

EIRENOPOLIS:

THE CITY OF PEACE.

TO ALL THAT LOVE PEACE AND TRUTH.

PEACE, take it with all faults, is better than war ; and the end of a just war is but *studium pacis*, the intention of a right peace. The subject, then, is beyond exception to all that love peace. But commonly they with whom it meddles, refuse to meddle with it. Let such take the course of their unhappy precipice into everlasting unquietness, who wilfully reject the cure of their affected malady ; denying their consciences a trouble that may save them, for fear of losing a trouble that doth please them. As if a man were less than mad, that will leap into the fire to avoid the smoke. There is *pax fundamenti*, the peace of doctrine ; and *pax ordinis*, the peace of discipline. The heretic would pull down the first pillar, the schismatic the other. The former would break our peace with Christ ; the latter with ourselves and the church : both these are almost desperate. But there is a third, *pax politica*, a civil peace ; and the common disturbers of this are such contentious spirits, that either unprovoked, out of mischievous intentions, or being provoked, out of malicious revenge, set all in uproar, make a mutiny in manners, an ataxy in the course of life. To cure this Babel, if at least she will be cured, is the scope of this tractate. Peace was Christ's blessed legacy to his church ; and we are the ministers whom he hath chosen to see it paid. Executors are often sued for the bequest given by dead testators : lo, here a legacy, without suing, from a living Father. Embrace it, and be regulated by it ; so shall your hearts find present comfort, and your souls eternal life in it.

The hearty desirer of your peace,

THO. ADAMS.

THE CITY OF PEACE.

Live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.
—2 COR. XIII. 11.

PEACE is the daughter of righteousness, and the mother of knowledge; the nurse of arts, and the improvement of all blessings. It is delectable to all that taste it, profitable to them that practise it; to them that look upon it, amiable; to them that enjoy it, a benefit invaluable. The building of Christianity knows no other materials. If we look upon the church itself, 'there is one body;' if upon the very soul of it, 'there is one Spirit;' if upon the endowment of it, 'there is one hope;' if upon the head of it, 'there is one Lord;' if upon the life of it, 'there is one faith;' if upon the door of it, 'there is one baptism;' if upon the Father of it, 'there is one God, and Father of all,' Eph. iv. 4.

Peace is a fair virgin, every one's love, the praise of all tongues, the object of all eyes, the wish of all hearts; *pacem te poscimus omnes*. She hath a smiling look, which never frowned with the least scowl of anger; snowy arms, soft as down, and whiter than the swan's feathers, always open to pious embracements. Her milken hand carries an olive branch, the symbol and emblem of quietness. She hath the face of a glorious angel, always looking towards righteousness, as the two cherubims looked one upon the other, and both unto the mercy-seat. Her court is the invincible fort of integrity; so guarded by the divine providence, that drums, trumpets, and thundering cannons, those loud instruments of war, (I mean blasphemy, contention, violence,) may affront her, but never affright her. She hath a bounteous hand, virtual like the garment of Christ; if a faithful soul can come to touch it, to kiss it, all her vexations are fled, her conscience is at rest. Her bowels are full of pity; she is always composing salves for all the wounds of a broken heart. Sedition and tumult her very soul hates; she tramples injuries and discords under her triumphant feet. She sits in a throne of joy, and wears a crown of eternity; and to all those that open the door of their heart to bid her welcome, she will open the door of heaven to bid them welcome, and repose their souls in everlasting peace. In these continual dog-days of ours, wherein love waxeth cold, and strife hot, we had need set our instruments to the tune of peace. This was the blessed legacy which Christ bequeathed to his church; the Apostle from his Master sent it as a token to the Corinthians; and I from the Apostle commend it as a jewel to all Christians:

‘Live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.’ Which conclusion of the epistle contains the blessing of the Apostle; a valediction, and a benediction. They are in part hortatory, in part consolatory; the virtue to which he persuades them, and the reward which he promiseth them. There is a sweet symphony and respondent proportion between the counsel and the comfort, the active peace and the factive peace: for seeking peace on earth, we shall find peace in heaven; for keeping the peace of God, we shall be kept by the God of peace. The one is the regular compass of our life on earth, the other is the glorious crown of our life in heaven.

That we may not cherish too weak an opinion of this duty, we must know that this apostolical counsel is an evangelical law, and binds us all to the peace: ‘Live in peace.’ There are in it all the concurring qualities that define a good law, as Lyncurgus taught: *generalitas, bonitas, possibilitas*,—it must be general, good, possible.

General, so that all be tied to the obedience of it. Else it were like Anacharsis’s law, a cobweb to catch flies; or those tyrannous censures, which are made to vex doves, while they are indulgent to buzzards.

It must be *good*, for none are bound to the obedience of unjust things. If it have an indifferent extent to good or bad, there is easily found some colour of evasion.

It must be *possible*, for if things be imposed *ultra posse*, and so men be made liable to the mulct when they are not culpable of the guilt, they may object that *Nature dictamen: nemo tenetur ad impossibile*,—none are to be tied to the obedience of impossible things. Such are tyrants’ laws; not *vincula, sed retia*,—not limits to confine, but nets to ensnare; not pales, but toils.

But the law of peace is general, none can plead immunity; good, none tax it of iniquity; possible, none can say it is beyond their ability. But it may be objected: If you require it general, it is not possible, for we cannot have peace with all men; if it were possible, yet is it not lawful and good, for we may not have peace with all men. To direct us in this, the Apostle inserts two cautions: ‘If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men,’ Rom. xii. 18: *Εἰ δυνατόν*, and *τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν*; for there are some cases in which *ὃ δυνατόν*, it is not possible. ‘What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?’ 2 Cor. vi. 15. We must have no peace with it, if there be no grace in it. ‘Blessed is he that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,’ &c., Ps. i. Forbear not only to sit in the chair of pestilence with them, which is *peccatum dominans*, sin reigning, but even to stand and discourse with them, which is *peccatum delectans*, sin delighting; yea, even to walk a turn with them, which is *peccatum intrans*, sin entering; teaching us to shun the very acquaintance of their counsels.

But wicked men cannot be avoided; and so long as we are in this world, we must converse with men of the world. To answer this, we must distinguish between offenders and offences; we may have no peace with the one, true peace with the other. There are two names, *homo et peccator*,—a man, and a sinner: *quod peccator est, corripe*; *quod homo, miserere*,*—as he is a sinner, reform him; as he is a man, the image of God, pity him. Doth thy brother sin of ignorance? *Dilige errantem, interfice errorem*,—Kill the error, preserve thy brother. Doth he offend of frailty? Be at peace *cum hominibus, non cum moribus*,—with the man, not with the manners. Tres-

* Aug.

passeth he of malice? Hate *vitium*, not *virum*,—the disease, not the patient. Howsoever these infirmities are inevitable, still we may have peace, *cum malis, licet non in malis*,—with evil men, though not in evil matters.

Indeed, let him that hath authority correct malicious offences, for that is not like a ravisher to abuse, but like a champion to vindicate, the honour of peace. Yet still *cum corrigat malitiam, diligit personam*,—let him correct the transgression, love the person.

But how shall we answer that of the Psalmist: 'Be not merciful to them that sin of malicious wickedness,' Ps. lix. 5. This was not *precantis votum*, sed *prophetantis vaticinium*,—not the request of a petitioner, but the prediction of a prophet. He did not wish it should be so, but saw it would be so.

But if all this be true, we may then admit peace with Rome. We do accept a civil, not a religious peace. In a treatise of pacification both parties must yield somewhat; but nothing is to be yielded that may prejudice the truth. In a musical instrument, the strings that be out of tune are set up or set down to the rest; the strings that be in tune are not stirred. Our doctrine and profession are tuned to the blessed gospel, that infallible canon of truth, and therefore must not be changed. Their faith and religion jarreth and erreth from that; therefore must be proportioned to ours, if they will endeavour a perfect harmony.

Thus far, and upon these terms, we may have peace, if we seek it: we may live in peace, and peace may live in us, if we desire it. Therefore still *Εἰρησύνη*, 'Live in peace.' Calvin renders it, *Pacem agite*, 'Do peace;' or, as if God should say to men whom he found quarrelling, or too loud, 'Peace.' The word is emphatical, and intimates a continual habit: we may call it the exercise of peace, or the practice of peace.

Some have a good mind to peace, but they will be at no labour about it; many are content to embrace it, but they are ashamed to seek it; most men love it, few practise it. The use commends the virtue: the beauty and praise of peace consists not in motion, but in action; nor is the benefit of it in a knowing discourse, but in a feeling sense. A speculative peace is like an historical knowledge, such as he that hath been always confined to his study may have of foreign countries. So we make a conquest of peace, as the byword says our fathers won Boulogne; who never came within the report of the cannon. Or as the Grecians kept philosophy in their leaves, but kept it not in their lives. A jejune and empty speculation, like some subtle air in the head, only breaks out into crotchets: it is experience that brings the sweetness of peace home to the heart. Use breeds perfectness, and disuse loseth the most serviceable things. Gold loseth more of its weight by rusting in corners, than by continual running in commerces, the proper end it was coined for. The best land will yield small increase if it be not tilled; though some have the most profitable trades, the want of industry hath made them the poorest men. The throne of peace is in the heart, not in the head.

To recover, therefore, the swooning life of this virtue, I will compare peace to a city: if you will, to this city; which should be, like Jerusalem, a 'city of peace.' And so much we will; pray for it: that it may preserve peace, and peace may preserve it, to the world's end.

I. Let the walls of this city be unity and concord. II. Let her have four gates: innocence and patience, benefaction and satisfaction. The first gate of peace is innocence; she must do no wrong. The second is patience; she must suffer wrong. The third is beneficence; she must do good instead

of wrong. The fourth is recompense ; she must make liberal and just satisfaction for any committed wrong. There is also a postern gate, and that is humility : a gate indeed, but a small and low one ; whosoever enters the city of peace that way, must stoop before he get in. III. The enemies of this city are many, divided into two bands—hostility and mutiny. IV. The government of it is magistracy. V. The law, religion. VI. The palace, the temple. VII. The life of the citizens is love. VIII. It is served by the river of prosperity. IX. The state of it is felicity. X. The inheritance, eternal glory.

I. The walls of peace are unity and concord. *Omnis societas est corpus politicum* ; and it is in a city as in a body : there are many members, one body ; many citizens, one city. The body is one of the most lively figures and examples of peace. 'We are all one body,' 1 Cor. xii. Not only one kingdom ; so disparity in religions makes many differences. Nor only one city, *inter dites erunt lites* ; so disparity of estates will breed quarrels. Nor only one house ; so we may have 'enemies of our own household.' But one body, here must be all love and peace. Where all are tied by bonds, joints, and ligaments to the head ; there also by the same nerves one to another.

Some members are single : as the tongue is one, to speak one truth ; the heart one, to entertain one God. Other are *gemina, germana* ; their forces are doubled to supply mutual defects. Some are stronger, as the arms and legs, for the supportation of the weaker. Thus qualified are all the faithful citizens of peace ; preserving a unanimity in affection, a sympathy in affliction, a ready help to the most needful condition ; comforting the minds of those that are perplexed, supplying the wants of those that are distressed, rectifying the weakness of those that are unsettled, informing the ignorance of those that are seduced, and reforming the errors of those that are perverted : all endeavouring the deliverance of the oppressed.

The members provide one for another : the eye sees not only for itself, but for the body ; the hand works not only for itself, but for the body ; the ear hearkens, the tongue talks, the foot walks, all parts exercise their functions for the good of the whole. In the city of peace men must not only seek their own, but the glory of their Maker, and the good of their society. That God who hath given us honour by our ancestors, would also have us add honour to our successors. To prefer a private good before a public, is to famish and starve the whole body to fat a toe or please a finger. Such monopolies and patents as impoverisheth the whole to enrich a part are not tolerable in the city of peace.

There is no envy or grudging among the members ; the eye doth not grieve to see the arm grow strong, nor the foot to be sensible of the stomach's health. In this city, one should not envy another's thriving, as if all were taken from ourselves that is given to our neighbours. The Lord sees that an inequality is best for his glory ; distributing, to whomsoever least, yet to every one more than he deserves. 'Shall the ear say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ?' 1 Cor. xii. 16. No ; but, as John Baptist said of Christ, 'He cometh after me, yet is before me,' some come after us in wealth that may go before us in grace. The poor man is not so many pounds behind the rich for this world, as he may be talents before him for the world to come. They often with their poverty, misery, ignominy, are saved ; while others, with all their honour and opulency, go to hell.

If one member suffer, the rest suffer with it. If there be a thorn in the foot, the eye sheds a tear, the heart aches, the head grieves, the hand is ready to pull it out. If a man tread on our toe, we say, 'Why do you tread

on me?' *Quod cuiquam, cuivis*,—Let us sorrow for the afflictions of others, 'as if we were in the body.' He is no son of peace that 'forgets the breaking of his brother Joseph,' Amos vi. 6.

The walls of the city must be whole, no breaches in them, lest this advantage the enemy's entrance. There must be no schism in a city, as no division in the body: one must not be for Paul, another for Apollos, another for Cephas; but all for Christ, and all for peace. Many evil men may have one will in wickedness. It is said of Pilate, Luke xxiii. 25, *Tradidit Jesum voluntati eorum*,—'He delivered Jesus to their will,' not wills; many sinners, one will. Shall, then, the sons of grace jar? the children of peace be mutinous? *Unica columba mea*, saith Christ,—'My dove is but one.' The dove is a bird of peace: many of them can agree lovingly together in one house; every one hath a little cottage by herself, wherein she sits content, without disquieting her neighbours. Thus *dum singulæ quærent unionem, omnes conservant unitatem*. We have them that rush into others' tabernacles, swallowing a man and his heritages: would doves do thus? Poor Naboth's portion is many a rich Ahab's eye-sore: would doves do thus? Numbers are still on the wing to prey upon prostrate fortunes; these be ravens, not doves. If the law cannot make work for their malice, their malice shall make work for the law. This is like cocks of the game, to peck out one another's eyes to make the lawyers sport. When two friends are fallen out of love into blows, and are fighting, a third adversary hath a fair advantage to kill them both. We have an enemy that watcheth his time, and while we wound one another, he wounds us all.

If the members be pulled asunder, they all rot; the distraction of parts is the dissolution of the whole. If we forsake the peace of our mother, we put ourselves upon record for bastards. Discontent with our own portions and places overthrow the city of peace. When the woods and the floods were at variance, the sand and the fire were fain to quiet their insurrection, 2 Esdr. iv. 14. While men will not rest satisfied with their own determinate stations, but invade the severals and properties of others, what can be expected but destruction? If there be contention on this side, and ambition on that side, there will be confusion on all sides. While Judah was hot against Israel, and Israel hot against Judah, the king of Syria smote them both. God shall supply the part of Syria; and when brother is against brother, he will be against them all. He that doth not what he can to maintain the walls, doth what he can to betray the city.

II. So I come from the walls to the gates.

1. The first gate is innocence; and this may be called *Bishopsgate*, the ministers of the gospel being both the preachers and precedents of innocence. If men would abstain from doing wrong, the peace could not be broken. St Bernard writes of the dove, that *felle caret*,—she hath no gall. Let us be such doves, to purge our hearts from all bitterness.

Now the first shelf that wrecks innocence is anger. It were rare if 'the wrath of man should fulfil the righteousness of God;' even a curst anger breaks the peace. It is an evidence whereby God will judge men guilty: now there is no malefactor going to the bar for his trial would willingly have that evidence found about him that should cast him. *Iratius non videt legem, sed lex videt iratum*,—The wrathful man takes no notice of the law, but the law takes notice of the wrathful man. Let us take heed lest we carry our anger with us unto God. That which offends our eyes, we remove either our sight from it, or it from our sight; but that which offends our souls, we too often lay next our hearts. But it is the voice of transporative fury, 'I

cannot moderate my anger.' Cannot! Wherefore serveth grace but to mortify such natural, yea, rather unnatural passions?

How easily doth this rage often inveterate, making some so angry with men that they will scarce be pleased with God himself! And either he must take them with their anger, or let them alone. So soon it rankles into malice, and that is full opposite to innocence.

What shall a man do? In this sudden fit shall he come to the Lord's table, or forbear it? *Si non accesserit, periculum; si accesserit, damnum*,—To refuse the sacrament in anger is evil; to receive it in anger, that is worse. Is the body and blood of Christ no more worth, but that for love of a peevish humour we should neglect it? Shall we starve our consciences to feed our misbegotten passions? What is then to be done in this strait? The answer is easy: Let us excommunicate our wrath, that we may communicate with the church; leave our lusts behind us, and we are welcome, as Abraham left his ass when he went about his sacrifice, Gen. xxii. 5. In the Levitical law no unclean thing might be touched; if it were touched, the temple by that person must not be approached. Now, for the Israelite to absent himself from the assembly of saints and service of God was uncomfortable; to come so polluted, was dangerous. He knew the remedy; either not to be unclean at all, or soon to get himself cleansed. The first best is to harbour no malice: the next, to deliver ourselves from it with all possible speed.

In a word, let us turn our anger, when it comes, another way. Let all our hate be the hate of all sin, and our anger bent against our own corruptions. Let our wrath, like the shepherd's dog, sleep till the wolf comes. Be we at peace with God by repentance, with our neighbour by innocence, with our own heart by a purified and pacified conscience; and the Prince of peace, the Lord Jesus, shall embrace us.

2. The second gate is patience, which is not unlike to *Ludgate*; for that is a school of patience, the poor souls there learn to suffer. The first entrance of peace is to do no injury, the next is to suffer injury. It is one special commendation of charity, that it 'suffers all things;' *pro fratribus, à fratribus, propter fratres*. For our brethren we must sustain some loss: he that suffers not an abatement of his own fulness to supply their emptiness, is no brother. Of our brethren we must put up some wrong, rather than make a flaw in the smooth passage of peace. Because of our brethren, and 'for the elect's sake, we must endure all things, that they may obtain salvation,' 2 Tim. ii. 18. Let us be infirmed, to have them confirmed; brooking a temporal loss, to procure their eternal good.

According to the Apostle's counsel, 'Let us bear the burden one of another,' Gal. vi. 2, and God shall bear the burden of us all. As in the arch of a building, one stone bears mutually, though not equally, the weight of the rest. Or as deer swimming over a great water do ease themselves in laying their heads one upon the back of another; the foremost having none to support him, changeth his place, and rests his head upon the hindmost. Bear thou with his curiouseness, he doth bear with thy furiousness; let me bear with his arrogance, he doth bear with my ignorance. In architecture, all stones are not fit to be laid in every part of the building; but some below, as the fundamental and chief corner-stone to sustain the load of the rest, some higher in the wall, others in the top for ornament. In the church, which is built of 'living stones,' Christ is the 'head of the corner,' the foundation that supports all; gracious saints have the next places, and are so set that they may help to bear up the weaker.

Materials that be only of a hard nature will never fadge well in an edifice.

The Italians have a proverb, 'Hard without soft, the wall is nought.' Stones cobbled up together, without mortar to combine them, make but a tottering wall. But if there be mortar to cement them, and with the tractable softness of the one to glue and fix the solid hardness of the other, this may fortify it against the shock of the ram or shot of the cannon. The society that consists of nothing but stones, intractable and refractory spirits, one as froward and perverse as another, soon dissolves. But when one is reeking with the fire of rage, and another shall bring the water of patience to cool and quench it, here is a duration of peace. When iron meets iron, there is a harsh and stubborn jar; let wool meet that rougher metal, and this yielding turns resistance into embracements.

Let not then the voice be an echo of ill words, nor the hand a racket to bandy back fire-balls. Patience makes even the wicked confess, 'Thou art more righteous than I,' 1 Sam. xxiv. 17. *Infelix victoria qua hominem superamus, vitio succumbimus*,*—It is a wretched victory that overcomes our foes, and slaves us to our lusts. *Patientia mea à Domino*, Ps. lxiii. 5, as the fathers read it; and indeed who can give this patience but God? Paul had many lives, yet he sacrificed them all: 'I die daily,' 1 Cor. xv. 31. *Etsi non mortis experientia, tamen proposito*,†—Though he could lose but one, yet, in regard of his patience and purpose, he was ready to lose them all.

Nor is Christian patience thus confined within the bearing of injuries, but it extends also to the remitting of them. Some can suffer for the present, as Haman before Mordecai, *animo vindicandi*. Forgiveness is the demonstration of patience. Not to contest because we cannot conquer, is called patience perforce; but can we remit? The civil man can forbear, the Christian must forgive. Let us be remiss to note a wrong, remissive to forget it, writing all our injuries in the dust. Yea, let humility sweetly order our forgiveness: for *gravissima poena est contumeliosa venia*,—a proud and scornful pardon is a reproachful wrong; there is in it more bitterness than mercy, more punishment than reconciliation.

Otherwise, how can we pray, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us'? Oh but, say some, God is merciful! What! shall we therefore be unmerciful? I may forgive, but I cannot forget, is the faint reservation of another. Take we heed; let not us be in jest with God, lest he be in earnest with us. Do we not otherwise beg a removal of mercy and pardon from our own souls. Will not God say, 'Evil servant, *ex ore tuo*,—out of thy own mouth will I judge thee'? Hath Christ with his own blood made thee friends with God, and cannot that blood entreat thee to be friends with thy brother? When thou comest to the holy altar with thy gift, and rememberest thy offended brother, 'leave there thy gift; first be reconciled to him, then offer to God,' Matt. v. 24. A gift doth pacify wrath, and God is pleased with our sacrifice upon his altar; yet *cum omnis culpa munere solvatur, sola injuria inconditionata rejicitur*,‡—when every fault is solved with a gift, injury alone is sent away without pardon.

Therefore *qualem vis erga te esse Deum, talem te exhibeas erga proximum*,§—be thou to thy brother on earth as thou wouldest have thy Father in heaven be to thee. *Si lædens, pete veniam; si læsus, da veniam*,—If an injurer, ask pardon; if a sufferer, give pardon. Be we so far from expecting his submission, that we render our remission, and meet the trespasser with a pardon before he ask it. *Dissensio ab aliis, à te reconciliatio incipiat*,||—Let strife begin from others, be thou first in reconciliation. Christ healed Malchus's ear that came to arrest him. Which amongst us so loves his bene-

* Bern.

† Chrys.

‡ Aug.

§ Isidor.

|| Sen.

factors as Paul loved his malefactors? He would do anything to save them that would do anything to kill him. Others' offences to us are but small, valued with ours against God, who is infinite. If he forgive the pounds, let not us stick at the farthing tokens.

3. The next gate is beneficence. Doing good is the fortification of peace. This may be called *Aldgate*; not only because there is the picture of Charity at the gate,—I do not say, as near going out, but at the gate, to keep goodness in,—but because that is called the *Old-gate*, and charity was a virtue of old times, not so much now in fashion. The heathen moralist said we must use men thus: *Bene velle omnibus, bene facere amicis*,—Wish well to all, and do good only to our friends. But the clear light of nature, which is the gospel, chargeth us, 'while we have opportunity, to do good to all men,' albeit with some preferment of the best, 'especially to the household of faith,' Gal. vi. 10.

All men may be ranked under one of these combinations: rich and poor, home-born and strangers, friends and enemies.

First, for the rich and poor. The Pharisee will stand on good terms with the rich, invite them for a re-invitation; as men at tennis toss the ball to another, that he may toss it to them again. But who helps the poor? 'Wealth maketh many friends, but the poor is separated from his neighbour,' Prov. xix. 4. If he do well, he is not regarded; if ill, he is destroyed. The poor man, by his wisdom, delivered the city from the force of a puissant enemy; yet, when all was done, 'no man remembered that poor man,' Eccles. ix. 15. But 'if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him,' Eccles. xii. 23. How contemptibly* doth a rich epicure look upon a poor beggar! yet 'the rich and the poor meet together, and the Lord is the maker of them all,' Prov. xxii. 2. In all our grand feasts, the guests that Christ spoke for, Luke xiv. 14, are left out.

For domestics and strangers. Many have so much religion as to provide for their own, yea, so much irreligion as to do it with the prejudice of the public good and hazard of their own souls: but who provides for strangers? 'Entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares,' Heb. xiii. 2. But for all this possible happiness, few will put it to the venture: and were they indeed angels, without angels in their purses to pay for it, they should find cold entertainment.

Friends and enemies. For friends, many will be at peace with them, till they be put to the trial by some expressive action; and then they will rather hazard the loss of a friend than the least loss by a friend. But suppose we answer our friends in some slight courtesy, hoping for a greater, who will do good to his enemies? 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him: so thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head,' Rom. xii. 20. Do it, not with an intent to make his reckoning more, but thy own reckoning less. 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you,' Matt. v. 44. Do unto them deeds of amity, deeds of charity, deeds of piety. Of amity, 'Love them that hate you,' of charity, 'Do good to them that hurt you,' of piety, 'Pray for them that persecute you.' There is the *Diligite* of the heart, 'Love your enemies,' the *Benedicite* of the tongue, 'Bless them that curse you,' the *Benefacite* of the hand, 'Do good to them that hate you,' the *Benevelle* of all, 'Pray for them that persecute you.' 'Love your enemies,' there is *Affectus cordis*; 'Do them good,' there is *Effectus operis*; 'Pray for them,' there is *Perfectio charitatis*. But the wise man counsels, 'Do well to him that is lowly, but give not to the

* That is, contemptuously.—Ed.

ungodly; and, 'Give unto the good, not to the sinner,' Ecclus. xii. 5, 7. Though not *qua impius* and *quia impius*, yet *qua homo* and *quia homo*, we must relieve him. Cherish himself, not his sin. We must love him, *non quoad culpam, sed quoad naturam*. They are God's children, *licet insani*, although they be sick; and our brethren, *licet infirmi*, although they be weak. Therefore, for the conformity of nature, because we are the same workmanship; for our own benefit, for he that doth good to his enemy, even in that doth better to himself; and for the imitation of him we worship; let us uphold peace by charity. His sun rises, and rain falls, both on the just and unjust, Matt. v. 45. *Noli negare, quod Deus nulli negat*. Thus looking up with piety to the Lord's perfection, and down with pity upon man's imperfection, let us do good to all.

Through the gate of beneficence doth the charitable man enter into the city of peace. He that is covetous must needs be mutinous. 'He that is greedy of gain, troubleth his own house,' Prov. xv. 27. Solomon calls him a trouble-house, and we do find him a trouble-city, as Demetrius did all Ephesus. But charity makes peace; *Divitem voluit Deus ut pauperem adjuvaret, pauperem voluit ut divitem probaret*,—God makes some rich, to help the poor; and suffers some poor, to try the rich. The loaden would be glad of ease: now charity lighteneth the rich man of his superfluous and unwieldy carriage. When the poor find mercy they will be tractable: when the rich find quiet, they should be charitable. Would you have your goods kept in peace? First, lock them up by your prayers, then open them again with your thankful use, and trust them in the hands of Christ by your charity.

This city hears ill for oppression, and is (I fear too justly) suspected of injustice: now the most noble confutation of jealousy is by deeds of charity. This is the *East-gate* to the city of peace, and I may (from St Paul) call it the principal, and 'most excellent way,' 1 Cor. xii. 31. Whosoever can shew you the way better, yet certainly none can shew you a better way.

4. The fourth gate is recompense, or satisfaction; and this we may liken to *Cripple-gate*. It is the lamest way to peace, yet a way: it is a halting gate, but a gate. It were far better coming into this city by any of the former gates, yet better at this than none. All come not by innocence, nor all by patience, nor all by beneficence; but if they have failed in these, they must be admitted by recompense, or not at all. The first best is to do no injury; the next is satisfaction, to make amends for that we have done. Hortensius said of his mother, *Ego nunquam cum ea inivi gratiam*,—I never was reconciled to her, because we two never fell out. Oh that the inhabitants of this city could say so of their neighbours: We never were made friends, because we never were foes! But as our Saviour saith, 'It is necessary that offences do come:' not that it should be so, but that it will be so. There is no necessity that compels a man to sin; except that the heart being evil, will give offence. As it is necessary for him that comes to the fire to be made hot; but there is no necessity that he come unto the fire.

The malady of offences will be contracted, therefore the only cure is by satisfaction. That we may know how to do this, the Scripture sets down divers degrees in the accomplishment of this satisfaction for injuries. First, He must go to the party wronged. Secondly, He must confess his fault. Thirdly, He must humble himself. Fourthly, He must make restitution. Fifthly, He must reconcile himself. Sixthly, And this must be done quickly, with all possible speed.

He must go to him, not tarry till he meet him, or till some occasion bring

them together. Not *obvium da*; but go to thine adversary, Matt. v. 24, go on purpose: inquire for him, seek him out, rest not till thou find him.

Humanity may work some to this undertaking and overtaking of peace; but man is naturally so good a constructor of his own doings, that will he confess his fault? Yes, 'He shall confess his trespass,' Num. v. 7.

An ingenious* nature may be brought to acknowledge his fault: but will pride, the contention-maker, admit humility? Will he stoop to him he hath abused? From insultation will he descend to submission? He must: 'Go and humble thyself,' Prov. vi. 3.

Touch of conscience may procure humility; but yet will he not spend twice as much at law, ere he make restitution? Yet even here, a quiet man for his own peace's sake may be brought to give somewhat, for a part of amends: but will he satisfy him the whole? The law of nature requires total satisfaction, but will he besides give damages? The law of the land allows damages; but now will he give any overplus to make an atonement? or be at so much cost as to buy reconciliation, rather than miss it? He must: Zaccheus restores fourfold, and by the law he is bound to add a fifth part, Num. v. 7.

But if all this be done, will he yet ever be friends with him? will he be truly reconciled? He must: 'Reconcile thyself to thy brother,' Matt. v. 24. Otherwise, when he desires of the Lord to be forgiven, as he forgiveth, God will answer, as Joseph did to his brethren, 'Look me not in the face, unless thy brother be with thee,' Gen. xliii. 3. Shall the father think well of that son which rejecteth his brother? Do we call the 'Author of peace' our God, while we are the children of dissension? Will he ever agree with him that delights to quarrel with his? But suppose the injurer doth entreat and persuade himself, without prevailing, will he use his friends about such a business? Yes, saith Solomon, he must employ his friends.

Time may work all this, but to do it when the flesh trembles, and the blood boils for revenge, suddenly; who can so prevail over himself? He must do it quickly: 'Agree with thine adversary quickly,' Matt. v. 25. Yes, perhaps, when leisure may serve; but will any man neglect business to go about it? Yes, all business set apart, though it were as important as offering sacrifice at God's own altar: 'Leave there thy gift,' &c. *Non experieris Deum tibi propitium, nisi proximus te sentiat sibi placatum*,—strife with our brother makes our best services unacceptable to our Father. The Lord dispenseth with his own worship to maintain our charity: and will not be found of us, till we have found our brother, to make our peace with him. Come not to the temples, hear no sermons, say not your prayers, forbear all worship and devotions, while a festering and rankling hatred is in your souls.

Yet now all this may be done of an inferior to a superior, either for fear, or hope of gain by his love: but would you have a superior yield thus to an inferior, to deprecate strife? Yes, Abraham disdained not to go unto Lot, the elder to the younger, the uncle to the nephew, the worthier to the meaner, and that in the kindest manner, to compose a controversy begun by their servants. Oh that this age, which seldom wakes but to do mischief, would yet think, how after all injuries to others, they do this greatest injury to their own souls, that for want of a just compensation, they exclude themselves from the blessing of peace!

5. These be the main gates; there is a little postern besides, that is, humility: for of all vices, pride is a stranger to peace. The proud man is too guilty, to come in by innocence; too surly, to come in by patience: he hath

* That is, ingenious.—En.

no mind to come in by benefaction ; and he scorns to come in by satisfaction. All these portcullises be shut against him : there is no way left but the postern for him ; he must stoop, or never be admitted to peace. Pride is always envious and contumelious, thinking she adds so much to her own reputation as she detracts from others : she is no fit neighbour for peace.

Heaven is a high city, yet hath but a low gate. *Celsa patria, via humilis. Tolle superbiam, quod habes meum est : tolle invidiam, quod habeo tuum est,**—Take away pride, and that which thou hast is mine ; take away envy, and that which I have is thine. Pride and envy are too uncivil for a peaceable city : the one cannot endure a vicine prosperity, nor the other a superior eminency. All men must be poor to please the one, and all must be base to content the other. Peace is humble, pride quite overlooks her. The philosopher might have seen the stars in the water ; he could not see the water in the stars when he stumbled into the ditch. Men may behold glory in humility, they shall never find peace in ambition. The safest way to keep fire is to rake it up in embers ; the best means to preserve peace is in humbleness. The tall cedars feel the fury of tempests, which blow over the humble shrubs in the low valleys. There was no rule with Paul at first ; raising tumults, speeding commissions, breathing out slaughters against poor Christians ; but when Christ had thundered him from his horse, broken his wild spirit to humility, then he was fit for peace. God, that often effectuates his own will by contraries, makes trouble the preparation for peace ; as a father corrects his unruly children that they may be quiet. Let us examine our own experience : when the Lord hath soundly scourged us, we go from under his fingers as tame as lambs ; farewell strife, all our care is to find rest and peace in Jesus Christ.

III. We have seen the city of peace, with her walls and gates, and we wish well to her : ‘Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces,’ Ps. cxxii. 7. But hath she no adversaries ? Yes ; there is an enemy that beleaguers this city—contention ; whose army is divided into two bands or troops : the one called the civil, the other the uncivil ; the civil are law quarrels, the uncivil are sword quarrels. The one is the smooth-faced company, the other the rugged or ragged regiment. The city of peace hath gates for these also, when she hath subdued them. Either she turns them out at *Moorgate*, as fitter for the society of Moors and pagans—she banisheth them ; or lays them up in *Newgate*—a place very convenient, being not so old as peace, built since the birth of strife. These enemies pursue us, *vel ferro, vel foro*, as that father saith.†

Ferro ; when upon every punctilio of honour, as they falsely call it, reason and religion must be thrown by, and fury govern. The gallant, as if he knew no law but his own will, or as if the least aspersion upon his honour were more weighty than if the state of Christendom or the glory of God lay upon it, cries, *Revenge !* offers the stab, threatens the pistol. How is that precious account forgotten which God requires of man and beast ! Gen. ix. 5. Men study to be mad with reason ; they have an art of killing that teacheth murder by the book : as cunning as Joab was, that could stab in the fifth rib, a speeding place ; so he treacherously slew Abner and Amasa, 2 Sam. iii. 27, xx. 10. Oh that men should venture their lives upon one another’s sword, as if they had no souls to be ventured upon the sword of God’s vengeance ! that he should be held base who, being challenged, doth not write his mind with a pen of steel, in the ink of blood, on the white paper of man’s life !

* Aug.

† Ibid.

Cannot the tears of our mother prevail with us, when seeing us quarrel she says, as Jocasta advised her two unbrotherly sons :—

‘Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos;’

or as Rebekah said of her twins, ‘Why should I be deprived of you both in one day?’ Gen. xxvii. 45. But if our mother cannot still us, our Father will part us; and they whose souls hate peace shall be sent to a prison where is no peace, that seeing they love quarrels, they may have fighting enough with infernal spirits. But perhaps there be some who make no other reckoning, resolving with him in the Orator, *Hodie cœnabimus apud inferos*,—To-night we will sup together in hell. As it is reported of two to have fought under the gallows, desperately forecasting, that if the one were there killed the other should there be hanged.

By the toleration of this duel in France, that kingdom lost in ten years six thousand gentlemen, as themselves report. Wretched men! for *occisor lethaliter peccat, et occisus æternaliter perit*,*—the homicide sins deadly, and the slain, without unexpected mercy, perisheth eternally. How dare they lift up those hands to God for mercy, that have been lifted up against their brother in cruelty? Every base vermin can kill; it is true prowess and honour to give life and preserve it.† Simeon and Levi seemed to have just cause, the whoring of their own sister, Gen. xxxiv. 31; yet their father calls them ‘brethren in evil’ for it, blesseth his honour from their company, and his soul from their secrecy, Gen. xlix. 6. Thou sayest of thy contented, he shall have as good as he brings, yet thyself condemnest that he brings for evil. *Ne utaris inimico præceptore*,‡—Let not thy enemy teach thee to do that which thyself detestest in him. Because we receive injuries without right, shall we return them without law?

Sometimes this ariseth from the wine, *Bacchus ad arma vocat*; and lightly it makes men aptest to use their arms when they cannot stand on their legs. But shall this serve for a plea, and get a pardon, It was done in drink. No; this rather deserves a double punishment, as it is a double fault. Commonly it proceeds from unadvised anger; as if anything done in fury were not done in folly. The cholerick man is like one that dwells in a thatched house, who being rich in the morning, by a sudden fire is a beggar before night. It was the decree of Theodosius, by the counsel of St Ambrose, that execution after a severe sentence should be deferred thirty days: that the heat being qualified, the severity might be moderated.

But they object, This is to stand by like fools, while we suffer others to abuse us. No, that is not folly which the Lord hath commended for wisdom. The shot of the cannon hurts not wool, and such yielding things, but that which is hard, stubborn, and resisting; the rage of our roaring sons is tamed by patience. Turn to the brawling cur, and he will be more fierce; ride on neglecting him, and he will soon be quiet. This is the furious band.

Foro; there is another battalia of adversaries that turn their challenge into a writ: the field appointed is Westminster Hall or some other court of justice; the weapons, the law; the postures of the fight are demurs, delays, quirks, removals; the victory, a verdict; the doom, a sentence; and the death itself, an execution. One says, To bear this is against my conscience; when indeed he means it is against his concupiscence. If the plaintiff go no further than the court of his own affections, the defendant shall never have audience; for he is *amicus curiæ*. ‘He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him,’ Prov. xviii. 17: he is

* Bern.

† Aug.

‡ Basil.

no competent judge in his own matter. It will bear an action, saith the law-giver; this inflameth passion in the law-goer.

Oh that men could see the folly of this litigiousness! First, that he is not in the state of grace, but a mere carnal man. This is St Paul's argument to the Corinthians: If there be contentions among you, 'are ye not carnal?' 1 Cor. iii. 4; whereas the 'fruit of the Spirit is peace, long-suffering, gentleness,' Gal. v. 22. Secondly, that he doth not so much find, as make himself enemies. We may say of him as the angel said to Hagar concerning her son Ishmael, Gen. xvi. 12, 'His hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him.' Thirdly, that he vexeth himself without need: they that go to law for trifles, are like nice people that continually lie in the hands of churgeons and physicians, for pimples and warts; whereas the physician and lawyer are for necessity, not wantonness. Their boxes and papers are the books and badges of their profession; they trudge up and down, more busy to cast away their money, than lawyers are to catch it: their word is *Currat lex*,—Let the law have its course; but by their wills that course should never have an end.

They plead, We have stood before the best, in courts of highest honour; alas! so doth the spider, even 'in kings' palaces,' Prov. xx. 10. So did the devil; when the sons of God presented themselves before him, Satan was there also, Job ii. 1. Fourthly, they consider not the root of contentions, as the Apostle describes them:—Want of wisdom to compound controversies: 'Is there not one wise man among you, able to judge between brethren?' 1 Cor. vi. 5. Want of love: 'Brother is against brother.' Want of patience: 'Why do ye not rather suffer wrong?' Want of justice: 'Ye defraud and do wrong.' For want of justice, *foro conscientia*, they prosecute their malice, *foro justitia*. We may add, want of mercy,—they cannot forgive; but if they forgive not others, their final *Quietus est* was never yet sealed, and they shall be called to an after-reckoning. As that wicked servant sped; notwithstanding the 'Lord forgave him' at his request, because he did not forgive his brother at his entreaty, he was 'delivered over to the tormentors,' Matt. xviii. 22.

Fifthly, they weigh not how they are deceived. Lawyers first invented laws to secure our lands and titles; now they make those laws engines to get away our lands and titles. Their frequent session hath not been evermore to preserve a man's possession. And for those that can tarry the leisure of the law, they have quirks and delays; which are like the corrosive plasters of an unconscionable leech, that turns a small green wound to an incurable *fistula*, by poisoning and exulceration of it for filthy lucre. When a man must die without mercy, it is some ease to die quickly, and be out of his pain. But such, when they purpose to murder a man's estate, have tricks to keep him long a-dying; that he may still languish and pine away in hope of recovery.

And what doth the winner get, that at the term's end he may brag of his gains? Doth he not come home dry-foundered? Doth he not follow the mill so long, till the toll be more than the grist? It is a token of unwholesome air, where the country is full of thriving physicians: *Si valeant homines, ars tua, Phæbe, jacet*. It argues little health in that kingdom which hath so many thriving lawyers; who while unquietness feeds us, do quietly feed upon us.

We are willing to give such self-molesters some counsel, if they will take it, and ask them no fees for it. Yea, we give it not, but Christ gives it: will they take his advice, that great 'Counsellor' of the Father? He coun-

sels his clients to the everlasting possession of their souls by patience. *In Olympiacis certaminibus, diabolo consecratis,**—In the games of Olympus, consecrated to the devil, he had the glory of the day that gave most wounds, and came off himself untouched. *In stadio Christi non est ea certandi lex, sed contraria*.—In the race of Christianity, there is a contrary law of striving : not he that offers most blows, but he that suffers most blows, is crowned. A man is stricken ; will he go to law for this ? No, rather let him turn the other cheek ; this is Christ's counsel. His cloak is taken from him : it is near him, a garment ; of necessary comeliness, a cloak ; of singular use, he hath but one cloak ; he hath the propriety of it, it is his cloak : must he go to law for this ? No, rather let him take his coat also. *Felix ille, si nudus corpore, si nudus militia*,—there is a wedding garment to clothe such.

I am no Anabaptist, nor libertine, to deny the magistracy, or lawfulness of authority, and our just appeal thereto. Rather than every man should be his own judge, I would appease uproars with the town-clerk of Ephesus : 'The law is open, and there are deputies ; let them implead one another,' Acts xix. 38. St Paul himself took this course, appealing to the judgment-seat of Cæsar, Acts xxv. 10. Our Saviour's practice is a clear comment and declaration of his law. He that bade us rather turn our other cheek to the smiter than revenge ourselves, did himself sweetly reprove him that smote him : 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil ; but if well, why smitest thou me ?' John xviii. 23. So Paul to Ananias, 'Sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law ?' Acts xxiii. 3. The Lord himself hath appointed tribunals ; and no law, no love. I know there is a Christianly seeking of justice, when injurious persons grow worse by forbearance, and ground their insolence upon others' patience. As Christians may war in love, so they may jar in love : when the party cast in the suit, may be bettered, if not in his money, yet in his manners ; and Satan only conquered. *Ut qui vincitur, simul vincat, et unus tantummodo vincatur diabolus. Sed reprimam me*, I will hold me where I was. I have laboured to bring men into peace, I must shew them no way out again. The fathers sometimes in confuting a heresy much spread, if they did run a little within the brinks of a contrary error, not then questioned, nor so dangerous, were never censured for that to have erred *dogmaticè*. So if to convince that heresy in manners, 'It is lawful to go to law for every thing,' I should a little lean to and favour that other opinion, 'It is lawful to go to law for nothing,' either excuse me, or at least suspend your judgments, till I come on purpose to handle that point. If men would promise not to go to law till then, I would promise, when they did go to law, to bear all their charges.

Howsoever, let them not do it *animo litigandi*, nor for every wrong enter an action, lest God enter his action against them. 'The Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land,' Hosea iv. 1 : a terrible action, which the jury of heaven and earth will find. Let them therefore leave all, and study God's law with that royal prophet : 'Thy testimonies are my delight and my counsellors ;' and 'I will meditate in thy statutes,' Ps. cxix. 24, 48. Blessed is he that 'meditates on God's law day and night,' Ps. i. 2 ; but cursed is he that wastes his time to meditate and study law-tricks. Let the litigious soul learn a new course of law ; let conscience be his chancellor, charity his chancellor, patience his counsellor, truth his attorney, and peace his solicitor. *Item in proximum, divertat in seipsum*. Let him go to law with his own heart ; arraign his passionate will at the bar of God's

* Chrys.

judgment; let the twelve apostles be a jury against him, who all condemn contention. Thus let him judge himself, that he be not judged of Jesus Christ. For he that avengeth his own quarrel, steps into the prince's chair of estate, yea, into God's own seat, dethroning both, and so disturbs heaven and earth. Madmen that thus presume, as if God did not see malice in the heart! 'Hell and destruction are before the Lord; much more then the hearts of the children of men,' Prov. xv. 11. Or as if, seeing men contend, he had nothing to do with it; but must sit still like an idle looker-on, and take part with neither.

'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord,' Rom. xii. 19. This sounds a retreat to all quarrels: Paul seeing the daggers drawn, and the peace in danger to be broken, steps in with the sword of the Spirit to part the fray. It is a writ of reversalment from the high court of heaven; if we break open the writ, we shall find the King's pleasure in it: an arrest of revengers. He begins with 'Dearly beloved:' a sweet ingredience, to qualify a bitter medicine. As if he should say, It is my love that I write so much against malice: not for your hurt, but for your eternal good; if you will not believe me, believe God himself: 'To me belongeth vengeance,' Deut. xxxii. 35.

The devil, when he gets audience, tells a man how much he is hated of others; the Holy Spirit tells him how much he is loved of others. The argument of our charity to them is God's charity to us. 'Put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, long-suffering,' Col. iii. 12: seeing ye are beloved of God, love his.

This is God's challenge, 'Vengeance is mine;' God's execution, 'I will repay;' God's subscription, to which his great name is affixed, 'Thus saith the Lord.' *Scriptum est*, it is a transcript and faithful copy out of the original, to shew it the Lord's true act and deed; twice written, that it might never be forgotten: 'Once hath God spoken, twice have I heard it, that vengeance,' so well as power, 'belongeth unto God,' Ps. lxii. 11. He pleads the continuance of succession without interruption; vengeance, judgment, and glory are his alone. Therefore to avenge ourselves, is both to lose God's protection, and to incur his condemnation. It is faithless and fruitless. Faithless; not to believe that God will deal with us according to his word. 'With thine eyes thou shalt see the reward of the wicked,' Ps. xci. 8. It is then infidelity not to commit our case to God and his deputy the prince, but to make them both our deputies and instruments of revenge. What is this but to exalt ourselves above all that is called God, and to play the devil in jest, and the Pope in good earnest? Fruitless; for if being wronged, we draw out our wooden dagger of revenge, God will put up his sword, and leave us to ourselves. The injured child turns not again, but runs to his father. When the Italians hear how God hath reserved vengeance to himself, they say blasphemously, 'He knew it was too sweet a bit for man, therefore kept it for his own tooth.' But if man were his own carver, he would carve too deep. God only is wise and just: wise to know, and just to give the due proportion. Now the great and omnipotent Lord Chief-Justice bind us all to the peace on earth, and bring us all to the peace of heaven!

Now, because every city must have an established government, order being the good of every creature, and it is better not to be than to be out of order; therefore this city of peace must have a lord and a law; a ruler to govern it, and a rule whereby it must be governed. The king is Christ, who is there-

fore called, *Princeps Pacis*,—‘The Prince of Peace.’ And he hath a deputy or vicegerent under him, whom he hath set to promote the good, and to remove the evil, of peace. The law is truth, that is the gospel, *regula pacis*, the rule of truth.

IV. The governor of this city is supreme authority. As God is a great King, so the king is, as it were, a little god. ‘I have said, Ye are gods.’ God is an invisible King, the king is a visible god. ‘Ye must be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake,’ Rom. xiii. 5. All must obey: the bad for fear, the good for love. To compel the one, there is a writ out of the King’s Bench; to persuade the other, there is an order in the Chancery.

Of all nations we are blessed with peace, under a king of peace; therefore all bound to be children of peace. There are three ways of choosing kings:—1. An immediate nomination from God; 2. A succession of blood; 3. An election of the people. The first ceaseth, the last hath been found dangerous, the best remains. They that are suddenly chosen out of the flock do seldom manifest such royal behaviour, nor become their majesty, for it is not their trade. Jehu remitted much of his noble zeal when he was settled in his kingdom. It is one thing to say, ‘With a great sum of money obtained I this kingdom,’ Acts xxii. 28; and for* another to say, ‘I was a king born.’ We may justly say of our king, *Dignissimus regno, si non natus ad regnum*. When the poets called some men the sons and offspring of the gods, they meant that they were men of a more noble and uncommon nature, and that those graces were *ex divino afflatu*. It was as familiar with Homer to make a king fight with a god at his elbow as a common soldier with his sword in his hand. To whom the Lord gives most honour, he gives most assistance. ‘The heart of the king is in his hand, as rivers of waters;’ the heart of a private man as a little brook. In the former is more need of his omnipotence. Howsoever, the grace of adoption, in the apostles’ time, was ‘not given to many mighty or noble,’ 1 Cor. i. 26; yet the graces of administration are.

Anarchy is the mother of division, the stepmother of peace. While the state of Italy wants a king, all runs into civil broils. It is the happiness of this city that there is no distraction. Not a king at Judah, and another at Dan; not one in Hebron, another in Gibeon; not the red rose here, and the white there. We are not shuffled into a popular government, nor cut into cantons by a headless, headstrong aristocracy; but *Henricus Rosas, Regna Jacobus*,—in Henry was the union of the roses, in James of the kingdoms. Every king is not a peacemaker: ours, like a second Augustus, hath shut the rusty door of Janus’s temple; so making peace, as if he were made of peace. That blessed queen, of sweet and sacred memory before him, was *Filia Pacis*; who, as by her sexual graces she deserved to be the queen of women, so by her masculine virtues to be the queen of men. Certainly, it would have troubled any king but him, to have succeeded such a queen; yet no man complains the want of peace. This he promised, and *Verbum regis, rex regi*, this he hath performed to every good soul’s content. When he was first proclaimed, what heard we but peace? What heard the nobles? a king that would honour them. What the senators? a king that would counsel them. What the schools? a king that would grace them. What the divines? a king that would encourage them. What the rich? a king that would defend them. What the poor? a king that would relieve them.

When a tyrant comes abroad, all seek to hide themselves: ‘When the wicked rise, men hide themselves,’ Prov. xxviii. 28. But when a clement

* *Qu. ‘far’!*—Ed.

prince progresseth, all flock to him; the streets and ways are filled with people, the air with acclamations. We call our peace, 'the king's peace;' and say to brawlers, Keep the king's peace. Peace, plenty, traffic, learning, administration of justice, flourishing of arts, preaching of the gospel, *Rex Jupiter omnibus idem*. Like David, he leads the dance to heaven; and like Augustus, makes a sweet spring wheresoever he goes. 'Israel had rest forty years,' Judg. v. 31; we have had a jubilee of fifty years, and begun again. The peacemaker doth both bless and is blessed; therefore let us bless him, and bless God for him, and hold ourselves blessed in him.

Away then with those discontented spirits that grudge these outward rights, whether tributes of money, or attributes of supremacy. *Solvatur subsidium, ne contingat excidium*. 'For this cause pay we tribute also,' &c., Rom. xiii. 6. It is the mediate due to God, as prayers and praises are his immediate rents. Some have observed, that Christ did not miracle about honour or money, except that one of giving tribute to Cæsar.* Much more intolerable are those our cousins of Samaria, that fly off in a rage: 'What portion have we in David?' Matt. xvii. 27. For this cause certainly, if David were now alive, he would never admit a Jesuit to his chaplain. But perish his enemies, and upon his own head let his crown flourish! May not the sceptre depart from Jacob, nor a seed from his loins, till Shiloh come again! May his posterity have a crown on earth, when himself hath a crown in heaven! Amen.

V. The law of this city is the law of Christ: a law indeed, but a law of peace. It made peace betwixt God and man; and it must make peace between man and man. If it cannot reconcile us one to another, it shall reconcile none of us to the Lord. It is a law, not to be observed for state, but for conscience. Indeed those *Catuli Catilinarii*, statising Jesuits turn all their religion into statism, yea, into atheism. And there be many church-recusants, a monstrous, menstuous brood, the moon-calves of that lunatic religion. Come they do, but more for fear of the law than for love of the gospel. And all the children that even hang on the breasts of peace cannot be excused; for some through nescience or negligence, scarce cast an eye on the statutes of peace.

'I will hear what the Lord will speak: for he will speak peace unto his people,' Ps. lxxxv. 8. One takes snuff at his poor neighbour: perhaps it is Mordecai's cap that hath put Haman out of his princely wits; and now he resolves to trounce him. Proud beggar! he will teach him to know his betters. Oh, but tarry, and hear the statute of peace: 'Rob not the poor, because he is poor,' Prov. xxii. 22; 'for the Lord will plead his cause, and spoil the soul of them that spoil him.' Lust makes this a spur to oppression, *quia pauper*, because he is poor; the law makes this a bridle from it, *quia pauper*, because he is poor. Another is crop-sick of ceremonies; he hath a toy in his head, that the church's garment should not be embroidered, nor have more lace and fringe than his own coat: there is in him so little of man, that he talks of nothing but the beast. Rather than his children shall be crossed in baptism, he will out of the ark into some fantastical wherry. Let him tarry, and hear what the law speaks, in his law of peace: 'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature,' Gal. vi. 15; that is, neither ceremony, nor no ceremony, but the substantial—a new creature.

Another flatters himself, 'I need not stand on strict performance of tithes;

* It is now generally understood that this tribute was not to Cæsar, but to the temple.—Ed.

the gospel requires nothing but benevolence : experienced men justify it, I have the warrant of good lawyers for it.' Oh, but such a lawyer is the barrister of Barathrum, a sworn enemy to the law of peace. The voice of Christ is not in it; hear that : ' Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things,' Gal. vi. 6.

This city of peace hath one immutable rule, and it is sufficient to direct all actions : ' And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God,' Gal. vi. 16. A man is proud of his victorious mischiefs, fleshed with his fortunate wickedness, thinks he hath carried himself bravely in out-bribing his adversary, fooling judge and jury by false testimony, and triumphs in his unblest gain : but is this according to the rule of peace? *Vincat veritas*,—Let truth overcome. The loser may sit down with content, but the winner shall lie down in torment. A rich man carries himself proudly; above others in scorn, above himself in folly : he thinks all his titles beneath him, and even those that worship him still to undervalue him; others he looks upon as if they were made to serve him, yea, and be proud to be commanded by him. Cross him, and he rages, swells, foams like the sea in a storm; but is this after the rule of peace? ' Learn of me, who am meek and lowly in heart,' Matt. xi. 29. Alas! what is the difference in dust? ' The beggar dies, so does the rich man,' Luke xvi. 22. Before, the rich could not endure the beggar near him; here one verse contains them both. In life the rich hath the pre-eminence of ease, and wealth, and honour : in death, the poor man goes first to peace.

In driving a trade, it is Mammon's prime policy to take advantage of others' necessity or simplicity. ' Sold you it for so much?' saith Peter, Acts v. 8. ' Yea, for so much,' answers Ananias. ' Did it cost so much?' says the buyer. ' Yes,' saith the seller. Let him tremble at the judgment, which was a sudden death. This is the rule of an unjust city, not of the city of peace : *Periat mundi lucrum, ne fiat animæ damnum*,—Perish that gain which comes with the soul's loss.

Many think charity to the poor to be a work of mere supererogation; that they are not bound liberally to give part of that to lazy beggars which they have laboriously gotten by their endeavours. But hear the rule of peace : ' Break thy bread unto the hungry.' ' Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor,' Matt. xix. 21. But as when Christ dissuaded from covetise, by the difficulty of entrance that wealth finds to heaven, they amazedly replied, ' Who then can be saved?' who can walk after this rule? when we preach this doctrine, the world cries, *Durus sermo*,—This is a hard saying, a harsh sermon. Yet is this the law of peace, and thus minded are the citizens of peace. When the poor at your gates ask you *panem quotidianum*, their daily bread, they after a sort make you gods; therefore shew yourselves at least to be men. Charity is the food of peace on earth, and the seed of peace in heaven.

VI. The palace of peace is the temple : the peace of man can never be preserved without the worship of God. It is not enough for the city to have laws, but these must be divulged, made known to the inhabitants, the observation of them continually urged; for by nature men are apt enough to fly out. Howsoever the Romans built their *Templum Pacis* without the gates, yet here it is the chief honour and ornament of the city. Here Peace keeps her court, and sits like a royal queen in her chair of estate : which is not like Solomon's throne, guarded with lions, but with milk-white doves, and covered over with olive branches.

But, alas, how doth her palace now fall to ruin for want of reparation!

Few there be that repair it, but to impair it thousands are ready. The question was once, 'What shall we bring to the man of God?' 1 Sam. ix. 7. Now it is a motion suffered in all courts, What shall we take away from the man of God? The noble Shunammite built him a chamber, with a bed and a candlestick: we have those that pull down his rooms, disturb his rest, and put out his light. Nehemiah reduced the tithes to the primitive institution and order; but if any Nehemiah should now undertake it, and restore our portion to our own hands, there are ten thousand harpies ready to catch it ere it come to our mouths. We may sing, or rather sigh one to another, as little children chant in the streets:—

'When shall we eat white bread?
When the puttock is dead:'

when there is not a sacrilegious lawyer left. If the walls of Jerusalem should begin to rise, there is a Tobiah or Sanballat to flout us, that 'a fox is able to break them down,' Neh. iv. 3. Corrupt advocates are those foxes, and by their wills the vine of peace should bear no grapes that escape their fingers. Some have written wittily in the praise of folly, some have commended baldness, others in a quaint paradox extolled deformity; but in former times it was never heard that any wrote encomiums of sacrilege.

That 'the kings of the earth should conspire against Christ,' Ps. ii. 2, it was no wonder; for 'they knew him not,' 1 Cor. ii. 8. That the Edomites and Ishmaelites should oppose him, Ps. lxxxiii. 6, no wonder; for they stood on terms of hostility. That the Jews should confederate against him, Acts iv. 27, no wonder; for they hated him. But that men baptized in his faith, bearing his name as their honourable title, and wearing his profession as their chief ornament, should consent to rob him, and justify it by their law; this is such a thing as the very barbarians would blush at. Suppose the ministers of this city, the pensioners of peace, by some humble complaint request their own, or, at most, but some small part of their own; is the spoiler at a nonplus? Cannot he find an advocate to plead for him, and make his cause, though not be, yet appear, good? What! not one for his fees that can cry down the temple, the gospel, Christ himself? Is there no bill to be framed, no false plea to be found? Is Satan turned fool? Hath none of his scholars any brains left? Yes, we might think the devil were dead, if there could not be found an advocate to plead for sacrilege. The Lord, in his justice for sin, 'hath broken down her hedges,' Ps. lxxx. 12; and now every hand hath a snatch at her grapes.

In many places, Ahab-like, they have engrossed the whole vineyard; but if the poor, exposed, and unsupported vine be left, it shall bear the owner but a few grapes. This may hold *in jure fœri*; it never shall hold *in jure poli*. God promised that the faith of the church should remove mountains: such were Domitian, Dioclesian, and those imperial persecutors. The church prays, *Dorsum eorum incurva*,—'Bow down their backs'; and so the Lord did. Valerian was so bowed down that he became a footstool for the king of Persia to mount up to his horse. Oh that the church of peace had still this miraculous faith to remove these mountains: malicious and truth-hating pleaders, the pioneers of the temple, and the maintainers of those that pillage it!

They tell us, 'The law is open, and there be deputies,' Acts xix. 38; but who be the deputies in this city? Is there any other than a judge of their own? And is it not then a proverbial answer of any man questioned in this sacrilege: 'Ask my father if I be a thief?' When David decided the

matter to Mephibosheth, 'Thou and Ziba divide the land,' 2 Sam. xix. 30, he answered: 'Yea, let him take all.' For the misery of the law, I never by experience found it, because I never tried it; but when they have leave to divide the inheritance of Christ with their ministers, (and it were something tolerable if they did but divide it,) I say, let them take all, seeing all they will have, rather than we go to recover it by such a judgment. But certainly God cannot long abide to see that people prosper who cannot abide to see his church prosper. They that spoil the palace of peace on earth shall never be entertained into her glorious court of heaven.

VII. The river that serves this city of peace is prosperity. It is one principal happiness of a city to be situated by a river's side: that as it hath fortified itself by land, so it may have command of the sea. Prosperity is the river to this city, that like a loving Meander, winds itself about, throwing his silver arms upon her sides; ebbing slowly, but flowing merrily, as if he longed to embrace his love. Peace is the mother of prosperity, but prosperity is too often the murderer of peace. For peace breeds wealth, wealth breeds pride, pride breeds contention, and contention kills peace. Thus she is often destroyed by her own issue, as Sennacherib was by his own bowels.

Take this city we live in for an instance. Peace hath brought God's plenty: the inhabitants neither plough, nor sow, nor reap; yet are fed like the fowls of heaven. They fare well with less trouble than if corn grew at their doors, and cattle grazed in their streets. But as Nilus may rise too high, and water Egypt too much, so the inundation of opulency may do them hurt. Thus may the influence of heaven, and the plenty of earth, be a snare unto us, and our abundance an occasion of our falling. Prosperity is hearty meat, but not digestible by a weak stomach; strong wine, but naught for a weak brain. 'The prosperity of fools destroyeth them,' Prov. i. 32. It is not simply prosperity, but the prosperity of fools, that destroyeth them. The swelling river by the surfeit of a tide doth not sooner bring in our increase, but our increase doth breed in our minds another swelling, in our bodies another surfeiting: we swell in pride, and surfeit in wantonness. The Israelites never fared so well as when they lived at God's immediate finding, and at night expected their morrow's breakfast from the clouds; when they did daily ask, and daily receive, their daily bread.

There be (as I heard a worthy divine observe) three main rivers in the land, whereof this is held the best; and this city is placed in the best seat of the river, upon the gentle rising of a hill, in the best air, and richest soil. When a courtier gave it out, that Queen Mary, being displeased with the city, threatened to divert both term and parliament to Oxford, an alderman asked whether she meant to turn the channel of the Thames thither or no: If not, saith he, by God's grace, we shall do well enough. 'The lines are fallen to us in pleasant places; we have a goodly heritage,' Ps. xvi. 6. Both the elements are our friends: the earth sends us in her fruits, the sea her merchandise. We are near enough the benefits, and far enough from the dangers, of the ocean. Nothing is wanting to the consummation of our happiness, to keep us in our own country, in our own city, in our own houses, but that which keeps men in their wits—temperance and thankfulness.

But do we not requite this river of prosperity with ungrateful impiety, and use the ocean of God's bounty as we do the Thames? It brings us in all manner of provision: clothes to cover us, fuel to warm us, food to nourish us, wine to cheer us, gold to enrich us; and we, in recompense, soil it with our rubbish, filth, common sewers, and such excretions. It yields us all

manner of good things, and we requite it with all plenty of bad things. It comes flowing in with our commodities, and we send it loaden back with our injuries.

Such toward God is the impious ingratitude of this famous city, which else had no parallel under the sun. She may not unfitly be compared to certain pictures, that represent to divers beholders, at divers stations, divers forms. Looking one way, you see a beautiful virgin; another way, some deformed monster. Cast an eye upon her profession, she is a well-graced creature; turn it upon her conversation, she is a misshapen stigmatic. View her peace, she is 'fairer than the daughters of men;' view her pride, the children of the Hittites and Amorites are beauteous to her. Think of her good works; then, 'Blessed art thou of the Lord:' number her sins; then, 'How is that faithful city become an harlot!' Isa. i. 21. To tell of her charity, and how many hundreds she feeds in a year, you will say with Paul, 'In this I praise her.' To tell of her oppressions, and how many thousands she undoes in a year, you will say with him again, 'In this I praise her not.' Behold her like a nurse, drawing her breasts and giving milk to orphans; you wish her cup to run over with fulness. Behold her like a horse-leech, sucking the blood of the church, to feed her own sacrilegious avarice; you will say, her cup is too full. When we think of her prosperity, we wonder at her impiety: when we think of her impiety, we wonder at her prosperity. Oh that her citizens would learn to manage their liberal fortunes, and to entertain the river of peace 'that makes glad the city of God,' with humility and sobriety; that when death shall disfranchise them here, they may be made free above, in that triumphant city whose glory hath neither measure nor end!

VIII. The life of the citizens is love: for without the love of men there can be no peace of God; and there is no love of God in them that desire not peace with men. He that loves not the members was never a friend to the Head. To say we love Christ, and hate a Christian, is as if a man, while he was saluting or protesting love to his friend, should tread on his toes. I know indeed that every creature is to be loved, but *in ordine ad Deum*. Religion doth not forbid, but rectify our affections. Our parents, spouses, children, allies, countrymen, neighbours, friends, have all their due places in our love; and it were a brutish doctrine to dispossess us of these human relations. Only they must know their orders and stations, and by no means usurp upon God: they must not be mistresses, but handmaids to the love of Christ.

But let us love them because they love God: as reflections of our sight, which glance from the Lord upon his image. If God have their hearts, let them have our hearts. It is poor to love a man for that is about him: he must be loved for that is within him. If we should account of men as we do of bags, prize them that weigh heaviest; and measure out our love by the subsidy-book, honouring a man because he is well clothed; I see then no reason but we should do greater reverence to the bason and ewer on the stall, than to the goldsmith in the shop; and most humbly salute satin and velvet in whole pieces, because their virgin-glory was never yet ravished and abused into fashion.

No, but especially let us love others, because they fear God, and serve Jesus Christ. For as the brain is to the sinews, the liver to the veins, and the heart to the arteries; so is God's love to human societies: as the very soul by which they live, and the form that gives them being. Otherwise

our companies are conspiracies, when we fall in one with another, to fall out with God. Let us begin our loves above, deriving this holy fire from the altar of heaven; let our faith enkindle it at the heart of Christ, and then like the cherubims, we shall look graciously one upon another, while all look up to the mercy-seat of God.

IX. The general state of this city. This is the corollary of all; every particular being cast up, here is the sum: her universal felicity. For the illustration whereof, it will not be unuseful to borrow an instance; and we need not travel far to seek out such an image or resemblance.

Look we upon our own nation, the happy model of this city of peace. It was said, that in Rome a man might see all countries; and the Romans used to solace themselves: 'It is good looking on a map of the world, *ubi nihil in orbe videmus alienum*,—when we find nothing in the world which is not our own.' What doth the whole earth produce which is not yielded to our enjoying? What was once said of Ormus is true of this city, 'Turn the world into a ring, and this is the diamond of it.' Like to Gideon's fleece, it hath been wet with the dew of heaven, when drought was on the whole earth besides. Or like Nilus, which keeps within its banks, when other rivers overflow their continents. Some nations have peace, but without the truth; other have the truth, but without peace: we have both truth and peace. Our neighbours have been exercised with troubles, whirled about with hostile tumults; their ears affrighted with the thunder of those murdering pieces; their eyes aghast with their temples and tabernacles flaming about their heads; infants bleeding upon the stones, and their amazed mothers ravished ere they can be permitted to die. The shrieks of the dying, and slavery of the living, under the merciless hands of a killing or insulting adversary, these have been their distracting objects: none of them come near us. There is no rifling of houses, no flying to refuges, no rotting in dungeons, no ruining of monuments, no swelling the channels with blood, no firing of cities, no rapes of virgins, no dashing of babes against the stones, nor casting them, as they drop from their mothers' wombs, into their mothers' flames. But instead of these, the truth of the gospel is preached, piety professed, the practice of it encouraged; grace promising, and peace performing, blessed rewards.

That is verified in us which is recorded of the days of Solomon, 'That he had peace on all sides round about him: and Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beersheba,' 1 Kings iv. 25. Or as Sylvius said of Rhodes, *Semper in sole sita est*. The sunshine of mercy embraceth us, and hath made us a day of peace, not shorter than sixty years: the favours of God overshadowing us, as the cherubims did the mercy-seat. I know that Rome frets at this, and let the harlot rage her heart out: she thunders out curses, but (praised be God!) we never more prospered than when the Pope most cursed us. Yea, O Lord, though they curse, do thou bless: their thunder doth more fear than hurt, thy favour doth more good than they can blast! Convert or confound them that have evil will at Zion; and still let us inherit thy peace, that thou mayest inherit our praise!

This is the reward of peace, and of all those that in sincerity of heart love her: 'The God of peace shall be with them,' 2 Cor. xiii. 11. There be six kinds of peace, but the peace of God contains all the rest. 'The peace of God passeth all understanding:' therefore whosoever loseth this peace, hath a loss vast all understanding. But Christ foretold us, that 'in the world we

shall have no peace,' John xvi. 3. Indeed no peace, *quoad oppositionem seculari*; yet much peace, *quoad dispositionem Domini*. The most savage disturbers, *si non reformatur ne pereant, tamen reprimuntur ne perimant*,—if they be not reformed to save themselves, they shall be restrained from harming us. If they will not do us the good they should, yet they shall not do us the evil they would. *Vel inimicus tuus non manebit, vel non manebit inimicus*,—Either our enemies shall not live, or they shall not live our enemies. Either 'the righteous shall rejoice when they see the vengeance, and wash their feet in the blood of the wicked,' Ps. lviii. 10; or 'the Lord will give them favour in the sight of their enemies, and those that hated them shall cleave unto them,' Exod. xi. 3.

From hence ariseth peace with ourselves: a conformity of affection to reason, of reason to grace; that the conflicts which a distressed conscience finds with legal terrors shall be turned to mild embracements. Faith leading the understanding, the understanding guiding the will, the will ruling the operative powers, and Christ Jesus governing all. For indeed he is the fountain of peace, and we 'through him, being justified by faith, have peace with God,' Rom. v. 1. Through the corruption of our nature, and justice of God's nature, we are enemies: and there is no reconciliation but through the blood of the everlasting covenant. He reconciles us to God, as Joab did Absalom to David by the woman of Tekoah, 2 Sam. xiv. 7, when the whole family rose up, and said, 'Deliver him that smote his brother, that we may take his life for the life of the slain;' and so the father and mother shall 'have no name nor remainder upon earth.' God hath two sorts of sons—angels and men: the angels that fell are lost for ever; men fell—if they were lost too, where should God have sons? I know that he needs not man: he hath still the elect angels, and is able to raise sons of stones: he can want nothing while he possesseth himself. Well, yet in mercy Christ reconciles us. David asks, 'Is not the hand of Joab in all this?' ver. 19; so we may admire, 'Is not the hand of Jesus in all this?' Yes, he hath made our peace. The minister always ends his public devotions with 'the peace of God,' and the blessing of this peace rest upon us!

Thus we have a real abridgment of this mystical city of peace; happy every way. Vigilancy is her officer of peace, that hath an eye in the darkest angles, and discovers the first conceptions of strife. Discipline is her clerk of the peace, that keeps the records, and indicts offenders. Authority is her justice of peace, that if any will not be ruled, binds them over to the peace. Equity is her burse, where men exchange kindness for kindness; on whose stairs injury and imposture durst never set their foul feet. Truth is her standard, which with the trumpet of fame shall resound her happiness to all nations. Plenty is her treasurer, liberality her almoner, conscience her chancellor, wisdom her counsellor, prayer her clerk of the closet, faith her crown, justice her sceptre, masculine virtues her peers, graces her attendants, and nobility her maid of honour. All her garments are green and orient; all her paths be milk, her words oracles, and her works miracles: making the blind to see, and the lame to go, by a merciful supply to their defects. Her breath is sweeter than the new-blown rose, millions of souls lie sucking their life from it; and the smell of her garments is like the smell of Lebanon. Her smiles are more reviving than the vernal sunshine; and her favours, like seasonable dews, spring up flowers and fruits wheresoever she walks. Holiness is the canopy of state over her head, and tranquillity the arras where she sets her foot. All her servants wait in order, and can with con-

tentful knowledge distinguish and accept their own places. Her court is an image of paradise ; all her channels flow with milk, and her conduits run wine. Envy and murmuring, as privy to their own guilt, fly from her presence. Her guard consists not of men, but angels ; and they pitch their tents about her palace.

X. Lastly, having preserved and blessed all her children on earth, she goes with them to heaven, is welcomed into the arms of her Father, invested queen with a diadem of glory, and possessed of those joys unto which time shall never put an end.