclination, according to its several Distance from the Equator and Poles; but the Nature of the Loadstone can scarce be unknown, since we have seen the Circles of the Dust about it. The distinct History of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, is also amongst the *Nova reperta*. The Antients overlook'd that most luciferous, tho obvious Experiment of the Sling; nor did they know what use to make of the Chrystal Prism. They were over-careless Spectators of the Rainbow; the rosy-figur'd Particles of Snow escap'd their sight: but it were infinite to pursue Particulars. I will not stand to reckon up the several Discoveries we are beholden to the new invented Microscope for, nor shall I insist upon the many Chymical Experiments that are of use in Philosophy. I pass by the wondrous Effects of Gun-powder; nor shall I mention the Discoveries of the Air-pump lately exhibited to the World by that noble Gentleman, or the ingenious

genious Experiments of *Galileo*, Lord *Bacon*, and many others.

14. I shall only touch upon one Topick more, which is the Improvement of Anatomy, and the Knowledg of the Fabrick of Animals. No Man thinks himself bound to believe that the Nerves are deriv'd from the Heart, and by consequence That to be the Seat of common Sense, because *Aristotle* tells us so; nor yet, tho he could tell us no such thing, to disbelieve the Circulation of Blood found out by *Dr. Harvey*. What should I mention those other learned Observations of the same Author concerning the Generation of Animals? I omit *Afellius's Venæ lacteæ*, as also the *Ductus Chyliferus, Vasa Lymphatica*, with many more of the like nature, which do as much alter the face of the lesser, as those other before rehears'd of the greater World.

15. Must we now, after all these and many more Discoveries about natural Bodies, confine our selves to what we find in *Aristotle*, who never dream'd of any such things? Is it possible that so many new Appearances should not alter the Frame of Philosophy, nay rather hazard the pulling down of the old ruinous House that had too narrow Foundations, that it may be built again with more Magnificence? Since we find daily Generations and Corruptions in the Heavens, and that the Stars themselves are not free from that Fate; how can we satisfy our selves with the four Elements of *Aristotle*, or the three Principles of the Chymists, which at best can be but the Ingredients of terrestrial Bodies, besides that they are not so simple as to deserve those Titles? And truly to them that have once tasted of the Mechanical Philosophy, Forms and Qualities are like to give as little Satisfaction, as the Clockmender did to the intelligent Gentleman in the Story I before told you.

16. No Man would be so ridiculous, as since *Columbus* discover'd the new World of *America*, as big as the old, or since the enlarg'd Knowledg of the North of *Europe*, the South and East of *Asia* and *Africa*, besides the new Divisions, Names, and Inhabitants of the old Parts; to forbid the reading of any more Geography than is found in *Strabo* or *Mela*: Or since the *Portuguese* have sail'd to the *Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, to admit of no other *Indian* Commodities than what are brought on Camels to *Aleppo*: Or if Posterity shall find out the Northeast or Northwest Way to *Cathay* and *China*, or shall cut the Isthmus between the Red Sea and Mediterranean, will it be unlawful to use the Advantage of such noble Atchievements. Why then must Philosophy alone be bound up still in its Infant Swadling-Bands? And there being

the same reason, why should we not allow the same liberty of expatiating? If any Man love Acorns since Corn is invented, let him eat Acorns; but 'tis very unreasonable he should forbid others the use of Wheat. Whatever is solid in the Writings of *Aristotle*, these new Philosophers will readily embrace; and they that are most accus'd for affecting the new, doubt not but they can give as good an account of the old Philosophy as their most violent Accusers, and are probably as much conversant in *Aristotle's* Writings, tho they do not much value those small Wares that are usually retail'd by the generality of his Interpreters.

But methinks I hear some Men say, All Innovations are dangerous; Philosophy and Divinity are so interwoven by the Schoolmen, that it cannot be safe to separate them; New Philosophy will bring in new Divinity, and Freedom in the one will make Men desire a Liberty in the other. The very same Argumentation the Presbyterians used, when they bore rule in the University, and the new Philosophy was interdicted in some Colleges upon that account. But what was the Event? It was so much the more eagerly study'd and embrac'd. There was a time when all Learning was upon the same pretence discountenanc'd: *Græce nosce suspectum erat, Hebraice plane hæreticum*; and there was a College in Cambridge that shut their Gates against the *Greek* Testament. But all their Endeavours were but vain; they might as well have hinder'd the Sun from rising, or being up, from filling the whole Horizon with Light; Learning and Knowledg will break forth like Fire, and pierce like Lightning thro all Impediments; Politeness and Elegancy hath long ago subdued Monastick Barbarism. *Erasmus* and *Melancthon*, with the rest of those Restorers of Learning, have made *Holcot* and *Bricot* quite out of fashion; and the inquisitive Genius of latter years, like a mighty Wind, hath brush'd down all the Schoolmens Cobwebs. There is an infinite Desire of Knowledg broken forth in the World; and Men may as well hope to stop the Tide, or bind the Ocean with Chains, as hinder free Philosophy from overflowing: It will be as easy to satisfy mens corporal Appetites with Chaff and Straw, as the Desires of their Minds with empty Words and Terms. The Church of *Rome* quickly saw her Error in this point, and forbore to strive against the Stream; for when she perceiv'd that Learning would be in fashion, she presently sent her Children to School; and who so great Scholars in all kinds as they? And she hath been so wise ever since, that there shall be no piece of Learning, but some of her Sons shall be Masters of it: and if they will but give her respectful words, they may be

as free Philosophers as they please; and I dare say, she would take it very ill, if any one should deny *Descartes* or *Gassendus* to be hers. *Galileo* indeed fell under Correction for holding the Motion of the Earth, but the true Crime was his abusing his Holiness in his Dialogues, under the name of *Simplicius*: for others have with impunity adventur'd on as great Paradoxes, but they had the good manners to make a leg and say, *Omnia Ecclesie Authoritati submitimus*.

I will never therefore believe, that the Church of *England* can be more stingy than the Beldame of *Rome*; but will do that of choice, that the other doth of necessity. True Philosophy can never hurt sound Divinity. Christian Religion was never bred up in the Peripatetick School, but spent her best and healthfullest years in the more religious Academy, amongst the primitive Fathers; but the Schoolmen afterwards ravish'd her thence, and shut her up in the decay'd Ruins of *Lyceum*, where she serv'd an hard Servitude, and contracted many Distempers: Why should she not at last be set at liberty, and suffer'd to breathe in a free Air? Let her alone be Mistress, and chuse her Servants where she best likes; let her old loving Nurse, the *Platonick* Philosophy, be admitted again into her Family: nor is there any cause to doubt but the *Mechanick* also will be faithful to her, no less against the open Violence of Atheism, than the secret Treachery of Enthusiasm and Superstition, as the excellent Works of a late learned Author have abundantly demonstrated. Nor will it be possible otherwise to free Religion from Scorn and Contempt, if her Priests be not as well skill'd in Nature as the People, and her Champions furnish'd with as good Artillery as her Enemies. How shall the Clergy be able to maintain their Credit with the ingenious Gentry, who begin generally to be acquainted with the *Atomical* Hypothesis, and know how to distinguish between a true Gem and a *Bristol* Diamond? Or how shall they encounter with the Wits (as they are call'd) of the Age, that assault Religion with new kind of Weapons? Will they acquiesce in the Authority of *Aristotle* or *St. Thomas*? Or be put off with *contra negantem principia*? Let not the Church send out her Soldiers arm'd with Dock-leaves and Bulrushes, to encounter Swords and Guns; but let them wear as good Brass and Steel as their Enemies, and fight with them at their own Weapons: and then having Truth and Right on their side, let them never despair of Victory.

But I had almost forgotten that I was writing a Letter, the ordinary Proportions whereof I have already exceeded, and therefore must abruptly conclude ; assuring you that I am,

Cambridge, June
12th, 1662.

Sir, Yours, &c.

S. P.

Phenix

Phenix XXVIII.

A short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Mens having a Religion, or Worship of God.

By George Duke of Buckingham.

To the Reader.

WHEN I began to write upon this Subject, it was out of a Curiosity I had to try, what I cou'd say, in reason, against the bold Assertions of those Men, who think it a witty thing to defame Religion; and I have seen so few Writings of late, which are not very tedious, that I was desirous at least to avoid that fault in this, by making it as short as I could.

The Reason why I have suffer'd it to be Printed, is indeed, Because I cou'd not help it: Copys having been taken of it, and sent to the Press, by the negligence of some to whom I lent it to read, I was as much asham'd to forbid the Printing of it, as I shou'd have been, to have order'd it, or as I should be now it is Printed, to disown what I have written; and therefore I have here set my Name to it.

By the nature of this Discourse, I was forc'd to conclude with an Opinion, which I have been long convinc'd of, That nothing can be more Antichristian, nor more contrary to Sense and Reason, than to trouble and molest our Fellow-Christians, because they cannot be exactly of our Minds, in all the things relating to the Worship of God.

And who will but examine what multitudes of Men there are now amongst us, of different Persuasions in Religion; and how inconsiderable any one part of them is, compar'd to the rest, must, I am confident, be convinc'd, that the Practice of it, at this time, would be of no advantage to the Publick.

If a serious Consideration of the present State of this Kingdom, can sink deep enough into Mens Hearts, to make them endeavour, now, to promote a true Liberty of Conscience, I shall yet hope to enjoy happy days in England. But otherwise, without pretending to be a Prophet, I can easily foresee, that the contrary must of necessity terminate in this; A general Discontent; the dispeopling of our poor Country; and the exposing us to the Conquest of a foreign Nation.

Apr. 1685.

Buckingham.

*A short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Mens
having a Religion, or Worship of God.*

THERE is nothing that gives Men a greater dissatisfaction, than to find themselves disappointed in their Expectations, especially of those things in which they think themselves most concern'd; and therefore all, who go about to give Demonstrations in Matters of Religion, and fail in the Attempt, do not only leave Men less Devout than they were before, but also, with great Pains and Industry, lay in their Minds the very Grounds and Foundations of Atheism: For the generality of Mankind, either out of Laziness, or a Diffidence of their being able to judg aright in Points that are not very clear, are apt rather to take things upon trust, than to give themselves the trouble to examine whether they be true or no. But when they find, that what a Man undertakes to give them for a Demonstration, is really none at all, they do not only conclude they are deceiv'd by him, but begin also to suspect they have been ill us'd by those, who first impos'd upon them a Notion, for which no Demonstration can be given; and from that Suspicion proceed to this other of a more dangerous Consequence, That what is not demonstrable, may perhaps too not be true.

I shall, therefore, in this Discourse, make use of another Method, and content my self with endeavouring to shew what, in my Opinion, is most probable; Demonstration be-

ing, as to Matters of Faith, absolutely unnecessary: because, if I can convince a Man, that the Notions I maintain are more likely to be true than false, it is not in his power not to believe them; no Man believing any thing because he has a mind to believe it, but because his Judgment is convinc'd, and he cannot chuse but believe it, whether he will or no: and Belief is all that is requir'd of us in the speculative Part of Religion.

Besides, Demonstration being such an Evidence of a thing, as shows the contrary of it to be impossible; it is, if you mark it, a whimsical kind of Expression to say, that a Man does but believe a thing to be so, which he is sure cannot possibly be otherwise. It is just as ingenious as if one shou'd profess, That he hopes he shall but begin to have a thing to morrow, which he is already this day in possession of. Belief and Faith being as intirely swallow'd up in Demonstration, as Hope is in Fruition.

My Design in this Paper is, to induce Men to a Belief of Religion, by the strength of Reason; and therefore I am forc'd to lay aside all Arguments which have any dependence upon the Authority of Scripture, and must fashion my Discourse as if I had to do with those that have no Religion at all.

The first main Question, upon the clearing of which I shall endeavour to ground the *Reasonableness of Mens having a Religion, or Worship of God*, is this, *Whether it is more probable that the World has order'd it self to be in the Form it now is, or was contriv'd to be so by some other Being of a more perfect, and more designing Nature?* For whether or no the World has been created out of nothing, is not material to our purpose; because if a supreme intelligent Agent has fram'd the World to be what it is, and has made us to be what we are, we ought as much to stand in awe of it, as if it had made both us and the World out of nothing. Yet because this latter Question ought not to be totally pass'd by, I shall take the liberty to offer some Conceptions of mine upon it.

The chief Argument us'd against God Almighty's having created the World, is, That no Man can imagine how a thing shou'd be made out of nothing; and that, therefore, it is impossible he shou'd have made the World, because there is nothing else out of which it cou'd be made.

First then, I cannot chuse but observe, that to say, Because we are not able to imagine how a thing shou'd be, therefore the Being of that thing must be impossible, is in it self a disingenuous way of Argumentation; especially in those, who at the same time declare they believe this World to be Eternal, and yet are as little able to comprehend how it shou'd

shou'd be Eternal, as how it shou'd be made out of nothing.

In the next place I conceive, that nothing can be properly said to endure, any longer than it remains just the same; for in the instant any part of it is chang'd, that thing, as it was before, is no more in being.

In the third place, that every part of this World we live in is chang'd every moment; and by consequence, that this whole World is so too, because the whole is nothing else but what is compos'd of every part; and that therefore we cannot properly say, this World has continu'd for many Ages, but only that all things in this World have been chang'd for several Years together.

To evade which Opinion, those who maintain the Eternity of the World, are forc'd to say, That the Matter of it is not chang'd, but the Accidents only. Tho' this be a sort of Argument which they will not allow of in others; for when it is by the *Romanists* urg'd, in Defence of Transubstantiation in the Sacrament, *That the Accidents of the Wafer remain, tho' the Substance of it be chang'd*, they reject that as a ridiculous Notion: and yet it is not one jot more absurd to say, *That the Accidents remain when the Matter is chang'd, than that the Matter remains when the Accidents are chang'd*: nay of the two, the Assertors of this latter Opinion are the least excusable, because they boldly attribute it to a natural Cause; whereas the *Romanists* have the modesty at least to own it for a mysterious Miracle.

But that the Weakness of this Imagination, of separating Accidents from Bodys, may the plainlier appear, let us examine a little what the meaning of the word *Accident* is. Accident then does not signify a Being distinct from Body or Matter, but is only a Word, whereby we express the several ways we consider of what is in a Body, or Matter that is before us. For example; if we perceive a Body to have Length, then we consider of that Length as an Accident of that Body; and when we perceive a Body to have a Smell, or Taste, then we consider of that Smell and that Taste as Accidents of that Body. But in none of these Considerations we mean that anything can have Length, or Smell, or Taste, but what really is Body; and when any thing, that had a Smell or Taste, has left off to have a Smell or Taste, it is, because that part of it, which had a Smell or Taste, is no more in it. So that, upon an examination of the whole Matter, I am apt to believe, that there can be naturally no change of Accidents, but where there is a real change of Bodys.

But to proceed a little further, the Question being, *Whether it be more probable that the World, or that God Almighty has been*
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from all Eternity; I think I may adventure to affirm, that of two Propositions, the least probable is that which comes nearest to a Contradiction. Now nothing can come nearer to a Contradiction than Eternity, or abiding the same for ever, and a continu'd Changing, or not abiding the same one moment. And therefore I conclude, it is less probable that this changeable World shou'd have been from all Eternity, than that some other Being, of more Excellence, and greater Perfection, shou'd be so, whose very Nature is incapable of Change.

That Being of more Excellence, and greater Perfection, I call *God*; and those, who out of a foolish aversion they have for the Name of God, will call it Nature, do not in any kind differ from this Notion of that Being, but only change its Name, and rather shew, they have a vain mistaken Ambition of being thought Atheists, than that they have any Reason strong enough to convince them to be so.

The next Question I shall take into Consideration, is this, *Whether, tho there be a God, it is probable, that he should take a more particular Care of Mankind, than he does of Beasts and other Animals.* To which I have this to offer, That tho there are several sorts of Animals, which give us occasion to imagine they have some kind of Reason in them, tho not to so great a Perfection as Men have; yet since no other Animal did ever any one thing, that cou'd give us the least cause to believe, they have a Conception of another World, or of a Deity; and that no Man was ever yet born, but had a Conception, or at least a Suspicion of it, more or less: I say, for this reason, it is probable, in my Opinion, that there is something nearer a-kin to the Nature of God in Men, than there is in any other Animals whatsoever; and for that Reason, that God Almighty does take a more particular Care of us, than he does of them.

If then God be Eternal, and it is probable there is something in our Nature, which is a-kin to the Nature of God, it is also probable, that that part of us never dies.

It is also probable, that what by it we are prompted most to value and esteem, as the highest Perfections, good Qualities, and Vertues, are Parts of the Essence and Nature of God.

Now of all good Qualities, or Vertues, it is Justice, which all Men do most highly esteem and value in others, tho they have not all the good Fortune to practise it themselves. For Justice is that good Quality, or Vertue, which causes all other good Qualities or Vertues to be esteem'd; nay it is that Vertue, without which all other Vertues become as Vices; that is, they all come to be abhor'd. For

For he who wants Justice, and has Wit, Judgment, or Valour, will for the having Wit, Judgment, or Valour, be the more abhor'd; because the more Wit, Judgment, or Valour he has, if he wants Justice, the more he will certainly become a wicked Man: And he who wants Justice, and has Power, will, for the having that Power, be the more abhor'd; because the more Power he has, if he wants Justice, the more he will certainly become a wicked Man. And therefore, in my Opinion, it is a very unreasonable thing for Men, out of a Design of extolling God Almighty's Power, to rob him of Justice; the Quality without which, even Power it self must necessarily be abhor'd. And pray what can be more disrespectful to God Almighty, than to fancy that he shall punish us for doing that, which he has from all Eternity predestinated; that is, compell'd us to do? It is an Act that I can hardly believe there ever yet was born a Man cruel enough to be guilty of, even in the depth of his Revenge. And shall we make that an Attribute of the most perfect, and the most high God, which is beneath the Effect of the meanest of Passions in the worst of Men? It is, in my Opinion, more reasonable to believe, that God Almighty, out of his Love to Mankind, has given us an Eternal Soul; that an Eternal Being, and Freewill, are things in their Nature inseparable one from the other; and that therefore, according to our Actions, proceeding from our Wills, God Almighty, in Justice, will reward and punish us in another World, for the good and ill Deeds we perform in this. I do not say, that the best of our Actions here, are good enough to make us deserve the Joys of Heaven; we must owe them to God Almighty's Grace and Favour, as indeed we owe all things else.

Neither will I take upon me to guess at the several Degrees of Joys there are in Heaven; our dull Senses, making it as impossible for us to discourse well of those things, as it is impossible for a Man born blind, to talk well of Colours. Nor will I pretend to judg how long, or how much God Almighty will punish us hereafter; because, for the same Reason that we think him to be a God of Justice, we must also conclude him to be a God of Mercy.

This only I do verily believe, *That the more we love him, the more he will love us: and the less we love him, the worse it will be for us.*

Again, if this Instinct, or Conception, we have of a Deity, be the Ground of our Religion, it ought also to be the Guide of our Religion: that is, if the strongest reason we have to believe, that God Almighty does take a more particular Care of us, than he does of other Animals, is, because
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there is something in our Nature, nearer a-kin to the Nature of God, than any thing that is in any other Animal; I say, in all reason, that part of us which is nearest a-kin to the Nature of God, ought to be our Guide and Director, in chusing the best way for our religious Worship of God.

There is also this other Consequence, which, in my Opinion, does naturally depend upon what has been said; That one of the greatest Crimes a Man can be guilty of, is to force us to act or sin against that Instinct of Religion which God Almighty has plac'd in our Hearts: for, if that Instinct be somewhat a-kin to the Nature of God, the sinning against it must be somewhat a-kin to the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

If then it be probable that there is a God, and that this God will reward and punish us hereafter, for all the good and ill things we act in this Life; it does highly concern every Man to examine seriously, which is the best way of worshipping and serving this God; that is, which is the best Religion.

Now if it be probable, that the Instinct which we have within us of a Deity, be a-kin to the Nature of God; that Religion is probably the best, whose Doctrine does most recommend to us those things, which, by that Instinct, we are prompted to believe are Vertues and good Qualities. And that, I think, without exceeding the Bounds of Modesty, I may take upon me to affirm, is the Christian Religion.

And for the same reason it does also follow, that the Religion amongst Christians, which does most recommend to us Vertue and a good Life, is, in all probability, the best Religion.

And here I must leave every Man to take Pains, in seeking out and chusing for himself; he only being answerable to God Almighty for his own Soul.

I began this Discourse, as if I had to do with those who have no Religion at all; and now, addressing my self to Christians, I hope they will not be offended at me, for ending it with the Words of our Saviour:

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be open'd unto you.

I shall beg leave farther only to propose a few Questions to all those, in general, who are pleas'd to call themselves Christians.

First, Whether there be any thing more directly opposite to the Doctrine and Practice of Jesus Christ, than to use any kind of Force upon Men, in Matters of Religion? And consequently, Whether all those that practise it (let them be of what Church or Sect they please) ought not justly to be call'd Antichristians? Secondly,

Secondly, Whether there can be any thing more unmanly, more barbarous, or more ridiculous, than to go about to convince a Man's Judgment by any thing, but by Reason? It is so ridiculous, that Boys at School are whip'd for it; who, instead of answering an Argument with Reason, are Logger-heads enough to go to Cuffs.

And, Thirdly, Whether the Practice of it has not always been ruinous and destructive to those Countrys where it has been us'd, either in Monarchys or Commonwealths? And whether the contrary Practice has not always been successful to those Countrys where it has been us'd, either in Monarchys or Commonwealths?

I shall conclude with giving them this friendly Advice: If they wou'd be thought Men of Reason, or of a good Conscience, let them endeavour, by their good Counsel and good Example, to persuade others to lead such Lives as may save their Souls: And not be perpetually quarrelling amongst themselves, and cutting one another's Throats, about those things, which they all agree are not absolutely necessary to Salvation.

Phoenix XXIX.

The Duke of Buckingham His Grace's Letter to the unknown Author of a Paper, entitled, A Short Answer to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Paper, concerning Religion, Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience,

My Nameless, Angry, Harmless, Humble Servant ;

I Have twice read over, with a great deal of Patience, a Paper of yours, which you call an Answer to a Discourse of Mine ; and, to my Confusion, must own, that I am not able to comprehend what part of my Discourse it is you do answer ; nor in all yours, what it is you mean. But in this you are even with me ; for I perceive you do as little understand any part of what I have written, tho I thought it had been in so plain a Stile, that a Child of six Years old might very well have done it. Yet I do not take ill from you this Art you have of misunderstanding plain things, since you have done the same in his Majesty's Promise to the Church of *England*. The true meaning of which (without this misunderstanding Art of yours) wou'd easily have appear'd to be, that

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that he wou'd not suffer any body to injure the Church of *England*; but he did not promise, that he wou'd have the Church of *England* persecute every Body else.

Having confess'd that I cannot understand your Writing, you ought not to be offended at me, if I cannot remember it neither. And yet there is one Passage in it which I shall never forget, because it does in a most extraordinary manner delight me; it is this shrewd convincing Argument of yours, which you say, *Had you been to treat with Atheists, you wou'd have urg'd to them, That it is impossible this World should be Eternal, because then it must also be Invisible.* It is, I swear, a refin'd, quaint kind of Notion; which (to do you Justice) I do verily believe, is entirely your own: yet for all this I cannot be absolutely convinc'd, that I am now the same *George Duke of Buckingham*, which I was Forty Years ago. And to shew you I am in earnest, I do here promise you, That if you will do for me a Favour less difficult, which is, to make me the same *George Duke of Buckingham* I was but Twenty Years ago, I will (as poor a Man as I am) give you a Thousand Guineas for your Pains; and that is somewhat more, I am afraid, than you will ever get by your Writing.

You have done me the honour to call your self my humble Servant; and therefore in Gratitude, I shall offer you an Advice, which I am confident, upon second Thoughts, you will not find to be altogether unreasonable: That hereafter, before you take upon you to write *French*, you will be pleas'd to learn the Language; for the word *Opinionatrê*, which you are so infinitely charm'd with in your Paper, has the misfortune to be no *French* word: The true *French* Word, which I suppose you wou'd have us'd, is *Opiniatretê*; and yet I protest, I do not see how (tho you had written it right) it wou'd have much more grac'd your Discourse, than if it had been express'd in *English*. Stick therefore to your *English* Metaphors, at which you are admirable; and be always careful of not turning (according to your own Words) *The Wine of Hopes into the Vinegar of Despair*; and then you cannot fail of being sufficiently applauded by every Body, as you are by your grateful Friend,

Buckingham.

Phenix

Phenix XXX.

A Treatise of Human Reason.

By Mat. Clifford, Esq; late Master of the
Charter-house.

BEING resolv'd, according to the Duty of every private Person, to make a Search into the Nature and Quality of my Religion; and according to my Interest in human Society, to communicate the Effects of that Search to others, if I shall believe it profitable for them: I am in the first place to consider of the choice of some Guide, for so long and so dangerous a Journey, where I shall sometimes meet with no Track or Path at all, and sometimes with so many, and those so contrary in the appearance of their first Entry, that the Variety will confound me more than the Want; especially there being so many Mists cast before me by the Errors and Deceits of others, that one had great need of a better Eyesight than is left us by the Fall of our first Forefather. And this Consideration, after a long and serious Debate thereof, brings no other Guide to me but my own Reason; which if it take such Directions as it ought and may do before it sets forth, and pursue those Directions with Care and Constancy, tho it may possibly lead me into Errors, yet will bring me at last even thro them, to the propos'd end of my Journey, which is Happiness.

I am not ignorant of the many Enemys I must meet with in this Doctrine, but am fortify'd against them with the thought, that they who dispute most against the Power and Privileges of human Reason, do it because their own Reason persuades them to that Belief; and so whether the Victory be o'mine,

or o'their side, are equally defeated. They seek to terrify us with the example of many excellent Wits, who, they say, by following this *Ignis fatuus* (for so they call the only North-Star which God has given us for the right steering of our Course) have fallen into wild and ridiculous Opinions, and increas'd the Catalogue of Heresys to so vast a number. But truly these Men either follow'd not their own Reason, but made it follow their Will, or hoodwink'd it first by Interest and Prejudices, and then bad it shew them the way; or were wanting in those necessary Diligences which are requir'd for so doubtful and dangerous a Passage: Or if without the Commission of any of these Faults, the Weakness of their Understanding has deceiv'd them; the Error is neither hurtful to themselves, nor wou'd be to others, if this Doctrine of governing our selves from within, and not by Example, were establish'd. Whereas on the contrary side, the submitting our Judgments to Authority, or any thing else whatsoever, gives Universality and Perpetuity to every Error.

They fall naturally from hence into the large common Place of the Frailty, Uncertainty, and Disproportion of our Understanding to divine and celestial Notions, and are eloquent herein with much of Truth: For when we say that every Man's Soul hath in it self as much Light as is requisite for our Travel towards Heaven, we do not therefore assume, that it is as clear as those Spirits which are confess'd to be all a Flame. And for the unaptness of it to receive the Impression of spiritual Truths, tho' the *What* and the *How* of religious Mysterys be out of Sight; yet that they are such, is sufficiently visible: especially if we use those helps which God has prepar'd for us to that purpose, and those our Reason will dictate to her self that she is to use. The ordinary Saying of *Democritus*, That *Truth lies in the bottom of a deep Well*, is very applicable to this matter; that is, that we must seek it in the Center and Heart of our selves, and not look up into Heaven first and immediately for it; because by this means we shall see Heaven in the bottom of the Well, tho' we could not the Well in the top of Heaven.

But the chief and most tragical Argument against us is, That the Allowance of this Liberty to particular Mens Discourses, would beget as many Religions as there are several Persons, and consequently draw after it such Disorder and Confusion, as is inconsistent not only with the Quiet, but the very Being of human Society. This is a weighty and grievous Accusation; and if our Reason be convinc'd of so harmful a Madness, it will be found necessary to keep it chain'd and fetter'd, and as much in the dark as may be. But I hope it

will acquit it self. Who knows not that the Philosophy of the Antients separated it self into sundry Partys; the *Pythagoreans*, the *Peripateticks*, the *Stoicks*, the *Scepticks*, the *Academicks*, (and these of three sorts) the *Epicureans*, the *Cynicks*, with many others; and these differ'd not in slight and verbal Controversys, but in the last ends of human Actions, in the nature of Good and Evil, nay of God himself? Whether Man work'd freely, or were compel'd by an inevitable Necessity? Whether the Soul were subject to Corruption, or immaterial and immortal? Whether the World had a beginning, or had endur'd from all Eternity? Whether the Gods took upon them the Government of things below, or sat as idle themselves in Heaven as their Images were here on Earth? With divers other Questions of equal Consequence. These Opinions divided the Philosophers, and the Philosophers the People; nor were there fewer Sects in *Athens*, than are now in *Amsterdam* or *London*. And yet this variety of Opinion neither begat any Civil War in *Greece*, neither did the *Peripateticks* (when both by the strength of their Arguments and their Emperor, that Party was become the greatest) set up any Inquisition, or High Commission or Committee against the rest; but every Man enjoy'd his Opinion with more Safety and Freedom, than either his Goods or Wife. The same likewise happen'd in the Religions of the Antients; for tho several Citys profess'd the Worship of several Deitys, yet we read not of any War which hath sprung from that Diversity. The Poets have made the Gods enter into Factions and Quarrels for Commonwealths, but Commonwealths never did the same for their Gods. This Quiet and Happiness, which (to the shame and scandal of the Christian Name) was enjoy'd four thousand years among the Heathen, continu'd so long and so uninterrupted, because every Man, following the Rules of his own Judgment, allow'd that Liberty to others, which he found so necessary for himself. And even the *Stoicks* themselves, who enslav'd the Will, durst never attempt this Violence to the Understanding.

From whence then shall we say it proceeds, that since the Reformation open'd a way to this Freedom of Conscience, so much Blood and Confusion, and almost Desolation, has follow'd in all those Countryes which admitted it? *Germany*, *France*, the *Low-Countryes*, and *Scotland* ave sufficient Witnesses of this; and I could wish that miserable *England* had not been added to the number of these sad Examples. But certainly, since this Liberty has been so many Ages exercis'd, without drawing after it those Inconveniencies which we now so justly complain of, they must be attributed either wholly to some other Cause,

or to the Conjunction of some other Accidents to it, which have chang'd the Nature and Condition thereof: And that (having examin'd all Particulars which touch upon this Matter) I can find to be no other, than the strange and uncharitable Pride of those Men; who having with just Cause vindicated their own Reason from the Tyranny of unnecessary Bonds, endeavour nevertheless to lay them upon others: so that not the use of such Liberty, but the appropriating of it to our selves only, is the true, and, I think, the sole Fountain of these Disorders. For there cannot certainly in the World be found out so mild and so peaceable a Doctrine, as that which permits a difference in Beliefs; for what occasion can any Man take to begin a Quarrel, when both he himself is suffer'd quietly to enjoy his own Opinion, and his own Opinion is this, that he ought to suffer others to do the same? But if once Men entertain an Imagination, that every thing is wicked and damnable which complys not with their own sense, and that in this vast latitude of Probabilities (which is in all kind of Disquisitions, but especially those of Religion, they being most obscure and most indemonstrable) there is none can lead one to Salvation, but the Path wherein he treads himself; we may see the evident and necessary Consequence of eternal Troubles and Confusions. For not only publick Charity will persuade us to force Men to that wherein consists their everlasting Happiness or Calamity, if by no other means we can induce Men to it (as without injury we bind the hands of a Man that would kill himself) but also our private Interest, and that particular Care, which every Man owes to his own Posterity, which, without Suppression of all Heresys, must run the hazard of eternal Punishments, obliges us, by all means, to endeavour the Extirpation of those Weeds out of the Fields of our Neighbours, which wou'd else so quickly overgrow our own: whereas if we had either more of Charity to others, to believe some Errors (the inseparable Companions of human Nature) ought not to exclude Men from the Communion of the present Church, and the hope of the future; or less of Self-flattery, to think that all Men grope in the dark that light not their Candle at ours, we could not be so cruel in Persecution of those Faults to which God himself is so merciful, and from which we our selves are not exempt. I shall therefore conclude this Argument with a confident Assertion, That all the Miserys which have follow'd the variety of Opinions since the Reformation, have proceeded intirely from these two Mistakes; The tying Infalibility to whatsoever we think Truth, and Damnation to whatsoever we think Error.

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Another Absurdity this Doctrine is accus'd of, That if we guide our selves wholly by the Light of Reason, we shall not only every one differ from every body else, but every one frequently from himself, changing Religion almost as often as our Habits, driven about perpetually by every Wind, and in all probability dash'd by some one at last against a Rock; now a Papist, to morrow a Lutheran, next a Calvinist; and so, like the Heathen, dedicate every Day in the Week to a several Deity. I must confess, Inconstancy is one of the greatest Weaknesses of the weakest Sex, and much less to be endur'd in Man, especially in that most weighty Affair of his whole Life, the Service of God: but I cannot conceive, that the fear of this Scandal obliges us to a blind and inalterable Observance of those Laws and Opinions, which either the Fate of our Birth and Education, or the Fortune of other Accidents have engag'd us in; but we ought to make a serious and long Enquiry, whether they agree most with that Light of our Understanding, which God has infus'd into us for that end, according to the best extent of those Means, which are allow'd by him to our Understandings for this Examination; and whatsoever we shall fix upon after this Consideration, if it be duly made, will be upon such grounds, as are not likely every day, and upon every new Argument, to be remov'd from us: for if they be, it is a great, tho not an infallible Sign, that the Enquiry was not made at first with so much Diligence as was possible. And when we have once carefully settled our selves in a Belief, tho we happen to meet afterwards with some new and unforeseen Difficultys, which may seem to evince the contrary; yet Reason will not presently advise us to a Change, because it finds it self unable to unty the Knot; but suspend a while and attempt again, and try a thousand several ways before it despair and yield up it self to the Argument: which remaining still after all this unconquerable, it will then turn back and consider, whether if it alter now its Judgment, it be able to satisfy all those Defences which will be made for its former Opinion; and if it be overmatch'd by the Doubts on both sides, rather chuse to continue as before, than make an Innovation without Advantage. This Rule being observ'd, we shall not be subject to the Inconvenience of frequent Changes; and yet as true it is, that we shall not be exempt from the possibility of changing at all, which is neither requisite nor attainable in this Life. And if in this Permutation, after all our Industry and Humility therein, it shall be our ill Fortune to give away a Truth for a Falshood, it will be (as killing a Man against our Will is no Murder) at the worst but an Error by Chance-medly, and will both find (I