

be in those passages his own, let them remember that the sum of all that I confute, is in his first book, which is old, and highly honoured, by——you know whom. And I will do him the honour, and myself the dishonour to confess, that I think the far greater number of casuists and authors of politics, Papists and Protestants are on his side, and fewest on mine: but truth is truth.

On the subjects' duty I am larger, because, if they will not hear, at least I may boldly and freely instruct them.

If in the latter part there be any useful cases of conscience left out, it is because I could not remember them.

Farewell.

CHAPTER I.

General Rules for an Upright Conversation.

SOLOMON saith, "He that walketh uprightly walketh surely^a." And perfection and uprightness are the characters of Job^b. And in the Scripture to be upright or righteous, and to walk uprightly, and to do righteously, are the titles of those that are acceptable to God. And by uprightness is meant not only sincerity as opposed to hypocrisy; but also rectitude of heart and life, as opposed to crookedness or sin; and this as it is found in various degrees: of which we use to call the lowest degree that is saving by the name of sincerity, and the highest by the name of perfection.

Concerning uprightness of life, I shall, I. Briefly tell you some of those blessings that should make us all in love with it, and, II. Give you some necessary rules of practice.

1. Uprightness of heart and life is a certain fruit of the Spirit of grace, and consequently a mark of our union with Christ, and a proof of our acceptableness with God. "My defence is of God, who saveth the upright in heart^c." "For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness, and his countenance doth behold the upright^d." It is a title that God himself assumeth; "Good and upright is the Lord^e." "To

^a Prov. x. 9.

^b Job i. 1. 8. ii. 3.

^c Psal. vii. 10.

^d Psal. xi. 7.

^e Psal. xxv. 8.

shew that the Lord is upright, he is my Rock, and no unrighteousness is in him^f." And God calleth himself the Maker, the Director, the Protector, and the Lover of the upright. "God made man upright^g." "The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous^h." "What man is he that feareth the Lord? him will he teach in the way that he shall chooseⁱ." "He layeth up sound wisdom for the righteous; he is a buckler to them that walk uprightly^k."

2. The upright are the pillars of human society, that keep up truth and justice in the world; without whom it would be but a company of liars, deceivers, robbers, and enemies, that live in constant rapine or hostility. There were no trust to be put in one another, further than self-interest did oblige men. "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart^l." Therefore the wicked, and the enemies of peace, and destroyers of societies, are still described as enemies to the upright. "For lo, the wicked bend their bow, they make ready their arrow upon the string, that they may privily shoot at the upright in heart. If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do^m?" "The just and upright man is laughed to scornⁿ." "The wicked have drawn out the sword to slay such as be of upright conversation^o." And indeed it is for the upright's sake that societies are preserved by God, as Sodom might have been for ten Lots. At least they are under the protection of omnipotency themselves. "He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the gain of oppression, that shaketh his hand from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ear from hearing of blood, that shutteth his eyes from seeing evil; he shall dwell on high, his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure: thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off^p." "The upright shall have good things in possession^q." "The

^f Psal. xcii. 15.

^g Eccl. vii. 29.

^h Psal. i. 6.

ⁱ Psal. xxv. 12.

^k Prov. ii. 7.

^l Psal. xv. 1, 2.

^m Psal. xi. 2, 3.

ⁿ Job xii. 4.

^o Psal. xxxvii. 14.

^p Isa. xxxiii. 15, 16.

^q Prov. xxviii. 10.

house of the wicked shall be overthrown; but the tabernacle of the upright shall flourish ^r.”

3. Uprightness affordeth peace of conscience, and quietness and holy security to the soul. This was Paul's rejoicing, the testimony of his conscience, that “in simplicity and godly sincerity he had had his conversation in the world, and not in fleshly wisdom^s.” And this was David's comfort. “For I have kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from my God; for all his judgments were before me, and as for his statutes, I did not depart from them. I was also upright before him, and have kept myself from mine iniquity. Therefore hath the Lord recompensed me according to my righteousness;—with the merciful thou wilt shew thyself merciful, and with the upright thou wilt shew thyself upright^t.” Yea, peace is too little; exceeding joy is the portion, and most besecming condition of the upright. “Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice ye righteous, and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart^u.” “Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous, for praise is comely for the upright^v.” “The righteous shall be glad in the Lord, and trust in him, and all the upright in heart shall glory^w.” “Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart^x.” The Spirit that sanctifieth them, will comfort them.

4. As the upright, so their upright life and duties are specially delightful and acceptable to God^a. The prayer of the upright is his delight^b. Therefore God blesseth their duties to them, and they are comforted and strengthened by experience of success. “The way of the Lord is strength to the upright, but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity^c.” “Do not my words do good to him that walketh uprightly^d.”

5. No carnal politics, no worldly might, no help of friends, nor any other human means, doth put a man in so safe a state, as uprightness of heart and life. To walk uprightly, is to walk surely, because such walk with God, and in his way, and under his favour, and his promise; and if

^r Prov. xiv. 11.

^s Psal. xxxii. 11.

^t Psal. xcvi. 11.

^u Prov. x. 29.

^v 2 Cor. i. 12.

^w Psal. xxxiii. 1.

^x Prov. xv. 8.

^y Micah ii. 7.

^z 2 Sam. xxii. 22—24.

^{aa} Psal. lxiv. 10.

^{ab} Psal. xv. 2.

God be not sufficient security for us, there is none. "Surely the righteous shall give thanks unto thy name; the upright shall dwell in thy presence^e." "The integrity of the upright shall guide them, but the perverseness of transgressors shall destroy them. The righteousness of the upright shall deliver them, but transgressors shall be taken in their own naughtiness^f."

6. Lastly, the failings and weaknesses of the upright are pardoned, and therefore they shall certainly be saved^g. The upright may say in all their weaknesses as Solomon; "I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness; as for me, in the uprightness of my heart I have willingly offered all these things^h." "God will do good to them that are good, and to them that are upright in their heartsⁱ." The upright love him^k, and are loved by him. "No good thing will he withhold from them^l." The way to right comforting the mind of man, is to shew to him his uprightness^m. "And whoso walketh uprightly shall be savedⁿ." "For the high way of the upright is to depart from evil, and he that keepeth his way, preserveth his soul^o." I conclude with Psal. xxxvii. 37. "Mark the upright man, and behold the just, for the end of that man is peace."

II. The true rules of an upright life are these that follow.

1. He that will walk uprightly must be absolutely devoted and subjected unto God: he must have a God, and the true God, and but one God; not notionally only, but in sincerity and reality: he must have a God whose word shall be an absolute law to him; a God that shall command himself, his time, his estate, and all that he hath, or that he can do; a God whose will must be his will, and may do with him what he please; and who is more to him than all the world; whose love will satisfy him as better than life, and whose approbation is his sufficient encouragement and reward^p.

^e Psal. cxl. 13.

^f Prov. xi. 3. 6

^g Rom. vii. 24, 25. viii. 1.

^h 1 Chron. xxix. 17.

ⁱ Psal. cxxv. 4.

^k Cant. i. 4.

^l Psal. lxxiv. 11.

^m Job xxxiii. 23

ⁿ Prov. xxviii. 18.

^o Prov. xvi. 17.

^p Psal. lxxiii. 25. lxxiii. 3. 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4. Phil. iii. 8, 9. 18, 19. Psal. iv. 7, 8. Luke xii. 4. Matt. vi. 1—3.

2. His hope must be set upon heaven as the only felicity of his soul: he must look for his reward and the end of all his labours and patience in another world; and not with the hypocrite, dream of a felicity that is made up first of worldly things, and then of heaven, when he can keep the world no longer. He that cannot, that doth not in heart, quit all the world for a heavenly treasure, and venture his all upon the promise of better things hereafter, and forsaking all, take Christ and everlasting happiness for his portion, cannot be upright in heart or life¹.

3. He must have an infallible teacher (which is only Christ) and the encouragement of pardoning grace when he faileth, that he sink not by despair; and therefore he must live by faith on a Mediator. And he must have the fixed principle of a nature renewed by the Spirit of Christ².

4. He that will walk uprightly, must have a certain, just, infallible rule; and must hold to that, and try all by it; and this is only the Word of God. The teachings of men must be valued as helps to understand this Word; and the judgments of our teachers, and those that are wiser than ourselves, must be of great authority with us in subordination to the Scripture. But neither the learned, nor the godly, nor the great, must be our rule in co-ordination with the Word of God³.

5. He that will walk uprightly, must have both a solid and a large understanding, to know things truly as they are, and to see all particulars which must be taken notice of, in all the cases which he must determine, and all the actions which his integrity is concerned in. 1. There is no walking uprightly in the dark. Zeal will cause you to go apace; but not at all to go right, if judgment guide it not. Erroneous zeal will make you do evil with double violence, and with blasphemous fathering your sins on God, and with impenitence and justification of your sin⁴. This made Paul mad in persecuting the church. "Folly is joy to him that

¹ Luke xiv. 26, 27, 33, 34. xviii. 22. Matt. vi. 19, 20. 1 John ii. 15. Phil. iii. 18, 21.

² John xii. 16. xv. 1. &c. iii. 5, 6. Rom. viii. 8, 9.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 15. Isa. viii. 20. xxxiii. 21. 1 Thess. v. 12. James iv. 12. Heb. viii. 10, 16. Neh. ix. 13, 14. Psal. xix. 7. cxix. 1—3.

⁴ Prov. i. 5. x. 23. xvii. 27. iii. 4. Psal. cxl. 10. Eph. i. 18. Acts xxvi. 18. Col. i. 9. ii. 2. 2 Tim. ii. 7. 1 Cor. xiv. 5, 20.

is destitute of wisdom; but a man of understanding walketh uprightly^a." No man can do that well which he understandeth not well. Therefore you must study and take unwearied pains for knowledge; wisdom never grew up with idleness, though the conceit of wisdom doth nowhere more prosper. This age hath told us to what desperate precipices men will be carried by ignorant zeal. 2. And the understanding must be large, or it cannot be solid; when many particulars are concerned in an action, the overlooking of some may spoil the work. Narrow-minded men are turned as the weathercock, with the wind of the times, or of every temptation; and they seldom avoid one sin, but by falling into another. It is prudence that must manage an upright life: and prudence seeth all that must be seen, and putteth every circumstance into the balance; for want of which, much mischief may be done, while you seem to be doing the greatest good^b. "The prudent man looketh well to his going^c." "See therefore that ye walk circumspectly (at a hair's breadth) not as fools, but as wise."

6. But because you will object, that, alas, few even of the upright, have wits so strong as to be fit for this, I add, that he that will walk uprightly, must in the great essential parts of religion have this foresaid knowledge of his own, and in the rest at least he must have the conduct of the wise. And therefore, 1. He must be wise in the great matters of his salvation, though he be weak in other things. 2. And he must labour to be truly acquainted who are indeed wise men, that are meet to be his guides: and he must have recourse to such in cases of conscience, as a sick man to his physician. It is a great mercy to be so far wise, as to know a wise man from a fool, and a counsellor from a deceiver^d.

7. He that will walk uprightly must be the master of his passion; not stupid, but calm and sober. Though some

^a Prov. xv. 21.

^b Luke xxiv. 45. Matt. xv. 16. Eph. v. 17. 1 Tim. i. 7. Prov. viii. 5. John xii. 40. 2 Pet. ii. 12. Rom. iii. 11. Matt. xiii. 19. 23. Isa. lii. 13. Hos. xiv. 9. Prov. xiv. 15. 18. xviii. 15. xxii. 3. viii. 12. Eph. v. 15. Psal. ci. 2. 7. Prov. xiv. 15.

^c Psal. cxix. 98. Prov. i. 6—8. xii. 15. 18. xiii. 1. 14. 20. xv. 2. 7. 12. 31. xxii. 17. xxv. 12. Eccl. xii. 11. Dan. xii. 3. 10. Matt. xxiv. 45. Psal. xxxvii. 30. Eccl. ii. 13. Isa. xxxiii. 6. Matt. xii. 42. Luke i. 17. xxi. 15. Acts vi. 3. 2 Pet. iii. 15. Mal. ii. 6, 7. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. Heb. xiii. 7. 12. Tit. i. 9. 13. ii. 1. 8. 2 Tim. iv. 3.

passion is needful to excite the understanding to its duty, yet that which is inordinate doth powerfully deceive the mind. Men are very apt to be confident of what they passionately apprehend; and passionate judgments are frequently mistaken, and ever to be suspected; it being exceeding difficult to entertain any passion which shall not in some measure pervert our reason; which is one great reason why the most confident are ordinarily the most erroneous and blind. Be sure therefore whenever you are injured, or passion any way engaged, to set a double guard upon your judgments ^a.

8. He that will walk uprightly, must not only difference between simple good and evil, but between a greater good and a less; for most sin in the world consisteth in preferring a lesser good before a greater. He must still keep the balance in his hand, and compare good with good; otherwise he will make himself a religion of sin, and prefer sacrifice before mercy; and will hinder the Gospel and men's salvation for a ceremony, and violate the bonds of love and faithfulness for every opinion which he calleth truth; and will tithe mint and cummin, while he neglecteth the great things of the law. When a lesser good is preferred before a greater, it is a sin, and the common way of sinning. It is not then a duty when it is inconsistent with a greater good ^b.

9. He must ever have a conjunct respect to the command and the end: the good of some actions is but little discernible any where, but in the command; and others are evidently good because of the good they tend to. We must neither do evil and break a law, that good may come by it; nor yet pretend obedience to do mischief, as if God had made his laws for destruction of the church or men's souls, and not for edification ^c.

10. He must keep in union with the universal church, and prefer its interest before the interest of any party whatsoever, and do nothing that tendeth to its hurt ^d.

11. He must love his neighbour as himself, and do as

^a Prov. xiv. 29. Col. iii. 8.

^b Matt. ix. 13. xii. 7. Psal. xl. 6. li. 16. 1 Sam. xv. 22.

^c 2 Cor. x. 8. xiii. 10. Rom. xv. 1. xiv. 19. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 2 Cor. xii. 19. Rom. iii. 8.

^d Eph. iv. 12. &c. 1 Cor. xii.

he would be done by, and love his enemies, and forgive wrongs; and hear their defamations as his own^e.

12. He must be impartial, and not lose his judgment and charity in the opinion or interest of a party or sect: nor think all right that is held or done by those that he best liketh; nor all wrong that is held or done by those that are his adversaries. But judge of the words and deeds of those that are against him, as if they had been said or done by those of his own side: else he will live in slandering, back-biting, and gross unrighteousness^f.

13. He must be deliberate in judging of things and persons; not rash or hasty in believing reports or receiving opinions; not judging of truths by the first appearance, but search into the naked evidence: nor judging of persons by prejudice, fame and common talk^g.

14. He must be willing to receive and obey the truth at the dearest rate, especially of laborious study, and a self-denying life; not taking all to be true that costeth men dear, nor yet thinking that truth indeed can be over-prized^h.

15. He must be humble and self-suspicious, and come to Christ's school as a little child; and not have a proud over-valuing of himself and his own understanding. The proud and selfish are blind and cross, and have usually some opinions or interests of their own, that lie cross to duty, and to other men's goodⁱ.

16. He must have an eye to posterity, and not only to the present time or age; and to other nations, and not only to the country where he liveth. Many things seem necessary for some present strait or work that we would do (which in the next age may be of mischievous effects); especially in ecclesiastical and political professions, covenants and impositions, we must look further than our present needs. And many things seem necessary for a local, narrow interest, which those at a distance will otherwise esteem^k.

^e Matt. xxii. 39. v. 43, 44. vii. 12.

^f James iii. 15—18. Gal. ii. 13, 14. Deut. xv. 16. 1 Cor. vi. 9.

^g Matt. vii. 1, 2. John vii. 24. Rom. xiv. 10, 13. 1 Pet. i. 17.

^h Luke xiv. 26, 33. xii. 4. Prov. xxiii. 23.

ⁱ Matt. xviii. 3. Prov. xvi. 12, 16. xxviii. 11. 1 Cor. iii. 18. Prov. iii. 7.

^k Judges viii. 27. 1 Cor. vii. 35. 1 Kings xiv. 16. xv. 26. Deut. xxix. 22. Exod. xii. 26. Jos. iv. 6, 22. xxii. 24, 25.

17. He that will walk uprightly must be able to bear the displeasure of all the world, when the interest of truth requireth it; yea, to be rejected of learned and good men themselves; and account man's favour no better than it is; not to despise it as it is a means to any good, but to be quite above it as to his own interest. Not that uprightness doth use to make a man despised by the upright; but that it may bring him under their censure in some particulars, which are not commonly received or understood to be of God¹.

18. He must make it a great part of the work of his life to kill all those carnal desires, which the sensual make it their work and felicity to please; that appetite, sense and lust, and self-will may not be the constant perverters of his life; as a fool in a dropsy studieth to please his thirst, and a wise man to cure it^m.

19. He must live a life of constant and skilful watchfulness, apprehending himself in continual danger; and knowing his particular corruptions, temptations and remedies. He must have a tender conscience, and keep as far as possible from temptation, and take heed of unnecessary approaches or delightful thoughts of sin. O what strong resolutions, what sound knowledge, have the near-baits of sensuality (meat, drink, lust and pleasures) overcome? Never think yourselves safe among near-temptations, and opportunities of sinningⁿ.

20. Live as those that are going to the grave; die daily, and look on this world, as if you did look on it out of the world to which you go. Let faith as constantly behold the world unseen, as your eye seeth this. Death and eternity make men wise: we easily confess and repent of many things when we come to die, which no counsels or sermons could make us penitently confess before. Death will answer a thousand objections and temptations, and prove many vanities to be sin, which you thought the preacher did not prove: dying men are not drawn to drunkenness, filthiness, or time-wasting sports; nor flattered into folly by sen-

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4. John v. 44. Luke xiv. 26. Gal. ii. 13, 14. Acts xi. 2, 3.

^m Col. iii. 4, 5. Rom. vi. 1. &c. xiii. 12, 13. viii. 13.

ⁿ Matt. xxiv. 42. xxv. 13. Mark xiii. 37. 1 Thess. v. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Matt. vi. 13. xvi. 41.

sual baits: nor do they then fear the face or threats of persecutors. As it is from another world, that we must fetch the motives, so also the defensative of an upright life. And O happy are they that faithfully practise these rules of uprightness^o!

Though it be my judgment that much more of the doctrine of politics or civil government belongeth to theology^p, than those men understand, who make kings and laws to be mere human creatures, yet to deliver my reader from the fear lest I should meddle with matters that belong not to my calling, and my book from that reproach, I shall overpass all these points, which else I should have treated of, as useful to practise in governing and obeying. 1. Of man as sociable, and of communities and societies, and the reason of them, of their original, and the obligation on the members. 2. Of a city, and of civility. 3. Of a republic in general. (1.) Of its institution. (2.) Of its constitution, and of its parts. (3.) Of its species. (4.) Of the difference between it, 1. And a community in general. 2. A family. 3. A village. 4. A city. 5. A church. 6. An accidental meeting. (5.) Of its administration. (6.) Of the relation between God's government and man's, and God's laws and man's, and of their difference; and between man's judging and God's judging. Nay, I will not only gratify you, by passing over this and much more in the theory, but also as to the practical part, I shall pass over, 1. The directions for supreme governors. 2. And for inferior magistrates towards God, and their superiors, and the people. 3. And the determination of the question, How far magistrates have to do in matters of religion? Whether they be Christian or heathen? 4. How far they should grant or not grant liberty of conscience (as it is called), viz. of judging, professing and practising in matters of religion; with other such matters belonging to government: and all the controversies about titles and supremacy, conservations, forfeitures, decays, dangers, remedies and restorations, which belong either to politicians, lawyers or divines; all these I preter-

^o Eccl. vii. 2—6. 2 Cor. iv. 16. v. 1. 7, 8. Lukexii. 17—20. xvi. 20. &c. Matt. xxv. 3—8. Acts vii. 56. 60.

^p Among the Jews it was all one to be a lawyer and a divine; but not to be a lawyer and a priest.

mit, save only that I shall venture to leave a few brief memorandums with civil governors (instead of directions) for securing the interest of Christ, and the church, and men's salvation; yet assuring the reader that I omit none of this out of any contempt of the matter, or of magistracy, or as if I thought them not worthy of all our prayers and assistance, or thought their office of small concernment to the welfare of the world and of the church; but for those reasons, which all may know that know me and the government under which we live, and which I must not tell to others.

CHAPTER II.

Memorandums to Civil Rulers for the Interest of Christ, the Church, and Men's Salvation.

Mem. I. REMEMBER that your power is from God, and therefore for God, and not against God^a. You are his ministers, and can have no power except it be given you from above^b. Remember therefore that as constables are your officers and subjects, so you are the officers and subjects of God and the Redeemer; and are infinitely more below him, than the lowest subject is below you; and that you owe him more obedience than can be due to you; and therefore should study his laws (in nature and Scripture) and make them your daily meditation and delight^c. And remember how strict a judgment you must undergo when you must give account of your stewardship^d, and the greater your dignities and mercies have been, if they are abused by ungodliness, the greater will be your punishment^e.

^a Rom. xiii. 2—4.

^b John xix. 11.

^c Josh. i. 3—5. Psal. i. 2, 3. Deut. xvii. 18—20.

^d Luke xvi. 2. xii. 48.

^e *Finis ad quem rex principaliter intendere debet in seipso et in subditis, est æterna beatitudo, quæ in visione Dei consistit. Et quia ista visio est perfectissimum bonum maxime movere debet regem et quemcunque dominum ut hunc finem subditi consequantur. Lib. de Regim. Principum Thomæ adscript. Grot. de Imper. Sum. Pot. p. 9. Even Aristotle could say, Polit. vii. c. 1, 2. et eadem fine, that each man's active and contemplative life, is the end of government and not only the public peace; and that is the best life which conduceth most to our consideration of God, and that is the worst, which calleth us off from considering and worshipping him. Vide Grot. de Imper. sum. Pot. p. 10. Quam multa injuste fieri possunt, quæ ne-*