

FOR

**P R E V E N T I O N**

OF

THE UNPARDONABLE SIN AGAINST THE

**H O L Y G H O S T :**

A DEMONSTRATION THAT THE SPIRIT AND WORKS OF  
CHRIST WERE THE FINGER OF GOD.



THE  
UNPARDONABLE SIN  
AGAINST  
THE HOLY GHOST.

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MATTHEW xii. 22—33.

*Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb : and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw. And all the people were amazed, and said, Is this the Son of David ? But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This man casteth not out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils. And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation ; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand : and if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself ; how shall then his kingdom stand ; and if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out ? Therefore they shall be your judges. But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you. Or else, how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man ; and then he will spoil his house ? He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men : but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him : but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.*

BECAUSE it hath pleased God to make faith in his Son Jesus Christ, the means of obtaining pardon of all other foregoing sins, it is the great design of the enemy of mankind to keep us from this faith, or to destroy it in the bud : and because God hath made the extrinsic witness of the Holy Ghost in his mighty and wonderful works, to be the chief objective means, or last

argument by which unbelievers may be convinced of the truth it is therefore the chief design of the devil to hide from men's eyes the force of this argument. To which end I have long observed that he proceedeth by these degrees. 1. He labours, if it may be to keep men ignorant of the very matter of fact, that ever such works were done by Christ or his disciples. To which purpose, if he can, he will keep from them the Gospel itself. If not, he will cause them to overlook and not observe these wonders which it doth contain. 2. If men must needs know the Gospel, what it saith of the glorious works of Christ, his next endeavour is to make them conceive that all the history of these wonders is fabulous, and that never any such things were done as is here reported. By this temptation he assaulteth but few learned men who are well versed in antiquities, and must know that, by abundant, unquestionable history, and the very confessions of the enemies, the report of these works have been brought down to our hands; but rather he thus assaulteth the ignorant and half-witted men, who have gathered up a little of that knowledge which grew near to their own doors, but scarce knew what hath been done in other parts of the world, or what was done in any considerable time before them, especially if he can once get them to distrust their guides, and persuade them that nothing is to be taken upon trust from others, in such matters as our salvation is so much concerned in; and so deprive them of the benefit of the knowledge of their teachers. Two sorts, therefore, are in greatest danger of this temptation.

First, Those that are unreasonably diffident of all men. Because some are liars, therefore they will believe none; and because some histories are not to be credited, they will judge so of all. Having not judgment to discern between the credible and the incredible; between that history which comes with evidence of truth and that which doth not; nor between that which we have cause to suspect and that which we have not. Yet do they hold their lands and lives by men's testimony. Two witnesses may take away either; which were an unjust constitution, were there not some natural credibility in men, and some natural friendship to truth as truth. If these men would believe nobody, and nobody believe them, how would they live and converse with mankind? If one could thus persuade an obscure countryman that no man is to be credited, you might easily persuade him that there is no such city as London, and no prince, no council, &c., and that we never had a king in England.



There are some cases, wherein it is folly to believe men ; and some wherein it is a kind of madness not to believe, where the circumstances are such as may plainly show us that there is no deceit.

2. Those also are liable to this dangerous temptation, who have broken loose from under the guidance and reverence of their teachers, and have got contemptuous or suspicious thoughts of them ; by which they are rather induced to question a truth, because they report it, than to believe them, as learners must do if they will profit. If the devil can once bring men into this unruliness and disorder, by their pride, so that they can know no more than their own reading or hearing with the ordinary help of the Spirit will afford them, and so lose the treasures of further knowledge, which is laid up for them in their guides, whose lips should preserve knowledge, and at whose mouth they should inquire of the law ; (Mal. ii. 6, 7 ;) no wonder if such should question whether this which they read in English be the same Scriptures which were indited by the Spirit, and written at first in Hebrew and Greek. Much less can we marvel, if they be liable to sore temptations, when they read of Christ and his apostles, and their mighty works, to doubt whether ever there were such persons on earth, or whether they ever did such works or not. And we see already, by most fearful experience, that those people who first cast off their guides, and received evil thoughts of them as men not to be credited, are many of them already turned infidels, and deny the Holy Scriptures to be true. God knew when he set up the office of pastors in his church, that common people would not all have hearts or time to use so much means for the obtaining of the full and settled knowledge of the matters of the christian faith, and thereunto belonging, as is necessary for the encountering of all sorts of temptations ; and therefore was it his will that some should wholly give themselves to this work ; (1 Tim. iv. 15 ;) that they might be, by office, the helpers and strengtheners of their brethren ; and as men repair to physicians for advice for their bodies, and to lawyers for their estates, so they might do to their overseers and teachers for their souls ; and from them receive help for the repelling of temptations, and for establishment in the faith. If one can make a silly countryman believe that lawyers are so false that none of them are to be credited, and that he should believe no man in such matters, you may next persuade him that all the laws of the land are counterfeit, and never made by king or parliament, because he never saw the

records or rolls, or had opportunity himself to use those means that might fully satisfy him.

It pleased Christ at first to do his works in the presence of some chosen witnesses, and before one nation or people, and to show himself, after his resurrection, but to some ; and to send them, as chosen witnesses to the rest of the world, and to require the people, in all nations where they came, to believe their report. They could not at first hearing believe them as divine messengers, coming from God with extraordinary authority ; but they must believe them as common men, about matters of fact with a human faith ; who still professed that they were eye-witnesses of Christ's resurrection, that they saw his works, and heard his words ; and then they brought them up to a divine faith, by a further divine evidence. That such things were indeed done and said, they believed on the credit of the eye and ear-witnesses, having not opportunity of seeing and hearing themselves. That it was God that did and said them, they were convinced by the full evidence of divine wisdom, power, and holiness, that was in the words and deeds, the Spirit effecting that conviction : that the words of God were all true, they believed by a divine faith, because they were of God that cannot lie. So to this day God will have the first part to be handed down from the first witnesses by others, especially succeeding officers appointed to that end. That the first witness did indeed give in to their successors both their verbal testimony, and also the testimony which we now deliver in the sacred writings, that these things were spoken and done, this people must receive much upon the credit of others, especially appointed by office to preserve and teach them. But that these works and words were of God, the Spirit must persuade by showing them the divine evidence ; and that they are true must be believed because they are of God. So that if God be pleased, from first to last, to make so much use of the witness of man, for the begetting of faith, it is no wonder if the tempter have much advantage to make those men infidels that despise their guides. And will not receive the just and unquestionable testimony of men.

3. The next and last shift of the devil is this : if he cannot keep men from believing that ever such works of Christ were done, and so cause them to discredit the matters of fact, then he will persuade them that God is not the author of them. For if man once discern that they are the works of God, he will not

easily be persuaded that they are delusory or evil: as when once they discern that the word is of God, they may well believe that it must needs be true. For he that cannot believe that God is true of his word, and good in his works, can hardly believe that there is a God: which almost all the world do profess to believe.

That mere man is the author of such miracles is so utterly improbable and impossible, that I cannot find that the devil himself doth expect it should be credited, and therefore is not very industrious to persuade men to believe it. But all his drift is to draw men to believe that he himself is the author of them. As I find it in Scripture, so do I by constant observation of Satan's order and wiles in drawing men to infidelity, that this which I have laid down is his usual method. If he cannot keep men from knowing of Christ and his works, he would keep them from believing the truth of the report. If he cannot keep men from believing that such works were done, his last refuge is to persuade them that it was by witchcraft or some power of the devil, and not by God. And if you dispute with an infidel, Jew, or pagan, in this order must you be put to deal with them. You may rationally prove, from the most credible history, that Christ lived on earth, and wrought miracles, and died, and rose again, and appeared to more than five hundred brethren at once, and in the sight of his disciples ascended into heaven, and sent down the Spirit upon his disciples, causing them commonly to speak strange language, and to cast out devils, and work miracles for a long time, both far and near. You may make them confess all this, or deny as credible records as any are in the world: and so go against the most palpable light. And therefore the Jews do ordinarily yet confess either all or most, at least, except the resurrection of Christ.

But then, the last fort that you must drive them out of is this, they tell you, 'The devil can do as much as all this; and he may do it for his own ends; though we ourselves can do no such works: yet little do mortals know what invisible powers there are, or what an evil spirit may do; and therefore these may be the works of the devil, as many the like are which are done by conjurers and witches.'

I have thought meet, therefore, to speak somewhat on this subject, and to add it to the foregoing discourse. Though I easily foresee that it will be offensive to some, who will say,

1. That we do but bring scruples and temptations to men's mind, which else they might never think of.

2. That Scripture is not to be proved, but to be believed. But the reasons of my resolution and endeavours herein are these :

1. Because, if the foundation be not well laid, the building may be the easier shaken. Such Christians do soonest turn infidels, that were Christians they knew not why, or not on sound grounds that will endure an assault.

2. Because the lively exercise and prosperity of all graces doth much depend on the stability of our belief.

3. Because I find that there are abundance of young students, and other Christians, assaulted with these temptations, of which I have heard many complain that dare not make them known to many.

4. Because I have felt the experience in myself of the malicious suggestions of the tempter in these things.

5. Because I see such abundance of people that lately seemed to believe the Scripture, and to live godly, to turn either professed infidels, or secret deriders of Scripture, or sceptics that know not whether it be true or false : who go under the names of libertines, familists, seekers, Behmenists, quakers, ranters, &c. And it were worth the labour if any of these might be recovered. If not, I think it is high time for us to stop up the breach, and if it may be, to prevent the apostasy of the rest, that we may not all turn infidels, while we zealously begin in contendings about inferior things.

6. Because I find, as is said, that this is the devil's last assault ; and the last is usually the sorest : and the overcoming of the last is the conquering of the enemy, and the winning of the day.

7. Because I find that those that are assaulted with this temptation are usually men that must see reason for what they hold : and if we can evince this, (which is far from being difficult, in regard of evidence), that Christ's great works and his disciples, were done by the Holy Ghost, and not by evil spirits, then I think we show the credibility and certainty of the christian religion, and that it hath evidence, and is as demonstrable as the nature of such a subject can bear.

8. And lastly, I do this because of the heinousness and dangerousness of this sin of infidelity, especially as against the Holy Ghost, it being thus the unpardonable sin, and the sin that fasteneth all other upon the soul : all these reasons have persuaded me to this work.

And for the two foregoing objections ; the latter of them is

answered in my seventh reason, and is so unbecoming the mouth of a true Christian, that I will not say against it what it deserves, because I know it will exasperate many that do befriend it; and as to the former, I say :

1. Christ himself, here in the text, hath put this occasion before me into people's minds, so that they cannot say, I raise occasions of doubting; they hear the Gospel read more commonly than they are like to read this discourse.

2. That faith stands but tottering, that standeth only because men hear not what infidels say against it.

3. The common temptations of Satan, and vile reasonings of the apostates of this age, do show that these scruples are not unheard of; and that there is more need to mention them, that we may destroy them, than to silence them, that we may keep them from being known.

### *Sect. II.*

Having said thus much, by way of preface, of the reason of my discourse, I come next to the opening of the text; and therein it is not so much my intent to determine what the sin against the Holy Ghost is, which divines commonly dispute of, as to tell you how it may be proved that the works of Christ and his disciples were not from Satan, but from the Holy Ghost, or the power of God.

Yet, because I would go upon clear grounds, and make the text as plain before us as I can, I shall say something of the nature of this sin against the Holy Ghost, though I have oft spoken of it already; and I shall crave the patience of those readers, who love not to be stopped in their way with men's names and judgments, while I yet make some mention of them for the sake of others, and I will do it somewhat briefly; and because the weight of the point, and great difference of men's judgments, will occasion me to mention the more of the ancients, I will meddle with the fewer of our latter expositors.

Text. "Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb; and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw."

1. Many wonder that there were so many in those days possessed with devils, seeing there are so few in these. Mr. Mead thinks that mad men went then among the possessed. Luther thought all mad men, or most, were possessed by the devil. However these hold, as there are some such yet amongst

us which we have known, so it is most certain, that what way soever that possession did appear, there were many such, not only then, but of many ages after, and are at this day, where the devil doth reign with the least contradiction. The true reason of the change is, because Christ hath mastered him and bound him up, and, in a sort, driven him out of his kingdom, so that he cannot do as before he did : of which we shall have occasion to speak more anon.

2. It was not deafness and dumbness that were the only evidences that this person was possessed, but these were concomitant effects.

3. The cure was done so suddenly, and without means, that caused that conviction which the next words import.

“And all the people were amazed, and said, Is this the Son of David?” (Ver. 23.) The evidence of God’s power began to convince the less prejudiced and less hardened, that Christ was the Messiah.

“But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow (or he) doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.” (Ver. 24.)

1. The fact was so evident they could not deny it : this, therefore, was the last refuge for their infidelity.

2. They supposed that by some contract with that ruling devil, he had power to cast out those that were inferior. Not only Calvin, Beza, Grotius, &c., but many of the ancients conclude, that among the devils there is a certain order, and one that is the chief, and in power above the rest. Not only those texts prove this that call him “The prince of the world, the prince of the powers of the air, &c. ;” (Eph. ii. 2 ; John xii. 31, xiv. 30, and xvi. 11 ; ) but many others. He is here and elsewhere named Beelzebub or Beelzebub, that is, as is commonly interpreted, the god of flies, so called, as some think, by the Philistines, who supposed themselves freed by him from a plague of flies ; or because of the flies that stuck on the blood of his sacrifices, as Haymo, and others ; or in contempt by the Jews, as some think. Most suppose it is the same that is called Baal and Bel, and originally King Belus, as the said Haymo, (Hom. on Luke xi.). But Dr. Lightfoot saith, (Harmon. of the N. T., sect. 35,) the word Beelzebub was taken up for the more detestation ‘as importing the god of a dunghill ;’ and the sacrificing to idols they called dunging to an idol.

If there be no sort of God’s reasonable creatures without

order and government, no not the devils themselves, who have their prince, (and for angels our writers manifest it from many Scriptures,) what strange blindness is it in those men, that would only have the church without any order or government, and in this to be worse than the kingdom of Satan ! That would have the people be both governed and governors by a major vote, and so properly have no governors at all ! When yet they are convinced by experience, that no other political societies can be so guided or preserved : armies and commonwealths must have rulers : all societies, all reasonable creatures in earth, or hell, or heaven, must have rulers : and must the church only have none ? As some say, no teachers in office : as others, those teachers have no power of government.

“ And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.” “ And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself, how shall then his kingdom stand ? ” (Ver. 25, 26.)

1. Here it is supposed that Satan hath a kingdom which he is desirous to uphold, a house that he would fain keep, a work which he would fain carry on : of which more anon.

2. Christ argueth from an acknowledged principle, that dividing tends to destroying.

3. He supposeth Satan not to be ignorant of this principle, nor so loose to his own principles and wicked interest, as to be drawn against it to the destruction of his own kingdom ; would we could say as much of many godly men, or seemingly godly, as to Christ’s kingdom and interest. All this is most unquestionably true : of which more anon.

4. Christ is said to know this in their hearts, though they spoke it with their mouths ; because it was not to him that they spoke it, but to the people who began to be convinced by the greatness of the work.

5. It is not only this one conclusion, which he knew in their hearts, or which he fits his answer to, that this particular work was done by Beelzebub ; but also that he himself was a friend of Satan’s kingdom, and in a league with him, and did his work, and deluded men by magical power. And, therefore, Christ’s following words, and these in this verse, do tend to clear him both in this fact, and in the main.

“ And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out ? Therefore, they shall be your judges.” (Ver. 27.)

Here is the second argument of Christ to confute their calumny. Most expositors do by "your children" understand, the disciples of Christ, who were children of the Jews : or at least some that followed not, who yet cast out devils in his name : some both these together ; some understand it of the Jewish exorcists mentioned Acts xix. 13 ; or such as, being taught from Solomon a form of words, did cast out devils in the name of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob : of which sort some think that really they did so, by the power of God, as we may do now by fasting and prayer sometimes. Others think, it is an argument *ad hominem* only, because they seemed to do so, or boasted of it. Cyril of Alexandr. 'De rect. Fide,' (p. mihi, 307 ; ) Hieron. 'Auct. Imperfecti operis.' Euthymius, Hilary, and other of the ancients, take it to speak of Christ's disciples ; so doth Haymo ; (Hom. in Luke xi. ;) so doth Lyra ; but withal of those that followed him not, and yet cast out devils, which I suppose is most likely to be the sense ; so doth Erasmus, Beza, Musculus, Piscator, and most others of our latter writers. Cajetan takes it either of the Jewish exorcists, or those that followed not Christ, yet did it in his name. Calvin and Grotius suppose it is not meant of the disciples, but the exorcists. But I see no validity in their reasons. The force of the argument of Christ lieth here : *q. d.* 'You see many that were born and bred among you, of your own neighbours and kindred, yea, some that follow not me, by the use of my name do cast out devils : and you cannot imagine that all these should be in such a league with Beelzebub.' These, therefore, shall be your judges ; that is, sufficient witnesses to condemn you in judgment, as now their actions are the aggravation of your blasphemy.

"But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." (Ver. 28.)

As if he should say, 'If all these your blasphemous shifts be vain, and it be evidently God's power which I use in these works, then you are brought to a stand, you have no more to say, but must confess me to be the Messiah, and you may clearly see that the Messiah is come ; for if a divine testimony, apparently such, will not convince you, what will ? ' Note, that Christ's medium is not, if I cast out devils ; but if I do it, and that by the finger of God ; that he did it, they saw ; that he did it by the finger of God, he proved before, and further proves after ; that his doing it by the finger of God doth infallibly confirm his doctrine, and so prove him to be the Messiah he now concludes : and it



is like he hath respect to their own just expectations, concerning the power of the Messiah when he cometh, as if he should say, 'You know the Messiah and the kingdom of God shall come in power; and so you now see it in my conquering of Satan, and casting him out of his possession;' and this he prosecutes in the next verse:

"Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man, and then he will spoil his house?" (Ver. 29.)

Christ's first argument fully proved that what he did was against Satan's will, because it was against his interest; and therefore it was not done by his power, and consequently Christ was not his confederate, but his enemy. Here he goeth further, and proveth himself the Messiah, and to work by a power superior, to Beelzebub, (as well as against him,) because he bindeth him, and casts him out; so that here is a double consequence to be inferred: First, he that doth these things is against Satan; and, secondly, he that can do such things is above Satan, or the power by which he doth it is above him, and therefore divine.

"He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad." (Ver. 30.)

There are divers thoughts among expositors about the sense of these words, though it be of no great moment to the main business which of them holds. Some think Christ here begins to turn his speech to the pharisees, to convince them of their sin, and so tells them that if they do not vindicate him from such reproaches they are his enemies; some think that he respecteth both his own vindication and their danger, by such dealing, as if he should say, 'So far am I from being a confederate of Beelzebub, that I am the Captain of the field against him, and you shall find that, except you will join with me in fighting against him, you shall be taken as mine enemies yourselves.' To this purpose is Erasmus' paraphrase. Some suppose that Christ would only prove here, that he himself is not for Satan, but against him, because he is not a furtherer, but a hinderer of his work and interest; others suppose that hence he would only infer, that Satan is not for Christ, but against him (and therefore doth not lend him his power) because that their designs are contrary; but I conceive that these two last together make up the true sense, Christ arguing (as Grotius notes) *à minore*, but concluding thence a mutual enmity between Satan and him: as if he should say, 'Your own proverb saith,

he that is not with me is against me ; and if neutrality shall be taken for enmity in such cases of war, how much more evident is the enmity between me and Satan where there is such a conflict, and when I conquer him and cast him out ? ' The Jews had another proverb among them seeming contrary to this, which Christ elsewhere doth accommodate to his present occasion, " He that is not against us, is with us." Both ordinary among soldiers in the wars : when they have no need of men's help, or might rather expect their hinderances and resistance, they will say, ' If they be not against us, they are for us ; ' that is, it will tend to the promoting of our business, and we must look for no better from such kind of men. But when it is subjects and obliged persons that they speak of, or when their help is necessary and expected, then they say, ' If they be not for us, they are against us : ' we may justly take and use all neutrals as enemies. So I conceive when Christ maketh use of these two proverbs, in the one he doth, in the words ' for me, ' speak of men's true affection and friendship ; in the other text he doth, in the words ' for us, ' speak only of the event and tendency of these men's actions to the furthering of his cause. When Christ would prove that he is not a confederate of Satan, he doth it by the former proverb, " He that is not for me is against me ; " but I am so far from being for Satan, that I destroy his kingdom. When the disciples saw one casting out devils in Christ's name, and forbade him because he followed not with them, Jesus said, " Forbid him not ; for he that is not against us, is for us ; " ( Luke ix. 49, 50 ; ) that is, it somewhat tendeth to the furthering of our work. It is against Satan, and in such as profess not subjection to me it is somewhat if they do not resist and hinder the passage of the Gospel, much more if they bring any honour to my name. So we may say still, ' If you would know whether Christ will take you for his friend, and number you with the saved, then know that if you are not for him you are against him, and if you gather not with him you scatter abroad.' But if you would only know how far he will tolerate you in his vineyard, the visible church, and how far your profession may be eventually for him and his cause, then remember that ' He that is not against him is for him ; ' if he make but a common or hypocritical profession of his name.

" Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men ; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men : and whosoever speaketh

a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." (Ver. 31, 32.)

This is the text of greatest difficulty, which hath occasioned that great diversity of expositions which we have to inquire after:

1. What the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is that is here mentioned?

2. What the speaking against the Son of man is?

3. What is meant by that affirmation, that all sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven?

4. What is meant by the negative exception, that the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven in this life, or that life to come?

5. The reasons of this negative exception?

1. The first of these is it that there is the greatest difference about. Some few think that Christ doth not speak to the pharisees as if he judged them then guilty of that sin, when he spake to them, but as forewarning them lest they should be guilty of it. But most judge the contrary: and it seems that Christ speaks these words as showing the pharisees the greatness of their sin and misery. I find not that the most ancient of the christian writers did much inquire into the nature of this sin, as far as their writings left us do discover. Cyprian mentions it among other great sins, which should hinder them from too easy receiving of the lapsed into the church. (Epist. 10. ad Quirim. 3.) Cyril. Hierosol. in treating of the Holy Ghost, mentioneth it as a reason why he should be cautelous in his words, as if he were afraid lest he should be guilty of it by some unmeet expression of the Spirit. Epiphanius. (Hæres. 34. vel 54. contr. Theodotianos) makes it to be the vilifying of the Holy Ghost, or denying his Godhead. Hilarius Pictaviens. (in Matt. Com. 12.) makes it to be the denying of God in Christ. But *Can. 5.* a little more fully, he saith, that "*Peccatum in Spiritum est Deo virtutis potestatem negare, et Christo substantiam adimere æternitatis.*" This may well be noted as a part of this sin, when unbelief hath no other refuge but the flat denial of God's power, or attributing the evident effects of it to another; it is this sin, or near it; as anon we shall see. It may be, those ancients laid the stress of the argument in the text on this, who use from this text to prove that Christ did his miracles, *vi aut virtute divina*, "by the power of God," (as they expound the words,) as

Tertul. 'Cont. Marcion.' (Lib. 4.) Euseb. 'Præparat. Evangel. 7.,' Greg. Nyssen. Novatian. 'De Trinit.' And those that hence prove the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, as Damascen. 'De orthodox. Fide de Sp. Sanct.' (c. 10.) 'Greg. Nazianz.' (Orat. 24); and many more. Hierome seems to take this sin to be the blasphemous denial of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost too; for he expostulateth against readmitting such from this text, though in other places he seems to be more accurate.

Austin hath many expositions of this text, and descriptions of this sin in several places, which hath occasioned the schoolmen, and other papists, to make six sorts of the sin against the Holy Ghost, as taking them from him. But he doth most solemnly, and as of set purpose, set himself to open it, (Tom. 10. Paris.) 'De Verbis Dom.' c. 11, where he noteth that Christ speaketh not of every word or blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, but of one certain sort of sin or blasphemy against him; for he saith, the Gentiles, Jews, and heretics, do ordinarily blaspheme the Holy Ghost, who are yet afterward converted and forgiven: as when it is said that God tempteth no man, it is not meant absolutely of every kind of temptation, but of a certain kind only; there being *tentatio adducens peccatum*, a temptation to draw to sin, which God never useth; and *tentatio probans fidem*, a temptation for trial of faith, which God useth. He rejecteth also their exposition that make it to be any heinous sin after baptism; and, in conclusion, he determineth that it is the sin of final impenitency, and the final refusing that remission, which by the Spirit is given in the church; not as the papists expound him, as if he meant that all that refuse penance, (especially as a sacrament,) or priestly absolution, or indulgence, did sin against the Holy Ghost; but he means, all those infidels that will not, by baptism in faith and repentance, come into the church, where remission of sin is. And therefore, in conclusion, he giveth you his sense of both together, thus: '*Illa est blasphemia cordis impænitentis, quæ resistitur remissioni peccatorum quæ fit in ecclesia per Spiritum Sanctum.*' 'It is the blasphemy of an impenitent heart, by which it resisteth remission of sin, which is given in the church by the Holy Ghost;' that is, finally resisteth it, as before. So that a finally, impenitent unbeliever, doth, in Austin's judgment, sin against the Holy Ghost. And I think there is much of the truth in this, so you take it not as meant of all such persevering infidels, which seems not to be in Austin's mind; but of those only that are such upon a resistance of a certain evidence of the Spirit.

Ambrose seemeth to come nearer the matter, though briefly, and to take this sin to be the sacrilegious blasphemy of infidels, by which they take and affirm the very gracious and powerful works of Christ to be the works of the devil, thereby likening Christ to Satan. For he saith, (To. 4. de Pœnit. c. 4,) that this is expressed of them who said Christ cast out devils by Beelzebub, "*Quod Satanæ hæreditas in iis esset qui Satanæ compararent salvatorem omnium, et in regno diaboli constituerent gratiam Christi :*" that is, 'They are the inheritance of the devil, who compare the Saviour of all to the devil, and did place Christ's grace in the devil's kingdom.' And more fully (De Spirit. Sanct. lib. 1. c. 3.) *Si quis corporis specie deceptus humani remissius aliquid sentit de Christi carne, quam dignum est, habet culpam ; non est tamen exclusus a venia, quam fide possit adsciscere ; si quis verò Spiritus Sancti dignitatem, majestatem et potestatem abnegat sempiternam, et putat non in Spiritu Dei ejici dæmonia, sed in Beelzebub, non potest ibi exoratio esse veniæ, ubi sacrilegii plenitudo est :* that is, 'If any one, being deceived by the shape of his human body, shall have lower thoughts of the flesh of Christ than is meet, he is culpable ; yet is he not excluded from pardon, which by faith he may attain. But if any one deny the eternal dignity, majesty, and power of the Holy Ghost, and thinketh that devils were not cast out by the Spirit of God, but by Beelzebub, there can be no obtaining of pardon, where there is the fulness of sacrilege.'

Chrysostom's exposition is much to the same purpose, that this sin against the Holy Ghost is the blaspheming of that divine power of the Spirit, which is apparent in miracles as distinct from the contempt of Christ, as appearing in his humanity.

Athanasius (if his) hath a discourse purposely of this sin, to show that it is the contempt and blasphemy against the divine power, in these miracles plainly discovered, and the refusing of Christ notwithstanding such a testimony.

To the same purpose doth Isidor. Pelusiota expound it ; that those sin against the Holy Ghost, that, seeing Christ's miracles, yet will not believe.

It is to small purpose to mention the mistakes of Origen and Theognostus herein, as Athanasius *ubi sup.* reporteth them : or the mistake of the Novatians, as others report of them, that thought the denying of Christ, yea, every gross sin after baptism, was this sin against the Holy Ghost.

Hesychius, in Leviticus, takes it to be final unreformedness and desperation.

Basil. (Magn. in Ethic. def. 35,) takes him to be guilty of this sin, who, seeing the fruits of the Spirit every way correspondent to piety, ascribeth them not to the Spirit, but to a contrary power. And (Reg. 273) he stretcheth it too hard in the application, saying, that is the sin against the Holy Ghost, when men ascribe the fruits of the Holy Spirit to the enemy: as most do who call the godliness of true Christians by the name of vain glory; and their zeal by the name of anger, and the like (if this be Basil, and not Eustathius Sebastienus.) I will trouble you with no more of the ancients as to this point; only add, that I now see in them that the right exposition of this place was not so unknown then as I sometime thought, for all that difference among them, which Dan. Heinsius, Pelargus, Maldonate, and so many more do wonder at.

Our later expositors are somewhat more unanimous; but whether so near to the truth as most of the ancients, or many at least, we shall further inquire.

The papists do ordinarily reckon up out of Austin six several sorts of sin against the Holy Ghost: Lyra (in Matt. xii.) comes up to our ordinary exposition of the protestant divines, that it is a sinning maliciously against the known truth: and thinks that the pharisees knew Jesus to be the Christ, and would prove it from that: "This is the heir, come let us kill him." (Luke xix.)

Cajetan (in Matt. xii.) takes it to be the denial of the sanctifying Spirit, and the ascribing Christ's powerful works to the devil.

Maldonate (in Matt. xii.) having showed the mistakes of Philastrius, that makes every heresy to be this sin; and of Beda, that makes it to be the denial of remission by the Holy Ghost in the ordinances of Christ, in the church baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and many other mistakes herein, doth come near the matter himself; concluding that from the nature of this sin in the pharisees, here mentioned, the description of the sin against the Holy Ghost must be gathered: and saith it is the ascribing of the manifest works of the Spirit to the devil. And he saith, that Pacianus, Anastasius, (Q. 68,) Hierome, Ambrose, Basil, speak to the same purpose as he about the nature of the sin, though they all agree not about the point of irremissibility.

Our own writers commonly agree that it is a set, malicious

opposing the known truth : yet some put more as necessary. Most of them make it to be,

1. Against the Holy Ghost enlightening them, and working on them, and moving them within, and not only or chiefly against the objective testimony of the Holy Ghost in his works without.

2. And to be ever against knowledge.

3. And of set malice.

4. Many join opposition as necessary to make it up too.

5. And some say, 'It is only the sin of those that are or have been of the church.' We shall consider of the truth of these anon.

Beza, (on 1 John v. 4, 6,) saith, 'It is an universal apostasy from God, whereby the known Majesty of God is of set malice opposed.'

Bucer, (in Marlorat. *in loc.*) saith, 'That they whose conscience is convinced that it is the word of God which they oppose, and yet cease not to oppose it, do sin against the Holy Ghost, because they sin against his illumination.'

Musculus (*in loc.*) thinks it is baptised, illuminated persons, who knowingly, maliciously, and against conscience, do resist the truth. And he thinks that the pharisees did it against conscience.

Calvin, (*in loc.*) thinks so too : and saith, 'Such do sin against the Spirit dwelling in them ; turning the work of God manifested to them by the Spirit to his dishonour, maliciously following Satan their captain.'

Piscator (*in loc.*) saith, 'It is he that denieth the truth manifested to him by the Holy Ghost, and hateth and persecuteth it.'

Pelargus thus describeth it, (*in loc.*) 'It is a voluntary and malicious renouncing the truth of the Gospel evidently known, joined with a tyrannical, sophistical, or hypocritical opposition, or with an Epicurean contempt of God, with an incurable contumely of the heavenly truth, and an incurable desperation.'

Deodate (*in loc.*) expoundeth it of him who hath been driven by the extreme wickedness and impiety of his heart to utter words of blasphemy and outrage against God and his truth, of which he hath had the seal of persuasion and knowledge in his heart by God's Spirit : which is the chief sin of the devil and the damned, and the very height of the wicked's malice.

Stella (on Luke xi.) doth join with them in supposing that the pharisees did not indeed think that Christ's works were done

by Beelzebub ; but only would have persuaded others so against their own knowledge.

Cartwright, Harm. (*in loc.*) saith, "That sin is not found among papists, Jews, or Turks, but such only as profess the Gospel, or at least are approvers of the Gospel and word of God." Better saith Pareus (*in loc.*) : "It is their sin, who being convinced of Christ's doctrine and divine works, do yet ascribe them to the devil." If you would see their judgments yet more fully, almost every common-place book will show it you.

The Lutheran divines do go somewhat further, and make the sin against the Holy Ghost to be not only such a wilful resisting of known truth, but also an excusing of the Spirit of grace out of our hearts, and so they think the truly sanctified may fall into it. Yea, they are conceited that by this way they have the advantage which we have not, for reconciling this text, Matt. xii., with Heb. vi. and x., this saying that all sin except that against the Holy Ghost shall be forgiven, and that in Heb. making apostasy incurable : whereby they, but ungroundedly, I think, do conceive that we who deny the apostasy of any saints, must deny also the existence of the sin against the Holy Ghost, which is taken by many to be the same. Whereas, they make them both possible ; and, indeed, there are some who hold the falling away of some saints, who think they may be again restored ; and some who think they must and will be restored ; and some who hold, indeed, that some of them may totally fall from grace, but that such can never be restored, they being the very persons meant in Heb. vi., and their sin, though not only theirs, being that against the Holy Ghost. I only name these as mistaken expositions of this text.

Illyricus makes this sin to be a persevering opposing of known truth, and persevering impenitency, whereto he also addeth, sinning against conscience, which he saith, driveth out the Spirit and depriveth a man of his adoption. Twenty more of the Lutherans might be mentioned, that go that way, but it would be but a trouble to the reader, and therefore I pass that by.

Before I tell you what I take to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, I shall but briefly consider of the rest of the propounded questions, and tell you somewhat of others' sense of them, and then resolve of them altogether : for I take it in so weighty a point, to be too bold and unmeet when I purposely explain such a text, to tell you my own thoughts only, without promising the judgment of others.



The second question is : What is it to blaspheme, or speak against the Son of Man? It is agreed by the most, that the sense of these words is this : He that shall speak contemptuously or reproachfully of Christ as a mere man, supposing him to be no more ; and 2. That is so persuaded only because of his visible humanity and the common frailties which he is pleased to submit to, or from something which might easily, to a rash judgment, have an appearance of the sinful infirmity also of man ; as his eating and drinking with publicans and sinners, &c. ; this man shall have pardon.

3. The third question is : What is meant by the affirmation, "That all such sin shall be forgiven?" And it is commonly agreed on, that it is not the meaning of it, that all such individual sins shall be actually forgiven to all men ; but as some say, 'They are more easily and ordinarily forgiven : ' as others say, 'They are forgiven to the penitent, and only they : ' which dependeth on the next.

Quest. 4. What is meant by this negative ; 'That the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven in this life or in that to come.'

Answ. It is the difficulty of this, that hath made the first question so difficult ; what this sin is. Two opinions are very ordinary here : some think that the meaning is, 'They shall be more hardly and more rarely forgiven that blaspheme the Holy Ghost, but that it was never the mind of Christ to conclude in proper sense that it should never be forgiven.' Of this opinion was Chrysost., *in loc.*, who saith, that 'This sin is pardonable and pardoned to many, but that it is less pardonable and venial than other sins, because it is against a fuller discovery of the truth ; Christ they knew not while he appeared to them as a man, but the Spirit they might see in his works.'

Theophilact followeth him in this exposition, saying, that 'He that seeth Christ among publicans and sinners, and so blasphemeth him, though he repent not, yet shall not be called to account, that is, shall not be condemned, so be it, he have a general repentance of sin ; but he that saith Christ's miracles are done by Beelzebub, shall not be forgiven unless he repent, that is, particularly, of this sin.'

Ambrose makes Simon Magus in a sort guilty of this blasphemy, and yet to have hope of pardon by Peter given him.

Augustin makes all the blasphemy pardonable, which others take this sin to consist of, and saith, that 'Gentiles, Jews, and

heretics do blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and yet have remission ; but he certainly concludeth final impenitence, which he took this sin to consist in, to be unpardonable.

The papists commonly say that, of divers sorts of the sin against the Holy Ghost, only final impenitency is absolutely unpardonable ; but all the rest are more hardly forgiven than other sins. So the Rhemists, against whom Dr. Fulk contendeth that this sin is never forgiven. Lyra saith it is not easily pardoned.

Erasmus speaketh yet more doubtfully, that he shall scarce have pardon.

Maldonate will be stricter than Chrysostom, and therefore blameth him for expounding it of a more difficult obtaining of pardon ; and doth himself expound it of an impossibility of pardon, as considering simply the nature of the sin which hath no excuse ; but not impossible to God, who can pardon that which is inexcusable, as it is impossible for a rich man to enter into heaven, as to any human power, but possible with God. Thus he falls in with Chrysostom while he seemeth to dissent.

So Cajetan expoundeth, 'It shall not be forgiven,' that is, not pardoned regularly. There is no rule to assure it ; but yet saith he, 'God is above all rules.'

The Lutheran divines also, do many of them, go that way of making this sin remissible.

Wigandus and Mat. Index in Syntagm. Doct. Christian, (part ii. page 712, and 716,) make it to be unpardonable while he remaineth in it ; but labour to prove that we must not wholly despair of such as commit this sin, but that some of them may be recovered. But C. Pelargus doth contend for the absolute unpardonableness of it, against Bellarmine, Barradius, Salmeron, with their associates, in Matt. xii.

Grotius pleadeth for Chrysostom's sense, and those that go that way, and from "Heaven and earth shall pass away," &c., (Matt. v.,) which is, "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than my word," &c. (Luke xvi. 17.) He gathereth that the former member doth not affirm, but make the latter more difficult ; and so he thinks there is here such a Hebraism ; and the sense he giveth thus, 'Any crime that can be committed, even calumnies, which are among the greatest crimes, shall more easily be forgiven than that calumny which is committed against the Holy Ghost.' Like that, 1 Sam. ii. 25. "If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him ; but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall plead for him ?"

But the reformed divines do commonly expound it of absolute unpardonableness, and judge all the former expositions of those ancients, and papists, and Lutherans, to be forced and unsound.

Some question there is also about the distinction of forgiving in this life, or the life to come; whence the papists would vainly gather their purgatory; but the reformed divines, and the ancients commonly, do expound it one of these ways: either as if he should say, 'He shall be punished both in this life and that to come;' or, 'he shall neither have the temporal nor eternal punishment remitted;' or, 'he shall neither be forgiven and absolved by the church here, nor by Christ hereafter:' or simply, 'he shall never be forgiven:' or, 'he shall neither have that Gospel pardon, which all true believers have in this life, nor that sentential absolution which they shall have in judgment.' (See Dr. John Reignolds, of this *de lib. Apocr.*) 'What Christ speaketh about the unpardonableness of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, is in direct facing of their tenet, which held that blasphemy was atoned for by death, though by nothing else;' saith Dr. Lightfoot, 'Harmon. of N.T.,' (sect. xxxv. page 30,) for which he citeth the words of the Talmud.

The fifth question is: What are the reasons why this sin is more unpardonable than others?

Some say, because it is against God himself directly, and not only against Christ as man. Others, because it is that high degree of malicious wickedness, which is in the devils themselves, and therefore not fit for God to forgive: because, saith Ambrose, it makes the Saviour of all to be like Beelzebub, and placeth God's grace in the devil's kingdom. Many say, because others' sins deserve some excuse, that is, may admit excuse; but this hath no excuse. So divers of the ancients, as Theodoret, (in Heb. x.,) of the sinning wilfully there mentioned, which is taken to be the same. 'That which is not wilfully done,' saith he, 'deserveth some pardon,' that is, is capable of it. So that it seems they mean there is nothing in this sin which may move to mercy, or to abate the punishment, as matter of excuse. So, also, Maldonate, and many of his way. Our divines ordinarily say, 'because it excludeth repentance;' 'not,' saith Musculus, 'because it is against conscience; but because it is not repented of.' 'And that is,' say they, 'because through God's just judgment they are given unto blindness and to a reprobate sense, and forsaken

utterly by the Holy Ghost, whom they have maliciously sinned against.'

Some very few run into that mistake, as to fly rather to God's eternal decree of not giving them repentance, than to the nature of the sin that makes them incapable of it; but this putteth no difference between them and the rest of the non-elect. That which sticks with these is, that they are loth to yield that Christ died for those that sin against the Holy Ghost, or for any but the elect; and, therefore, they are loth to confess that he procured for them and bestowed on them the illumination or other gifts of the Holy Ghost, which they reject, as if they were given to them as mercies and means tending to recovery, and therefore they would not yield that for rejecting such means and mercies they are unpardonable.

Erasmus giveth in his thoughts thus, of the reason of the unpardonableness of this sin: "He that sinneth of frailty and is fit for pardon, shall have it; but he that blasphemeth the Holy Ghost, whose manifest power he seeth in his works, shall scarce have pardon here or hereafter." (See Amyraldus, his way of opening this '*De Œconomia trium personarum*,' p. 45, *et sequentib.*)

This variety of expositions is no disparagement to the words of Christ, but sheweth, as Austin saith, and out of him '*Camertinus in Conciliat. hujus loc.*,' that such depths are left for our exercise and humiliation.

### Sect. III.

Having told you the judgment of learned expositors about this text, and the nature of this sin against the Holy Ghost, I shall next presume to tell you which I take to be the true sense of the words, and what this sin is, and how far unpardonable, and why, seeing among such variety of expositions we cannot receive all; and I shall lay down my thoughts in several propositions: First, for the negative, which is not this sin, and then as to the affirmative, what it is.

1. Every gross sin after baptism, or after solemn repentance and confession of the baptised, is not the sin against the Holy Ghost. This we assert against the Novatians (if they be not wronged) it is proved, in that many such have been known to repent and be recovered: as, also, because there is no description of this sin in the Scripture agreeth to it.

2. Every sin, yea, gross sin, which is committed against knowledge and conscience, is not the sin against the Holy Ghost;

else all men that commit gross sin, who are men of any knowledge or conscience, should be guilty of it, or most men at least; and none should be more guilty than those true believers that fall into any gross sin, as David did; for, doubtless, their knowledge of it is greatest, and their conscience most likely to rise up against it.

3. Every sin, though gross, which is committed upon deliberation and consideration of God's prohibition and displeasure of Christ's death, of the evil of the sin, the ill effects, and the like moving reasons against it, is not the sin against the Holy Ghost, which is here spoken of. Though these be heinous aggravations of any sin, (and it is a very sad case that any that fear God should in such manner offend,) and will likely raise doubts of their sincerity in their hearts, and well may do in any that should frequently do this; yet here is no evidence to prove it to be the unpardonable sin.

4. It is not every sin against the Holy Ghost, no, nor every blasphemy against him, that is this unpardonable blasphemy here mentioned; for then, every one that ignorantly blasphemed him, should be unpardonable; and, then, few Jews, or Turks, or infidels, that have lived within the sound of the Gospel, should be curable, and so pardonable.

5. It is not all opposing or persecuting the known truth, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost; it may be a particular truth and not the main christian faith, that is so opposed; or it may be done in a spleen against the person that holdeth it, rather than against the truth itself; or it may be done by fear of men, to escape some outward danger or suffering: as some in Queen Mary's days were noted to burn others against their consciences, lest they should be suspected of heresy themselves; and one is said to sit with others in judgment against one of them contrary to his conscience, who afterwards suffered himself: or else it may be from an imperfect light, not thoroughly convincing him of the truth, but leaving him in some doubts that he holdeth that truth, who yet by temptation may persecute it, as making against some lust or carnal interest of his own: and if it will not prove murder or adultery to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, because they are done deliberately and against conscience, as David's were, I see not then, how it should prove persecution to be that sin on that account that it is against conscience; although perhaps it may prove the person graceless.

6. It is not all malice against God, or hatred of him, that is this blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, for there are haters of

God of a lower rank mentioned in the second commandment and other places of Scripture ; yea, every man, at least, that is unregenerate, hath some of this sin. Our natural apostasy lieth in a falling from God to our carnal selves and the creature ; and consequently in an enmity to him, as one that would cross us in our way, and take us off our desired pleasures, and punish us for our sin ; though we do not say, that every man is a hater of God, who hath any the least hatred to him in his heart, because we must denominate men from the affection that is predominant ; otherwise all the godly might be called haters of God, seeing no doubt, so far as they are imperfect, their love to him is imperfect, and they have some measure of displacency against his Spirit and ways, and so himself for them.

7. The sin against the Holy Ghost doth not consist in the hatred of God or his truth as good ; for that is not possible, at least to man while he is in the flesh.

8. All persecuting the known truth out of malice, seemeth not to me to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, which is here mentioned ; for if there may be a malice against truth in men unregenerate, yea, all of them, though not blasphemers of the Spirit ; and if they may persecute the known truth as is before showed, then this inward malice will, or at least may, have a hand in that persecution. The rage of all wicked men's lusts doth boil against whatsoever doth oppose them, and if God do not restrain such rage, and keep the apprehension of the danger of resisting upon their hearts, no wonder if ungodly men do in their passion even persecute the truth in malice, because it crosseth them in the way of their sin.

9. The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not only the sin of professed Christians, or only of those that approve of Christianity ; nor is always against the knowledge and judgment of the sinner : and therefore they err that say, that Jews, Turks, and papists, are not liable to this sin ; and for aught I see, so do they that would find out such a sin as they describe in this text. They cannot prove that the pharisees here spoken of did believe Christ to be the Son of God, or the Messiah, or that indeed his miracles were done by the Holy Ghost, and not by Beelzebub. For 1. The Scripture saith, even of the rulers, that through ignorance they crucified Christ, and had they known him, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. 2. It is most improbable that they who so longed for the Messiah should crucify him when they knew him, and yet deny him.

3. They continued to expect the Messiah while they crucified him and after, and so do their posterity from them to this day.  
 4. They delivered down this blasphemy to their posterity, as the reason of their not believing in Christ, because they supposed that his miracles were done by magic and by Beelzebub.  
 5. If the contrary doctrine were true, the pharisees were Christians in mind by belief, and only hypocritically denied their own belief; and then they denied him only with their tongue, and not with the judgment: so Peter denied him too, and cursed and swore that he knew not the man. If they say that they rested not in him, nor accepted him with the will, but hated him, while they believed in him by bare assent, I answer :  
 1. Will not an assent have some power on the will, according to the nature and measure of it. If the understanding determine not the will, it surely doth much towards a determination, so that a common assent is like to produce a common consent, as a special assent doth a special consent. 2. I dare not say that the pharisees that blasphemed the Holy Ghost were so far Christians as to assent to the truth, till I see some Scripture or reason to prove it. Many texts say the contrary, that they believed it not.

Nay, it is a very hard question to me whether it be not only infidels that sin thus against the Holy Ghost. And, as to this sin, which is described here in this text, it seems to me that it doth belong only to infidels, the pharisees being such, and the sin reprehended in them being an aggravated infidelity, breaking out in blasphemy of the tongue, and wholly supported by a blasphemy of the mind. I doubt much whether any man that believes that Christ is the Redeemer, can be guilty of this sin, as in this text described. Only all the doubt is whether the text, Heb. vi. 10, do not describe a sin against the Holy Ghost, which Christians may commit, which falls under the genus here mentioned, though not the same in specie with the pharisees; or, whether that sin mentioned in Hebrews be the sin which is here called unpardonable.

And, 1. If Ludov. de Dieu's Exposition hold good, it is out of doubt that the text, Heb. vi., hath another sense. He thinks that it is not the commonly illuminate, but the truly godly believers that are there spoken of; and that it is so far from the intent of the Holy Ghost to tell us that such do so fall away, as that it is his scope to tell us the contrary; *q. d.* if such should thus sin, it were impossible to renew them by repentance.

Therefore it is impossible they should thus sin; and the sense of the Syriac interpreter, he saith, is, '*Non possunt iterum peccare, ut denuo renouentur ad resipiscentiam, et denuo crucifigant,*' &c. 'It is impossible they should again sin to be renewed again to repentance, and crucify again to themselves the Son of God:' and the Arabic, '*Non possunt, &c. ut revertantur in peccatum quo renouentur ad resipiscentiam,*' &c. 'It cannot be that they should return to sin to be renewed to repentance.' Or, if the exposition of some of the ancients be right, that it speaketh only of the not renewing of baptism, it would be little to this business. Or else, of not readmitting them by penance, or any other means, into the church, or into a participation of their prayers. For myself, I conceive that the arguments to prove that it is not true believers that are here meant, are not cogent. If the apostle have respect to visible church members' privileges and benefits; of such it is but as they signify the true membership with the privileges of such. Yet I see not, if it be concluded that they are true Christians that are here mentioned, that it will follow that such do eventually thus apostatise: for, if we do not receive L. de Dieu's Exposition as seeming strained, yet a threatening supposeth not that the subject will offend and be punished, but is a means purposely appointed to keep him from so offending. The legislator that saith no traitor shall escape death, doth not thereby tell us that there will be traitors, but tells us what shall befall them if there shall be such, and tells it us to that end, that, if it may be, there might be none, but the threatening might deter them from the crime. I think it is God's purpose to keep all his truly sanctified ones from apostasy. I am sure it is his purpose to keep his elect. But, withal, I believe that he hath decreed that the end shall be accomplished by the means; and that is, that men shall be kept from apostasy by a holy fear of apostatising, excited by the Spirit and threatenings of Christ, supposing also the co-operation of other graces. But whether this text of Heb. vi. speak of the same sin as Matt. xii.; I will delay the more full inquiry till I come to the description of this sin.

10. It is not every one that denieth Christ's miracles or the apostles', that is guilty of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. For if for want of sufficient information, or of true faith, he believe not that ever such works were wrought, this is not an ascribing them to the devil, nor a denying that the Holy Ghost only can do such works. Many that have believed none of the



Scripture to be true, or that ever Christ and his apostles did indeed perform the works that are there mentioned, have yet afterward believed upon better information, and the illumination of the Spirit of grace.

11. It is not every word of blasphemy to the same importance as the pharisees here mentioned, that is this unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. For this sin lieth not in the bare words as separated from the thoughts of the heart. If a man in a frenzy, or in a melancholy, violent temptation, or in a fear to save his life, as Peter sinned, or on the like occasion, should speak those same words as the pharisees did, that Christ did cast out devils by Beelzebub, this were not the unpardonable sin, if he think not so as he speaks, nor obstinately stand in it. It is common with most melancholy people that are near to distraction, or very deeply melancholy, to be violently haunted by the tempter to utter some blasphemous words against God ; so that they are grievously perplexed, and are scarce able to forbear ; and if they yield to the temptation, they think it is the unpardonable blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. But the chief seat of that sin is in the heart : it doth not consist in bare words : unless the rest of the description be found in it, the words prove it not.

12. It is not every doubt or shaking of our faith in this point, that is the unpardonable blaspheming of the Holy Ghost ; much less is it the temptation itself that will prove it. Even a godly man may be tempted to sin against the Holy Ghost : yea, and may too much give ear to the tempter, so that it may bring him to suspicions of Christ's works, or cause him to question in some doubtfulness, whether they were indeed by the power of God or not. But then he is not overcome by these temptations. Though they draw him to some sin, yet not to this unpardonable sin : though they cause his faith to shake, yet not to fail : though he begin to doubt, yet he recovereth, and turneth not an infidel. So that he comes not to conclude these works were done by Beelzebub, and so to blaspheme.

13. It is not the blaspheming of particular, more obscure, private, doubtful works of the Spirit, that is the unpardonable sin. We are commanded not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits whether they be of God or not. If it fall out that in this trial of the spirit, of a private man, or a party, we should mistake now, and think it is an evil spirit, when it is the Spirit of God, this is not the sin in question. If a man see you

full of the joy of the Holy Ghost, and rashly say and think it is a diabolical delusion, or if he hear some true doctrine from you, and, mistaking in that point himself, shall rashly say, that it is the devil that teacheth it you. This is not the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. For this may stand with true faith in Christ, because it is not a blaspheming of that work of the Spirit, which is the great and necessary seal of the Gospel, but of a more private work; and, therefore, even the godly, in a mistake and in a rash zeal, may be guilty of it. If a papist shall say, that it is the devil and not the Holy Ghost that leads the Protestants; or the Lutherans shall say so by the Calvinists, or the anabaptists by the defenders of infant baptism, this is not the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost here in question, though another sort of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost it is. Here are divers in this age that pretend to extraordinary revelations, or workings and teachings of the Spirit; and some to communion visibly with angels; if we go to try these spirits, whether they be of God or not, and find that the spirit of the ranteis is a spirit of wickedness; the spirit of the libertines and antinomians, of licentiousness; the spirit of the Behmenists and quakers leadeth to popery, and to railing and contempt of the ministry, and seeing that their doctrines are contrary to the word of God, we conclude that it is an evil spirit that moves, that shakes, that transporteth these men. If now there should be some one true prophet among them, or one that indeed is acted by the Spirit of God in the main, and should really have visible converse with angels, which we will believe when it is proved, and yet mix with it some of the errors of the rest, and be taken for one of them, if we should mistakingly tell this man that it is an evil spirit that acteth him, or that he converseth with, this is not the unpardonable sin here mentioned, for the reason before expressed. The like we may say in many the like cases.

14. If a man should be falsely informed by those he liveth with, that Christ and his disciples were all wicked livers, and should not hear what can be said for his better information, and thus, hearing the miracles of the Gospel with such prejudice, should believe and say, that they were all done by magic or evil spirits, which is like to be the case now of many of the Jews, though this be near to the unpardonable blasphemy, yet I think it is not it, while men hear not the true case, but are merely perverted by other men's lies, though they may hear the truth about the matter of fact, which they blaspheme.

15. The blasphemy against the Spirit, described in this text, is not the mere resisting, opposing, quenching, or hating the internal efficiency of the Spirit in the sinner himself, as many take it to be, who make it to be a sin against internal illumination only : but it is a sin against the external, evidencing, testifying works of the Spirit ; and for aught I know, it may be committed as well by those that never had any internal illumination at all, any more than heathens and common, unbelieving Jews have, as by those that were illuminated. I find not any extraordinary illumination that these pharisees had ; but contrarily that they had eyes and saw not, and hearts and understood not, and were blinded by Satan : it was an external work of the Spirit, which they blasphemed, and not an inward illumination of their own minds.

16. All final infidelity or impenitence, I think, is not this blaspheming of the Holy Ghost. Thousands may die impenitently, and in negative unbelief, that never heard of Christ. Many may die in positive infidelity, that have heard of Christ's doctrine, but not of his Spirit and miracles, or not in any manner fit to convince. Many may have a vulgar, superficial belief of all these, and yet die impenitently as to their other sins. Though these shall certainly perish ; yet, I think, it is not as blasphemers of the Spirit.

17. It is not all desperation that is the sin against the Holy Ghost. Indeed, as desperation falls in with infidelity, or is grounded on it, as when men despair that ever the promises of God should prove true and be performed, so desperation may be this unpardonable sin, if it be joined with this blaspheming of the works of Christ, as infidelity itself may be ; but otherwise when a man believes that the Gospel is true, but despaireth that ever he himself shall be saved by it, I take not this to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, though it be one of those that Austin once supposed it.

18. Presumption is not the sin against the Holy Ghost ; though it be another that Austin once conceited to be it, if the papists mistake him not. I mean by presumption, either a false persuasion that we are the sons of God, when we are not, or else, a boldness in sin upon an ungrounded conceit of God's mercy ; which are the things that we commonly call by that name. For, alas ! the most of mankind, before conversion, are captivated by that sin, and the relics remain after.

19. It is not all envy at the grace or gifts of our brother that

is this unpardonable sin, though that be another that the schoolmen fetch from Austin : no, nor doth it directly or properly lie in such an envy at all : that sin is great, but not the sin in question.

20. It is not all epicurean contempt of the christian religion, as Melancthon thought, as Pelargus allegeth him, that is this sin against the Holy Ghost. Epicurus was never guilty of this sin himself ; and those, who, from an epicurean spirit of sensuality, do contemn the christian religion, may yet not do it in a blaspheming of the works of the Spirit ; but, perhaps, never heard or considered of those works ; and, therefore, many such, for aught we know, may be recovered.

21. It is not all falling away from grace received that is this unpardonable sin ; the godly may fall in part from true grace. Others may fall quite away from some common gifts of mercy, and yet neither sin this unpardonable sin here in the text ; though apostasy may in another respect prove unpardonable, as final impenitence doth.

22. I think that the sin against the Holy Ghost consisteth not in the total excussion of special, sanctifying grace once received : because I think that those that have received this are preserved by Christ from such a total excussion or apostasy. Otherwise, if I did believe that there ever were such a total apostasy, I should think it were either of the same nature with this before us, or at least very near it, and of the like consequence.

23. No soul is guilty of this unpardonable sin, who believeth that Christ is the Son of God, and the Redeemer of the world, and would fain have part in the merits and mercy of his Redeemer. The sin against the Holy Ghost casteth out this. It is the sin of infidels ; or, at least, of men who would have none of Christ if they might : those, therefore, that would have Christ, and yet fear they have committed this sin, they know not what it is, nor what they are afraid of.

24. It is a sign that a man hath not committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, when he is troubled with fears lest he have committed it, and complaineth of his danger and sad condition. For it is the nature of that sin to harden a man in confidence against Christ, and make him think he ought to be an infidel ; and, therefore, will rather despise Christ, than be grieved lest he have lost him, or shall be deprived of his benefits. These fears, lest you have sinned against the Holy Ghost, do show that you

would not so sin : and if you would not, you have not ; they show that you would not lose your part in Christ, nor be deprived of the fruits of his death and merits : and that shows that you yet believe in the death and merits of Christ, and do not blasphème him as a confederate of Beelzebub, as the pharisees here did. So that of all people, poor, troubled, complaining Christians have least cause to fear that they have sinned against the Holy Ghost. It is those that never fear it, that are most like to be guilty of it : for it maketh men secure.

So much for the negative : to tell you what is not the sin against the Holy Ghost, before I come to tell you what it is, which I have not done in way of contention or contradiction of others, but only for the better discovery of the sin, and to prevent the causeless fears or desperation of any, who, by imagining that they are guilty of it when they are not, may be drawn to cast away their hopes, and give up all as lost.

For the affirmative what this sin is, I think it best to proceed towards the discovery of it by certain preparatory conclusions, ascending to it by just degrees : because that truths are concatenated, and one tendeth to introduce another into our understandings.

1. The Lord Jesus Christ is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world ; who, coming on that business to take away sin, by the sacrifice of himself hath made a sufficient satisfaction for the sins of all men, and prescribed a way by which he will have the benefits actually conferred.

2. The sufficiency of this satisfaction is to be measured, judged of, and denominated, in relation to the ends for which it is said to be sufficient ; and those ends are freely determined of by the Father and the Redeemer, whose death, therefore, is sufficient, not to all things, but to what he willed it, or to those ends to which he did intend it.

3. The death of Christ was never intended to be a sufficient satisfaction for all sin absolutely, howsoever aggravated. It was no satisfaction for some, and therefore no sufficient satisfaction. It pleased him to except some aggravated sins from all pardon, in his Gospel, and consequently in his dying, and in his intentions about the ends and effects of his death. Not, as some conceit, merely because they were the sins of such persons, viz., the non-elect, whom, say they, he died not for ; for indeed he hath given to those men a conditional pardon of other sins, but not of these ; but it hath pleased him to except the very sin itself con-

sidered in its own aggravated nature, from all pardon, without laying the reason only on the subject in whom it is found.

4. There must be somewhat, therefore, in the nature of that excepted sin, that must make it unfit for God to pardon it; or else it would be pardoned as well as others. And that must be either the greatness of it, or some special contradiction or inconsistency that it hath with the frame of God's design in the pardoning and recovering of sinners. The former it is not likely to be, at least, simply and proximately; for the greatest sinners have mercy offered them, and may have it on God's terms: so that if the greatness of their sin lie not in a contradiction of God's terms of pardoning, they cannot hinder them from pardon. So that if you ask, why cannot such sins be pardoned, the proper answer is, because Christ hath procured and granted out in the Gospel no pardon of them. But if you further ask, why hath he not granted a pardon of them in the Gospel, the answer is, because they were unfit for pardon, as having a special contradiction to the causes of a pardon, and to that design which the free will of God hath laid: and so it is indeed the greatness, but not simply, but respectively, as being thus aggravated by an opposition to this pardoning grace; that is, the reason (as far as we may give one from the nature of the thing) why the excepted sins are unpardonable, and Christ hath made no satisfaction for them.

5. The sin against the Holy Ghost, therefore, must lie in some such contradiction to the pardoning terms or way of God, rather than in the absolute greatness of the sin.

6. The tenour of Christ's promise, or covenant, by which he pardoneth sin, is, that whosoever believeth and repenteth, shall have all his sins pardoned. And this is in force to persons of every age, and at every season in this life. So that, by the tenour of this grant or covenant, final unbelief and impenitence are excepted from pardon directly, and nothing else: but consequentially, whatsoever is inseparably concomitant with them, or is inconsistent with faith and repentance in this life. That which is made the condition of pardon, is so far as a condition most plainly thereby excepted from pardon itself; that is, the non-performance of that condition is so excepted: else a man might have the benefit without condition, and then it were no condition, seeing it suspendeth not the benefit.

7. The sin against the Holy Ghost, therefore, must needs be some aggravated sort of infidelity or impenitence, or some in-

separable concomitant of them. But a mere concomitant it is not, seeing it containeth in itself, as this text declareth, a reason of its own unpardonableness. It seemeth, therefore, that it is a sort of infidelity or impenitence itself. Yet that all infidelity, nor all final infidelity or impenitence is not this sin, is probably showed before.

8. There is somewhat, therefore, to be found in the nature or present aggravations of infidelity and impenitence, that may conclude them unpardonable, besides the mere duration or final perseverance of them: and that is it that is found in the sin against the Holy Ghost, and which constituteth that unpardonable sin: so that all final infidelity or impenitence is not the sin against the Holy Ghost; but the sin against the Holy Ghost, now in question, is always infidelity and impenitence, and always proveth final; but it is this specific sin before it be final: it is not the sin against the Holy Ghost because it is final, (that is, persevering to the end,) but it proves final because it is the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Obj. But how can that stand with Christ's words, who saith that all sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven, except the blaspheming of the Spirit; then either final infidelity and impenitence are the blaspheming of the Spirit, or else they must be forgiven; and so infidels and impenitent persons will be saved?

Ans. I know this objection hath seemed so difficult, that it hath turned many out of that which I take to be the right way; but I think that this is the just solution. When Christ saith that all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to men, he speaks of the sin as it is in its own nature at present, without respect to the duration of that sin. As it is not every individual sin that he meaneth, so is it not sin as thus circumstantiated or modified; but sin specifically considered as it now is. There is no manner of sin, no sort of sin, but is pardoned to some men or other, except this sin against the Holy Ghost; but this is never pardoned to any. Though final infidelity and impenitence be never pardoned, yet the same sins are pardoned when they prove not final; and this is all that the text means, I think; but now the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost hath that in its present nature, from whence it may be concluded unpardonable, and from whence it will necessarily prove durable to the end. As for all other sorts of infidelity they may be cured, and sometimes are, and therefore prove not final, but are forgiven; but this ever proves final, and therefore is never forgiven.

9. It is the will of Christ to save his people from their sins themselves, as well as from the punishment of them; and to pardon no sin but what is mortified so far that it have not dominion over us. He will carry on the work of salvation entirely; both sanctification and justification, or pardon together. Whatsoever sin, therefore, is incurable, the same is unpardonable.

10. Though the Spirit of Christ may be called a supernatural, that is, uncreated cause, a cause not working in a necessary, established, natural course, but freely; and though the graces of the Spirit may be called supernatural, in that they grow not naturally in us, nor are procured by any mere natural causes or works of ours; yet doth it please God to work on man as man, as an intellectual, rational, free agent, and so to work by means and ways agreeable to our natures, though supernaturally enforced and elevated, and more successful: whence is the common saying, that infused habits are wrought in us according to the manner of acquired habits.

11. As Christ hath granted the pardon of all other sins to them that will believe and repent, so hath he granted the pardon of former unbelief and impenitence to all that will believe and repent hereafter; as hath been, on the by, expressed before.

12. He that will not believe in Christ by the mere obscurer predictions of the prophets, might yet believe by the plainer preachings of John the Baptist, who pointed out Christ, and said, "This is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world;" and he that will not believe by the testimony of John, might yet believe by the observation of the doctrine and holy life of Christ himself; and might know that never man spake like him, and that those were not the words of an impostor, nor of a common man. And he that would not believe by the works of Christ, or by any thing which they could observe in his person, might yet believe by the observation of his mighty works, which he did by the power and Spirit of God, and especially when that Spirit was given so fully and so commonly, and poured out upon his disciples in so many countries, so that thousands of them did speak strange languages, heal diseases, cast out devils, prophesy, or work miracles in one sort or other; and what I speak of sight, I say also of just report. He that will not believe upon just information of Christ's mere words, might yet believe upon information of his mighty works, and of his communicating such a Spirit to his church to do the like.

13. He that will not believe upon the report of the glorious



works of Christ and his servants, because he is not persuaded that ever such things were done, but thinks it is misreported by partial men; though his own wicked incredulity be the cause, yet may he afterwards, by further evidence, be convinced that such holy, wise, and mighty works were indeed done, and so may come to believe.

14. He that is fully convinced either by sight or the testimony of others, or any other way, (if any other may be expected,) that such holy and mighty works were done by Christ and his disciples, as the Scripture mentioneth, bearing on them such evidences of a divine power, or the finger of God, and yet will not believe that Christ is the Messiah, or Redeemer of the world, hath no other ordinary or extraordinary, external, objective means to convince him, which have in them a greater evidence, or may be expected to do that which the former cannot do. If such a man, therefore, be converted, it must be either by the same means which he rejecteth as insufficient, or by a weaker means, or by none at all. To be converted by none, is not God's way of working with the rational creature; to be converted by smaller, when greater are enjoyed, and both smaller and greater despised, is as little his way as to do it by none. He that having opened the eyes of the blind, causeth him to see by the means of extrinsic light, doth thereby cause him to see more by a greater proportioned light than by a less; and never causeth him to see the light of a candle, who can see no light in the sun when it shineth in his face. It must, therefore, be by the same objective means which he despiseth, or not at all, that he must be converted and brought over to believe.

15. He that is so convinced, as is aforesaid, of Christ's works, and seeth this seal of his Spirit's operations annexed to his holy doctrine, and yet doth not believe that Christ is the Messiah or Redeemer, that his testimony is true, and the testimony of his apostles true which is thus confirmed, it must be either because he believeth not yet that those works are of God in a special manner, or else because he believeth that God is not true of his word, or in his works, nor to be trusted, but is a deceiver of mankind. If he believe this latter, then there is no higher testimony left for his conviction; he that will not believe God when he knows it is he, doth not indeed believe him to be God, that is, to be the most perfectly good and true. Nor can we reasonably expect that he should believe any other, seeing there is no truth or faithfulness in the creature but what is derived from the true

and faithful God ; or if he would believe a creature, when he takes his Maker to be a liar, this belief could not conduce to his conversion.

On the other side, if he will not yet believe that those works are of God, and the signs of his approbation, he must think that either they are of men only, or by devils ; for good angels do what they do in obedience to God. The former he cannot believe without madness, because the weakness of man himself is so well known, that all men know that of themselves no man is able to raise the dead, to pour out such a spirit, and to do such other works as were done ; nor did the Jews themselves, or any enemies of Christ on earth, that ever I read of, who were convinced that the works themselves were done, ever imagine or object such a thing, that such things were done by human power : if they had so believed, they had deified the creature against all experience.

It must, therefore, be Satan, or his power, that these works must be ultimately ascribed to, by those that considerably deny them to be of God. But to whomsoever they ascribe them, they leave themselves incurable, unless that means convert them which they do now reject. For there is no means left within the reach of the wit of man, by which God should evidence to men his owning of a doctrine or testimony of man, in a way agreeable to our nature, and the frame of God's works, which should be more clear and convincing than this which we have in hand. It is not fit for God to turn his creation upside down, nor subvert the frame and course of nature, to convince unbelievers. He is not a body, and therefore cannot be seen himself by mortal eyes ; nor is he a voice, and therefore must be heard by a created voice. Angels are spirits, and not bodies, and therefore if they shall appear to us, it must be in an assumed, borrowed shape. And if they did, we should not easily know whether they were good or bad spirits, and whether they were sent of God, or not : but should be left much more in doubt than these works do leave us. Yet so far as apparitions of angels have been useful to his people, God hath made use of them for the confirmation of his truth, both in the New Testament and the Old. He, therefore, that will not be convinced that such a Spirit is of God, and such works of God, as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles were sealed with, doth leave himself incapable of conviction, there being no greater evidence of God's attestation to be expected on earth ; and though men

may imagine that a messenger from the dead might be more convincing, indeed it is far less, and of more doubtful credit ; and if men believe not, or will not be persuaded by a word so confirmed by the Spirit from heaven in such works, "Neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead." (Luke xvi.) Or if we could imagine a possibility of more convincing, effectual evidence, yet we cannot tie God to our fancy, nor expect that he should use all means to satisfy us, that we can imagine might tend to our conviction. We must know what is fit for creatures to expect, in a rational and settled way of government, and not what is possible to be done : and God is fittest to judge what ways of revelation are convenient for him to use, and mankind to receive.

It is madness to expect that God should make the sun to stand still in the firmament, to convince every unbeliever ; or that he should take us up to heaven, or let us have a sight of hell, to convince us. He that will choose his own evidence and sign before he will be convinced, would make himself the ruler of the world, and doth not submit to the rule of his Maker. What evidence can be mentioned *de facto* of a divine attestation, that ever God gave to mankind in any case, that is higher, clearer, and more convincing than those works by which he hath sealed to the Scriptures, and especially by the Spirit of Christ in himself and his disciples ?

16. That he who doth make this the refuge of his unbelief, to impute the works of Christ and his disciples to Beelzebub, doth thereby make the devil to be as God, and God to be as the devil, and so, besides the casting away of the highest and utmost evidence of conviction, doth most intolerably blaspheme the Spirit of God ; this I shall have occasion more fully to manifest in the body of this ensuing discourse.

17. As it is manifested that he who rejecteth this evidence of the Spirit must be convinced by the very same which he rejecteth, or never be convinced ; so it is further manifest that he who hath been convinced that these works were done, and yet upon deliberation doth resolvedly reject them as no testimony of God, cannot be convinced afterwards by the same testimony, without some greater illumination and operation of the Holy Ghost upon his mind, than he had at the first consideration. For he can expect no greater, but the same external, objective cause of his conviction : which, being but the same, will do but the same work. Only it is true that God could, if he pleased, and it were fit, send such an inward light into his

soul, that should convince him of what he saw not before, even in and by the same external evidence. But without this special illumination of the Holy Ghost, it cannot be done.

18. It seems to me from this and other texts, that he who goes so far as is before mentioned against the Holy Ghost, viz., as after conviction of the truth of Christ's and his disciples' works, to deny them to be of God, and father them on the devil, and so to call God's Spirit, Beelzebub, and on this ground to be an infidel and impenitent, hath done such despite to the Spirit, and so heinously abused God by this blasphemy and rejecting of his grace, that he will utterly forsake that man, and judgeth it unfit to call him home to repentance, and taketh him for an incapable object of his mercy, and therefore will certainly give him up to a perseverance in his infidelity and impenitence to the end, and will never pardon him in this life, nor absolve him at judgment, but condemn him to everlasting, remediless misery : and that this is God's decree, and these limits he hath set to the exercise of his pardoning mercy in Christ.

And thus, by these steps, we are come up to the nature of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and the unpardonableness of it, and the reasons of that unpardonableness. In a word, it seems that the sin, as laid down to us in this text, is this :

When a man is convinced that Christ and his apostles, or other disciples, did perform those many and mighty works which are mentioned of them in the Gospel, as working of miracles, speaking with strange languages, living in holiness, especially of Christ's own resurrection from the dead, or many of the chief of these ; and yet shall be so far from taking these for a divine attestation, and believing in Christ as the Messiah, and receiving his holy doctrine confirmed thereby, that they shall in their hearts determine and be resolved that it was by the power of the devil that these works were done, and so make this the ground or refuge of their obstinate unbelief ; in so doing, they commit the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, whether they utter the blasphemy with their lips or not.

19. Whether the bare rejecting of these acknowledged works, if the rejecter should not father them on Satan, be this unpardonable sin, if hereby a man take refuge for his unbelief, I shall not now determine. Only say, 1. That this which I have described is clearly it : and I will stop my determinations in

what is clear. 2. That, as I have showed, it is scarce reasonably conceivable that these works, when once acknowledged, can be ascribed to any other but Satan, if they be disbelieved, or how a man can reject this testimony by any other than this blasphemous way. 3. But if another way may be imaginable, I will not secure that person from the guilt of this unpardonable sin, though I will not charge him with it, but shall leave that as I find it.

20. Another hard question lieth before us; whether it be only the blaspheming of this objective testimony of the Spirit that is the unpardonable sin, or whether also there be not a certain kind or degree of the inward illumination, and working of the Spirit, and that for repentance and sanctification, as well as to belief; which whosoever rejecteth, or at least in such or such a manner rejecteth, doth commit this unpardonable sin? I did before conclude, that it is not only against this inward illumination: now let us see whether it be at all specifically consisting herein.

I know that it is commonly thought that a malicious rejecting this internal light is the unpardonable sin. I purpose in so great a matter to deal cautiously. It is no small error to tell men that that is an unpardonable sin which is not, or that that is a pardonable sin which is unpardonable. I have, I think, plainly discovered from the text one description of the unpardonable sin: if any will bring more, it must be well proved from Scripture. Yet this I may say,

1. The inward work of the Spirit is either of common gifts, as learning, and the like, by succeeding our industry; or it is in extraordinary gifts, which yet are not certainly saving, as miracles, tongues, prophecies, &c., such as the sealing Spirit gave for the confirmation of christian religion at the first; or thirdly, it is in the special saving graces of Christ. The first of these concerneth not our present business. For the other two the Spirit is first considerable as effecting them; and then the effect itself is considerable as it should be reviewed by us, and be the objective cause of some further effect. Now when our question is, whether rejecting the Spirit within ourselves may be the unpardonable sin? I answer distinctly: 1. If the Spirit be considered as the efficient cause of miraculous gifts, it effects them irresistibly, where such gifts were given, and the resisting of that work is not this sin.

2. If we speak of this gift of miracles as an effect of the

Spirit; so according to Christ's usual way of conveyance, I think it was in none but believers, at least by that called an historical faith; and therefore it could not be that sin which is an aggravated infidelity. Yet *in sensu diviso* I believe that the same man that is now such a believer, having the Spirit of miracles, may fall away to infidelity, and lose that Spirit; and that he may so lose it, as to sin against the Holy Ghost: not by resisting that Spirit as efficient, but by rejecting the testimony of its works objectively considered: so that if one that had found such gifts in himself should conclude that those gifts were from Satan, and so turn infidel and blasphemer, thus he may as well sin against the Holy Ghost which was within him, as without him.

3. As for the gift of sanctifying grace, which is it that concerneth us in these days. 1. I suppose that when the Spirit hath effected it in us, it is not lost; yet in specie it may be said, 'That for such a man that hath had such grace to lose it and ascribe it all to Satan, and so blaspheme the Spirit that gave it,' this would be the unpardonable sin; because, though the grace of sanctification in others may not be such a full, convincing evidence, because we cannot see their hearts, yet the grace in ourselves doth so expressly bear the image of God, that it may be a full, convincing testimony of the truth of Christ; and so the blaspheming of it, objectively considered in our reviews, may be this sin. But as long as such a thing doth ever exist, we need not say so much of this, only we may say; 'That though it never be, yet if it should be,' it would be the sin against the Holy Ghost: I say not that all apostasy would be so, but this so aggravated. And perhaps we may expound some texts as forbidding or threatening such a sin, though it never shall be. But if they should be in the right that affirm against us a total apostasy of the truly sanctified as in being, then this would deserve a fuller consideration than now I conceive it doth. 2. And if you consider the Spirit of sanctification, not objectively but efficiently, then either in the effecting of grace, or before such effecting. In the effecting, it cannot be so resisted; for if it do effect it, the person is a believer and sanctified; if before, then either before a true, consequent sanctification, and that is not the unpardonable sin which hath sanctification and pardon following it; or it is said to be before it only, as being in duty as to us, and by appointment from God in order to it; and here sticks the doubt,

whether the Spirit drawing us towards Christ or sanctification may be so far resisted, as that the sin shall be unpardonable? If so, then it is either specified such from the degree or kind of work that is resisted, or from the manner of resistance. If it be from the degree or kind of grace or work resisted, then did not some sanctified ones once resist that same degree or sort of grace, before a greater or more effectual work did come and cause them to believe? If you say, no; then you must say that the same grace in kind and degree doth cause one man to believe which resisteth not, and another it doth not cause to believe who resisteth, and so no grace is necessary to overcome that resistance and make a difference; and then it is man's will that must make God's grace effectual, and God did not give any more to him that believeth, than to him that believeth not. And whose doctrine this is, and how commonly and justly rejected, is known. But if you say that it is from the manner of resistance that this sin is specified, that manner must be showed. Is it the hatred of the truth, or maliciousness of our resistance? I have showed, that according to the degree of sin that is in us, there is a malice against the truth in all; not as truth, for so it is in none on earth, but as it is contrary to our carnal inclinations and interest. It must, therefore, be some certain degree or kind of malice, if it lie in that; but that I have not seen opened yet. Yet, 1. I will not say that certainly no resistance of the Spirit of grace in its efficacy is this sin: though I am not yet convinced of it, I dare not, in so weighty a cause, to be so confident and bold as to warrant any from that danger. 2. I am not of the mind of that learned doctor of ours, who thinks that the Spirit is never resisted in its efficiency, but only by disobedience in its precepts: I confess his arguments are pretty catches to show wit, and nonplus some disputers, but, methinks, they are not cogent. 3. And I add, 'That though this resisting the highest degree of common, gracious operations of the Spirit be not (as I rather think it is not) the sin here in question, yet such a malicious, obstinate resistance there may be, as may leave a man in a case next to this, or so far forsaken that he is never likely to escape; that though his sins be pardonable, yet it may be a hundred to one that they will never be pardoned, as a most dangerous disease may be called curable where not one of a hundred is ever cured of it; so dangerous may it prove to go so far in striving against the Spirit of grace: many a thousand that did not commit the unpardonable sin, as I suppose, are yet for

their rejecting of grace, and obstinacy therein, forsaken by the Spirit, and given up to blindness and to a reprobate sense, and strong delusions, so that they never repent nor are recovered to salvation.' If any think I conclude not peremptorily enough in these weighty and difficult points, I desire that the said weight and difficulty may excuse my cautelousness : so much of the description of this sin.

Obj. But that text, Heb. vi. 4—6, seemeth not to agree to your description of this sin ; for you make it to be the sin of infidels : there it is made the sin of such as were illuminated, and had been made partakers of the Holy Ghost. You make it to be a blasphemous rejecting of the objective testimony of the Spirit : there it seems to be an excusing of the internal gifts of the Spirit received.

Answ. 1. I have already showed that it is not very clear that it is the same sin that this text speaks of, at least as existing ; but, perhaps, either a threatening of the godly to deter them from that sin, or a description of another sin. 2. But I confess I rather incline to think it the same sin, and therefore let that be now supposed : and, 1. I say that, *in sensu composito*, I said the blasphemy of the Holy Spirit was the sin of infidels ; but not *in sensu diviso* always. They are infidels when they commit it ; but before, some are, and some are not. This sin (Heb. vi.) is total apostasy, and surely that is an apostasy to infidelity ; and therefore such total apostates are all infidels. 2. It seems to me that this sin (Heb. vi.) is the rejecting of the objective testimony of the spirit of miracles or extraordinary gifts, by which the truth in those times was confirmed. For, 1. They themselves are said to have tasted of the heavenly gift, and the powers of the world to come, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost : and it will be granted that this was not the spirit of true sanctification, if the thing were ever existent ; therefore it is most likely to be the spirit of extraordinary gifts, commonly called the Holy Ghost in those times, which those had that shall cry one day in vain, " Lord, have we not done many wonderful works, and cast out devils in thy name ?" (Matt. vii.) And if they had themselves this spirit of wonders, and yet fell away to total infidelity, it seems they did reject even the objective testimony of that spirit as insufficient. 2. They could not, in those days, but be convinced of the matter of fact, that such works were done, when, in all churches, many of them were so common. 3. May not the crime that is charged on them inti-



mate this, that they crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame? That is, as some learned expositors think, they judged him such a one as the Jews did that crucified him, and, to his open dishonour, accused him of that same crime, and so justified their putting him to death: that is, they judged him an impostor: and so to judge of Christ, notwithstanding the testimony of those miracles which they had been convinced of, is the sin which we have been describing. 4. They could not be believers without believing Christ's resurrection, at least, which is one great miracle; therefore they must needs reject the testimony of that.

If you say that these are not said to ascribe these works to Satan, I answer, it seems implied in that, as is showed before, there is scarce another way to total infidelity imaginable with them that are convinced of the works as to matter of fact: but whether the rejecting of that testimony, without ascribing it to Satan, may be that sin or not, I before left undetermined.

Obj. All total apostasy is here made the incurable sin; but all total apostasy is not the sin which you have described.

Ans. 1. It is unproved that it is all total apostasy that is mentioned in Heb. vi.; it being expressed only of them that had been partakers of the Holy Ghost, that is, most likely for the operation of wonders, which all that profess Christianity do not partake of. It is said also that they crucify Christ afresh, which it is doubtful whether, in that sense, all total apostates do.

2. Or if it should extend to all total apostates of those times and places, who must needs know that such mighty works were done, and such a Spirit given, yet it followeth not that it must needs extend to all total apostates in after ages through the world; of whom many became professed Christians by education, example of others, for reputation, or they knew not why, having no consideration of these great works, nor any knowledge in themselves or others of such a Spirit. If these shall afterwards totally withdraw their profession, on a false conceit that such a Spirit was never given to attest the christian verity, it is doubtful whether this be the incurable apostasy which this text describeth, which supposeth that the persons themselves had the Holy Ghost and its illumination, and lived among his mighty works.

3. If a man have been, indeed, a believer historically, he must needs believe that miracle of Christ's resurrection, which is essential to the christian faith; and if he withdraw not that be-

lief of the matter of fact, and yet believe not Christ to be the Messiah or Mediator, it is hard to conceive on what other grounds he can do it than as against the Holy Ghost.

4. However, because this text is very dreadful, I will not undertake to prove any total apostate free from this sin, but leave it to a better expositor, having found out that which is undoubtedly this sin; and the case of such apostates must needs be very dreadful, if it be not this sin that they are guilty of, having fled so far from grace as they have done, so that it is unlikely that ever they should be restored: especially if God had ever permitted true believers to apostatize totally, there being but one regeneration, but one baptism to signify and seal it, I should think there is but one resurrection from spiritual death, and that it were most likely that their sin were this incurable sin, from which they could not be renewed to repentance. And as I have said, I see not but the text may speak of such, as supposing the sin to be possible in itself, and such as we are in danger of, and should fall into, if grace by warnings and threatenings did not prevent it: though yet it be not future as to the event, because by these means it will be prevented.

Obj. But why should not a total apostasy in the will, affections, and practice, be the unpardonable sin, though it be not total as to the understanding in point of belief? Is it not an aggravation of sin that it be against knowledge? and is it not most like to the sin of the devils, who believe, and yet are total apostates from God?

Answ. 1. If such a sin as a total apostasy of the will, without that of the understanding, may be found in man, I will not excuse it from this charge, though I will not affirm that it is the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, but will leave it to further inquiry.

2. It is not, I think, the absolute greatness of the sin, that we must here look at, but the inconsistency with the remedy.

3. I do not yet conceive how in this life the will can totally apostatize without the understanding: the case is much different between men on earth and the devils or damned. They may have their belief and knowledge, with a total apostasy in morals, and a full hatred of God and the Redeemer, because that absolute desperation doth accompany that belief, so that they look upon God as their irreconcilable enemy. But men on earth are in another case. To believe in Christ the Saviour here, is to believe in one that would be their Saviour, and offereth salva-

tion to them, and hath not given them any cause to despair. And if you say, that by a causeless or mere penal despair they may be brought to it here, I must needs say, that I never knew, nor heard, nor read of any such, that by total desperation were brought to a total apostasy of heart, and absolute hatred of God, or the Redeemer. But other apostates we know too many.

If any think that these answers that I have given do not free this text, Heb. vi., from a seeming contradiction to Matt. xii., unless we take all total apostasy to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, and so give it another description than I have done, I leave them to consider whether that saying, "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven," may not be meant as Grotius expounds it, not as affirming them remissible but easier to be remitted, or nearer to it: as Luke expresseth that by, "It is easier for heaven and earth," &c., which Matthew expressed by, "Heaven and earth shall pass," &c. I mention not this as my own opinion, nor yet as taking the exposition of the following clause in his way, to be so probable as this; viz. that, unpardonableness is but hardly pardoned: but it is this clause alone that I speak of.

And though, in the point of irremissibleness, I have told you my own thoughts already, as being loth to strain such express words as those that say, "This sin shall not be forgiven;" yet, if any should bring such reasons as should force me from that exposition, that which seems next to it in probability is this following: That it is Christ's purpose here to signify the reason why infidelity is the unpardonable sin. As if he should say, "If I had not done the works which no man else could do, and manifested fully the attestation of God by these miracles and works of the Holy Ghost, then you might have been saved by your former belief in the Messiah, without believing determinately that I am he: but now if you believe not that I am he, when I have showed you the attestation of God, you shall die in your sins, unpardoned."

And thus it should make only final unbelief against the Spirit's testimony to be unpardonable, and, therefore, unpardonable because the testimony is so full. This exposition supposeth that if Christ had not sealed his doctrine with such a Spirit and such works, then men might have been saved on those terms on which salvation was before attainable, that is, among the Jews, by believing in the Messiah to come, indeterminately.

Near unto this also is the following exposition, which taketh

the word "forgiven" in the text, for the conditional grant of forgiveness as it is given out by God in Christ; as a grant of pardon under the Sovereign's hand is commonly called a pardon, though but conditional, especially when the condition is but acceptance, as in our case; which usually runs in the terms of an absolute grant. As if Christ should have said, "If you sin against the Creator's moral law, you shall have a pardon in my blood, on condition you will believe. If you will not believe upon the sight of my person, and hearing of my doctrine only, I will vouchsafe you the remedy of my miracles, and those works of the Spirit which are the very finger of God discovered to you. But if you will not by this remedy be brought to believe, you shall never have a pardon upon another condition, nor ever have a higher objective remedy to cure your infidelity, that so you may have pardon thereof.

Yet this exposition supposeth that there may be an after success of the same remedy, though no grant of another; and so a pardon thereupon be received.

Some go further, and expound it thus; as if all blasphemy against Christ's manhood, and all rejecting of him, if he had done those extraordinary works, should be pardoned without a particular repentance, by the general repentance for sins of ignorance. But this rejecting and blasphemy of the testimony of the Spirit shall not be pardoned without a particular repentance: and consequently a man might live and die in the former, and yet be saved, but not in the latter. If this extend only to the Jews that had not the discovery of Christ's works before, and that had a general belief in the Messiah, then it is near to the former exposition. But if it extend to the gentiles that have no faith in the Messiah at all, and suppose them to have actually a repentance on which they are forgiven without faith in Christ, yea, forgiven their rejecting of Christ, in case they hear only of his person, sufferings, and doctrine, without his miracles, then it goeth much further than the first exposition.

Note, that in all these expositions it is agreed, that though this blaspheming of the Holy Ghost be not a sin against knowledge and belief, (as others think,) that is, a sin of the will and tongue against the judgment, as at present convinced, yet is it ever a sin against the highest means of knowledge and belief. It is not believing when they have the fullest evidence to force belief, though it be not a blaspheming of what they do indeed believe.

To gather the sum of all into a few words, for the sake of weak memories. This much is out of doubt with me, that this sin lieth in the rejecting of the objective testimony of the Spirit extraordinarily then attesting Christ's doctrine, as being the highest and last objective remedy of unbelief. The three persons in the blessed Trinity have each one their several ways of recovering man, and for the remission of his sin, and there are several ways of sinning against each of them, as men sin against their dispensations. When we had sinned against the Creator and his perfect law, he gave us his Son to be our Redeemer. There was his proper work for our pardon, together with the acceptance of the price of redemption, and the giving us into the hands of his Son, as his redeemed ones. The Son made satisfaction to justice, and sent forth to the world a conditional pardon under his hand and seal, with his word and Spirit, to persuade them to accept it. This is his work for our pardon, antecedent to our believing. The Spirit enditeth and sealeth this written, delivered pardon, by mighty works, and importuneth the hearts of sinners to accept it. If it be accepted, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost do actually pardon us. If it be not accepted merely as sent by the word of the Son, we sin against the Son by unbelief. If it be not accepted or believed, as sealed and urged by the Spirit, (yea, or if sealed extrinsically only,) then it is the sin against the Spirit, supposing that seal be discerned and considered of, and yet resolvedly rejected. So that here are three, the last remedying means rejected at once. When man was fallen, the Father provideth a sacrifice for his sin, and but one sacrifice: the Son tendereth to us a remedying covenant, and but one such covenant. The Spirit of Christ, especially in his extraordinary works, is the convincing, attesting seal, to draw men to believe, and there is but one such Spirit and seal. He that sinned against the law of works, hath all these remedies in their several orders. But if you refuse this one sacrifice, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin. If you refuse this one remedying covenant, there is no other covenant after it to be expected: and if you refuse this sealing and sanctifying Spirit, which would draw you into the covenant, there is no other spirit or seal to be expected. Thus much is out of doubt: and, therefore, he that finally continueth to refuse this sacrifice, covenant, and seal of the Spirit, shall perish for ever.

But then, whether the text further mean that he that doth once, or at any time, refuse this Spirit, shall be certainly given

over to final infidelity or impenitency, and whether the same means which was once refused, may not afterwards, by a greater internal help and light, become effectual, this I will not peremptorily determine, but only tell you my present opinion; that because the text doth speak so expressly, it is safest to interpret it so; that whosoever doth blaspheme the Spirit, as is before described, shall be forsaken, and left to final infidelity and impenitency, and so never have the pardon of his sin.

And whether there be any certain degree of the inward moving or illumination of the Spirit, which when it is obstinately resisted, or rejected, doth leave the sinner certainly remediless, I leave to the inquiry of them that know more.

Quest. But it is strange that, in a case of so great moment, God would leave things so dark and doubtful to us.

Answ. So much as was most necessary for our knowledge is most clear. For the rest it sufficeth to know that such a thing is a sin, and of heinous aggravation, and bringeth the sinner into exceeding danger; and seems rather an act of God's great wisdom to leave those men in some doubt, whether their sin be curable or no, who would venture to go to the utmost line, and to approach so near to the incurable sin. It tendeth to the prevention of that sin in others, to let men know the doubtfulness of recovery: and yet it may tend to the recovery of those that are in it, to leave it but doubtful, that they may not be shut up under diabolical despair: especially while the main promise is cleared and secured to us, That whosoever believeth and repenteth shall have pardon. So that it is now the duty of all men to believe and repent, rather than to stand inquiring whether they have committed the unpardonable sin; and by so doing they may be assured that they have not committed it. For he that can repent and believe, did certainly never commit that sin. This, therefore, is the surest and speediest way to quiet them that are afraid that they have committed that sin. So much for the opening of the text.

#### *Sect. IV.*

Having, in the explication of the text, endeavoured to make known to you, what the sin against the Holy Ghost is, I come next to the main thing intended, which is to endeavour the prevention of this sin; and that in the handling of this following doctrine, which is offered to us in Christ's reply to the Pharisees. (Verse 25, 26, 28—30.)

Doct. The enmity of Christ, his doctrine and works, against Satan and his kingdom, his opposition to him, and conquests over him, are a certain evidence that it was not by his power, but by the power of God, that Christ did perform his wonderful works : and his apostles in like manner performed theirs.

The doctrine hath two parts, which we must distinctly handle.

1. That there is such enmity between Christ and Satan ; such a combat of Christ against Satan, and such a conquest of him.

2. That by these it is certainly proved, that Christ was none of Satan's confederates, nor did work by his help or power.

The former must be done by comparing the disposition, interest, and works of Christ and Satan together, that so we may fully behold the contrariety ; where we first show you what is the disposition, interest, and work of Satan, and then show you how Christ doth contradict and conquer him, and show his enmity to him in all.

Let us, therefore, distinctly consider, 1. Of the nature. 2. The interest. 3. The designs. 4. And the actions and endeavours of Satan ; and of the nature, interest, design, and actions of Jesus Christ ; and you will see the same contrariety between them, as is betwixt darkness and light, death and life, evil and good.

That there are such unhappy spirits as we call devils, or evil angels, I will not be beholden to the infidel to acknowledge ; and to evince it to that sort of them that we are now to dispute against, is needless : for if they were not convinced of it, they would not ascribe the works of Christ to such spirits. And for the sadducees that believe not that there are good or bad angels, they shut their eyes against the light of the sun, and deny the undoubted discoveries of sense itself.

For, 1. We see that this earth on which we live is but a very small part of God's creation, and as a spot to the rest of his visible works ; we see that there are sun and moon, and other planets, and a vast space above us, and about us. We see, also, that even this lower and baser world doth so abound with living creatures, that almost no place is destitute of a plenty of inhabitants. The earth is inhabited by man with all sorts of beasts ; yea, the worms and moles do live within it. The water is replenished with fishes ; the air with birds and flies. And if the baser world be so replenished with inhabitants, is it likely that the more high and noble parts of the creation are wholly empty and uninhabited ? or, if the earth have creatures so rational as

man, is it likely that the more noble parts are furnished with such as are destitute of reason only ? or, is it not to reason itself most strongly probable, that the more comprehensive and noble parts of the creation, which are above us, are furnished with more noble and rational inhabitants ?

2. And that some of these are evil, by their own fall and faults is further evident, as shall be declared anon. And because the proof of the being of devils will be despatched in our proof of their nature and works, to make short of it, we will refer it thither, and so next proceed to that.

I. The nature of these angels or evil spirits is considerable, either in regard to their substance, and physical powers, and endowments ; and so they still remain excellent creatures ; which is the honour of their Maker, but small comfort to themselves ; or else it is considerable in regard of their moral qualities ; and so they are most vile, and wicked, and totally depraved, and turned from God. The consequent whereof is their penal misery proportioned to their sin.

Their evil, corrupted natures are the fountains of their interests, designs, and actions ; and, therefore, they all follow this vitiated nature ; which the abuse of their own free-will, by sinning and rebelling against God, was the first cause of.

This wicked nature disposeth them, 1. To dishonour God, because they hate him, as being totally apostatized from him, and punished by him, and know him to be unreconcilable to them, as they are to him.

2. Their nature inclineth them to seek their own honour, and to draw that which is due to God unto themselves.

3. They are natural haters of virtue and holiness.

4. They are natural haters of the good angels, who are contrary to them, and stand fast in the perfect obedience of God, and do resist and overcome these evil spirits.

5. They hate all mankind, and wish their ruin ; but especially the saints, with their deepest hatred.

6. They love that which is evil, and are wholly inclined to it.

II. From these six parts of their wicked inclinations, we may know wherein their wicked interest doth consist : and then we may know who is for them, and who is against them.

1. The chief part of their interest is placed by them in the injury of God ; though they cannot hurt him, they will wrong him, and so come as near it as they can. The kingdom of Satan is chiefly in hindering the kingdom of God. -



2. Their interest lieth in being believed and worshipped themselves instead of God.

3. And in the suppression of true piety and righteousness, and banishing it out of the world.

4. And in the dishonour of the good angels, and prevalency against them, if they could.

5. In the ruin and destruction of mankind, and the disturbance and vexation of the saints that are against them.

6. And in the abounding and predominancy of all kind of sin, and the defiling and corrupting the works of God. Herein lieth Satan's interest, agreeable to his nature.

III. By this it is easy to know his designs, and what is the work that he would carry on in the world; for it is but this promoting of his interest according to his depraved nature. For these it is that he is so vigilant and diligent; for these ends he walketh night and day, and employeth all his endeavours to accomplish them.

But I suppose by this time I hear the sadducee calling for my proof of these things, and asking, 'How shall we know that the devils have such inclinations, interests, and designs?' To which I answer, that we that believe God's supernatural revelations in his word, do know it thereby; but for those that do not, they may know it by the evil actions of these spirits, which are so agreeable to these natures, interests, and designs.

IV. We shall next, therefore, speak of these actions of Satan, by which all the former are fully manifest. Three or four of these discoveries I have spoken of already in my second part of the 'Saint's Rest,' but yet shall add a few words more concerning them on this occasion.

1. By his transactions with witches, it is fully manifested that the devil is such a one as the Scripture doth describe him to be, and hath such designs and endeavours as we have now mentioned.

As for those men that will not believe that there is such a thing, but suppose all the talk about witches to be delusory, and that they are but fantasms that delude the persons themselves, or forced confessions by which they delude others, if they be not so proud as to scorn to hear reason, nor so lazy as to refuse the easy means of better information, nor so mad as to be incapable of understanding the plainest, satisfactory evidence, I would tell them how they may be cured of their error. First, Let them read well, with sobriety and impartiality, but these few small books following: Nicolas Remigius 'Dæmonolatreia;' Joh.

Bodinus De 'Magorum Dæmonomania;' Jac. Sprangerus, an inquisitor of Collen, with his colleague, his 'Malleus Malificorum;' Paulus Grellandus, a lawyer that judged them in Italy; Danaeus, 'Dialog. De Sortiariis;' Ulricus Molitor, his 'Disputation to the Emperor Sigismond, about Witches;' Joachimus Camaracensis 'De Natura Dæmoniorum;' Turquemedas Hispanus Hortus; Pet. Mamoreus 'De Sortilegis;' Henr. Coloniensis 'De Lamiis.'

Secondly, let them take a journey into Essex and Suffolk, and inquire of the cause why such multitudes of them were lately put to death; or let them confer with the justices of assize, or peruse the records, and see what was proved against them, and then I doubt not but there may be much done to their conviction; and if neither serve turn, let them fall out with some witch, and try whether they have power to do them hurt, so it may be done without discovery and danger.

The writers before-mentioned are themselves competent witnesses, having been divers of them questors, or judges, that have themselves heard all the examinations and evidence, and the rest men that had sufficient opportunity to be informed of them.

Sprangerus and Grellandus wrote the histories of such as they condemned, when they had put multitudes of them to death; so did Remigius, adding to those that himself had examined the histories of others, as they are upon record in the rolls of those courts or judicatories that did condemn them. In the like way had Bodin his information, partly from their own mouths and the witnesses, and partly from the court-rolls and the judges; and the writers are for learning, sobriety, judgment, impartiality, and known credibility and fidelity, beyond exception. If men of such place and reputation in their countries had wrote so many falsehoods about matters of public fact, done before the country at assizes, or in open courts, and had falsely alleged so many public records, it would easily, speedily, and certainly have disgraced them; and they tell you the year, the month, and oft the day, the place, the persons' names, and tell you where you may yet find the records.

Remigius tells us of eight or nine hundred that were put to death for witchcraft in that small compass, in Lorraine; besides about eight hundred more that escaped. A notable witch in France, called Cenomanus Triscalanus, when he was condemned, promised to discover others if he might be pardoned; and, upon king's pardon, was brought into public assemblies and conven-

tions, where he knew the faces of those whom he had seen at their hellish sabbatims, and, upon the sight of them, told the inquisitors how they should find them marked : which they found accordingly. But he accused so many rich and poor, that favour and tenderness of the number and quality caused the persecution to surcease. This man confessed before the king (Carol. IX.) and a great company of his nobles, the very same things as the rest of them commonly did confess, about their assemblies, and the manner of their solemnities : Bodin and Remigius mention this. And the same Bodin tells us of thirty of them at once, falling out among themselves, and enviously accusing one another, and all confessing the thing to the death, and reporting the same manner of their common assemblies as the rest do : this was *apud* Cenomannus, in France, but newly then done. The manner of their assemblies we shall speak of anon. Of the many Valerian witches also that made the same confession of the manner of their contracts and assemblies, Danæus and Bodin give us the history ; in Savoy the place is.

If now the incredulous will say, that all these people were falsely accused and unjustly burned, besides the sufficient witnesses, and the competency of the judges, their own confession may confute that objection. If it be said that they were forced to it, the contrary is certain of multitudes that confessed at the first accusation : yea, many of them refused to petition for their lives, but begged that they might presently die, professing that they were so cruelly used by the devil for not fulfilling his desires, or for having thoughts of repentance, that they had rather die than live such a life, which they could no longer endure : many of them also have been seen in their assemblies, and taken in the fact. Many of them have, by anointing them, taken their husbands and children along with them, who have accused them on sight, and they have confessed all. Yea, some have been seen at their meetings in the daytime, though that is not common, and in the midst of their feast, who at the naming of God or Jesus Christ have all vanished, and left their plate behind them, which hath been brought to the magistrate, and the owners known by it, and been burned upon confession of the fact. And lest you say, that it is only silly, miserable people that are a-weary of their own lives that make such confessions, there have been many noble women, and counts, and barons, put to death in France, that have confessed all themselves, as Bodin and Remigius will tell you, with their names, the time, place, and confessions. Yea, doctors of divinity of the popish

profession, that have been executed upon confession, and undeniable proofs. If you say, that all these were but phantasms and delusions, I answer :

1. If that were so, yet must it be a diabolical power that must do so much to delude men's phantasies ; and an evil spirit it must needs be, that would by such delusion abuse them unto evil.

2. But could a delusion carry people so many days' journey from home, where others have been seen and found them ; even those that did but anoint themselves with their ointments ? Could a delusion bring them into the sight of others ? Could it enable them to do so much mischief in killing men, cattle and trees, corn and fruits, which they have commonly confessed, and hath been proved by the effects ?

We had here at Worcester, the last assize save two or three, a witch condemned, among other things, for bewitching a gardener's child in Evesham, a girl, who voided flint stones and pebbles for many months, (by the uterine or urinary passage,) which were showed in the open court, of the bigness of a man's thumb some of them, of which the reverend pastor of that place, Mr. Hopkins, can give any man that doubteth satisfaction, and that sufficient search and observation was used to remove all suspicion of deceit. A hundred the like examples might be produced to satisfy any reasonable man that these things are not all phantasms.

Some of them have been seen in a storm falling down in the tops of trees, as birds do after their flight, some on the tops of houses : many have confessed that they raised storms, and were carried in clouds many and many times, and describe the manner how it was done. Many of their husbands have accused them, that often missed them out of bed in the night : some of them have beaten them, till they forced them to confess all ; and the men being possessed with a desire to see whether it were true or not, and how the business was carried, have pardoned their wives on condition they would show them their meetings ; who being anointed with their ointment, have been presently carried thither, where they have found so great a number met together, as caused them to admire, and having accused their wives and those they have known, the thing was by them confessed, and they were put to death.

It is true that sometimes their minds are carried or employed without their bodies ; a certain proof, saith Bodin, that the separated soul can nevertheless live, and move, and know, though without the body, and so is immortal.

At Bourdeaux, 1571, one of the witches confessing that she was wont to be at the meetings, and what they did there, (just as the rest commonly did,) the master of requests, Monsieur Belot, was desirous to see the truth of her confession by some experiment: she told them that she could do nothing while she was a prisoner: whereupon they let her out, and before them she anointed her naked body with a certain fat, which she had with her, and presently fell down as dead, and without any feeling at all: after five hours, coming to herself and rising up, she told them many things which were newly done about the country, which they found to be true by present inquiry. (Bodin, p. 177.)

In the year 1549, *apud* Nanctas, seven men undertook, before many people, to tell them, within such an hour, what was done in ten miles' compass: they presently fell down as dead, and so lay for three hours' space: and then rising up, told them what was done through the whole town, and a greater distance: whereupon they were accused of conjuration, or witchcraft, and put to death. (Idem, p. 178.)

So Turretanus, the judge that condemned her, reported of one that lay as dead before the fire, and her master beat and burnt her, and perceiving her utterly senseless left her as dead; but in the morning she awaked, and complained of her sores; and being accused before the judge, confessed she was at an assembly, and confessed many evil deeds that she had done, and was burnt.

But yet it is more ordinary to have the body itself carried to their meetings, than to have these extasies, as many hundred proofs have manifested. And Sprangerus and his colleagues write that they understood by the confession of many that they had condemned, that they could sometime go abroad only in spirit, and sometime in the body, as they desired themselves.

But it would be unseasonable and unsavoury to some readers, in a treatise of this nature, to be too particular, or too large, though for my part I conceive these kind of sensible demonstrations to be the most likely means to convince them that believe not the word of God, and a means not to be overslipped, or made so small use of as ordinarily we do.

And for those that yet will not believe that these things are true, I think they have far more to say for their incredulity, if their own eyes only had seen them; and yet it is likely they would have believed their eyes. One of the best arguments to know when sense is not deceived, is when the object appeareth to all

men, or most men of sound senses, the same as to some, but if it be but one or two that see it, the deception is much more possible or probable: if all men's senses are deceived, then are we incapable of any certain knowledge or perception; and still I say, a rod or cudgel is the best argument to confute that error, that such may be beaten till they are sure they feel. If the testimonies of judges, justices, lawyers, and juries, that have examined and heard the witnesses, and are themselves as tender of wrongfully putting people to death as these infidels are; if the confessions of so many hundred witches at the halter or fire be not sufficient; if the records of so many judicatures be not sufficient; if men of so great piety, honesty, judgment, and impartiality, may not be credited in a case which bringeth no gain to themselves; if the testimonies of so many several nations as France, Lorraine, Germany, Italy, that all have so abounded with witches, and put to death so many, be not sufficient; if the experience of all countries in the world, and all ages, who have found that same sort of wretched persons, be not sufficient; and, lastly, if the fresh experience of so many scores in a narrow compass at once imprisoned and put to death in our country, attested by so many thousand competent witnesses, and the frequent experiences of the judges in their circuits, be none of them sufficient to convince these infidels, I shall leave it either to God's grace or the devil's torments, ere long, to convince them.

Having spoken thus much of the certainty of the thing that there is such a transaction of the devil with witches, and consequently that there is a devil, and multitudes of them, I shall next inquire how his inclinations, interests, and designs are manifested in this way.

1. And first, It is plain that he is a hater of God, and an enemy to his honour; whereto I will add, as the main point, that I am now to prove, that he is also a hater of the Lord Jesus, and an enemy to his name. Nothing more manifest than these are. For it is his constant custom, or most ordinary, to initiate all his professed disciples, I mean witches, by their renouncing God and their baptism, and religion, and the Lord Jesus. This is the first thing that they must do, when they will be witches indeed. And so many hundred have testified, by their own confessions, the truth of this point, even when they have been at the bar, or stake, and all agree so generally in it, that there is not the least room left for rational doubting.

Doctor Guillelm. Edelinus, of the Sorbonne, in Paris, was condemned for witchcraft, 1453, (Johan. Charterius hath wrote

the history,) on Dec. 24. He confessed that he was oft carried by night into the meetings of the witches, and there renounced God, and adored the devil in the shape of a he-goat.

In the year 1571, a blind man, condemned for witchcraft at Paris, revealed many others; one of them was a lawyer, who confessed, that by an obligation, which he made with the devil, he renounced God; and wrote this obligation with his own blood. This Bodin, Remigius, Sprangerus, and Grillandus tell you is the common confession of multitudes, whom they examined and condemned, and others of their knowledge, and the records of the judicatures ordinarily testify it; and this in several countries, Lorraine, France, Germany, and Italy, they all ordinarily confess the same thing.

In the year 1524, in the castle of Saint Paul, in the duchy of Spoletain, Paulus Grillandus having three in examination, the first confessed that, fifteen years before, she was brought by an old witch into the assembly of the witches, where the devil was among them, at whose persuasion she renounced God, and the christian faith and religion, binding herself by an oath to be faithful, and to obey the devil's commands, putting her hand to a book, which had a writing in it to that end; promising also to be present at the nightly solemnities and feast-days, when she was commanded, and to bring with her as many as she could; and that after that she had killed many men.

*Apud* Cenomannus, saith Bodin, lately very many were burnt that confessed all these things, that they went to these meetings, and thus behaved themselves on their sabbaths, as they call them: at least, saith he, thirty witches in their falling-out, moved with envy, accused one another; whose confessions did all with one consent testify their being carried to the meeting, their adoration to the devil, their dancings, and their abjuration of religion.

The history of all the Valerian witches in Savoy, in the year 1574, is written by Danæus and Bodin, and their confession was the very same, that they were carried to the meetings, and there abjured God, adored the devil, with much more, of which we shall speak anon. I will forbear giving more examples of this, it being so common.

And a second argument also there is, that the devil is both an enemy to God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and also is afraid of his very name; in that it is the constant confession, both of the witches themselves, and of those that have been enticed by them to their meetings, that if they use but the name of

God, or Jesus Christ, the whole company immediately vanish, and if they use the name of God in the midway as they are carried thither, they are presently let fall ; and therefore those that entice them to their meetings do still charge them not to mention the name of God, or Jesus Christ, unless it be in disdain or reproach. There are many histories of this in the writers before named, which would seem very strange and scarcely credible, had we not so sufficient a testimony of the persons' own confessions.

Saith Bodin, there was newly a witch condemned at Lochia, in France, on this occasion ; her husband oft missing her out of bed, and finding her excuses false, suspected her of adultery, and threatened to kill her, unless she would tell him whither she went. The woman being afraid of her life confessed all, and told him if he would, he should see himself whither she went : and so giving him an ointment, and pronouncing certain words, they were both carried to the sands at Bordeaux, many days' journey off : the man seeing himself in the midst of a great company of men and women, and devils in an ugly shape, though it was human, cried out, ' My God ! where are we ? ' And immediately the whole company vanished. The man finding himself naked, in the morning got some help of a countryman that he met, and when he got home went straight to the justice, and accused his wife, who presently confessed all the matter.

At Lyons, a great woman who was an adulteress, and had that night lain with her adulterer, anointed herself in the night by a candle, and vanished ; which the man seeing, did so too, and was carried after her, and found himself presently in an assembly of witches in Lorraine : and being afraid, and praying to God, they all vanished. The man finding himself naked and alone, as soon as he got home, accused the woman, who was burnt, having confessed the whole matter.

The like Bodin writes of a nobleman at Melodunum, who was enticed to see one of their meetings for the strangeness.

The like story had doctor Grillandus, that near Rome, in the year 1526, a countryman espying his wife anoint herself, and then vanish, did so cudgel her at her return, that he made her confess where she had been, and promised the next time to show him all : who, after the anointing, was carried with her : but though she charged him not to name God unless in mock-age or blasphemy, yet before the end of the feast, he disobeyed that direction, and all vanished : the man found himself naked and alone, and when it was day, he was informed that he was



in the county of Beneventa, and being fain to beg clothes and to beg his bread, in eight days space he got home, a hundred miles, and accused his wife, and she accused others, who were all burnt.

The same author testifieth, that in the year 1535, in the Duchy of Spoletain, a girl thirteen years of age, was enticed by an old witch into an assembly of them : who in a wonder cried out, ' Blessed God, what is all this ? ' and they all vanished : and the witch was burnt upon her discovery of it to the people that found her the next morning.

I have mentioned these stories, to show how the devil hates and fears the name of God. In Remigius you may see later examples of the like concerning the name of Jesus Christ, at which the company have all vanished : sometimes calmly, oft-times with a violent whirlwind, or tempest. But I will forbear the reciting the particulars, because you may there see them.

2. The same transactions of Satan with witches doth certainly prove the second branch of his inclination, interest, and design to advance himself, and to be adored. All the fore-mentioned writers and many others do bring us sufficient testimony of many hundreds of these unhappy wretches, confessing that, at their first engagement, they promise to worship and obey the devil : and that he hath his constant assemblies where they all meet, that are thus devoted to him : that they are carried thither through the air, some by one means, and some by another, but all by his power. These meetings they celebrate most commonly in the night, on a certain night in the week, where sometimes many hundreds (where these wretches abound) do meet at once. There usually they meet with as many devils as there are witches : but one is as the chief and great master of the assembly. He appeareth to them most commonly in one of these two shapes : either like a big, ill-favoured black-man, or like a he-goat. The first thing that the assembly must do, is to adore their great master, and the ceremony commonly is by kissing his posteriors when he is in the shape of a goat ; then they must all dance round, back to back ; next that, the devils and their servile drudges must couple as fornicators used to do : and after that they have a loathsome feast, ever without salt ; and so they must give an account what mischief they have done since the last meeting, and then receive more powders and ointments to do more, and then they are carried home again : this is the ordinary work and manner of their as-

semblies: besides which they must do him a more frequent homage in their houses. These things be not private dreams, or uncertain stories of two or three men in a corner, but the common confession of many hundreds, if not thousands of them in judgment and at the stake, through France, Lorraine, Savoy, Germany, and Italy, delivered to us in writing by the judges themselves, impartial, honest, and very learned men. So that it is apparent by all this, that the devil's design is to rob God of his honour, and to be adored himself. Were it not for troubling the reader, I would recite many particular histories out of the foresaid authors to confirm it: but we have too much proof of it nearer home. As Christ must have his days of holy assemblies, so will the devil have his nights of wicked assemblies; as God must be adored, so will Satan be; as God will there teach his people by the ministry of his officers and church guides, so will Satan oft make speeches to them to persuade them to do evil, as they also commonly confess: as Christ will have us meet to be exercised in holiness, and learn to live holily, and mortify fleshly lusts: so the devil will have meetings for a strange, hellish filthiness and copulation; as Christ hath his holy sacramental feasts, in the communion of the saints, so hath the devil his abominable feasts for his impious confederates. As Christ will be worshipped also in our families in private, so would Satan; as Christ would have us be much in prayer to God, so the devil would have them much in seeking somewhat of him: inasmuch that he tormenteth and giveth them no rest, if they be not asking somewhat of him, of what nature we shall see next. Yea, some of them at their first entrance, saith Bodin, think not<sup>e</sup> enough to renounce God and the faith of Christ, unless also they be baptized to the devil, and take to them a new name. And many of them have his marks upon their flesh, as hath been proved past doubt.

3. For brevity's sake, I will speak to the other parts of Satan's interest and designs together; and by these same dealings of his with witches, it is most certain that he is, 1. An enemy to all virtue and religion; and, 2. An enemy to mankind, and one that seeketh and delighteth in their destruction; and, 3. A lover and promoter of all wickedness, as I have told you it is common with them in their assemblies, and also at other times, to exercise unclean copulation with their disciples, some way the devil findeth to find exercise for their filthy lusts. I have been credibly informed of the like in England, by godly, judicious men, counsellors, justices, and others, that they have heard

witches confess such copulation with the devil; and the name of God, as I have told you, he will not endure unless it be in mockery or blasphemy: not that he is so afraid of bare names, or crosses, or 'relics, or consecrated creatures, or words, as the papists imagine, for certain history assures us that he easily ventureth on all these.

Bodin giveth us divers confessions of witches at judgment or death, that they held their meetings oftentimes at a notable cross which stood at the meeting of several high-ways, accounted by the papists a terror to the devil.

Remigius telleth us of an abbess, named Magdal. Crucia, 1545, who perceiving herself, after long reputation for a holy woman, suspected for witchcraft, to prevent further danger, fled to the pope and accused herself as a penitent, before any other did accuse her; and she confessed that, since twelve years of age, the devil had used to lie with her for thirty years, and that when she was at mass he hath oft carried the host to her hand from the altar, the people seeing it go through the air to her, but seeing none bear it; by which means she got the reputation of a saint. It was Pope Paul the Third that pardoned her. "This story," saith Bodin, (p. 206,) "was made known through the whole christian world;" where he tells of divers nuns of the same sort.

He telleth us, also, of divers that have confessed, 'That when the devil hath given them power to do any cure, they had direction to pretend that the image of such a saint must do it, and so to send people to that image, and there to pray to it, and present some certain things before it, and walk thrice about the chapel or temple, and so come home, and the cure was done.' The reason that the witches gave of this was, 'That by it they might exercise their witchcraft without discovery or suspicion;' but it is like the devil had further ends to draw people to such idolatry, at least it is clear that he doth not hate nor fear such idols.

Many authors, besides Bodin and Remigius, give us the relation of all the nuns in a nunnery in Germany, at Kentrope, at once possessed with devils, or mad, and seemed so to others; and one witch in the house confessed the fact, that she had bewitched them.

And for the delight that the devil hath in men's destruction, it is apparent by these three discoveries here:

1. In that it is the ruin of these poor creatures' souls that he seeks; and when he hath brought them once to the stake,

he hath his desire of them in this life ; and if they do but offer to forsake him, or begin to repent, he beats them, and vexeth them, and giveth them no rest till they have cast away those thoughts. And yet it is very observable what wages the devil giveth his servants for their work, and what it is they sell their salvation for : he doth but delude them, and not keep promise with them about the earthly pleasures that they expect of him. Scarce any of them grow rich or great in the world by his service ; though he feed them, he doth not refresh or satisfy them ; though he carry them, yet most of them say it exceedingly wearieth them. All the pleasure that he seems to offer them proves but grief ; and if they complain, he beateth and abuseth them ; so that their life is a very misery to the flesh, as their death, without true repentance, is the beginning of everlasting misery.

2. His malice also is further evident, in that he engageth all these his drudges, to draw as many with them to their assemblies, and into his service as they can ; even as Christ would have us draw as many as we can to his worship, and to obedience for their own salvation ; insomuch that it is noted that the children of witches are so ordinarily of the same profession, that they are more to be suspected than any other sort. Saith Bodin, (p. 154,) ‘ I may not conceal this, that one witch is oft enough to make five hundred more ; for there is not so ready a way again for those that are addicted to the devil to get his favour and to keep peace with him, as to draw many to his subjection ; so that ordinarily the wife draws the husband, and the mother the daughter ; and whole families sometimes do thus persist for divers ages, as hath been proved by infinite judgments ;’ that is, trials upon testimony and confession ; so far he : and both he and many more give us abundance of examples.

3. Moreover, the employment which the devil sets them about doth show, beyond all doubt, that he delighteth in mischief, and is an enemy to mankind. It is a desire of revenge for some supposed wrong, that is oft the first occasion of his appearing to them. In their meetings and at other times he gives many of them a powder, which some of them say is the ashes of some child that they have murdered and burnt, and that they must cast in the way where those are to go whom they would hurt. To some he giveth other means, and to some a power to do it by words. There is few of them, if any, but

are employed to do mischief, either in tormenting men and children, or killing them, or killing cattle, or corn, or fruits, or trees, or sinking ships at sea, or destroying men's houses or labours, or one such thing or other; this ours in England have at large confessed; thousands in the countries before named, beyond sea, have confessed this at their death.

'A French baron, Baziorum Baro, that was put to death for witchcraft, did not only confess that he had killed eight children, and was purposed to have killed the ninth, and to have sacrificed him to the devil, even his own child, that he might gratify Satan; but also confessed that he did in his own closet, upon his knees, pray to the devil, who appeared to him in the likeness of a man, and did sacrifice to him; for the devil promised him admirable matters, and to make him a great man; but when that he saw that he was a prisoner, and under such suffering, he confessed all, and was put to death: and it is yet undetermined what shall be done with his estates.' Saith Bodin (p. 180).

Multitudes of them have confessed that they have killed those that have offended them, and killed cattle, corn, &c.; yea, many of them have eaten the flesh of those they have killed, and to that end, some transformed themselves into the likeness of wolves, that they might do it the more easily and securely.

'In the year 1573, the parliament of Dolens did, on the 18th day of January, pass sentence of death on Giles Garner, of Lyons, which sentence was printed and published at Orleans, Paris, and Seines. He was convicted on these articles: That on Michael's day he had, in a place there named, taken a girl of about ten or twelve years of age, and killed her; with hands like the feet of a wolf; and had devoured the flesh off her arms and thighs, and brought some of it to his wife: also, that a month after, in the same shape, he took another girl, and had killed her that he might devour her, as he himself did confess, if three men had not hindered him: also, that fifteen days after, in a place named, he had killed a boy ten years old, and had eaten the flesh off his arms, thighs, and belly: and, lastly, that he killed another boy, at a village named, and that in the shape of a man, and not a wolf, with a purpose to have eaten him, if he had not been hindered, as he himself of his own accord, without any forcing, did confess; for which cause, he was condemned to be burnt alive.' Saith Bodin (p. 185).

The like story is annexed, of one Michael Verdun, and Peter

Burgot, condemned by Jo. Boinus, 1521, at Vesontio, in December : mentioned by Wierus, also.

And, whatever the reason be, it is observed that they are most cruel to children, and the devil doth put them on more ordinarily to kill them than any others ; insomuch, that there have been confessions from themselves of many hundred children that they have killed. And herein the devil also is contrary to Christ, who is tender of such little ones, took them up in his arms and blessed them, and said, " Of such is the kingdom of God," being offended with his disciples, that kept them from him.

And that this work of destroying and mischief is the very service that Satan employeth them in, is manifest in that he gives them no rest, unless they be doing hurt, and is still urging them to it, and taketh an account of them. how they perform it. Many of those lately put to death in Suffolk, (whereof one was an old reading parson,) confessed this, that their imps would give them no rest unless they were doing some hurt ; when they have seen a ship at sea, they have urged them to send them to sink it, which was presently done.

At Poitiers, in the year 1564, three men and one woman were burned, (being condemned by Salvetus, the president,) who were convicted of the death of abundance of men and cattle, by means of a certain powder which the devil gave them, and they put under the doors or thresholds. These confessed that they were wont to meet in a very great company, at a certain cross, in a crossway, where the devil gave them their powder, to kill man or beast ; and in the end of the meeting, would thunder out these words, with a terrible voice, ' Avenge yourselves, or you shall die.'

Some of them confessed, that at their meetings, every one must give an account how they used their powder, or what hurt they have done since the last meeting : where one tells of such a man or child killed, another of such a beast, another of such fruits ; and those that give account of no hurt done, are beaten, some upon the soles of the feet, some elsewhere, and the rest laugh at them.

Some of them confess that if they do not the hurt that they are set on, they must redeem their peace with doing it on some others, and oftentimes on their own. Insomuch, that many have confessed they have killed their own children, because they could have no rest else, when they had once refused to do it to

others. Yea, oftentimes they have a desire to hurt some that the devil hath no power over, and though they use all their witchcrafts, they cannot hurt them, because God preserveth them : yet then will Satan vex them, if they hurt not another in their steads. Insomuch that many of them in prison do beg that they may die, because they live such a miserable life, being beaten and tormented by Satan for not pleasing him, when yet he keeps not promise with them ; nor, saith Bodin, is it found in all the trials and judgments that ever one of them was one penny the richer for them : and Remigius saith, of all that he condemned, or heard of, though many seemed to receive money from him, there was but one that could say, that it proved and continued money indeed.

Saith Bodin, (p. 150,) ‘ I know a man (who shall be nameless, because he is yet living) that acquainted me, that he was very much vexed with a spirit that followed him, and beat him, and pulled him, and kept him waking, and would not give over though he entreated him, but still called on him, ‘ Command me somewhat to do.’ And in hope to have been eased, he had taken a journey to Paris. When I perceived that he durst not open all to me, I asked him what profit he had got by the service of that master ? He answered that he was put in hopes to get riches and honours, and to know secret things ; but the spirit had still deceived him, and told him three lies for one truth ; and that he was never the richer for him of a farthing, nor did he obtain the things which he desired, and for which he sought to him ; and where, as he hoped to have attained many hidden sciences, about the spirits, of planets, and the virtues of stones, and the like, he had learned nothing of him at all, but he was still calling on him to be avenged on his enemies, to cheat and deceive, and to do mischief. I told him, it was not hard to be freed from such a master, if, whenever he came, he would call on God for help, and with a pure mind and sincere heart would addict himself to the service of God. From that time I never saw the man, and whether he repented or no, I know not. He called the spirit his little master.’ So far Bodin.

‘ I will stop the recital of more such examples, lest I seem tedious to the reader. By thus much it is most clear and past doubt, that the devil’s transactions with the witches doth certify us that he is an enemy to God, to goodness, to all mankind, and a lying, unclean, and wicked spirit, seeking to be adored, and delighting in all mischief and wicked works.

If yet any seem to doubt of these matters, as if they were but fantasms and delusions, I shall only add one testimony and one history more that such may be understood, if they will not understand. The testimony is Augustin's, in the fifteenth book, 'De Civitate Dei,' who saith, that the devil's copulation with such persons is so frequent, and so fully attested by so many that had experience of it, and that have heard it from their mouths, that it seems mere impudence to deny it.

The history that I shall mention is one of Guilielmus Linensis, a doctor of divinity, of the popish profession, who was put to death for witchcraft, and confessed that he had made a covenant with the devil, which was found written in his pocket. He renounced all religion, and oft adored the devil, sometimes being like a man, sometimes like a goat: and the service he was bound to do for the devil was, to preach against putting witches to death, and to persuade as many as he could that they were but silly, deluded, melancholy people, and not witches indeed, and that their confessions were not sufficient to put them to death; whereupon his preaching so far succeeded as to take off the people and inquisitors, and to slack the persecution of them, by which means the witches were abundantly multiplied in those parts. He penitently confessed this, and was condemned, December 12, 1453. Pet. Mamorius 'Lib. de Lamiis' hath written the history. And Cardinal Benno, Platina, and others of their own writers, do testify that there were many of the popes that dealt with the devil by covenants or witchcraft, for worldly greatness or carnal delights, and were rewarded by him in the end as they deserved.

If any reader should be so weak as to be offended, because I insert so much of these matters in a theological discourse of so high a nature, I desire them to consider,

1. That it is matter suitable to the subject that I am treating of.
2. It is that way of demonstration which is become necessary to that sort of infidels, that I have now to deal with, who will not believe the testimony of the Scriptures.
3. It is such a sensible discovery as the best have use for, to the resisting of some temptations, and may afford them no small advantage for the confirmation of their faith, of which see Zanchy, in his chapter of the 'Uses of the Doctrine de malis Angelis.'
4. And it is a providence of God that such things are permitted; and such a providence as we ought not to wink at,



or neglect, but must be accountable what good use we make of it.

5. I doubt the not considering such matters as these doth make most of us too insensible and regardless of the full nature of our spiritual and corporal dangers, and makes us the more dull and formal in that necessary daily prayer, 'Deliver us from the evil one;' and consequently the more liable to his malice and power; and that it makes us the more unthankful for what Christ hath done for our deliverance from the thralldom and slavery of Satan; and for God's daily restraining him, and saving us from his rage. I think, as the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt from Pharaoh's bondage, which was the type of this deliverance of ours, was so great a mercy that it is prefixed before the Ten Commandments, that they might know that God ruled and commanded them therein as a redeemed people; and it was the name by which God would be known; he that delivered them out of Egyptian bondage, and they were still to remember it; so our deliverance from the slavery of the devil, which he would exercise over both our souls and bodies, is that great mercy which is procured to us by the Redeemer, which, as it is remembered in our baptism, when we renounce the devil, so it is to be daily remembered and valued, and thankfully enjoyed by us.

So much for the first way of Satan's discovery of his inclinations, designs, and interest, viz., his transactions with witches.

#### *Sect. V.*

The second sort of his actions is by apparent, extraordinary violence exercised on men's bodies, whether by possessions, obsessions, or other violence, by which he tormenteth and abuseth them, and manifesteth himself a hater of mankind, and one that delighteth in doing hurt. Such things we have seen with our eyes; such things all ages and countries have testified; such things the most learned and rational physicians profess they have seen, who are as apt as others to ascribe extraordinary things to natural causes. I have already in the 'Saint's Rest,' (part II. c. vii, sec. 3,) cited many. Bodin saith, (p. 147,) that 'There was then living, when he wrote, a woman, called Domina Rossa, (he names the place in France,) who, from the eighth year of her age, was thus abused by the devil. She would be suddenly bound to a tree, or to a bed's

foot, or to a manger in a stable, or one hand bound to the other with a cord, a twig, or hemp, or the hair of a horse-tail, and that so speedily, that no one could discern the doing of it.' Doctor Picardus, and other divines, saw her, when she was brought to Paris, in the year 1552, and spent all their skill in vain for her delivery. Hollerius, the physician, at first laughed at them, and said she was melancholy, but afterwards, when in a great company of people he saw with his own eyes, the girl standing between two or three women, and, crying out, had her hands so suddenly bound together, that they could not untie the bond, but were fain to cut it, he confessed it was an evil spirit.

Augustin 'De Civitate Dei,' (lib. xxii. cap. 8,) and in divers other places, doth confidently affirm that he hath seen divers possessed or tormented by Satan, and how cured; so do many others, if not most of the fathers, Greek and Latin, give us full testimonies of the like, though the papists, the vile abusers of history, have done their best to overwhelm and bury the credit of all, in their heaps of lies, and not content with Metaphrastes, and their lying legends, their Staphilus, Cochlaeus, Bolserus, Lindanus, Thyraeus, and others, have vented their foolish, malicious fictions of Luther, Zuinglius, Carolostadius, Bucer, Calvin, and who not that was contrary to them.

#### *Sect. VI.*

The third way by which Satan's designs are manifested to be mischievous is, by the vexation of men by apparitions, noises, voices, and other such means, by which he hath suddenly affrighted some to death, some out of their wits, some into grievous diseases, and some he long continueth thus to vex; and many he hath affrighted to the use of unlawful means for their deliverance. Of all these sorts, or most, I could mention examples not far from this place, were it fit or necessary. And I know divers persons of good repute for judgment, and godliness, and fidelity, yet living, some in places of honour in the commonwealth, and some of reverend esteem and credit, that will give full testimony to the truth of these apparitions. And we have known houses so haunted and disquieted by them, that the inhabitants have been either driven out, or much troubled by them. The whole countries also have flocked to some places to hear them, where there were at set times constantly, either whistlings that would answer them in tunes, or voices that would

speak to them. And we have sufficient proof of such as would familiarly talk, discourse, and dispute with them.

The poor Indians are so familiar with them, that by apparitions and the power of witches to do some cures, they are enticed to the worshipping of devils. So that our English preachers at New England do find it a hard matter to convert these deluded wretches from this evil; and to bring them to forsake their witches, which they call Powwaws: for then, say they, who shall help us when we are sick; and whither shall we go for healing? For though the devil delights to torment men's very bodies, and commonly such servants of his are even in outward respects the most miserable people on earth; yet some kind of cures he will do on their flesh, which yet doth usually relieve them but for a while, that thereby he may draw them to worship him, and seek to him, and depend upon him, to the ruin of their souls.

Partly to this, and partly to the foregoing section, belongs the misery of those called Ventriloqui, that have a devil speaking within them; for, doubtless, such there have been. Lodovic. Calius Rhodiginus in his '*Lect. Antiq.*' (lib. 8, cap. 10.) hath this passage.

'Lest any should take this as a fabulous matter to be laughed at, I do hereby testify, that at this very time, even when I am publishing these things, there is in my country a woman of low quality, named Jacoba, out of whose belly I myself have heard the voice of an unclean spirit, small indeed, but articulate, and wholly intelligible; and innumerable people more have heard it as well as I, not only of Rhodigium, but almost out of all Italy. For the minds of great men being greedy to know things to come, they oft sent for her, and stripping her of all her clothes, lest there should be any deceit, did see and hear her. The devil's name was Cincinnatulus. To this name, when he was called, he would readily answer. If he were asked any question about things past or present, though they were the most hidden secrets, he would oft give wonderful answers: but if he were asked about things to come, he would always lie; and sometimes discover his ignorance, by using a grumbling, unintelligible voice.' So far Cælius Rhodiginus.

But having spoken enough of this in the fore-mentioned writing already, I shall forbear the adding here of any more.

#### *Sect. VII.*

The fourth way by which Satan hath discovered his enmity to

God and men's souls, and his desire to be adored, is, his universal endeavours, and too great success, to bring all the world to the sin of idolatry ; a sin that one would think reason itself should have so disgraced and banished, that it should have found entertainment with none but very sots, that had not the use of their reason. Yet, how hath it prevailed in all ages, in all countries on earth, and among all ranks and sorts of men, and doth so in the far greatest part of the world to this day ; how commonly did they adore the creatures ; how many gods did they worship, and how base ; what flocking was there to their oracles for advice ; how confident were they, not only that those images did represent their gods, but that they came down into them, and dwelled in them, as our souls do in our bodies ; what beast, or bird, or plant almost, that was not a God to one nation or other ? And though I will not enter on the dispute, whether all their oracles were the mere delusions of men, or whether they were the real abuses of the devil himself ; yet, as it is scarcely likely that so many ages and nations, and men of all sorts, philosophers and princes and all, should be so generally persuaded that such a thing there was if there had been no such thing, but without something real to uphold it, the reputation of oracles would have been destroyed in a much shorter time ; so if it were indeed nothing but a fantasm or delusion, it was certainly such a delusion as must needs have the devil's help to manage it and drive it on. It was devils that all these nations did adore and sacrifice to ; and, by the work, we may see who was the master and contriver of it. He that seeth the great Turk obeyed through all his empire by so many nations, may well conclude that there is some power of his own employed for the procuring of this obedience, and keeping all these nations in subjection to him ; and he that seeth so much of the world addicted to idolatry and worshipping of devils, may well know that there is some contrivance of the devil's that hath a hand in it, and that it is himself that procureth his own worship. From the time of Adam to this day, the far greatest part of the world have been enslaved to him. What were all the world but idolaters, except Israel, and a few proselytes, from Abraham, or Jacob, from whom they were so named, till Christ ; and how hardly were the Israelites themselves kept from this sin ? Though they were plagued for it both grievously and frequently, though they oft saw God witnessing against it by miracles, yet were they returning to it again and again ; so that the prophets, one after

another, were sent to reclaim them, and yet they relapsed, till, after many breakings, at last it broke them off, and broke them all to pieces, and there was no remedy. The learned Athenians were drowned in idolatry; the wise and valiant Romans were befooled and enslaved by it; and after all the light of the Gospel, at this day, near two third parts of the world are thought to be idolaters (not reckoning the Mahometans among them, but only such as are properly heathens or pagans). He that cannot see the inclination, interest, and design of the devil in all these effects of it, and in this planting, building, and maintaining of his own kingdom, is certainly very blind.

They that would know what nations, and how much of the world are yet heathenish idolaters, may, to spare the reading of many, see it in short in Brierwood's 'Inquiries,' (cap. xii. p. 86, &c.), and in Alstedius's 'Encyclopædia,' (lib. xviii.) 'Geograph.' (part III. cap. xii.)

Nay, among some of the wilder Indians, and other Americans, it is confidently affirmed by many navigators, that the devil useth to appear to them in visible shapes, and so to be worshipped by them commonly, as here he is by witches. And the Jesuits, and others, that have dwelt among them, have given us the more full and particular assurance of it. To omit what is said of the Brazilians, and many of the most barbarous sort, I shall only add somewhat of the Japonians, a people more ingenious. In the Jesuits' 'Epistles from the Indies,' collected and published by Pet. Maffæus, (lib. i.,) Gaspar Vilela writes to this purpose. 'Sometimes the witches, by the devil's help, do work some cures: one was missing many days, and by their help he suddenly appeared again. Another being dead, and carried to burial, when the bier was opened, there was no corpse to be found. By these and the like arts doth the devil deceive the miserable Japonians; who, to the rest of their wickedness, which is great, do add this cruelty, that they murder their own infant children. They are forbidden to think of the end of their lives, lest by the fears of death they should be deterred from their wickedness: and therefore they wish a sudden death, and think him blessed that so dieth. And some of them do worship the devil, and most familiarly converse with him, whom they call Jamabuxas: these, to get a reputation of holiness, do grievously punish themselves; they stand, they watch, and use very little meat for two or three months, till the devil tell them he is satisfied; and taking some of their mad companions with

them, they get into a ship which they purposely sink, and so drown themselves. Besides, the devil is very busy to have the common people worship him in the shape of brute beasts. And as they are worshipping oxen he possesseth one of the men : and when they ask him his name, he tells them that he is the king of oxen. When they desire him to depart, he tells them he will not go out of the man, unless they will build him a temple. If they promise it, he departeth ; if they perform not their promise, he returneth again, and tortureth the poor, oppressed man with divers torments, till they build him a temple, in which they worship the images of divers sorts of wild beasts, as deities : and some of them make it death for any one to kill an ox. Sometimes, also, with his enchantments he makes the hunters sick if they kill a wild beast ; and, therefore, for fear, they humbly worship such beasts as the devil. All which he doth to this end, that mortals forsaking the true worship of God, might change the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and serpents. The superstition of the Japonians is manifold. Some of them worship I know not what dead man, called Amida, others one whom they call Xaca. Lastly, the sun and moon also are worshipped by them as gods, and so is the devil himself, to whom they build a temple : and in his temple they paint him much more ugly and deformed than we do. They have divers convents also of both sexes, distinguished by the white, red, or black colours of their garments, being of most filthy life and manners.' So far Vilela.

The like you may find in the Epistle of Ludovicus Froius, (lib. iv. pp. 191, 192,) who added, 'That there is a devout sect of them that make their dwellings in the tops of the highest hills, and will pass over any rivers by the mere help of the devil : who, that he may ensnare the wretches more effectually in error, doth command them to go up to the top of a certain very high mountain, where they must wait for his coming till the appointed time. And then, about noon or evening, the devil offereth himself to them, whom they worship under the name of Amida, and he passeth through the midst of their assembly : after they have once thus seen him, their superstition is so deeply fixed in the very breasts and marrow of them, that it can never after by any reasons be plucked out.' So far Lud. Froius, where he addeth much more of the devil's appearing to them, and their worshipping him, which I omit.

See much more of them, and their wickedness in Maffæus 'Histor. Indic.' (lib. xii. p. 565—567). It were easy to give you like reports of many more of those unhappy nations, but for tediousness. (See, to the same purpose, 'Olaus Magnus de gentibus Septentrionalibus.')

Yea, the Sinæ themselves, that so much excel the rest, are yet idolaters, and worshippers of devils.

Pet. Maffæus 'Histor. Indic.' (lib. vi. pp. 271, 272) saith thus of them : ' Many of them adore dumb images and informed stones; for such are commonly the gods of the gentiles. Moreover, some make gods of the inventors of any arts, or of others that publicly or privately deserved well of them, and some of their parents, or dear friends, and to them do they erect statues and build temples, and make vows, and offer incense; and not only to the dead, but which is more detestable, to them while they are alive; others do, with all devotion, worship the sun, and moon, and stars, and specially heaven itself, whence all good comes on the earth. Some also worship infernal monsters, girded about with snakes, and vomiting out fire, as we picture devils in Europe, and that not so much to obtain any good from them, as to escape hurt by them: because, meeting oftentimes with such sights, they are the more afraid of them.' So far Maffæus, with more to the like purpose. And about the Brazilian witches (lib. xv. pp. 686, 687).

#### *Sect. VIII.*

The fifth way by which Satan discovereth his malicious inclinations and designs, and especially his enmity to the Gospel of Christ, and the salvation of the world, is by his incessant endeavours to raise heresies, and the power by which he animateth and maintaineth them. As when Moses first set upon his office to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt, Satan had his magicians to imitate and resist him: so when Christ first sendeth forth his disciples to seek and save that which was lost, Satan sendeth forth his ministers, partly by imitation, partly by opposition, and partly by divisions to hinder, and, if it might have been, to mar the work. The strange spirit that animated these men, the magical arts that they used, the vain fancies and abominable doctrines which they owned, the wicked lives they led, the unhappy ends they came to, and the palpable interpositions of the devil for their seducement and confirmation, plainly showed from what fountain they sprung, and by what father they were begotten.

Because it is so common a thing for angry and factious men to call one another heretics, I will here tell you what kind of men I mean, before I proceed further.

By a heretic, I mean one that, pretending to the name of a Christian, doth yet cut off himself from the catholic church by some error, subverting the essentials or fundamentals of the christian faith, and usually by actual separation from true Christians.

Where you may see that there are three sorts of heretics : The first are those that hold such errors as directly subvert the foundation, or so far subvert it that he cannot possibly hold the foundation itself while he holdeth that error, and yet doth not actually separate from the society and external communion of the church. This man is a heretic in heart and tongue, and such a one as cannot be saved ; but yet not a heretic of the highest strain, nor of the most common sort.

The second sort are those that, holding such damning doctrines, do withdraw also from the external communion of the catholic church, or true, orthodox Christians, and do set up separated churches of their own, pretending usually to more soundness in doctrine or worship than the true assemblies have among them. These are the common heretics of all ages of the church, who are composed of two parts, damning doctrine and schism, or separation from the catholic church ; the first as the soul, the second as the body. By the first, they separate from the church as invisible ; by the second, from the church as visible : or, to speak more properly, by the first they separate from the true, internal, spiritual communion of the church ; by the second, they separate from the external communion of it.

The third sort of heretics are those that separate only from the external communion of the catholic church ; of which there are also three distinct sorts.

1. Those that separate only corporally upon some perverse conceit, that they should be defiled if they join in any of their assemblies, or the like reason, or on some error about communion not fundamental thereto : I will not determine whether the name heretics or schismatics is more proper for them.

2. Those that corporally separate upon the denial of the fundamentals of external communion, though they deny not the fundamentals of internal communion, or of faith ; for such a distinction of fundamentals must be observed, as those that deny the office of the ministry, or a church-government, or any



essential part of that government, and upon that account separate from all the catholic communion: some call these heretics, and some schismatics: while we understand the matter, there need not be so much strife about the name. I incline to think that some of this sort may be saved, though salvation among them be rare and difficult.

The third sort is those that, besides the corporal separation, and the denying of fundamentals of communion (external), do also hold some dangerous error in other doctrines, which, though it subvert not the foundation or christian faith, doth yet sorely wound it: the salvation of these, also, I suppose possible, though difficult, if they so continue.

Though some call this latter sort all schismatics, yet, strictly, I suppose a mere schismatic is one that doth divide particular churches, yet holding communion with the universal church, and that both internal and external; for he may close with some particular churches, though he divide others. And these are of three sorts:

1. Those that separate from a true, particular church, without just cause, either through disobedience or the like sinful ground.

2. Those that separate not from the church, but yet stir up divisions and make parties in it.

3. Those that hold the principles of such schismatical courses in their minds, though they yet practise them not: these are but mentally schismatical, and not fully schismatics.

Having showed you whom I mean, I proceed to show how the devil hath showed his designs, and his opposition to Christ, by raising and encouraging such in all ages of the church.

The first heretics that we read of were the false apostles that troubled the church so about the Jewish law, teaching that a man could not be saved unless he were circumcised, and kept it; against whom the Synod (Acts xv.) was congregate, and against whom Paul oft contended, as the Epistle to the Galatians and Romans especially manifest. These so far prevailed as to draw the Galatians, as it were, to hearken to a new Gospel; to disobey the truth, so that Paul was afraid he had bestowed on them labour in vain; yea, they that would before have plucked out their eyes for him, did now take him for their enemy, because he told them the truth.

Next rose up Simon Magus, a Samaritan, who, by his strange magical works, was admired by the people, and called the great power of God, to whom they all gave heed at Samaria, from

the least to the greatest, because of a long time he had bewitched them by his sorceries, giving out that he was some great man : but seeing a higher power manifest itself in the miracles of the disciples, and in the giving of the Holy Ghost, he was convinced into a belief that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and baptised into his name ; yet never closing with him in sincerity, as his Saviour, he continued his former nature and designs, desiring to promote his own greatness, and not Christ's interest and honour (as all his servants did) by his new profession : and, therefore, would have bought of the apostles, with money, the power of giving the Holy Ghost, that he might have this added to the rest of his wonders to make great his name, and to bring him yet into higher admiration of the people. Whereupon he incurred that heavy censure of Peter, (Acts viii. 26,) which though, upon a seeming penitence, which he was affrighted into, was so far mitigated, as that a possibility of pardon was opened to him, yet was he forsaken by that Spirit and grace which he so abused, and given up to himself, and so became a leader of a deluded society, and an opposer of the apostles. To Rome he would go on Satan's work, as they did on Christ's : and there, by his witchcraft, he got into so much admiration in the days of Claudius, that he was taken for a god, and had a statue set up to him with this inscription : ' To Simon, the holy god ;' or as others, ' To Simon, the magician, a god.' (See Justin Martyr's 'Apolog. 2' of this.) In his contending with the two apostles, Peter and Paul, for the glory of his magical works, he would needs fly in the sight of the people, and at the prayers of the two apostles, tumbled down, and either presently or shortly after ended his wretched life. This is attested by not one or two, but most of the writers of the first ages, that meddle with matters of church history. (See Epiphanius of it, ' Lib. Hæres. 21.' Cyril. Hierosol. ' Cateches. 6. ') ' When he professed (saith he) that he would go up to heaven, and was carried in the air in the devil's chariot, the servants of God, on bended knees, in concord, manifested that which Christ had said, ' If two of you, consenting, shall ask any thing, it shall be done.' Sending up against the magician the dart of concord by prayers, they cast him down to the earth.'

So Arnobius, *Advers. Gentes*, (lib. 2,) saith ; ' The Romans saw the race or course of Simon Magus, and his fiery chariots blown away by the mouth of Peter, and vanishing away when Christ was named. I say, they saw him, that trusting to false

gods, and being betrayed by them when themselves were afraid, was precipitated by his own weight, and lay with his legs broke, and being carried to Brunda, being weary with torments and shame, he again cast himself from the top of a high place.' So Philostrius, (lib. iii.,) 'De Hæres. and Theodoret,' (lib. i.,) 'De Hæret. Fabul. Sulpit. Sever. Histor.,' (lib. ii.) besides others.

How abominable the heresy of this magician was, may appear by all the history of the church.

Irenæus (lib. i. cap. 20.,) saith; "That being by many glorified as a god, he taught them that it was he who appeared among the Jews as the Son, and descended in Samaria as the Father, and came into other nations as the Holy Ghost; and that he is in the highest power, even the Father, who is over all, and doth endure men to call him by several names. He led about a concubine, one Selene, or Helena, a Tyrian, whom he called the first conception of his mind, the mother of all things, by whom, at first, he mentally conceived angels and archangels, by whom, he said, this world was made; also, that his Enoea being here detained, was the Helena that occasioned the war of Troy, and the blinding of Stesichorus, and passing from body to body, at last was cast into a brothel-house, and this was the lost sheep which he came purposely from heaven to seek and deliver from bonds, and to give salvation to men by the knowledge of him; for seeing angels did not well govern the world, because every one sought to be the chief, he came to mend things, and descended transformed, and assimulated to powers, and angels, that he might to men appear as a man, being, indeed, no man, and so was thought to have suffered in Judæa, when, indeed, he did not suffer. The prophets, he said, were inspired by those angels that made the world, therefore those that trusted in him and his Selene need not regard them any more, and being now freemen may do what they list, for men are saved according to his grace, and not according to righteous works; for works are not naturally but by accident righteous, as the angels appointed that had made the world, bringing men into bondage by such kind of precepts; therefore he promised that the world should be loosed, and these that be his set free from the rule of them that made the world. Their mystical priests, therefore, do live in lust, and use witchcraft as they are able, and use exorcisms and enchantments, &c.:' thus Irenæus. Of which Epiphanius speaks more largely, reporting yet more of their filthy mysteries, and how he taught them that the flesh

perished and rose not again, the soul only surviving, and that the Gnostics had their original from him.

By all this it appeareth that this witch was the devil's agent, and that he had his help and doctrine both from him, and that he was sent to disgrace and oppose Christ and his doctrine, making the world believe, that it was he that in Jerusalem did seem to suffer under the name of Jesus, but indeed suffered not: and the world of wickedness that this wretch introduced by these sottish doctrines, backed with his witchcrafts, and the great success he had, and the trouble he put the church to, do show who was the master of the design.

'Next to Simon succeeded Menander,' saith Irenæus, (lib. i. c. 24,) 'a Samaritan, who also attained to the height of witchcraft. He taught them that the first power was unknown to all, but that it was he that was sent from the invisible to be the saviour of mankind, and that the world was made by angels, whom he also, as Simon said, were sent forth by Ennoia; and that there is given by her to those that are taught of her such magical knowledge, that they may overcome the angels that made the world; and that his disciples do, by his baptism, receive resurrection and die no more, but persevere without growing old or dying;' thus Irenæus: to which Epiphanius addeth, 'That he was Simon's disciple, and in most matters retained the doctrine of his master, but boasted that he was greater than his master was;' but, saith Epiphanius, 'As those Egyptian asps, that, being put together in a vessel, the strongest eats up all the rest, and at last eats off his own hinder parts; so have these heresies been destroyed and rooted out.'

Next to Menander arose Saturninus, (or as Epiphanius, Saturnilus,) an Antiochian, who retained much of the former doctrine, adding 'That they were seven angels that made the world, and man after their image, and that the Jews' god was one of the seven, whom Christ came to destroy, because he would not be ordered, but would be over the rest; and that Christ did but seem to be born, to walk, to eat, to die, but did not so indeed: and that good and bad angels making the world, they made one good man and another bad; and the bad striving against the good, Christ came to help the good: that the spark of life that at first was put into man, returning to its own kind is safe in all: but the rest, which is man indeed, and was of the angels, perisheth. Marriage and generation (he said) is of Satan; many of his followers eat not of living creatures, and, by abstinence,

deceive many. The prophecies (he said) were some from the angels that made the world, and some from Satan.' Thus Irenæus : and Epiphanius saith the same.

To Saturninus was joined Basilides, who would seem to advance these devilish heresies to a more rational sublimity, as they that list may read in Irenæus, Epiphanius, Tertullian, Eusebius, and others. He added, also, that Christ did not suffer on the cross, but took on him the form of Simon, and stood by and laughed at them, and turned Simon of Cyrene into his shape, and so it was he that was crucified : and that he that will be saved must not believe in him that was crucified, but in Jesus that came in the shape of a man, and was thought to have been crucified. They make all actions indifferent, and the use of all lust. They make three hundred and sixty-five heavens and principal angels, as there be days in the year. Those that know their mysteries, know all men, but are known of none : but all must not yet be revealed.

Their foundations they lay in feigned notions about invisible things, as Jacob Behmen of late did his. They say there was one unbegotten principle, who only is the parent of all things. Of him was begotten the mind, that is, Christ ; of the mind was begotten the word ; from the word came prudence ; from that virtue and wisdom ; from both these principalities, powers, and angels. These made the first heaven, and begot more angels : those made the second heaven and begot more, and so on.

To these succeeded Carpocrates, and the Nicolaitans, whose inhuman filthiness was such, and their devilish conceits so many and vile, that I will forbear to mention them. Only this, they made themselves like Christ, and some of them to be equal to him, and some the same with him, that good and evil differed not in deed, but in men's opinion. They worshipped images ; they lived in such horrid ways of lust and filthiness as is not to be named. Epiphanius himself unhappily fell in among them, and knew their ways from their own mouths and actions, but happily escaped when they would have drawn him to their lusts. They have multitudes of amazing words and notions, like our Behmenists, that would bring a man into a suspicion of witchcraft to read them. They used witchcrafts, and several sorts of enchantments, and kept devils in familiarity with them, that, by their means, they might increase their knowledge and power.

To these succeeded the Cerinthians, the Cerdonites, the Ebionites, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, who, as they had all the general name of Gnostics, from their own proud pretences of the knowledge of such mysteries as the catholic church was ignorant of, so were they called by the names of their several succeeding leaders, because every one added or altered somewhat from the doctrine of the former, yet holding the same in the main: and the Valentinians were more notoriously than the rest known by the name of Gnostics, and the Nicolaitans and Carpocratians also assumed it before them.

That all these heresies were certainly of the devil, appears thus :

1. By the devilish doctrine which they preached.
2. By the most unclean, abominable lives which they lived, and ceremonies which they used.
3. In that they all were the offspring of Simon Magus, a witch : for, as Irenæus shows, (lib. i. cap. 30,) they were all his disciples, and continued the substance of his doctrines, with some additions, though many of them would not own his name.
4. In that they used enchantments themselves, yea, and had familiarity with devils.
5. And Christ still prevailed against them, and broke them in pieces : though the devil was still repairing his house as fast as Christ broke it down, and raising a new sect-master to make up the breach when an old one was rooted out.

And besides the main difference (which lay in the purity of doctrine and life) wherein the church of Christ did differ from these heretics ; that was another, that the church was still one, and known by the simple name of Christians and Catholics ; but the heretics were many, and every age had a sect partly new, and of a new name, and sometimes many in an age.

The plain design of the devil in all this was to uphold his own honour and kingdom, and to dishonour God and ruin souls, and to make the christian faith seem questionable to the world, by the multitude of sects that still pretended to the Christian name ; and to make Christ's doctrine and followers seem abominable, while some that were called Christians were truly abominable.

I will give it you in the words of Epiphanius, who follows Irenæus in this application, as he doth in much of the history. When he mentioned their familiarity with devils to further

their aspiring to higher things, he adds, 'Which sort of men Satan seems to have fitted and sent for a reproach and stumbling block to the church of God ; as having put on themselves the name of Christians, that for their sakes the nations being offended, should abhor the profit of the church of God ; and should refuse the truth declared to them, because of their savage wickedness, and incredible vileness ; that I say, their frequent villanies being taken notice of, they might persuade themselves that those also are such that are of the holy church of God : and so may turn away their ears, as I said, from the true doctrine of God ; or at least beholding the dishonesty of a few, might cast the same reproaches upon all. And indeed, this is the cause that most of the gentiles, wherever they apprehend any of that sort, will have no society with us, either as to giving, or receiving, or counsel, or hearing the word of God, and will not so much as lend us their ears, so much are they driven off and deterred by the wicked crimes of these men.' So far Epiphanius of the use of these sects, which the devil maketh.

I have heard some of their successors, that are among us now, say, that these men were wronged by Epiphanius and others, both as to their doctrine and life : but it is not one or two, but all the church histories of those times, and discourses that occasionally mention them, that say the same things ; so that if men be not impudently and wilfully incredulous, the truth of the history in the main is unquestionable. Nay, I have mentioned but a small part of the abominations of these sects ; and if they will but read Epiphanius himself, they will see much more : and he himself doth it with an apology, professing that he was loth to have done it, lest the very naming of such abominations should do hurt : and professing that much is so vile, that he will not name it. And the more competent witness is he, in that he fell in among them, and was either one of them notionally, or very near it. And before and after him, the church writers generally confirm his testimony. Clemens Alexandrinus deals largely with them : indeed, for the Nicolaitans, Clem. Alexand. ' Stromat.' (lib. iii.) and ' Eusebius Histor.' (lib. iii. c. 23) and ' Theodoret' (lib. iii.) do say, that they falsely pretended the name of Nicolas to their heresy, as Ignatius ' Ad Trallianos' seems also to intimate. Yet Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, and Hierome, thought that he himself was their leader. However, we know what they were, and that even

Rev. ii. 6, they are called by the name of Nicolaitans. And let our heretics, that would befriend them, note that God saith there, "He hateth them:" and it is well known that the Simonians, Menandrians, Carpocratians, Basilideans, Valentinians, and the rest of the Gnostics, were, in the main, of the same litter and feather as the Nicolaitans, whom God said he hateth. And indeed, if they would take the testimony of Scripture against them, they might find more texts that condemn them than this. For they were most of them before the death of all the apostles; and it is evident that John calls them antichrists in his epistle, as being the men that denied Christ to have come, and suffered in the flesh, but said he did it in an apparition, or mere show, as such witches as their leaders perhaps might do.

It may be, some will be ready to blame me for so much as mentioning these old heresies, and taking up their names among us, lest it do hurt; but as the subject in hand doth lead me to it, so doth the sad judgment of God that hath lately befallen us. It is in vain now to keep men from these heresies by concealing them, for a great part of them are visible among us; they have infected men that seemed to have had some fear of God; I shall say more of these anon: in the mean time, note, that there is a great and notorious resemblance of the heresies of these times unto those. I know some will say, 'That if the Gnostics were so filthy, then those among us are not like them, for they seem strict, and self-denying, and mortified:' but note, that though all held the main points of their erroneous belief alike, yet they did differ somewhat in the point of lust and fleshly living among themselves; for, as Irenæus shows, (lib. i. c. 30,) Saturninus and Marcion were called continent, and so was their sect, for they forbade marriage, or persuaded men to abstain from it, 'thereby,' saith Irenæus, 'frustrating the ancient work of God, and obliquely accusing him that made man male and female for generation; and those that forbade the eating of flesh, were ungrateful to him that made all for their use.' Just so are there two sects among us lately sprung up, the one began in uncleanness and blasphemy, and all abominable riotousness, under the name of ranters; the other pretend to the extreme mortification of the Eremites, or rather of those last mentioned, and are called Behmenists and quakers, and yet in the main principles of their faith, wherein they disagree from the true church, they are among themselves agreed; as also, for the



most part of them, in their practice of reproaching all ministers and godly people that are not of their way.

I must confess it is my opinion that we have been much to blame in not making known to common Christians somewhat more of the nature of the heresies of the first ages, and the effects of them, by which they might have been better fortified against them; for now, for want of such information, the poor wretches take old, rotten, damned heresies, for new light from the Spirit of Christ, and many are ready, upon that very notion and account, to run after them to their own perdition, little knowing or thinking that ever these heresies were in the world before, and how they were used by Christ and his church. Had they but known when and how their highly honoured fancies did first arise, and what they brought forth, and how they sped, and what men they were that handed them down from Simon Magus till the time of their burial, the devil could not so easily have dug them up again, and have got religious men to make a feast of them. My brethren, therefore, that may blame me now for mentioning them, must accept of this excuse of my doings, instead of a conformity to their minds, till my own be altered.

By the way, it is to be noted, that the success that the devil had by those old heresies, by which he attended the springing church, and the Gospel of Christ, besides the hinderance of men's conversion in particular, was this: he occasioned the crimes of these heretics to be charged on all Christians, (as out of Epiphanius, I said before); so that the common reports among the heathen, that the Christians did eat their own children, and that they put out the lights at their meetings, and were unclean together, were raised from the wickedness of these Simonians and Gnostics; and withal, by this means, the persecution of the Christians was much increased and renewed, though yet the heretics themselves were not persecuted, as Justin Martyr affirms, (*Apolog.* 2,) and Origen., (*lib. vi. cont. Celsum*,) which might come from hence.

1. Because the heretics taking all outward actions to be indifferent, and good and evil to consist but in opinion, as some of their spawn among us also do, did judge it lawful to sacrifice to idols, or do any such thing that the magistrate bid them do, (which is Hobbs's religion,) rather than to suffer persecution; whereby they escaped, when the Christians, that were more tender-conscienced, and knew of a higher Lord and Master in heaven, durst not do so.

2. And withal it is plain, that the devil was the grand agent, both in the heresy and the persecution, and, therefore, would not persecute his own, having no mind to destroy his own kingdom.

I might, but for tediousness, run down this sad history of the devil's sowing the tares of heresy from age to age till this very day, wherein, it will appear, that he is a devoted enemy to Christ and his church; but I will overpass most of them, which you find in Epiphanius, Austin, Philastrius, or Theodoret, at pleasure, and only note next, his attempts to bring in Mahometanism and popery.

For the latter, he was as vigilant to corrupt the church itself, as to draw heresies out of it; to which end, he made special use of the pride, and pomp, and secular honours, and greatness of the bishops; so that, by degrees, he brought into most churches on earth too much error in some matters of doctrine, too much formality and superstition instead of true rational devotion in the worship of God, and too much tyranny and usurpation of authority over their brethren, instead of the true discipline and government of Christ. How much the church of Rome miscarried in all these, especially in this last, above all the churches on earth, is also too evident to those that are not unwilling to see.

And it is to be noted, that the more that, or any church was corrupted, the less careful was the devil to raise heresies out of it, or separations from it, because he had rather, if it might be, hereticate the whole; and while he had so great hopes and likelihood of poisoning their daily food and habitations at home, he was the less careful to draw them into dangers abroad; nor would he disturb them much with the clamours of heretics, while themselves did grow apace so like to them. This is the reason why the church of Rome hath had fewer separating heresies, since it began to be corrupted, schismatical, and tyrannical, than it had when it was more pure, and than the catholic church had in the first and purer times.

And, doubtless, this design of the devil, to corrupt the church of Rome, and cause them to elaim an universal episcopacy and headship over the whole catholic church, and to make that the centre of the church's union, is so evidently like himself, and suited to his ends, and so contrary to Christ, that he may easily be known to be his, (that is, Christ's) adversary. Whether the pope be the antichrist or not, I am sure the devil shows him-

self an antichrist in his exaltation and usurpation. The millions of souls that have been drowned in superstition, and led blindfold in commended ignorance, do show who hath been the pilot in that sea. The blood that hath been shed in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, England, and other nations, by fire and sword, for the suppression of a reformation, and extinguishing of the light, do show, that he, who was a murderer from the beginning, hath led on the inquisitors and blood-suckers to the work. The wilful opposing of evident truths, the obstinate refusal of all healing means, the carnal maintaining of their own interest, and rejecting all counsels of the prudent and moderate, doth show who it is that befriendeth their usurpation : so doth the ground which they have laid for perpetual dissensions, by the horrible schism, which they have caused and continue, making the catholic church a new thing, even the same with the Roman, and proudly calling the whole christian world to own their bishop as their head and governor, and declaring all that refuse it to be out of the catholic church, and resolving upon an everlasting separation from all that cannot so far stoop to them, and so unchurching all the churches of Christ in the world, except their own, and these that make themselves their subjects, and by proclaiming themselves infallible, putting us out of all hopes of a cure of the least of their abuses, injuries, or errors, till the sword cure it, or God open their eyes. All this shows that the devil hath been playing as great a game at Rome (by these pretended St. Peters) of late, as he did by Simon Magus in the beginning : besides all the corruptions in doctrine and worship, which they have introduced, teaching men to pray to and for the dead, to adore the bread and worship it with divine worship, to worship images, to pray to God in a tongue which they understand not, when they might as easily use that which they do understand, maiming the Lord's supper, with too many the like ; professing that they can live perfectly, without sin, yea, and meritoriously, and supererogate besides, and lay up a treasury of merits to redeem souls from purgatory : these, and abundance more, show that the prince of darkness hath had too great a hand in ruling their conclave and counsels, and an evil angel hath kept the keys too long of the castle of St. Angelo, or else there had not been such key keepers imposed upon their church.

If yet any question whether the devil hath had a hand in introducing their tyranny and errors, and in laying the foundation of their schism and corruptions; let him but peruse the

histories of one six or seven hundred years before Luther's time, and see how their popes entered, how they reigned, and how they ended. Let but their own writers, Platina, Ciaconius, Stella, and many more, be heard, who will tell you how some of them bought the popedom of the devil, how divers were conjurers, and multitudes horrible adulterers, or murderers. The mere English reader may, in short, take up with what Dr. Prideaux will inform him, from the year six hundred and six till one thousand six hundred and twenty three, and after; that is, from the beginning of Boniface the Third, till near the end of Urban the Eighth.

Thus hath the prince of darkness, Beelzebub, showed us his designs, and led on the armies that have marched against Christ, improving his craft and power, and deluding poor souls to be his unhappy instruments to blow out the glorious light of the Gospel, and hinder its efficacy, and disturb and tear in pieces the church, hold those in thralldom that Christ will rescue out of his hands.

And it is not altogether to be passed over, for the further discovery where the kingdom of Satan most consisteth, that the devil had formerly, in the times of popery, incomparably more power among men to appear to them, and haunt their houses and vex them, than now he hath. It is certainly known, that till the reformation, the haunting of houses and apparitions were much more common than now. And, at this day, it is much commoner among the papists than the protestants; I have spoken with old people, very credible for true godliness and honesty, that have professed when they were young, they have lived in such houses with papists, where they were vexed with them frequently day and night. I know, when we ask the papists the reason of this, they say 'It is because Satan will not trouble his own.' But, by that rule, all the Indians and barbarous heathens should not be his own, whom he commonly so troubleth. He will exercise his tyranny, and domineer as far as God restraineth him not: and we see he is more restrained with us than with them. Though I know, that as here he hath too many wicked men which are his servants, so he may and doth sometime exercise the like tyranny; but it is not so common as it is with them. The like I may say of witches, which with them have been more numerous, saving that of late so great a number were found in two or three counties here.

The next work of Satan against the church, that we shall mention, is his setting up Mahomet, whose Alcoran was vented

about the time that Pope Boniface the Third obtained of Phocas his universal supremacy, above six hundred years after Christ. It is a doubt among divines, whether the Mahometans should be reckoned infidels or heretics. For they confess, even Mahomet in his Alcoran, that Jesus Christ was a great prophet, that he was the mind of God, the wisdom of God, the word of God, and the Messiah which was foretold in the law, and by the prophets; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, conceived without any earthly father, by divine inspiration; that he was righteous; that he gave sight to the blind, healed the lame and sick, and raised the dead to life again; that he was taken up into heaven, and shall come again. Thus much of his Gospel God hath forced these multitudes of his enemies to attest.

But then they take up some of the old heresies, and say, that Christ was not crucified, but his image, or one like him, the Jews being deceived. They say, he shall come again on earth, at the end of the world, to confirm the law of Mahomet; the first propagators of the christian faith, they say, were good and holy men; but they would sottishly persuade men, that our books and religion are since corrupted, and that Mahomet's name is wiped out, of whom great matters were there spoken.

Whether we name them heretics or infidels, the matter is not great; but we know that they deny Christ's Godhead, as the Socinians do, being taught it by Sergius, the Arian monk, who was Mahomet's schoolmaster, and the maker of their religion. And though they thus far own Christ absolutely considered, yet, compared with Mahomet, they neglect him; and under pretence of the fore mentioned defection they hate the churches of Christ on earth, and are persecutors and professed enemies to the christian name.

So that a double hand of Satan is apparent in their profession; first, in the framing and founding of it; and secondly, in carrying it on. As he did by the rest of the heretics, so he hath done by them; while they retain and acknowledge some truths, as the unity of the Godhead, &c., they are made instruments of destroying the rest, and of ruining the professors of the true religion. I know Satan could not have procured them their great successes and victories, if God had not permitted or had a hand in it; but our sins had made us ripe for such a judgment. Victories and worldly powers have been the planters and propagators of their faith.

That it is of Satan, and one of his master-pieces in the great war that he hath with Christ, is manifest:

1. By the ancient heresies that bred it, and that it containeth.

2. By the dotages and self-contradiction of their Alcoran.

3. By the wickedness of it; encouraging them still to blood, allowing them four wives and as many concubines as they please, and promising them a sensual felicity hereafter; and contradicting the word of God in particulars, when they acknowledge the truth of it in general.

4. By the suitableness of it to carnal minds, and the ready reception that it findeth with such; so that the vilest barbarians are quickly made Mahometans; and there is a greater part of the world this day that are Mahometans, than Christians, merely by the force of the sword, and the sensuality of their religion.

5. And they will not suffer it to be disputed, nor reasoned of, but absolutely believe without asking for any evidence of its truth.

6. And the management and issue clearly shows it is but the devil's second army (next to the Pagans), by which he seeks to hold his possession, and to hinder Christ's kingdom, and persecute his subjects. For, by force they have already banished the most of the christian religion from a great part of the world, where once it was glorious; and the rest they are still infesting; and those under their power they keep in much thralldom, and suffering, and disgrace. So that it is most clear, that the setting up of Mahometanism was one of the most successful oppositions that ever the devil made against Christ and the Christian cause; having thereby rooted or kept out Christianity from so great a part of the earth by such silly, palpable dotages.

After Mahometanism, let us consider how he hath yet proceeded to defile, or destroy if it might have been, the remaining church of Christ, by renewing heresies to this day.

When Satan perceived that he could no longer keep up the tyranny and errors of popery undisturbed, but that Christ would send out such a light as should disgrace and dispel his darkness, he reneweth his old attempts again, and setteth upon Christ in his own kingdom, and falls upon the reformation in its own quarters. And as he set out Simon Magus, at first, to follow Simon Peter, and Paul, at the heels, and disturb them in their work, and disgrace Christianity, partly by diversity, and partly by the evil doctrines and lives of such as pretend to be Christians; so did he send out the like sect-masters after Christ's reformers, to stand up against them by the same artifices, and to disturb the labourers, and disgrace the reformation, by the di-

versity and evil doctrines and practices of those who pretended to be reformers with them.

Two trained bands doth Satan here send out to encounter the church and truth of Christ. The first are a mixed company that all go under the name of anabaptists; the other are enthusiasts, that go under divers names, but agree in their main design, of whom I shall speak anon.

It was the subtlety of Satan to begin with the point of infant baptism, both because it was not all so expressly mentioned in Scripture, as some greater matters are, and, therefore, would hold more controversy and talk, and he might more easily bring them to a confidence in their mistakes, or at least a suspicion of our doctrine; and also because if he could so far loose them from Christ as to make them repent of their former dedication to him, and disclaim it, he might think to have the more power over them himself. However it were, experience certainly informeth us that this egg did multiply to such a generation of vipers, as threatened to eat out the bowels of the reformed churches. They made the reformation odious to many. They began in a seeming simplicity and harmlessness, as if we had not reformed enough, but they must carry on the work where we left it, and cast out children from the church, as we cast out separation and errors; but when the spirit within them had once vent and field-room for agitation, it soon discovered itself to be of the great deceiver. In Germany, Thomas Muntzer preached the people into a rebellion, and got a numerous army of the seduced ones into the field, and while he promised them victory, they were routed and hewed in pieces, and himself put to a terrible death. In the city of Munster, they made head against the bishop, who was their prince; and expelled him and the magistrates, and put some to death, and made John of Leyden their king, who, after a little barbarous cruelty and domineering for a few weeks, was put to death with many of his new subjects, at the taking of the city. Yet some of them lived, and broke out into various sects: David George headed one party of them, and taught them that he was the Holy Ghost; and as the Father's doctrine saved them till Christ, and the Son's Gospel till now, so the doctrine of this David, who was the Holy Ghost, was as much higher than the doctrine of the Son, as the Son's was higher than the Father's. Thus did he take hands with the second sect, the enthusiasts, and join two into one.

The second sect had many heads, in some things differing one

from another. Some followed Schwenkfeldius, and some lurked and made no great noise with their opinions, as being not able to make any great party. Of these, the chief leader was Paracelsus, a drunken conjurer, who had converse with devils, as Simon Magus, the first master of the heretics, had ; by which it is not hard to know whence he had his new doctrines. This is not only testified by Erasmus, in his disputation against him, but by George Wetter, a godly, learned man, that was Paracelsus' companion for two years together, who told him what wages Satan would pay his servants, and asked him why he would follow that course, and he answered him that he would shortly repent, and forsake them. Joannes Oporinus, also, Theodore, Zuingerus, Bullinger, Conrad, Gesnerus, and others, do witness that he used magic, and devils, and would be so frequently drunk that men could scarcely tell when to speak with him. Oporinus had been his amanuensis and companion, and saith, he saw neither learning nor godliness in him, but skill in medicines : and that he would sit up till midnight, and then leap down on his bed with his sword by his side, and rising up, would so lay about him on the walls and floor with his naked sword, that Oporinus was oft afraid he would have cut off his head. This Oporinus was the learned, famous printer of Basil. Yet this Paracelsus was the great corrupter of divinity, the father of many new conceits contradictory to Scripture : upon his foundation his successors built, as Menander did on Simon Magus, and Saturninus, and Basilides, and others, on his. John Arndt magnifieth him ; Weigelius calls him exceedingly illuminated, and his theology he calls the pure and incorrupt Scripture of the prophets and apostles : this Weigelius was the chief of his followers and successors. Then steps in John Arndt, Julius Sperber, Jesaias Stiefel, and Ezekiel Meth, Paul Felgenhaver, and Jacob Behmen, whose books, much taken out of Paracelsus, and furthered by Kempis, Taulerus, and others, are now translated into English by some admirers of him, possessed by the same conceits. The cloudy nonsense, or wilful obscurity, draws them into admiration of them first, and they think there is sure some admirable mysteries in those enigmatical expressions, and so they are tired on to so long an expense of time in the search, till they are habituated to his arrogancy and folly. What his doctrines are, what new prophecies he produceth, and discoveries of things before and about the creation, angels, the soul, heaven and hell, &c., which the Scripture revealeth not, is too



commonly known in his books, which yet are pretty well locked up, and made more harmless by such ridiculous and yet hideous bombardical words, as Basilides, Valentinus, and the first heretics used. And indeed, never had the world a generation so like them in doctrinals as some of these late enthusiasts. Weigelius' books have a gnostic title; they all pretend to a higher knowledge of mysteries about angels, spirits, and spiritual states, and God himself, than the church knoweth; and yet they give us neither reasons with Aristotle, nor miracles with Christ and his apostles, to cause us to believe any of their new revelations: as if we must take them on their bare (scarce intelligible) words. They that would see more of these German prophets, and how Behmen had his doctrine from the books of Paracelsus; let them read Beckman's 'Exercitations,' (p. 346, 347,) and so forward.

From Germany let us pass a little into England, and see how the same devil in enmity to Christ hath here sent out his false prophets to hinder the reformers, and to have destroyed, if it might be, the work of reformation.

Just such another sect as some of the old gnostics did arise under the name of the family of love, who made one Henry Nichols the leader of their party. They turned almost all the supernatural revelation in Scripture to an allegory, and so denied even Christ's incarnation, death, and resurrection, and ascension in sense, while they seemed to believe the words that did express it. They very much gloried in the light and spirit within them, and called the written word but the letter, and so would have brought down God's law as a dead letter, and have set up their own conceits, passionate fancies, and dreams, as the Spirit. Abundance of horrible doctrines they added, like those of the old Gnostics, their predecessors. You may see some of them in Mr. Bailye's 'Dissuasive,' and Mr. Rutherford 'Against Familists,' &c. To these were annexed, in Germany, the Libertines, who denied the immortality of the soul, and made good and evil to lie but in opinion, and many more like them of old (of which see Calvin, against them, and in his 'Psychopanichia'). In England they were called Antinomians, and some of them were much worse in doctrine and life than others. These two sects did here usually mix. The common road of this heretical devil being ordinarily by separation to anabaptistry, from anabaptistry to antinomianism or Pelagianism, for there the way parted, and from antinomianism to libertinism, and so to familism, and so to hell without repentance.

Of this tribe was Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, who lived a while as wrapped up in the Spirit, and in antinomian fancies, and a great number of their party called Grundletonians, from a village in Yorkshire, where they lived or met. I had an old, godly friend that lived near them, and went once among them, and they breathed on him as to give him the Holy Ghost; and his family, for three days after, perceived him as a man of another spirit, as half in an ecstasy, and after that he came to himself, and came near to them no more: but the hanging of Hacket, who died blaspheming, which story is so commonly known that I need not mention it, did much mar their matters; and Arthington's recantation, in a book called his 'Seduction,' did stay many: for he and Coppinger were the two witnesses that were to proclaim up and down London that Hacket was the Christ that was come to judge them.

Whilst these heretics assaulted the reformation and the Gospel on one hand, the devil was as busy to stir up the church governors themselves to the disrelish of godliness, to superstition, and tyranny, on the other hand, who, upon the difference about ceremonies and subscription first, and afterwards upon the introduction of more of their forms of worship without law, did suspend, silence, expel, imprison, many learned, godly, sober ministers, that were most diligent in pulling down the kingdom of Satan, and did him the greatest hurt, by rescuing the ungodly out of his hand; besides a multitude of godly people that were troubled, banished, and driven to seek remote habitations, even as far as America. Upon which Satan got a further double and great advantage, besides the grievous breach and ruins that he made in the church. The first was, that he made practical godliness become odious and a scorn among the people, and the godly to be reproached as puritans, and men that were needlessly precise. The second was, that he kindled, on this occasion, a deeper discontent, in the minds of some of the persecuted, against their persecuting governors than was meet, and set them in too keen an opposition against them. By which means the devil prepared us to those factions and animosities which presently broke out into an unhappy war: in which war, as in all wars, the reins being more loose, and soldiers having both provocations to stir up their pride, passion, and dissent from their enemies to the height, and also opportunity to vent their opinions, and to propagate them with less contradiction, because they were removed further from the inspec-

tion of able ministers, and were put into a proud, domineering, and licentious capacity: it came to pass that a few separatists and anabaptists, that were at first in the city and army, did grow in two or three years' time to a multitude, and by the policies of Satan and his instruments, did propagate and spread their conceits through the countries, and cast both church and state, and the minds of men into such distempers that they had fuller opportunity to fish when the waters were thus troubled; and the papists secretly fomenting the whole work, and all Satan's heretical agents combining upon their common interest, and upon the libertine account of toleration for them all; at last, by many flagitious and abominable practices, they got so far into the saddle, and to that height and number, and to those advantages for the propagation of their way, which our eyes have seen, and the faithful have lamented, so that now they are upon the Munster principles, many of them seeking after reign and dominion, and think the time is come, or near, when the rebaptised saints must judge the world, and the kingdom must be theirs, and they must rule and break the nations, at least, for a thousand years.

A man would scarcely have believed that saw the first spring of separation and anabaptistry among us, that it would have produced those fearful effects, which we have since beheld. The devil knew better what was contained virtually in that seed, and what an inundation might follow the first breaches of our schisms, than we did: or else he would not have so far out-gone us in diligence; somewhat more we should have done to resist him, and less to assist him, than we did. He hath now got such an army of heretics to spit their venom daily in the face of Christ, that we may hear easily, by their voices, whether Satan be for Christ or against him. From separation and anabaptistry and antinomianism, they have proceeded to such madness and abominable conceits, and to so great variety of them, as I scarcely read of in any time of the church, except in the days of the Simonians, Nicolaitans, and the rest of the gnosticks in and near the days of the apostles, and in the time of David George and some others, in the reformation.

And here I may well note the seasons that this destroyer takes, for the sending forth his lying spirits, and spreading his heresies: it is when and where Christ is doing his greatest works. The apostles and their next successors, that had the most glorious work to do, had also the sharpest assault and

greatest opposition from these heretics. The work of reformation in the days of our fore-fathers had the next part of Satan's malicious opposition. How loth was he that such works as these should have gone on ! In England, he saw of late how earnestly men were set upon a full reformation ; what resolution there was in rulers, and what desires in many of the people, to have seen a plenty of faithful teachers, and discipline faithfully exercised, and God purely and seriously worshipped ; so that that great work was never half so likely to have been accomplished, if the enemy had not subtly interposed, and corrupted the heads and hearts of so many, and made them the destroyers that but a little before were forward to build. We could not foresee, in the height of our successful beginnings, that which Paul could then see in theirs. (Acts xx. 29, 30.) What grievous wolves should enter, not sparing the flock, and that of our own selves should men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. But, alas ! while we slept, that envious enemy hath sowed these tares ; so that I think we may almost compare with the first heretics for vileness and variety.

Some we have that turn Socinians, denying Christ's Godhead and satisfaction, and the Godhead of the Holy Ghost ; some turn libertines, and some familists ; some seekers, and that of divers strains. Some down-right infidels, under that and other titles ; even deriding the holy Scriptures, and Christ himself, as far as they dare speak out for fear of blemishing their reputations. No heaven or hell do they believe but what is now within them, nor any higher felicity than to be epicures, nor any life after this which they shall live. And herein are far worse than almost all the pagans on the earth, yea, than the savage Americans, who commonly believe a life of happiness or misery hereafter. May you not see in these men how Satan befriendeth Christ ? Nay, that the devil drives them on is yet more apparent, in that these very men, that believe no life to come, are yet as diligent and busy to make others of their mind, and increase their party, as if they had the greatest motives to impel them. Whereas, rationally, he that thinks man so contemptible a creature as to die like a dog, hath no reason much to regard whether men entertain his opinion or no ; though he that believeth an everlasting joy or torment may see reason enough to move him to such endeavours, that men may escape the misery, and be happy.

Besides these, we have had, and yet have, a horrible, hateful

sect of men called ranters, who make it their very religion to swear out the most full-mouthed oaths by multitudes, and openly blaspheme the God of heaven, and so meet, and dance, and roar together ; and commit whoredoms and filthiness without shame, owning it, and glorying in it, when they have been punished or examined : so that they seem to match the Simonians and Nicolaitans. They fall into trances, and there lie with their bodies swelled, and strangely acted, and then fall into their raptures and blasphemings. When the law began to restrain these for their wicked practices, the same deceiving spirit raiseth up another sect in their stead, called quakers, who hold many of their doctrines, and take their course in other respects ; only, instead of ranting, open wickedness, they pretend to as great mortification of the flesh as the ancient Eremites, and more. They fall into trances, swell, quake, and tremble, and yell, and roar, and after the fit is over, fall a threatening judgments, sometimes against common sins : but the very life and venom of all their speeches and endeavours is against the ministry, to make them odious in the eyes of the people. As I have seen the letters of the ranters so full of the most hideous blasphemies against God, as I thought had never come from any but the damned, so have I had letters from these quakers myself, so full of railing and reviling, from end to end, as I never saw before from the pen of man, either mad or sober, nor ever heard from the mouth of any. Of these two last sorts, divers have run about naked, and some said they were Christ. One ran naked into Whitehall chapel in the time of worship : one eat his own dung, in imitation of Jeremy. To know more of them, see the relation of Richard Gilpin's case. Some of them pretend yet to greater sobriety, and make no great noise in the world ; and those are but few, and men of commendable parts, who are deeply possessed with the fancies of Jacob Behmen, the German Paracelsian prophet, and the Rosicrucians, and set themselves mainly to a mortification of bodily desires and delights, and advancing the intellective part above the sensitive, (which is well,) but the doctrine of Christ crucified and justification by him is little minded by them. They do, as the quakers, maintain the popish doctrine of perfection, that they can live without sin, or that some of them can. They aspire after a visible communion with angels, and many of them pretend to have attained it, and frequently to see them. The rest have that immediate intuition of verities by the spirit within them, or by revelation, that it is

above mere rational apprehension, and therefore they will not dispute, nor be moved by any arguments or Scriptures that you bring, affirming that ratiocination cannot prevail against their intuition. The sum of their doctrines is, that we must be perfect, and for subjecting the flesh to the intellect, we must live in contemplation, lay by all offices in the commonwealth, and own no fleshly relations, as they call them, not the relation of brother or sister, not the relation of a magistrate, or of a master, not the relation of a father or mother, son or daughter, nor love any because of such a relation, but only as justice binds us to requital for what they have done for us. That none should own the relation of husband or wife, nor love each other as so related. That we should endeavour to be perfect, and therefore to forbear all carnal acts of generation, as being of sin and of the devil, and therefore husband and wife should part asunder, or abstain. That all things should be common, and none should own propriety, with abundance more, which are founded on certain vain, unproved fancies of Behmen, that God at first created man a spiritual body, in one sex only, and that containing both sexes virtually, having an angelical power of spiritual generation, and that this gross corporeity, and diversity of sex, marriage, and generation, are all the fruits of sin and Satan, with abundance more such audacious vanities, not worth the reciting.

The truth is, there is a strange combination of the endeavours of the papists and the devil in most of these late heresies. The matter and manner, the strange imposture, and transportations and motions, and wicked, abominable lives of some of them, and railing of others, do show that he is the father of it: so do the intolerable doctrines which they bring, and the opposition that all make to Christ, or the christian faith and communion.

And that the popish priests or jesuits are the leading, busy actors of the whole game, we easily discern, both in that they are frequently discovered in it, and in that the whole frame of the design hath a popish aspect, and the face of their doctrines shows that they came from Rome. Their main business is to bring down the credit of the Scriptures and ministry, and if that were done, the papists would think they had the day. They also directly lead to their monastical and eremetical solitude, and making that rigour to the body, and denying marriage, propriety, and worldly employments, to be for their

righteousness, which they trust in, and in this they must be perfect. But, doubtless, the issue of this (as the powder plot, and all other wicked attempts have done) will cast such a shame on the face of Rome, that it will prove no small wound to their cause, and, I hope, much cross their own expectations. I confess it doth very much to turn my heart from them further than else it would be.

1. To see that their cause is such, and their doctrine such as needeth and owneth such abominable ways to maintain it; and that their most zealous, learned men are such as dare own and practise such wicked courses. Doth Christ's kingdom need such hellish plots and attempts for the sustaining of it? If the Roman kingdom were Christ's, it would not stand on such cursed props, nor would they go to hell for armour to defend it. It appears, that they will rather introduce all the heresies, blasphemies, and infidelity itself, by their secret seductions, than they will neglect to promote their own interests and designs.

2. And it confirms me much against them to see that the devil and the pope are both of a mind, and that Satan doth so notoriously join with them in the design, and show so much of his power and malice in the prosecution of it.

I have been somewhat long upon this work of the great enemy, to show how he brings up his band of heretics against Christ. I shall be more brief in the rest; though they are such as might hold us long, if we stood upon the application of them to the matter in hand, as the usefulness doth deserve; for they all put it out of doubt, that Satan is the leading enemy of Christ.

### *Sect. IX.*

The sixth way by which the devil hath showed his enmity to Christ, is by open persecution of his subjects, and violence against his Gospel and kingdom; in which, though he could go no further than God in wisdom saw good to permit him, yet so far hath he gone, as that the effects of his hellish rage are the subject of many voluminous histories, which being common in men's hands, I shall say but little of it.

As Satan was a murderer from the beginning, (John viii. 24,) maliciously supplanting our new-created progenitors, and drawing them under the guilt of threatened death, so when the eternal Word did interpose for their redemption, and opened again to man a door of life, the malice of the enemy is so far from being abated, that it is more enraged and engaged against

us than before. He had before a malicious hatred to man, but now he hateth him as recovered yet more, and hath a special enmity to the promised seed, both Christ and all his members. And so speedily and openly doth this appear, that he arms one of Adam's sons against the other upon this account. The first man that was born into the world is so far overcome by this envious spirit, as to murder his brother, because his own works were evil, and his brother's good. (1 John iii. 12.) And thus did he still rage against the promised seed, as in Egypt by Pharaoh and his witches or magicians, from whom Moses bore the reproach of Christ, that is, which the serpent principally intended against Christ, and which was cast upon him for the cause of Christ. (Heb. xi. 26.) So also from generation to generation.

But the seed incarnate, and seed now come on earth among men, did yet draw out more of the rage of the enemy than the seed as merely promised did. How quickly is Herod enraged by the tempter to seek his life, while he is yet in infancy, even to the murdering of multitudes of infants for his sake! How cruelly doth that devil that provoked Herod to keep his brother's wife, provoke him also to imprison and behead the forerunner of Christ, John the Baptist! When it pleased the Lord Jesus to submit himself to an extraordinary combat with the tempter, (Matt. iv.,) how maliciously did he seek to draw him to sin, even that sin which is most abominable, the worshipping of himself instead of God. Of purpose did Christ submit to this conflict; because as happiness was lost by the first Adam, through the victory of the tempter, so must it be recovered by the second Adam, through his victory over the tempter. He that did conquer must thus be conquered, that sinners might be rescued from the captivity in which he held them. First, Christ must overcome by obedience, tried to the utmost by temptation, and then he must also overcome by suffering. By overcoming temptation he must overcome Satan as tempter, who had got the rule of the will of man; and by death he must overcome him as the prince of death, that had got the power of executing God's sentence. (Heb. ii. 14.)

The continual rage of Satan's instruments against Christ while he was on earth, did further testify his hatred of Christ. Though they confessed the glory of his works, and the excellency of his words, and though none of them could convince him of sin, yet they hated him. The reason he tells them, "Because they were of their father the devil, who was a mur-



derer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth." (John viii. 44.) It is evident that it was an extraordinary enmity of Satan that possessed the Jews with this rage against Christ, through God's permission, and wise and gracious ordering for the redemption of the world: for the Jews were at that time in an expectation of the Messiah, and ready to run after any other that called himself the Messiah. Those that came in their own name, without any testimony of mission from God, they would receive: but Christ that came, in his Father's name, with his testimony of prophecies, miracles, and the rest, him they received not. When false Christs came presently after him, according as he had foretold, they run out after them, one after another, even to rebellion against the Romans, and the desolation of their nation.

• All Christ's sufferings, as they were the effects of man's sin, and God's hatred of sin, and his governing justice, considering Christ as made sin for us; so were they the effects of the malice and rage of the devil, who now was at the sword's point with him, and at the closing stroke, and was doing the worst he could against him. This was the time that the serpent must eminently bruise his heel. Christ himself tells the Jews that so it was when they came to take him, that this was their day and the power of darkness. (Luke xxii. 53.) That is, in which the prince and power of darkness must so far prevail as to cause his shameful death, or else he could not be a sacrifice for sin, nor conquer and triumph by a resurrection, and lead captivity captive, and give the gifts of the Spirit to men upon his ascension. And therefore he would not call for that help from heaven, nor those legions of angels which were at his will, because this was the time of the power of darkness: but when his hour was not yet come, nor this murdering piece of the enemy ready to be discharged, then, though he were daily teaching among them in the temple, and stirring up their rage, yet laid they not hands on him. Two hours of the power of darkness did Christ especially meet with; the aforesaid hour of temptation in the wilderness, where the tempter must be let loose in an extraordinary kind; and this hour of his suffering. It was Satan that here buffeted Christ by the hands of wicked men; that spit upon him by their mouths, that crowned him with thorns; that crucified and pierced him, and put him to death, and would have kept him there if all the power of hell could have done it.

When Christ had overcome and was ascended into glory, the

enemy draws his sword against his servants, and provokes the deluded Jews to persecute them, and the high priests and pharisees to stir up the people, and also the Roman power against them. How furiously are the apostles threatened and scourged, even when they confirmed the doctrine of Christ by miracles ! (Acts iii.) How cruelly is Stephen stoned to death ! How quickly is James killed, and Peter imprisoned to the like intent ! Paul haleth men and women to prison, to compel them to blaspheme ; and when he could persecute them no longer, he is persecuted himself, imprisoned, scourged, tossed up and down, having many conspiracies against his life ; everywhere are the Christians spoken against and persecuted, cast out of synagogues, called before kings, hated of all wicked men, having all manner of evil sayings and doings against them, for the sake of Christ, as he had foretold them it should be. So cruelly were the apostles themselves used, that it is supposed, that of the twelve, with Paul adjoined, there were none but John that escaped their murderous hands, the rest being all offered in martyrdom for Christ ; and to John himself they did their worst, and banished him when they could not kill him. Their successors also succeeded them in their sufferings. The common lot of Christians was reproach, imprisonment, and cruel death ; so that the Holy Ghost doth warn them all to expect it, telling them that through many tribulations they must enter into the kingdom of heaven, and that all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution, and not think the fiery trial strange. Few of the pastors of the church did then escape martyrdom. So that of thirty Roman bishops successively very few escaped this death. The like was the lot of other pastors, at Jerusalem, Alexandria, Carthage, and the rest of the world where Christianity was set up.

That this was the doing of the malicious serpent, appeareth evidently :

1. In that the worst of men were their greatest persecutors : Nero led the way, and was most cruel ; Domitian, and most of the rest, were of his strain ; the best emperors and people had the least hand in it, for the most part.

2. In that it was for the maintaining of idolatry that this cruelty was exercised, together with the suppression of the christian faith.

3. The savage and hellish cruelty that they exercised doth manifest it. It were endless to mention the multitudes that

were torn in pieces by wild beasts, hanged, burned, crucified, torn with pincers, thrust in with stakes from the fundament through the mouth, whipped to death, cast down from the rocks, beheaded, thrust by hundreds into places where they were burnt together, drowned, hung up by the heels, roasted on spits and gridirons, pressed to death, pricked with nails and reeds to death, hanged by one hand, or by the middle till they died, men and women hanged naked by one foot till they died, put by multitudes into the fish-ponds and waters to be frozen to death, their skins flayed off alive, stoned to death, beaten with clubs, and many the like torments. The English reader that would see it in a narrower room, may read Mr. Samuel Clark's 'Martyrology.' Could any thing but hellish, unmerciful malice kindle and foment such flames as these? Nay, they hewed their own soldiers to death by multitudes, that were Christians, and spared not men of any degree.

4. It is yet more apparent that it was the devil that thus raged, because they were his agents that were the great inciters of the emperors hereunto, as well as his interest that was the ground of the quarrel. For not only Apollonius Tyanæus, that famous sorcerer, but all the rest of the magicians or witches were the great upholders of idolatry, and opposers of the Christians, and causers of their sufferings. And doubtless it was not God that set the conjurers on work, but their own master, by God's permission.

5. Moreover, this persecution doth more fully discover the enmity that Satan hath against Christ, in that it was the Christians that were culled out to this cruel usage, when others were honoured, or let alone. Indeed, the Jews were hardly used, but not in that manner as the Christians, for their religion, but the ground and manner was far different.

1. One main reason was, because they so oft rebelled against the Romans, which the Christians did not.

2. And God hath subjected them to misery for their infidelity.

3. And yet a great cause was, because they held so much of God's truth as the doctrine of the Old Testament, and did oppose the pagan's multiplicity of gods, and their idolatry: for which the devil doth owe them also a grudge.

But for all that taught or did any thing against Christ and his ways, or maintained any vanity of wickedness, they were not troubled. The philosophers might be of as many sects as they pleased, and oppose one another as bitterly, and yet never be

haled to torments, unless any, with Socrates, would presume to speak against idolatry, the worship of devils; and then he also might feel it. Every country might have gods of their own, and as great variety as they would, and never be put to death or troubled for it. Only the Christians are the men, through all the world, that must be hated and persecuted. Nay, it is very observable that though the heretics, that went under the name of Christians, were the occasion of their reproaches, yet did they suffer them in their filthiness, and fall upon the orthodox Christians. Justin Martyr, in his 'Second Apology,' tells them that "Whatever these heretics be, it is most certain that they are not persecuted, nor put to death for their opinions." Origen, 'Against Celsus,' (lib. vi,) showing that the Simonians were then quite worn out, for all they accounted idolatry indifferent, and so avoided persecution, saith further, "*Immo nec ulla persecutio contra Simonianos unquam exerta est; sciebat enim malus dæmon doctrinæ Jesu insidiator, nihil periculi suis rebus imminere à Simonis discipulis:*" that is, 'Yea, there was never any prosecution raised against the Simonians; for the evil spirit that plotted against Christ's doctrine did know that there was no danger from Simon's disciples likely to befall his cause or affairs.' If an army invade a country, which are half English and half Spaniards, and shall cull out the English and put them to the sword, and let the Spaniards alone, may not any man know that the general and commanders of the army are friends to the Spaniards, or special enemies to the English? So, when all idolaters, heretics, and impious persons are befriended, and only Christians and professors of truth destroyed, may you not see that it is their grand enemy, and a friend to idolatry and heresy that is the author of it?

6. Moreover, it is evidently from Satan, in that it is so propagated in the hearts and cruel actions of persecutors from age to age. It is not only one age, nor one emperor that hath taken this course; but as at first, ten successively, with some breathing calms under the most sober rulers, of the heathen emperors; so afterwards when the heretics themselves got in power, they were as bloody and cruel as the pagans. Also, it was not in one country, or under one prince's laws alone, but everywhere they found the same hellish malice and its effects. And it was the magicians that instigated them in other countries too, above any other men. It was they that set Sapoors, king of Persia, on his cruel persecution; and so in other places.

How cruelly did the Arian emperors, Constantius and Valens, use the Christians ! Fourscore ministers, that came to Valens to complain of the Christians' sufferings, were burned together in a ship.

The Vandal Arians, under Gensericus, and many of his barbarous successors, are yet more cruel, and put the true Christians, especially the ministers, to as exquisite torment as the pagans had done before them. Some were sawed asunder, some were made the food of swine, some anointed with honey and hung up for wasps to eat, some dragged by the heels, naked, through thorns and briars and stony ways, with many the like torments.

And what the Christians have suffered from the Turks, and other Mahometans, through all their dominions, I think I need not recite.

And as you have heard what Satan hath done by infidels and heretics, which withdraw from the church ; so, thirdly, if he can but get any that call themselves Christians, and hold the fundamental truths, to be false to their own profession, and to engage themselves in any worldly, ambitious designs, or to entertain any corruptions in doctrine, worship, or government, how ordinarily doth he make use of these for the violent opposition and persecution of the truth and servants of Christ ? Whoever be the instrument, he careth not, so it be Christ and his kingdom that is opposed ; yea, he had rather do it by them that pretend to be his servants than by any others, for then, 1. He can make their very misguided zeal an instrument of his cruelty ; 2. And he can make the world believe that all these being Christians, their religion is uncertain, and their natures as cruel as any others, when they so contend and persecute each other ; 3. And it gratifieth his malice more to turn the name and profession of Christianity against Christ, and to fight against him under his own colours, than to do it by open adversaries : 4. besides that, such venom and corruption in the bowels of the church hath a greater tendency to its ruin than the withdrawing of any parts from it can have.

And, indeed, it is but false friends and real enemies, such as seem Christians, but are not so indeed, nor were ever truly joined unto Christ, whom Satan employeth in these works of cruelty (excepting what lesser injuries may be done in a passion, as Asa did).

When Satan had by degrees seduced the church of Rome to so many innovations and errors, and had got such interest among

them, and engaged them in such an ambitious, tyrannical enterprise as to domineer over all the christian world, both princes, pastors, and people, and to corrupt the doctrine and worship of Christ, upon this account he maketh them his instruments for as cruel and bloody persecutions of Christ's churches, and as malicious endeavours to hinder the light of the Gospel, as ever were performed by infidels, Mahometans, or the filthiest heretics that ever I read of. I shall give but a touch on this, because it is so largely recorded in Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' and Mr. Clark's 'Martyrology,' besides many others, which, for all their rage against them, shall stand as records of their hellish cruelty, to all generations.

Their murders upon so many thousands of the Albigenses and Waldenses, godly people of France, both there and in other countries whither they fled, is beyond most of the heathen's persecutions. Of many hundred thousand persons that were judged to be of the Waldenses' faith, against the pope's usurpation and corruptions, they so slaughtered, and scattered them and consumed them, that few of their societies were there left visible. Their own bishops complained that they could not provide lime and stone to build prisons for them, nor defray the charge of their food; the world was even amazed at the cruelties which they exercised. Thousands of men, women, and infants, they burned together in caves, forced them headlong from the rocks, burned them at stakes, and many ways butchered them, and at last assaulted them by armies, and forced them to defend themselves against this papal cruelty. They raised armies against them out of many nations, as against infidels, to merit paradise by their murders; and continued these wars for very many years; burning their towns, and driving the women, with their children, into the snowy mountains and caves to perish, or inhumanly butchering them.

To recite the cruel slaughters that they made also in Bohemia, would be too long. The horrible murders that since then they have made in France, breaking faith with them, and killing them in the churches, when they were met to worship God; were it but that one massacre at Paris, and other cities and countries thereupon, it were enough to show that it was the hellish enemy of Christ and his Gospel, that led them on; and to tell all generations to come what principles hell and Rome are acted by, and how insatiable their thirst is for the blood of upright, righteous men! It is generally supposed that they

murdered, at that time, ten thousand persons in Paris, and thirty thousand within a few weeks in that and other places: and that even then when they pretended peace, and seemed to live in quietness, suddenly rising in one night to this bloody execution.

Through the great mercy of God, we in England have tasted but little of their fury in comparison of their sufferings. Yet what days we had in part of Henry the Fifth's reign, and Henry the Eighth, and especially in Queen Mary's, and how many were stifled in prisons, and burnt at stakes, up and down the land, in four or five years' space, Mr. Fox in his 'Acts and Monuments' hath acquainted you, and it is too near us to be quite unknown or forgotten.

The Spanish invasion, in 1588, was but a threatening.

The gunpowder-plot, by which they would have blown up the heads of the nation, lords, bishops, and commons, at once, in preparation to the rest of the tragedy; this was but a Romish squib to make sport with. Such murders as were committed on Henry the Third, and Henry the Fourth, kings of France, are but a popish salutation. A breakfast they gave us in Ireland of the cruel bloodshed of so many thousand, in a few days, as hath brought by the ensuing revenging war such a dinner to the actors as such inhuman wretches might well expect.

It were endless to mention the blood that these leeches have sucked, by the devil's appointment, in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, and other countries. Were there no more to discover the hellish and Romish fury, but the Spanish inquisition only, it might for ever shame and confound the agents and their principles: it were too long to relate all their subtle, deceitful examinations, tedious imprisonments in a dark, narrow, nasty hole, separate one from another, where it is worse than death for any to give them the least relief, or let them speak to one another, or hear from one another; and this, perhaps, for two or three years, if they die not the while: and then they are tormented with the most cruel tortures that they can devise: their bodies stripped stark naked, in a remote dark cellar, the inquisitors sitting on seats, appointed for the purpose, to direct the tormentors, and intermix their examinations and reproaches; their hands are first tied behind them, and cords tied thereto, and weights at their feet, and so they are drawn up by a pulley to the top of a gibbet, and let down again, and at last strap-padoed; when they are drawn to the height with greater weights at their feet, they are suddenly let fall almost to the

ground, where the cord stops them, and puts all their limbs out of joint : besides which they anoint some of their feet with oil, and set them to a fire to scorch, and then lay them on their backs in a narrow trough, where a keen cross bar under their backs, doth hinder them from coming to the bottom, and there, covering their faces with a fine cloth, they open their mouths and pour water from on high till they drive the cloth into their throats, and then pluck it out again. Their thighs and legs they bind with small cords, and strain them till they sink into the flesh. And in all this, they will not permit the modest virgin, or gravest matron or lady, to have the least rag to hide her nakedness.

And all this is to force them to recant and confess others, even all that they have but talked with about matters of religion, that so they may have more of the same employment. And when all is done, they array them in a coat all over painted with devils and fire, and lead them forth before the people on a scaffold, with their tongues tied with their devices, and so to a fire, where they are burnt to death.

These are the generation that crept into our armies and cities, and country in England, and provoke the deluded people to call for liberty of conscience, that the papists may have liberty here, who deal thus mercifully with others, where they have full power.

By this time, I hope, it is no hard matter to discern what a friend Satan is to Christ and his kingdom, who will not by his good will let one godly Christian escape his rage, but pursues them in all ages, in all countries, with all sorts of torments and cruelties, by all sorts of enemies ; and will not suffer so much as any propagation to be made of the Gospel, any discovery of saving truth, or opposition to darkness and wickedness, but he presently raiseth a war against it, and sendeth forth his blood-hounds to fall upon the instruments, and all that do befriend them.

Obj. Other men suffer in the world at the hands of others as well as at Christians.

Answ. I have said already that Satan is an enemy to all mankind ; but as his malice is most against Christ and his kingdom ; so by what hath been said it may appear, that he doth not so openly rage against any others. Though yet, while he seems to favour and befriend them, and use them as his servants, he doth indeed exercise more cruelty on them than he



doth on the faithful in their sharpest torments that he inflicteth on their bodies.

And, indeed, he is but preparing them for the everlasting torments, by making them here his slaughter-men, and drenching their souls in the guilt of blood ; which also in this life doth sometimes overtake them, as was before noted of the Irish ; who having murdered many hundred thousands of their peaceable neighbours, in a manner exceeding all former persecutions, I think, that ever were read of by pagans, Turks, or former papists, for hellish cruelty, were at last, by the revenging sword of war, by plague and famine, the most of them swept off from the face of the earth. Concerning which, and the Spanish Inquisition especially, and other things here recited, I again wish you to peruse Mr. Clarke's 'Martyrology,' which I think a very useful book, for common people who have not learning, time, or means, to read over those many large volumes in several languages which are there contracted ; it being very necessary that they should be acquainted with the combat that hath been maintained between light and darkness, the war that Satan hath managed against Christ, from the beginning to this day ; and who have been Satan's instruments, and what their exploits. And I believe that those who are tempted to popery, will find in such history a competent preservative.

#### *Sect. X.*

If all this afford not sufficient evidence, let this also be added, to clear the rest, that there is in the very hearts or natures of the servants of the devil, of what place, degree, or nation soever, throughout the world, an inbred hatred and enmity to the kingdom and true subjects of Jesus Christ.

This is apparent in the whole course of their lives, whereby it is manifest that it is not only the effects of misinformation and prejudice received from others, or of bare education, or difference of opinions, or the like, but the effect of those different masters whom they serve, and captains whom they fight under, and spirits which do actuate them, and principles and doctrines by which they are acted.

By these two ways is this enmity fully manifested.

1. By the hatred which they have to Christ's ways and servants.

2. By their resistance and reluctancy against his persuasions, and the difficulty of drawing men over to his ways.

1. For the first, it is evident that it is not only the heathens, heretics, or papists, but every wicked man and servant of the devil that hath an enmity in his heart to Christ and his ways. Though they are born with us in the same country, of the same ancestors; though they profess to believe the same articles of faith, and be of the same religion, yea, though they will cry out against former persecutors, and honour the memory of the martyrs that have suffered for Christ, and keep holy days for them, yet have they a general hatred to the ways and servants of Christ themselves. Nor can any infidel say, that this is a quarrel among Christians themselves, and therefore no proof of Satan's enmity to Christ. For, 1. All know that multitudes will be of that religion which the prince is of, and take that side that saves themselves, and tendeth most to their worldly advantage. 2. And Christ taketh none for his servants indeed but those that are heartily so, and soundly believe his Gospel, and hope for salvation, and love him as their Redeemer, and God by him, and so live according to his laws. These, and these only, are Christians indeed. Those that are of Hobbs's religion, to be Christians, because the prince commandeth them so to be, as if Christ had no power to command them himself, nor the Father had laid any such command on men, and those that are seeming Christians they know not why, upon mere custom, and because it is in credit, professing to believe what they believe not indeed, and calling that God's word which they are resolved not to obey, Christ will not own those for his people. Whatever their title be, or whatever religion they thus customarily profess, it is certain that they are the servants of the devil, who obey him, whose hearts are devoted, and lives employed to his service. The name of Christ may be easily entertained for worldly advantages, but the christian doctrine, nature, and conversation, all these men do unanimously abhor; only while the common grace of Christ is preparing them, they may lie under convictions, and have some good wishes and purposes for him, and by the restraint of that common grace, they may be hindered from open rage and persecution, and so they may by the prosperity of the godly: but when they are loose, they show what they are.

For all this we need not go to history for our proof: we have had experience of it all our lives to this day: even here among us, where religion and piety is in as much credit, and hath as much countenance, as most ever it had in the world, yet there

is not a man that is discerned to fear God, and live after the laws of Christ, but he is the scorn and by-word of the ungodly about him : so that in the best times, in one degree or other, the apostle's words are verified, that all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution. (2 Tim. iii. 12.) Mark that ; he doth not say, ' All that will say they are Christians ; ' but, ' All that will live godly in Christ Jesus. ' For these have the true christian nature, and obey him whom they do profess. Where is there a city, or village, or family, where the servants of Satan and Christ live together, but Christ's servants are hated ? Yea, no relations or interests will reconcile them. If the children obey Christ, they are opposed by their own parents : husband and wife are at enmity on this account ; masters hate their servants for serving that Christ whom they themselves do call their Lord. Though they never hurt them or do them any wrong, yet wicked neighbours do hate the godly. Yea, though they live in greater love, and patience, and meekness, and innocency, than any others, and though they are faithful to them, and do them all the good they can, yet are they hated by them.

And that this is the devil's quarrel, is yet more evident in that the worst of men that have most of the diabolical nature, and live after the will of the devil, are the greatest enemies to all true Christians. If there be any nation so unhappy as to have a sensual, wicked prince, he is presently a persecutor of all that live godly : if he have Nero's wicked heart, he will likely have Nero's bloody hands. What covetous extortioner or oppressor, what whoremonger, drunkard, swearer, blasphemer, curser, railer, do you know almost, that is not a bitter enemy to godliness, and to the people that most diligently obey and worship Christ.

And it is not only their persons, but it is their doctrine and practices which they hate ; that tenderness of conscience, and carefulness to please God, and avoid all known sin ; that diligence in holy worship, reading Scriptures, praising God, praying to him, &c., which Christ commandeth : these are the things which their natures do abhor.

As the papists in Ireland, some of them stamped the English Bible under feet, and cursing it, said ; ' This is it that hath bred all the quarrels ; ' so even among those that profess the same faith with us at home, it is the Gospel, and the worship of God, and obedience to Christ, that is the occasion of all the quarrel. When the wars had let them loose in England, mul-

titudes found this to their sorrow; when, if a man had but prayed or sung a psalm in his family, he was ready to be dragged out of his house as a roundhead and traitor. This is a known truth up and down England in garrisons and villages. And before that, when the vulgar spirit of malignity was but a little let loose, (by the bishops' persecutions of godly men,) upon occasion of the book of dancing and sports on the Lord's day, and of bowing to altars, and such like; it did so commonly rage, that it was, all over the land, a matter of common scorn and reproach for a man to pray in his family, or read God's word, or sing a psalm; nay, if he would not come out and dance as they did, or look on as one of them, or would not go with them to the alehouse, or would not swear in his common talk, he was the common by-word, as a precisian or puritan. So that if we had no other proof of Satan's hostility to Christ, this one would put the question out of doubt: when, through the whole christian world, the servants of Satan are haters of Christ's servants, how near to them soever they be, and are manifesting their malice on all occasions as far as they dare; when kingdoms, cities, towns, families, are all daily embroiled in this dissension, and the witnesses of this war between Satan and Christ, I know not how we should any longer doubt which side it is that Satan is on. If, after all this malice and bloodshed, men will yet think that he is on Christ's side, let them taste of his fury that believe it not when they see it.

2. Moreover, the enmity is apparent in the hearts of all Satan's servants unto Christ, by the resistance that they make before they will be recovered, and by their obstinacy against all means that should persuade them to turn to Christ. Though you show them the clearest reasons, and silence all their objections, and convince them that it is their own good and happiness that Christ would draw them to, yet will it not bring them over to his way. Though they profess to believe him to be the Son of God, and their Redeemer, and his Gospel to be true, and make it their religion to be his servants by profession, yet will they not be so indeed. How many sermons are lost upon them? How many plain instructions, exhortations, and earnest persuasions lost? How much patience, mercy, and other means in vain as to their recovery? What other religion in the world are men so backward to, till Christ overpower them, and change their hearts? What faithful minister hath not had experience of this? What godly Christian hath not proved it?

Certainly there is a hellish power in men's souls that bolts the door to keep out Christ, and strives to keep his old possession. O the multitude of subtle and fierce temptations, by which the great adversary keeps up his kingdom ! And what a stir there is before a soul is recovered from his power. Truly all faithful ministers of the Gospel, who are Christ's ensigns, and are employed under him for the carrying on of his war, have so great experience of a satanical opposition to their message and labours and to Christ himself, that I should think they need no other evidence of the enmity, for the repelling of any temptation to the contrary. O the painful life that faithful pastors are put to by the mere opposition of the serpent to their labours ! What work doth he make them ! What work of theirs doth he mar ! What studies and earnest endeavours doth he frustrate ; and cause them oft to lie down in sorrow and say, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed ?" How oft doth he send them home with tears, for the ignorance, and sensuality, and obstinacy of their people ; and make those our enemies for telling them saving truth, who are obliged by so many bonds to entertain it ! Yea, how many ancient, laborious ministers do see so little fruit of their labours, that even in old age and at death, they are almost ready to cry out, in the grief of their hearts, ' We have laboured in vain, and spent our strength for naught !' Never can we speak to a poor sinner for his conversion, but Satan within him speaks and pleads against us, and ordinarily shuts his ears, and hardens his heart against all that we can say. Never do we stand up in public to speak to people for their conversion in the name of the Lord, but Satan stands up against us, and contradicteth us. When we think we have such clear demonstrations that no man can gainsay them, they are not convinced. When we speak as plain as we are able, they understand us not, but we are to them as barbarians. When we beseech them in the name of Christ, they yield not. When we tell them, it is the adversary that dissuadeth them, and make it appear that it is for their ruin, and that it is filth and dung that they sell Christ and the hopes of salvation for : yet doth it not prevail to take them off from the ways that apparently lead to their destruction, nor to cause them to entertain the counsel of Christ. Many a time have I been so confident of the clearness of the cause, that I should have made no question of prevailing, at least so far as to bring men to consideration, and to the use of means for their further information,

if it had not been the power of Satan that did withstand us. Such an evident folly and unreasonableness is there in the ways of Satan and sin, that one would think less ado might serve to persuade men of reason from them unto Christ. It were strange if ministers that live in this warfare, and spend their time and strength in it, and suffer so many knocks and hard usages from the enemy, should not be convinced, and thoroughly convinced, that such a war there is, and that Satan is the resolved enemy of Christ.

### *Sect. XI.*

Yet further, the devil's enmity against Christ is apparent in his contrary precepts and persuasions. The ways that he would draw men to are as contrary to Christ's ways as darkness is to light, and death to life. Hence is the conflict that preachers have with him in their ministry, and all men in their hearts and lives, that will escape him. What truth of Christ, especially that is practical, doth not Satan malign, and stir up men to contradict? What one holy duty doth Christ command, which Satan doth not incessantly oppose, and seek to draw us from?

If you ask, 'How is this manifest that Satan useth such endeavours?' I answer, 'By the sense and constant observation of his temptations with their effects.' Consider these temptations, both as exercised on the wicked or on the godly, and the truth of the point will easily hence appear.

What a multitude of subtle devices hath he to hinder the conversion of a sinner to Christ; what prejudice and false conceits doth he possess him with. How many several ways doth he take, sometimes by enticements, and the pleasing baits of worldly glory, and the delights of the flesh; sometimes by terrors, by threatenings, persecution, or adversity. When he is foiled at one weapon, he presently betakes himself to another; when he is beaten out of one hold, he hath another to retire to. How many sorts of baits hath he to cover his hook! Temptations of all sorts, fitted to men's age, their callings, their relations, their former actions, their bodily temperature and constitution, and the times they live in, and the persons they converse with. What have we to do with which he maketh not a snare; what mercy do we receive, what creature do we use, which he maketh not a temptation to us; what man that was ever recovered from his power may not look back and remember the wiles and devices by which he was before detained, and the

devil's industry to have kept him from Christ, and by what means he hindered his conversion so long ! Certainly, every soul that is recovered to Christ by the Gospel is fetched out of the very paws and mouth of the lion, and snatched as a brand out of the fire, and fetched as it were from the very suburbs of hell. The resistance is such, by such shifts and solicitations, that it fully discovereth the devil to be the author.

And as for the godly that are recovered, because they are yet in the way, and not at the end, in the field, and not with the crown on their heads, it is God's will that the enemy shall have leave to assault them while they are here ; and in such a manner he doth it that they can discern that it is of him. They cannot set upon a work that is pleasing to Christ, but the tempter resisteth them. When do they ever study, or preach, or exhort, but he resisteth them ; when do they set upon the reformation of any faults in themselves, in their families, in the neighbourhood, or in the church, but Satan resisteth them ! Christians, you have a singular advantage above all men to discern the malice of Satan against Christ, and so to be confirmed in the truth of your belief, and to repel all blasphemous temptations to the contrary. How can you ever doubt whether Satan be against Christ, who live in the combat, and have fought under Christ against him so long, and felt so many of his sharp assaults, and received so many wounds and foils by him, as you have done ? Have recourse to your own experience, for it must needs be a great advantage ; and, especially, note how the enmity is disclosed in these particulars following :

1. Do you not observe that the bent of Satan's temptation is against God and the Lord Jesus Christ ? How doth he persuade men to false, unworthy thoughts of God ; to think of him either as unholy, to encourage them to sin, or, as cruel and unmerciful, to take off their love from him and drive them to despair ; yea, where he hath opportunity, he persuadeth them that there is no God. When men fall into melancholy, which it seems doth give some advantage to his temptations, whether he were before godly or ungodly, knowing or ignorant, it is ten to one but he is violently tempted either to believe that there is no God, no Christ, no Scripture true, nor the soul immortal, or else to speak out some blasphemous words of God. Multitudes of persons have I spoken with in this case that have been so terribly assaulted with these temptations day and night, that they could not rest. Though some of them scarce ever thought be-

fore of such matters, nor ever heard them from any other, and others of them never doubted of them ; yet now, which way ever they go, and whatever they do, such thoughts come into their minds. Many have I known live in continual fear lest they should blaspheme God, and could hardly keep in the words, and wherever they were, they were still haunted with such solicitations to blasphemy ; they could not hear or pray, but they were urged to blaspheme ; and some of them have been overcome, and have let out blasphemous words, and then the tempter hath persuaded them that their sin was unpardonable : such a miserable life have many under his continual, malicious buffetings. And though there be something in the melancholy disease that may cause troubles and perplexities of mind ; yet why it should still work thus against God, and Christ, and Scripture, and that in almost all persons, and so violently, I cannot imagine, if the hellish enemy did not take advantage hereof for these temptations.

2. Do you not find that the bent of all temptations is against the truth and ways of Christ, and those holy works that he calls you to ? What are they but to draw you from holiness to unholiness, from obedience to disobedience, from heavenliness to earthliness, from temperance to sensuality, and, in a word, from every virtue unto every vice, or at least to those where he hath most hopes to prevail ? Do you not feel sometimes, if not very often, when you should be earnest with God in secret prayer, an unreasonable withdrawing and disturbance within you ? It is a duty that costs you nothing, and subjecteth you to no losses or hazards in the world ; and yet when you would draw so near to God, do you not find that you are drawn back ; and though you have leisure and liberty, yet the tempter will draw you to be unwilling, and all the while you are at it, is either taking down your affections, carrying off your thoughts, casting in distempers, or urging you to be short, make haste, and give over before you have well begun ; so that you may easily feel that there is a devil that is against your communion with God, and envieth him his worship, and would have you rise and go away without the blessing ? The like you may find in your meditations, if you do but set yourselves purposely and seriously to meditate of Christ or the life to come, or any necessary subject, how doth the tempter clog you, or take you off, or keep down your affections, so that you can hardly make any thing of your meditations. If you endeavour by gracious conference or counsel to win others, or to edify



each other ; how many diversions and hinderances shall you meet with ! Whereas, in vain talk, in folly and sin, you may go on without such resistance. What sin is there that you may not even feel Satan pleading for, and promoting or commending to your hearts ! How often is he kindling the fire of lust, and blowing at the coal of pride and ambition, and enticing you to an esteem of the things of the world, or to venture upon some forbidden pleasures, and to account them far greater pleasures than they are ! Truly, I feel that enmity to Christ, his truth, and ways, in the daily solicitations or temptations of the devil, either hindering good, or drawing to evil, that methinks should do much to convince a very infidel, if he did feel the like, that certainly the doctrine of Christ is true, and his ways are good, or else the serpent would not oppose them. I find he is fighting against Christ and his Spirit in me, day and night. Whence can all that unreasonable dissuasion and withdrawing from Christ and duty else proceed ? I know the heart is bad, and may bring forth such fruits without much tillage ; but as the heart would not have been so evil, but for the evil one that deceived us : so as bad as it is, I can find that there is an instigator of it unto further evil than else it would of itself commit, and that when it is let alone, it is not so prone to evil, nor so backward to good, as it is under such temptations. He that hath such a fight within him, and lives himself in the continual trouble and duty of a soldier, and is fain still to stand on his watch and guard, or else be overthrown, and feel the wounds, hath less reason than any man else in the world to doubt whether Satan be an enemy to Christ, or whether it be not a good cause that hath so bad an enemy.

Thus I have manifested on Satan's part, that he is at utmost enmity with Christ, and therefore could not be the causer of his miracles, nor lend him his power for the building of his church ; and so that the sin against the Holy Ghost, which the pharisees were guilty of, was a most unreasonable sin, and a rejecting of their Physician against so full a testimony of God, that it was a righteous thing that they should die in their sins.

### *Sect. XII.*

I shall next proceed to show you, on Christ's part, that he is as great an enemy to Satan, as Satan is to him ; and by his nature, interest, design, and works, to make it plain that he was

so far from being beholden to him for his help, that it is Christ alone that must utterly confound him.

And 1. For the nature of Christ, it is manifest to us by his doctrine and his works, that it was most holy ; seeing so holy a doctrine and life could not else have proceeded from it. He challenged his adversaries to convince him of sin, (John viii. 46,) but never man could do it. It was his good deeds that were charged upon him as his crimes, as that he healed on the Sabbath day, that he was among sinners as a physician among the sick, that he called himself the Son of God, &c.

That he was merciful, and a lover of mankind, was as evident as light is in the sun : as we shall touch anon when we come to his works. This was a nature perfectly contrary to the nature of devils, who are unclean, impure spirits, and haters of God and man. Satan was a devouring roaring lion ; Christ was the Lamb of God. Satan rageth against those that hurt him not ; Christ prayeth for his enemies : Satan would set all the world upon blood and revenge ; Christ bids them forgive and love their enemies, and learn of him to be meek and lowly, and commandeth Peter to put up his sword.

2. And for his interest, it is perfectly contrary to that of Satan. If God be dishonoured, and man destroyed, and himself honoured, the devil hath what he would have. If God be honoured, and man saved, and Satan shamed and confounded, Christ hath what he would have. Satan's kingdom consisteth in sinfulness and contentions, divisions and revenge, and in the ruin, and misery, and calamities of mankind : Christ's kingdom consisteth in righteousness towards God and man, in peace with God and among ourselves, and in joy in the Holy Ghost. (Rom. xiv. 17 ; Jam. iii. 16, 17.)

3. So also was the design of Christ most perfectly contrary to the design of Satan. The design of Satan was to rob God of his due obedience and honour, and man of his grace and salvation, and to be man's idol himself : the design of Christ is to glorify his Father, (John xvii. 4, and xiii. 31, 32,) to bring man to his true obedience, (Acts xxvi. 18,) to restore him to the grace of God, and recover him to salvation, and to root out all idolatry, and especially the worship of devils from the world. I do but name these briefly, because it is his works wherein all these are manifested, and in the mention of those works we shall have occasion to review them.

*Sect. XIII.*

When God had created man, it was his pleasure that he should perform to him a tried obedience, and that he should have life and death propounded to his choice, and his happiness or misery should be in the hands of his own will, and that the tempter should have leave to assault him with his temptations, seeing God had given him so many helps against them, as in reason should have sufficed to hold him to God, against the persuasions of the strongest temptations; and seeing that obedience is little worth, which will be cast off as soon as men are tempted to disobey. Upon this permission the tempter makes his onset, and quickly deceiveth man, and wins the day. By this conquest he got a double power over man, the Lord in judgment leaving him to be delusively ruled and ruined by him, whom he had chosen before his Maker to believe and obey. First, he had got an interest in his mind and will, and so could rule him by his temptations. Secondly, he was made God's executioner, and so had a power to punish him. But mercy provided a remedy, and the Son of God interposed, and undertook the rescue of the sinner, and the preservation of the world, and the recovery of God's honour in the reparation of the injury, and to assume the nature of man to these ends; that so he might conquer Satan in the nature that was conquered, and might offer himself a sacrifice for the demonstration of justice in the same nature. The first declaration of this undertaking was unto the serpent himself, (Gen. iii. 15,) but doubtless in the ears of man to his comfort. Where note the first breaking out of the enmity. Satan had played the enemy to man, and deserved to be taken by him as his enemy. The promise to man is part of the condemnation of the serpent. That is man's recovery and life, which is his misery and destruction. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." By the serpent is meant both the instrumental serpent, whom the devil used (as no doubt Eve knew; it being not agreeable to the nature of spirits to be of themselves visible, but to borrow corporal instruments and visors when they will sensibly converse with man,) and also here is meant the devil himself, the tempting serpent. By the enmity is meant a very natural antipathy or hatred of one another; which shall be born and bred in man and corporal serpents, and continue in Satan; and is not only caused by

extrinſical means, informations, or accidents; and which no rhetoric can extirpate, any more than nature can be extirpated by arguments. This enmity is on man's part, 1. In the woman herſelf; and 2. In her ſeed. A threefold ſeed ſhe was to have, and, in their measure, it was to be in them all.

1. In her natural ſeed as ſuch, there was a natural enmity put from that day, to the diabolical nature; as there was unto the terrene, ſerpentine nature. So that as a man abhorreth all the kind of ſerpents, and either flieth from them, or ſeeketh to kill them, ſo doth he now naturally abhor the devil, and would fly from him or hurt him if he could.

That this enmity is put into our whole nature, appears, 1. In that we all find it there. Good and bad abhor the devil. Even they that ſerve him, yet abhor him.

2. In that we find it true of the instrumental, terrene ſerpent, that our whole natures have an enmity to their whole nature.

3. In that it is expreſſly ſpoken of the ſeed of the woman without exception.

4. In that it is firſt ſpoken of the woman herſelf in order before any of her ſeed: whence we may conclude: 1. That if it were by that ſentence put into her, then muſt it be in us. 2. And if firſt in her, then by her conveyed to us as her ſeed.

Yet is this no enmity to the wicked works that Satan tempteth to: for we are naturally his captives as to them; and this is by a voluntary captivity; but it is to the perſon and nature of the devil himſelf, whom man now fears and abhors as his enemy and tormentor. And, therefore, it is ſaid, that we are all our life-time ſubject to bondage, through the fears of that death whereof Satan is the prince. (Heb. ii. 14.)

From hence it may appear, both that this enmity to the diabolical nature was not in man before the fall, and that ſinful man hath ſome advantage hereby for the reſiſting of temptations, and the entertainment of thoſe means that tend to his eſcape.

The ſecond ſeed of the woman is the ſupernatural ſeed, Jeſus Chriſt; indeed the ſeed of the woman, though not of the man: in him there is an enmity answerable to his nature and office; a perfect enmity to the ſatanical nature, as ſinful and murderous, and cruel to man; and an enmity of office and deſign.

The third ſeed is the church regenerate, who have, as men, a participation of the firſt enmity; and as regenerate and united to Chriſt, a participation in their degree of the latter enmity,

even such as was in Christ himself, which is against the evil works of Satan, as well as against himself and his penal executions and torments, which all men hate.

The perfect enmity, then, is in the perfect seed, who, as he conveyeth to us his holy nature, doth proportionably convey to us an enmity to Satan and his works: and as he actually employeth us as soldiers in his army to fight against Satan, so do we participate of the enmity of his design and office; but at such a distance as is the private soldier from the general; saving that his ministers and other subordinate officers partake yet somewhat more of this enmity as to office and employment, for they are standard-bearers and leaders under Christ the general in this warfare, and so are doubly engaged against Satan.

And as the regenerate participate of both sorts of enmity, so the unregenerate partake both of the enmity against Satan, and the enmity against Christ: for as they are naturally the seed of the woman, they have an enmity against the diabolical nature or kind, and against them as executioners of wrath upon men; and as they are wicked, so they partake of the diabolical disposition, and so are at enmity to the holy disposition of Christ and his sanctified ones: so that Christ must war against them when he warreth for them; against their resistance when for their deliverance, for they are voluntary captives, and will join with the enemy, and fight against him that pursueth for their recovery, before they will be brought back. Yet this they do not as for Satan, for they are personally at enmity with him, and so far as they can but see him in a temptation, they are the more fortified against it; but it is as for themselves, even their carnal selves, to whom they are fallen, and addicted upon their fall from God: for the deceiver still blindeth them, and makes them believe that his ways are for their good.

Thus you see two armies formed presently upon man's fall. The devil is general of one, even Beelzebub, who is called the prince of the devils. His angels, or companions in sin, are the first and chief part of his army, who walk to and fro, compassing the earth, (Job i. 7, 22,) lying in wait to deceive and devour: for as they were multitudes of evil spirits that fell with the chief of them, so they are all of his disposition and kingdom, and manage the same design against man; and wicked men are the other part of his army. This army is employed to hold what Satan had got, and to hinder the rescue and redemption of his captives, and to fight against Christ that hath under-

taken the work, and against all those especially that are in any special way by Christ employed for the recovery of souls ; and, consequently, to make man twofold more miserable by rejecting of the remedy.

The other army is commanded by the blessed Son of God, who is therefore called the Captain of our salvation ; for the design of it is to fight with Satan, and rescue and bring back his captives unto God, and so to save them from the wrath to come. The soldiers of this army are both the good angels and the regenerate part of men. Whether the angels were ministering spirits to Adam in innocency, is more than I find made known in Scripture, and therefore think it unsafe and imprudent to conclude, either that they were or they were not. But it is certain that they were afterwards ; and if they were so before, yet it is certain that it is a new office and task that they have now undertaken ; even to help towards the rescue and recovering of the captives. If they do not now begin to be angels or messengers from God to man, or ministers for man's good, yet they now begin to be employed in this way of service, under Christ, for their restoration. They have all listed themselves now under the Lord Jesus Christ, and are contented to be employed by him for the saving of sinners. The Son must sit on God's right hand till he make his enemies his footstool ; and the angels are all his ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation. (Heb. i. 13, 14.) Nor do they disdain to stoop to this service of Christ for lost man. For, though they are excellent spirits, yet are they his servants " by whom God made the worlds, and whom he hath appointed heir of all things, who, being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power ; when he had, by himself, purged our sins, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high : being made so much better than the angels, as he hath, by inheritance, obtained a more excellent name than they." (Heb. i. 2—4.)

Thus find we these angels executing their office : sometimes ministering to Christ himself in the flesh ; (Matt. iv. 11 ;) sometimes searching into the mystery of redemption. (1 Pet. i. 12.) More than twelve legions of them were ready to have rescued him from the hands of the Jews if he would have desired it. (Matt. xxvi. 53.) They subserved in the delivery of the law to Moses ; (Gal. iii. 19 ; Acts vii. 53 ;) they attended Christ into the world, revealing him to the shepherds, and unanimously

praising God at his birth. (Luke ii. 9—14.) So far were they from disdaining their incarnate Lord, or his service for lost sinners, that the heavenly army, or host, do praise God for it, saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men;" and when in this warfare one captivated sinner is recovered, there is joy in heaven among these angels. (Luke xv. 7, 10.) They are present with us in our assemblies, which are the well-ordered troops and companies of this army; and their presence we must regard. (1 Cor. xi. 10.) They are witnesses of our good or ill behaviour; (Eccl. v. 6; 1 Tim. v. 21;) and, therefore, to be revered as the chief of our fellow-soldiers or servants, but not worshipped. (Col. ii. 18.) "See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book; worship God." (Rev. xxii. 8, 9.)

You see, then, that the angels are a chief part of the army of Christ, and serve under him for the saving of sinners from the devil; and, therefore, you find them contending with the devil, though with the meekness of the lamb, saying, "The Lord rebuke thee." (Jude 9.) They convey the departing souls of the righteous unto Christ; (Luke xvi. 22;) they encamp round about them that fear the Lord, and deliver them, (Psalm xxxiv. 7,) even as they carried Lot from the flames of Sodom, and could do nothing till he were come forth. (Gen. xix. 15, 16, &c.) And no wonder that they stoop to the help of man; for it is to the angelical similitude or dignity that Christ doth advance us, and join us to them, by making us like them or equal to them. (Luke xx. 36.) We are now their particular charge, (Matt. xviii. 10,) that we may be hereafter their companions. (Acts xii. 15.) They help to the increase, preservation, and defence of the church. (Acts viii. 26; x. 7, 22; xi. 13, and xii. 11; Dan. iii. 28, and vi. 22; Isa. lxiii. 9.) When the whole army are drawn forth in their glory they are a principal part: you may take a view of all in Heb. xii. 22.: "We are come to Mount Sion, unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling," &c. And in the head of this army will Christ appear at the end of the world, when he hath won the field and comes in triumph to confound his conquered enemies, and to be glorified

in his redeemed, delivered saints, that they who have now passed through this warfare "in patient, enduring tribulations and persecution, may, in that righteous judgment of God, be counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which they suffered; it being the righteous thing which God will then do to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and to us that are troubled rest with the saints, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day." (2 Thess. i. 5—10.)

And as the angels are one part of his army, so are the saints another, who must fight for themselves under Christ's conduct, of whom we shall have occasion to say more anon.

Thus you see the Redeemer's army moulded, and of what members it is composed. We should next observe their progress and exploits; but lest you mistake in the matter of their success, by mistaking the design and nature of the fight and conquest, mark well these things following, by the way, before we go further.

1. That it pleased God in his sentence of sinful man, to lay on him unavoidably certain temporal calamities, and to enable the serpent to bruise his heel. So that we must eat our bread in the sweat of our brows, and the earth must be cursed for our sakes, and we must return to dust from whence we came, as to our flesh.

2. And, therefore, it is none of the Redeemer's undertaking to prevent these sufferings and death.

3. But his work is to save us from our sins, (Matt. i. 21,) and from the wrath to come, (1 Thess. i. 10,) and to reconcile us to God, (1 Cor. v. 19, 20,) and justify, sanctify, and glorify us. (Rom. viii. 30; 1 Cor. vi. 11.) And to sanctify our present sufferings to these ends, (Rom. xxviii. 18,) and to moderate their sufferings in order thereunto. (Heb. xii.)

4. And the way of our conquest is not always nor principally in a visible prosperity and worldly greatness and dominion: but ordinarily by patience and contentedness in our sufferings: it being grace and the prosperity of the soul that we fight for, it must be done by that way that hath the true and certain ten-



dency to these ends, and not by carnal pleasure and prosperity, which are ordinarily our greatest adversaries. In patience we must possess our souls, if we would secure them against the storms of Satan. (Luke xxi. 19.) It was this way that Christ himself did conquer, who is the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. And we must consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest we be wearied and faint in our minds. (Heb. xii. 2, 3.) We must follow him bearing our cross if we will conquer: for we have need of patience, besides doing God's will in actual obedience, that we may inherit the promised crown. (Heb. x. 36.) It is not by conquering kingdoms, and becoming masters of other men's possessions, but by taking joyfully the spoiling of our own goods, knowing in ourselves that we have in heaven a better and an enduring substance, (Heb. x. 34,) when for his name's sake we are killed all the day long, and counted as sheep to the slaughter, when we suffer tribulation, distress, persecution, famine, nakedness, sword; in all these things we are conquerors and super-conquerors, through the Captain of our salvation that hath led us this way. (Rom. viii. 35, 36.) For as this our Captain was himself made perfect by suffering, (not in his nature and holiness, for that was before perfect, but in his military work, and actual obedience, and righteousness therein consisting, and his aptitude to be the leader and deliverer of others,) and this for the bringing of many sons to glory, (Heb. ii. 10,) so will he have us follow him in the way that he hath trod, and through many tribulations to enter into his kingdom; and to suffer with him, that we may reign with him, (Rom. viii. 17,) and in this way he will not be ashamed to call us his fellow-soldiers or brethren. (Heb. ii. 11—13.) Thus must we in ourselves be made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, that when his glory shall be revealed, we also may be glad (as triumphing victors) with exceeding joy. And if thus we are reproached for Christ, we are happy; for the Spirit of God and of glory resteth on us. (1 Pet. iv. 14—16.) Blessed, therefore, is he that thus endureth temptation: for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. (James i. 12.) Here is the patience, and faith, and victory of the saints.

I know the carnal heart will be ready to say, 'If this be your

victory, I desire none of it ; any one may so conquer, as to be trodden down and ruined.' Whereunto, I answer, the power and victory of Christ is still manifest, in these particulars following.

1. In that it is not in the power of the tempter to conquer the graces of the saints, nor to separate them from the love of God in Christ, (Rom. viii. 38, 39,) which he had rather do if he could, than to trample upon their bodies, or keep them in poverty or trouble for a time. He can be content to let you have dignities and honours, so he could but rob you of the dignity of saints, and cast out the image of God again from your souls. He can let you enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, that thereby he might deprive you of the celestial pleasures. He will let young men rejoice, and their hearts cheer them in the days of their youth, and walk in the ways of their own heart, and the light of their eyes, if they will but forget that for all these things they must come to judgment. (Eccl. xi. 9.) He judgeth not himself, as he persuadeth blind infidels to judge, that it is better to win the world than to save our souls ; he would let you have the kingdoms and glory of the world, if it were in his power, so you would but give him the worship due to God. (Matt. iv. 9.) Our victory, therefore, lieth in maintaining our innocency, and not obeying his wicked seducements, and this may be as well and better done in adversity than in prosperity : adversity, therefore, is no sign that Satan is the conqueror.

2. Moreover, the business of Satan is to keep men from God ; if Christ, therefore, do bring men nearer to God by adversity, he conquereth the tempter that would keep them from him : but it is clear by experience, that the souls of the faithful are kept closer to God in suffering times, than in prosperity ; they are then more sensible of the vanity and emptiness of all worldly things, and weaned from them, and do fly to God with more earnest desires, and more sensible of the folly of sinning than at other times : and, sure, the soul is most victorious against Satan, that is nearest God, and hath most of his love, whatever befall the body in the mean time.

3. If an increase of all graces appear on the soul in time of affliction, then is it not very hard, to an opened eye, to see Christ's victory in the afflictions of his people ; for that which makes a man better, is the best condition, in the judgment of Seneca himself, and of reason : but grace useth to increase in affliction, therefore we may well account it our victory.

4. If God be most honoured by his people in adversity, when they suffer for his cause, then we may well see, that, even in our sufferings, Christ may be conquering, for it is God's dishonour that the tempter doth endeavour; but, it is certain, that God is usually more honoured at such times, when his graces are exercised in the eye of the world, and when his servants confess him in the midst of persecution. How hath Christ been more honoured on earth than by the martyrdom of his followers, and their confessing him in the midst of the most cruel torments?

5. If Satan be most confounded, dishonoured, and disappointed in the sufferings of the faithful, then may they well be said to conquer in their sufferings; but it is certain, by all experience, that Satan hath been never so confounded, shamed, and disappointed, as when his cruelty and wickedness is most manifestly discovered, and his way thereby the more abhorred, and yet the righteous the more confirmed. The histories of heathenish and popish persecution, that are upon record for the view of posterity, will give a greater wound to the cause of Satan in their hands, than ever it had been like to have received by our prosperity. How many thousands among ourselves have been confirmed in a hatred of popery, by the French massacre, the Spanish Inquisition, the cruelty in Queen Mary's days, the Gunpowder Plot, the Irish butcheries, &c., that have known little of the arguments that are used by either side in disputation.

6. If Christ's kingdom thrive by his people's sufferings, he may well be said to conquer by them. But that his kingdom hath thriven by our sufferings always in purity, frequently in numbers of his true disciples, the experience of all suffering ages can bear witness.

You see now that there are two armies in the field of this world, one under Christ, and the other under Satan, and what are their several interests and designs, and what it is to conquer, and by what means Christ and his soldiers overcome, and how you may judge rightly of the issue of the fight, who hath the better, and who the worse.

#### *Sect. XIV.*

We shall next a little consider of the history of Christ's conflicts with Satan, and the success, and show you by how many ways he hath fully discovered to us, that he is the chief enemy

of hell. And I will, for brevity, overpass all the history of the Old Testament, and begin at the New.

1. Before he came in the flesh, the angels are sent from heaven to acquaint men that he came on this very business, and to this end, to conquer Satan, and rescue his captives, and save his people. (Matt. i. 21.) "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." (Luke i. 30—35 ; Luke i. 68—80.)

2. Before he was born himself, John the Baptist is sent into the world as his forerunner ; and before Christ doth solemnly set upon his great work, John must be sent to prepare his way. He is sent to bid Satan defiance, and to proclaim and begin the hotter part of the war, being "filled with the Holy Ghost even from the womb, to turn many of the Children of Israel unto God : to go before Christ in the spirit and power of Elias ; to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord : " (Luke i. 15—17 :) to give knowledge of salvation to his people for the remission of their sins, through the tender mercy of God, to give light to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death. (Luke i. 77, 78.) For it was his office to be the voice crying in the wilderness, saying, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord : " and to bid them "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand," and to tell them of the promised salvation which was raised up, "That we might be saved from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate us ; that we being delivered from the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life." (Luke i. 70—76.) This man hath the honour to initiate Christ into the solemn entrance upon his military work by his baptism, which had the same general nature with our baptism, but not the same in special. It was not to convey to him the remission of sin, as it is to us, for he had none ; nor was it to engage him to himself, as we are engaged to him : but it was to engage him solemnly in the same military work against sin and Satan ; as the general may glory in wearing the same colours which he gives his soldiers, to signify that they are of a party, and go all on one and the same design ; only one as general, and the rest as common soldiers. Though we be not to do the same works against Satan in all things as Christ, yet are we to fight against him in our ranks and places, as Christ did in his. He is entered as general and king by his baptism, and we as soldiers and subjects, by ours.

At this his baptismal engagement, and taking the field, John gives him his testimony, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." And the Father giveth him his testimony by a voice from heaven: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." (Matt. iii. 17; Luke iii. 22.) And the Holy Ghost beareth witness in descending on him in the form of a dove. (Luke iii. 22.) Thus you see Christ take the field in his own personal engagement.

3. Being thus engaged himself, he is immediately set upon personally by the tempter, being led into the wilderness by the Spirit, and purposely submitting himself hereunto. The reason of this conflict I told you before. As the first Adam being assaulted quickly after his entrance into paradise, and institution of the sacramental trees was overcome by the tempter, so must the second Adam overcome the tempter, and that in a like conflict hand to hand, presently after his baptism. Satan must lose his prisoners in the way he got them, and Christ must do what Adam could not. The victory must be got by the public person in our nature before it be got by each man individually in his own person; for so was it lost. Here was the first great overthrow of the adversary. Here was the serpent's head broken as he is the tempter, as on the cross it was afterwards broken, as he is the tormentor, as is said before. And as Adam lost the day before he had any offspring, so Christ wins it in his own person, before he doth solemnly begin to preach the Gospel, or calleth any of his disciples, as far as I can find in the text.

That this was a solemn combat, and a considerable part of Christ's work, appears by the solemn preparation and management: for though Christ's fasting forty days in the wilderness was a preparation to all his after-performance, as well as this one, yet more immediately for this as a special part of it.

It was not merely a fantasm, as some have imagined, that Christ was thus assaulted and used; and yet it seems to be in the spirit, though real, as Paul was taken up into the heavens; how far in the body, or out of the body, I think we cannot judge.

Nor should it be matter of offence to any, that Satan should have so much power of Christ as to carry him, as is there expressed, seeing it was but in order to the temptation, and by Christ's own submission and consent, and did but prepare for the greater conquest; and the enemy departed as overcome, at his command. This was the issue of this leading conflict, between the two generals hand to hand.

4. When Christ had thus conquered Satan himself, he presently invited men to take his colours, and goeth about preaching the Gospel himself, saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe the Gospel." (Mark i. 14, 15.) His first call is to sinners to relinquish the deceiver, and come out of their captivity: for what is repenting, but forsaking sin and Satan, and returning unto God? Luke tells us his text that he preached on once at Nazareth, which shows us his design: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor: he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." (Luke iv. 16, 18.) This is his next assault of Satan, by his own personal preaching.

5. The next thing he doth is to choose his twelve apostles, and constitute them commanders of his army under him; with whom, also, he joineth seventy disciples; and to these he gives commission to make an onset upon Satan, and exercise the power of his word and Spirit. These go forth and cast out devils, and work wonders, and come home as young soldiers encouraged by this first success, and triumphing that the devils were subject to them.

6. The whole course of Christ's life was perfectly contrary to the will of Satan, and perfectly conformed to his Father's will. A life of perfect innocency is a life of victory over the tempter. He never yielded to his wicked desires, so much as in one sinful thought, or word, or deed, being holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, like unto us in our troubles, but not in our sins. (Heb. iv. 15.) By all this, also, he set us a pattern that we should imitate him as near as we could, and resist and conquer as he had done. If a life of perfect, unblameable innocency, and perfectly devoted to God, be not a full proof that Christ was an enemy to Satan, then light is not contrary to darkness.

7. The whole work of his life towards others was contrary to Satan, and was nothing else but a destroying of his kingdom. We read not of any thing else that he did on earth.

1. Whereas, Satan is an enemy to the honour of God, what did Christ else but seek his Father's glory, and do his will, in the saving of men? He rectifieth our misapprehensions of his nature: he tells us of his spirituality, his greatness, his good-

ness, his holiness, his righteousness, (John iv. 6; xvii. 11, 25, 26; Luke xi. 2; Matt. v. 45, 48,) and giveth him the glory of his attributes and works. He giveth men the most perfect instructions for God's worship, and taketh them off all self-invented and false ways. (Matt. v. and vi. throughout; and Matt. xv. 3, 4, 8, 9.)

2. Whereas, it is the devil's work to draw men to sin, and keep them from God; it was Christ's work to go up and down to preach the doctrine of life, and to tell them the necessity of repentance, and offer them grace if they would accept it, and return. So that he accounted it his meat and drink to seek the salvation of a poor Samaritan woman, (John iv. 32,) and therein to do his Father's will. He was so often with sinners as a physician for their cure, that the pharisees reproached him for being their companion, because he disliked their proud separation, and practised, on the contrary, the course of compassion for their recovery and restoration.

3. It is the devil's work to do all the hurt that he may, even to men's bodies as well as souls; it was Christ's work to do good, and only good. Of all his miracles that he wrought, there was never any wrought in malice and revenge. He used not the divine power to blind, or lame, or kill, any men: no, not his worst enemies when he could easily do it, and justly might have done it; but he goeth up and down doing good, (Acts x. 38,) giving sight to the blind, limbs to the lame, health to the sick, and life to the dead. He feeds the hungry, and hath compassion on them that are ready to faint. What is the whole history of his life, but a catalogue of good works? When men reject his Gospel, he will not take them at the worst, but rebukes his disciples that would have called for fire from heaven, and tells them, "They knew not what spirit they were of; that is, in this desire: they considered not how unlike it was to his Spirit, or his design and business in the world, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." (Luke ix. 55, 56.)

8. Christ's enmity to Satan appeareth in this, that he openly professeth to take him for his chief foe, and sendeth him a defiance, and telleth him, that he will maintain his kingdom in despite of all his policy and power. Mark well that speech to Peter: (Matt. xvi. 18 :) "I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Whether it be Peter's confession, or Peter himself that is here called the rock, is no great

matter, as to the popish interest. For the same promise that is here made to Peter upon this personal occasion, is elsewhere made to the rest of the apostles. The Church is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone ; (Eph. ii. 20 ;) so that it is more than Peter that is the foundation, that is, the principal living witnesses of Christ's life, death, and resurrection, and the principal instruments of the propagation of his kingdom.

The church of Christ seemed not so great, nor did any thing visible to the world then promise so great an increase of it, as might give occasion of such a prediction : but here you may see closely laid together these observable things :

1. That it was Christ's purpose and design to gather him a church.

2. That the apostles, who at that time did not so much as understand the doctrine of Christ's death, resurrection, or ascension, which afterwards became fundamental articles of faith, must yet be the instrumental foundation of the church, and these weak men must become the invincible rock.

3. That it was the gates, that is, the powers of hell that would be the oppugners of this church, and Christ expecteth their most malicious and furious assault.

4. That yet these hellish powers should not prevail ; but though they should assault and storm this church and rock, yet should they not take it, or overcome.

5. That he lets them know this before hand by way of defiance.

6. And that even when he knew that he must shortly be put to death, having first suffered many things of the priests and elders of the Jews, as in the next following words he tells his disciples : where Peter, this rock, is yet so far from being fitted for so great matters as Christ speaks of, that he takes him aside and rebukes him, and saith, "Be it far from thee ; (*q. d.*;) God forbid that this should befall thee ; favour thyself."

7. By all which it is evident that Christ foreknew the things to come, and how his church should be gathered, prospered, and preserved against all the malicious rage of hell.

9. Christ's enmity to Satan is also evident in the enmity that he manifested to all that tended to the interest of Satan, and furthering of his kingdom : what did ever offend him, but that which pleased the devil ? What did he condemn but that which the devil desired and promoted ? Nay, when any advice was given him that tended to the furtherance of the kingdom of



darkness, though it were for his own bodily ease or safety, yet did he abhor it. Take that notable example, (Matt. xvi. 22,) when Peter had made a faithful confession of Christ, and received that great commendation and promise from Christ thereupon : "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it : " yet, presently, when Christ begins to tell them of his sufferings at Jerusalem, Peter, in a carnal, misguided love, takes Christ and rebuketh him, and saith, "Far be it from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee ; (*q. d.*;) God forbid that any such evil should befall thee ; favour thyself ; do not wilfully cast away thyself." One would think that Christ should have taken Peter's loving advice in good part, it being but to persuade him to save his own life. But Christ knew that if he should not conquer Satan on the cross, the world must perish ; and there was no recovering us out of our misery, and therefore that this counsel of Peter did tend to the greatest advantage of the devil's kingdom, that could be imagined. The thanks, therefore, that he gives him is but this ; he looks angrily about him, and saith, "Get thee behind me Satan : thou art an offence unto me ; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things of man." Here is a strange change of speech to that man, that he had but a little before so commended and honoured : he was the rock even now, and now he is Satan. It was some foul change in Peter ; some great evil that could procure this. Where do you read Christ ever speaking with so great severity, except once or twice to the obstinate pharisees that blasphemed the Holy Ghost ? When his disciples were rejected, and would have had fire from heaven to revenge the quarrel, he doth but rebuke them. When he was on the cross in his sufferings, he prayeth his Father to forgive the murderers : so far was he from this severity merely for himself, especially when it was but for his bodily interest. But here, when the advice seemeth for him, how severe is he with Peter ! He gives him the devil's name, Satan, because he did the devil's work, and pleaded his cause, as if he had been an adversary to man's redemption. The indignation was on this account, that Peter befriended the enemy's design, and so proved a Satan, and a tempter unto Christ ; and therefore he tells him that he was an offence to him, as savouring more of the things of man than of God : and bids him get behind him, or get out of his sight ; a word, which one would think enough to have broken the heart of Peter ; the very same word which he

useth to the devil, when his temptation came to be intolerably impudent and blasphemous, "Get thee behind me, Satan." (Luke iv. 18.) How clear a demonstration is here of the irreconcilable enmity of Christ to the devil and his interest, before he showed it in the conquering of his own immediate temptations! And here he sheweth it by repelling a temptation from one of his own apostles, whom Satan had prevailed with to be his instrument.

10. But the great, the full, the admirable discovery of the enmity of Christ to the kingdom of Satan, was this: that he thought not his whole humiliation from first to last too much, for the overthrowing of it, nor too dear a price for the redemption of his captives.

He condescended first in his incarnation, to assume our nature, the most astonishing condescension that ever the world knew; that he, "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; and did make himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." (Phil. ii. 5—9.)

All his life was a wonderful condescension; to walk among men in human nature, and converse with sinners, and be despised, reproached, and abused, by his own creatures, and to submit to human frailties, except sin, even as great princes, when they will command their armies, will sometimes submit to the hard condition and offices of soldiers; so did Christ in his military state.

Yea, all his bloody sweats, and scorns of sinners, his crown of thorns, his cross, his death, his grave, do all testify the enmity he bore to the kingdom of the devil, that would endure and stoop to all this to expugn it, and to undermine him. He openly proclaims his end in all this: "That he might destroy, through death, him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them, who, through fear of death, were all their life time subject to bondage." (Heb. ii. 14.) He tells the world what enemy he was opposing on the cross, and that his work was but to redeem us from that enemy; (Eph. i. 7, and ii. 14—17;) that we might have redemption through his blood, even the remission of sins, and breaking down the partition wall, and abolishing in his flesh the enmity, to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that

he might reconcile both unto God, in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; "For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things to himself: who, blotting out the hand writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; and having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it." (Col. i. 14, 20, 21, and ii. 14, 15.) 'They were foolish men that crucified Christ, but he overlooks them, and takes notice of the enemy that he came thither to contest with, and makes his cross a means of victory, and place of triumph, even over those powers that fain would have overcome him.

And as Christ hath done thus much against Satan on the cross, so we shall next see what he hath done against him since, in his doctrine, and by it on the hearts of men, and openly in the world, and first in his word.

11. It is one of Christ's principal works by his doctrine, to make the devil more odious to the sons of men, and to bring them into a fuller knowledge of his mischievous disposition and designs, that so they may avoid him, and more valiantly resist him; to which end, he first gives them to know his nature by his names, and calleth him by all those names that may make him hateful to man, or awaken them to the war which he calls them into against him; and certainly, this is so contrary to Satan's interest, that none but the foes of reason can imagine that Satan was the author of it, or did lend Christ his power to attest it by miracles.

By all these names of disgrace do we find the devil named in the Gospel.

1. He is called, frequently, Satan, an adversary; to let us know that it is he against whom we are listed under Christ. (Matt. iv. 10; 1 Pet. v. 8.)

2. He is called *ἐχθρὸς*, the enemy. (Matt. xiii. 28, 39.) The name by which we denote those whom we oppose, and that hate us.

3. He is oft called *Διάβολος*, because he is a calumniator, or false accuser; and he who, by accusing us, would have God to condemn us.

4. He is called *ὁ Πονηρὸς*, the evil one, or the wicked one, (Matt. xiii. 19,) which is the most hateful title in the world, as signifying him to be both the first in evil for time, and the deep-

est in evil for degree ; as being the very worst of all creatures, and also the father or cause of evil to others by his temptations.

5. He is called *ὁ Πειράζων* the tempter ; (Matt. iv. 3 ; ) to acquaint who it is that would drive us from God and happiness, and how he would do it.

6 He and his companions are called *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα*, unclean Spirits oft ; as being of a filthy disposition, and the cause of men's uncleanness, and contrary to the holy, sanctifying Spirit of Christ, whose office is to purify our hearts and cleanse us from our sins.

7. He is called the strong man armed, keeping his house and goods in peace, till Christ come and bind him and cast him out. (Matt. xii. 29.)

8. He is called the serpent, and the old serpent ; (Rev. xii. 9, 14 ; ) both to let us know his subtlety and his enmity, and venomous, hurting power, and to remember us of the mischief he did us by his first deceiving us.

9. He is called the dragon, the great red dragon ; yea, all these four names, or five, are given him together ; (Rev. xii. 9 ; ) the great dragon, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.

10. He is called "A roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." (1 Pet. v. 8.) Yea, all these three titles are given him together: the devil, our adversary, and as a roaring lion, &c.

11. He is called a murderer from the beginning ; (John viii. 44 ; ) to tell us what he hath done to us, what he is doing and would do, and what he would have men do to themselves and to others, both soul and body.

12. They are called the angels that kept not their first estate ; (Jude 6 ; ) to let us know their apostasy.

13. He is called Belial ; (2 Cor. vi. 15 ; ) as being the head of all those rebels and outlaws that have cast off the yoke of subjection unto God.

14. Of the name Beelzebub we have spoken before.

15. He is called "The prince of this world ;" (John xii. 31 ; ) as being the leader of worldly men who rebel against God.

16. He is called the god of this world, because these worldly rebels make him their god, and he would be honoured and obeyed as God. (2 Cor. iv. 5.)

17. He is called "The prince of the powers of the air ;" (Eph. ii. 2 ; ) to show that he hath a kingdom or army of evil spirits, against whom Christ and his army must wage war.

18. He is called "The ruler of the world," (Eph. vi. 12,) because rebels are ruled by him against God.

19. He is called "The father of murderous, wicked men;" (John viii. 44;) to show that all wickedness had its rise from him.

20. He is called, Rev. ix. 11, by three names: The Angel of the bottomless pit, as being destined there to be miserable, and to be the companion of those whom he can draw thither with him; also Abaddon, which signifieth a destruction and mischief, as being the very plague and ruin of mankind, a name perfectly contrary to the name of Jesus Christ, the anointed Saviour, who is anointed to the office of saving men from this destruction; also, he is there called Apollyon, the destroyer to the same purpose, as delighting in our destruction, and making it his very business. Many other names are given the devil in the New Testament, and in the Old, which I will not stand to recite; by all which Christ endeavoureth to make Satan odious, and men jealous of him, and watchful against him, and fully manifesteth his enmity to him.

12. The Lord Jesus doth not only by names, but by assertions, lay upon Satan the odium and blame of all the evil that hath been done in the world, as the original of it: and heaps upon him so much disgrace by the opening of his vileness, as never was done by any other: never was Satan so stigmatized, and reproached, and laid naked as in the Gospel; so that among all Christians the name of the devil is the most odious, accursed name that is imaginable, and intimateth a perfect irreconcilable enmity to them, and in them to him: when among the pagans it was a name of less dishonour, and they made less difference between good spirits and evil, and called both demons by the same name; and manifested no such enmity to them, though some God had planted in nature, ever since the fall.

The first sin that ever was in the world, Christ chargeth upon Satan as the deceiver. He publisheth his own sin, "As not abiding in the truth, and falling from his first estate;" (John viii. 44.; Jude 6;) and saith, "That there is no truth in him." (John viii. 44.) He telleth us that it was he that deceived Eve; (2 Cor. xi. 3;) and that he is a murderer from the beginning. All the resistance that his Gospel hath in the world, and all the sins that yet are committed, he proclaimeth Satan to be the cause of, by his temptations. He chargeth him with sowing tares of heresy and profaneness in his field; (Matt. xiii. 39;) and as doing this as his enemy. He tells us

that it is the devil that taketh away the seed that was sown, that men receive not the word of life. (Luke viii. 12.) He calleth wicked men the children of the devil. (John viii. 44 ; 1 John iii. 10.) He tells us that all that commit sin are of the devil, so far as they are sinners ; and if sin prevail, Satan prevails ; and tells how the two families may be known asunder. (1 John iii. 8—10.) In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil : whosoever doth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother. He is said to sin from the beginning, and to be that wicked one, and Cain who killed his brother, to be of that wicked one. (1 John iii. 8, 12.) When Paul, a leader in Christ's army, doth charge one of Satan's champions, Elymas the witch, (Acts xiii. 10,) he doth it so as to charge his general through him : ' O full of all subtlety and mischief ; thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness ; wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord ! ' When Judas was disposed to betray him, Christ telleth us the reason, the devil put it into his heart, and entered into him. (John xiii. 2, 27.) And before saith of him, (John vi. 70,) that he was a devil, as being on his side, and to do his work. Do but mark the Scripture expressions, and you will see through all a constant war carried on between Christ and Satan ; and a hostility in all Christ's words and actions to Satan and his kingdom. It was Satan that filled the heart of Ananias to lie to the Holy Ghost. (Acts v. 3.) The man of sin, and son of perdition, is the servant of Satan, and his coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteousness in them that perish. (2 Thess. ii. 8—10.) This is one of Satan's chief commanders, and therefore an antichrist. All those fugitives that forsake their colours, and turn from Christ, do turn aside after Satan. (1 Tim. v. 15.) When Christ cashiereth any, and turneth them out of his church, and delivereth them to destruction, he is said to deliver them to Satan. (1 Cor. v. 5 ; 1 Tim. i. 20.) When Paul was hindered from coming to the Thessalonians, once and again he saith it was Satan that hindered him. (1 Thess. ii. 18.) And when the churches of Smyrna were to be persecuted, it is said that the devil shall cast some of them into prison. (Rev. ii. 10.) The congregations and company of heretics and ungodly men, who are the church's enemies, he calleth the ' Synagogues of Satan.' (Rev. ii. 9, and iii. 9.) For they are those societies by whom

Satan's work is done, and those assemblies in which he is served publicly, as by the witches in their assemblies he is more secretly.

Yea, when rulers of nations are drawn into sin and misery, it is by the malice of this common enemy. It was he that "stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." (1 Chron. xxi. 1.) It was he that "was a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets." (1 Kings xxii. 22.) And when judgment is to be executed, especially on the people of God, it is he that is commonly permitted to be the executioner, for God will employ his creatures according to their own natures and offices; when he will burn, it shall be usually with fire; when he will drown, it shall be with water; and so, when he will destroy, he will send a destroying angel, whose nature doth more incline him to destroy; when the Israelites murmur, he sendeth evil angels among them, and they are destroyed of the destroyer. (1 Cor. x. 10; Psalm lxxviii. 49.) These are the dogs that God sendeth to drive home his sheep.

The idols also of the heathen, and idolaters, are called devils, and being God's greatest enemies, and to which he beareth the greatest hatred. (Lev. xvii. 7; Deut. xxxii. 17.) "They sacrifice to devils, and not to God, to new gods, newly come up, whom their fathers feared not." (Chron. xi. 15.) When Jeroboam had made him priests of the meanest of the people for his calves, and had expelled the priests of the Lord, it is said that he "made him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves that he made:" and "they are said to sacrifice their sons and daughters to devils." (Psalm cvi. 33.) These things are spoken to the reproach of devils, by the Spirit of Christ in his prophets before his coming, conformable to which are his own and his apostles' speeches since.

By all this, Christ's enmity to Satan is most evident, he having done and said so much to his disgrace, and making his name odious to all his disciples, that thereby he may fortify them against his temptations, and encourage them to the war to which he calleth them.

13. Moreover, to testify this enmity yet further, Christ listeth all his servants in their baptism, of purpose to fight under him against Satan and his kingdom: so that it is essential to a disciple of Christ to be a soldier against the devil. How full an evidence is this to shame all blasphemous suggestions, as if Christ were on Satan's side, and borrowed his power! No won-

der if the devil would have men to renounce their baptism ; for it is the very entrance into an engagement to fight under Christ against him to the death. This the church hath used generally to express in baptism ; and therein to require that the baptised do renounce the devil with the world and the flesh, his instruments and agents : so that so many baptisings as there are in the world, so many solemn engagements are there to oppose the devil, and so many abrenunciations of him.

14. And the laws that Christ Jesus giveth his people do yet more fully discover this enmity, and put all perfectly out of doubt. For, 1. He commandeth them in general to resist the devil, and do all that they can against him ; (James iv. 7 ; ) not to give place to the devil, (Eph. ii. 27,) but to stand against his wiles : (Eph. vi. 11 :) and he pronounceth such open hostility, that if his followers will not abstain from all wilful correspondence with Satan, they shall be no servants of his. He will have them defy him, and hate all his ways, and not to have familiarity with any of his open, known servants. They must cast such out from among them, and not so much as eat with them, nor receive them into their houses, or bid them God speed, lest by so doing they be partakers of their evil deeds. They must rebuke a brother if he do that which is pleasing to Satan, and withdraw from him, if he do not hear and amend, that he may be to us as a heathen, or a publican : (1 Cor. v. 10, 11, 7 ; 2 John x. 11 ; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14 ; Matt. xviii. 15—17 :) and he is to be delivered to Satan, in some cases, as is aforesaid : and, lest any should think they may play on both sides, Christ assureth them of the contrary, that they cannot serve him, unless they will set themselves against the devil and his works ; for there is no possibility of reconciliation or communion. “The things which the gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God ; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils : ye cannot be partakers of the Lord’s table, and of the table of devils. Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy ? Are we stronger than he ?” (1 Cor. x. 20—22.) And we must not join in marriage with the known servants of the devil, because of this enmity and necessary distance. “Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers : for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness ; and what communion hath light with darkness ; and what concord hath Christ with Belial ? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel ; and what agreement hath the temple of



God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (2 Cor, vi. 14, &c.)

This is the discipline of Christ's army, and this is one of his laws of war, that no man shall have familiarity or converse with the enemy, upon pain of his displeasure.

More particularly: the laws of Christ are most expressly contrary to the will and interest of the devil. It would be too long a task particularly to survey them, though it is our best and most cogent evidence of the point in hand. The devil's work is to rob God of his glory, and of the hearts and service of the sons of men; Christ's laws do enjoin us to love God with all our heart, and soul, and might. It is the devil's employment to go up and down, and compass the earth to draw men from honouring God, and even to draw them to curse him to his face. (Job i. 6—9, and ii. 2—6.) The Lord Jesus condemneth all blasphemers and despisers of God, and commandeth us the greatest reverence to his majesty. He will neither permit us to take his name in vain, or swear rashly by it; nor yet to swear by any creature, that we give not away his glory to another. He will not have us worship so much as an angel, much less the souls of men, and much less stocks, and stones, and images; or sun, or moon, or stars, and, least of all, the devils; whereas, it is Satan's design to draw the world to worship the creature instead of the Creator, and change the truth of God into a lie, and the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like corruptible man, and birds, and beasts, and creeping things. (Rom. i. 23, 25.) Satan would draw men to routs, and riots, and profane assemblies, and keep them from the assemblies where God is truly worshipped. Christ hath appointed the first day of every week to this end, that in the solemn assemblies we might learn our duty, and send up our requests to heaven, and give God the homage of praise which we owe him (in our measure). Satan is an enemy to all good order and government, and human society. Christ commandeth us order, and obedience, and telleth us that God is not a God of confusion. Satan is the prince of malice, hatred, contention, and divisions. Christ is the prince of peace, and love, and

unity, and concord, and strictly chargeth his soldiers to maintain these among themselves, and to avoid all mutinies and schisms; and tells them that this is the second commandment like to the first, that we love our neighbour as ourselves, and that this is his new commandment, that we love one another, and that in so doing we shall be known to all men to be his disciples, and shall please him, and be like to God, who is love. Yea, he commandeth us to love our enemies, bless them that curse us, and pray for them that hurt and persecute us, if ever we will be the children of our heavenly Father, and so his true disciples. How perfectly contrary is all this to Satan, his disposition, and will, and way, who delighteth in blood, desolation, and misery, and is always putting his servants to seek revenge, and kindling thoughts of malice, censoriousness, and bitterness in their breasts?

The devil tempteth men to do hurt to one another, and to murder: Christ condemneth those that shall but be rashly angry with their brother, or call him fool, or use any such railing and reproachful words. Satan is a spirit of uncleanness, and a tempter to uncleanness and filthy lusts: Christ condemneth as much as an unruly eye, even looking on a woman to lust after her. Satan is a robber, and a tempter of others to stealing and robbery: Christ condemneth the coveting of that which is another's, and the very desiring to be rich. (1 Tim. vi. 9; Prov. xxiii. 4, and xxviii. 20, 22.) In a word, there is nothing in all the world more perfectly contrary to the will of Satan than is the law of Christ; whatever his wicked nature doth desire, or commend, or endeavour after, it is here discommended and strictly forbidden.

Yea, further note, the exceeding enmity appeareth in the exceeding strictness of these laws of Christ; he will not allow us so much as to speak one word that is pleasing to the devil, nor to think one evil thought. Though he will pardon our infirmities, of his grace, yet will he not allow the least; yea, he makes us know, that without the sacrifice of his blood, the least could not be pardoned.

See here, by the way, a most full testimony for Christ out of the mouths of his very enemies. Do they not reproach his laws for being so precise and strict, and taking them so much off from their sinful pleasures. Here, then, is a witness that Christ is no friend to sin, or the spirit of iniquity that tempteth men to sin. Of those that I have known turn infidels, some of

them have done it on this account, because while they professed themselves the servants of Christ, they were so restrained and hampered by his strict and rigid laws, that it was a weariness to them, not having renewed, suitable dispositions, and they could endure it no longer, but as soon as the vain reasonings of some apostates against Christ had let loose their infidelity, and opened them a gap, they quickly ran out. Would you have Christ show yet more enmity to Satan and his kingdom, in his laws? surely, those that already so much grudge at the strictness of them would not.

15. If all this be not enough, let the sanction of these laws be called in for a witness, whether Christ be at sufficient enmity with the devil. I have already told you of the penalty of church censures, and delivering up to Satan: besides which he himself will chastise his children when they offend, and make them smart if they will be meddling with sin. He commandeth parents, masters, rulers, and all in authority, to correct evil doers, and if they will not repent and reform, he will judge them to everlasting misery; and by his laws hath made hell to be their portion; so that they who will serve the devil here, shall be sent as cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, and live with him that ruled them. Would you yet wish a higher discovery of Christ's enmity with the devil?

More particularly he condemneth, especially, all idolatry, and worshipping of devils, and approveth of God's law, that saith; "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live;" and yet could the blasphemous pharisees take him to be one himself. Is it like a friend of Satan's kingdom, to put to death all his confederates here, and to denounce everlasting torments against them hereafter.

16. If this yet suffice not, consider Christ's threatenings against the devils themselves: as he proclaimeth their present misery, as you have heard, so doth he threaten their future misery. He maketh us know that they are apostate angels, accursed from God, and that they have "left their first habitations, and are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." (Jude 6.) He telleth us, God spared not the angels when they had sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment. (2 Pet. ii. 4.) Yea, he lets the devils know, to their terror, that though they now tempt, and

vex, and grieve, the saints, who are Christ's followers, yet shall these saints judge them. (1 Cor. vi. 3.) Yea, "The God of peace shall bruise Satan under our very feet." (Rom. xvi. 20.) As he promised, so will he perform it ; that, though the serpent bruise our heel, yet shall our heel bruise the serpent's head. How can the devil, who is the prince of the sons of pride, endure to be thus reproached, and vilified, and threatened, and triumphed over, if he knew how to help it. Surely, he that doth threaten everlastingly to torment him, is none of his friends or confederates.

17. The very business of Christ, by his Spirit, word, ministry, mercies, and judgments, is to overthrow Satan's kingdom, and bring men out of his service and captivity. What is Christ's work that he is still driving on in the world ? Is it not the converting and confirming of souls ; and what is that but to deliver them from the devil, and bring them home again to God. What else doth he require renovation for ; why else doth he send his Spirit to renew us ? This is the work that he sendeth all his messengers on, to beseech men to be reconciled to God, and forsake the devil that drew them to forsake him. Every soul that Christ converteth is translated from the kingdom, and delivered from the power of darkness, and brought into the kingdom of the Lord Jesus. (Col. i. 13.) And to this end he telleth his ministers that he sendeth them "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ ;" (Acts xxvi. 18 ; ) "That we may save ourselves, and them that hear us." (1 Tim. iv. 16.) "In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God, peradventure, will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will." (2 Tim. ii. 25, 26.) Men that are not wilfully blind may see here what relation Christ standeth in to Satan, even as the general of the field, commanding all that army that is against him, and seeking the rescue of his captives from his hands.

18. Consider, further, what a notable combat there is between Christ and Satan for the rescue of every sinner that is recovered. It is not done easily, nor by an arm of flesh. Satan is the strong man armed ; the heart of every unconverted sinner is his garrison ; his armour, and ordnance, and fortifications, are

temptations, deceit, prejudice, passion, sensual rage, and carnal interests, and worldly allurements : by these he keepeth his garrison in peace, till Christ come and besiege him ; and then what a storm is made ; what trouble and fear is the soul brought into ! Christ planteth against it the ordnance of his word, he dischargeth the terrible threatenings of his wrath, and tells the sinner he must change his master or burn in hell ; there is no remedy ; it must be one of these two. He fitteth his ministers, who are to make this battery, with a holy skill for his work, and giveth them his Spirit, which is, as the gun-powder in our battering-pieces, the chief cause of all the execution ; so that, as they fight against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses in high places, (Eph. vi. 12,) so are they furnished with spiritual ordnance for that end. I speak not my own thoughts, but the word of Christ : "Though we walk in the flesh, yet do we not war after the flesh ; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ ; and having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience." (2 Cor. x. 3—6.) You see here the battery raised, and the ordnance mounted and doing execution. Converted souls have felt all this. Upon this battery the jailor came trembling in to Paul and Silas, (Acts xvi.,) begging for quarter, and asking what he should do to be saved. Upon this battery three thousand yielded at once, (Acts ii.,) and being shot to the heart, with a healing bullet, they also cry for quarter, and offer to yield themselves to mercy, crying out to Peter and the rest of the apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do ?" One of these did light on Saul, a persecutor, by the high-way, and struck him down, and made him also yield to mercy, and cry, "Lord, what wouldest thou have me to do ?" (Acts ix.) Many a thousand did the apostles, by these engines, bring to submission in the narrow compass of Judea, in a very short space. When men stand out long, Christ sendeth to them some ministers to parley with them and offer them mercy, that they may know it is not an enemy to them but to Satan, that doth make the assault, and to acquaint them his intentions are all for their good ; and usually it is one that hath found the like mercy himself, and endured such a battery as they now do endure, that "knowing the terrors, and the goodness, and mercy of the Lord, he may persuade men." (2 Cor. v. 11.) And if

Christ resolve to win that soul, he will not withdraw the siege till he have battered to the ground their former prejudice, and levelled their high imaginations, and taken down their impenitent obstinacy, and dismounted all their carnal reasonings, and brought the thoughts into a captivity to Christ, and bound the strong enemy, and cast him out ; but usually the conflict is sharp first, or long, or both. Many strivings and troubles doth the soul first endure, Christ haling it one way, and the devil another way, so that the man is almost torn to pieces. Sometimes he would repent and return, and then he is off again ; the enemy will not so let him go, but pleasures, profits, and carnal company are all brought out to bring him back ; then he would sit down and be quiet in his sins, but Christ will not let him alone, but battereth his heart again, till at last he forceth him to yield, and by the power of love, assisted with holy fear, constraineth him to judge, that if Christ died for all, then were all dead, and that he died for all that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them and rose again." (2 Cor. v. 14, 15.)

I do most seriously profess, that if I had but this one argument to prove the enmity of the Lord Jesus against the devil and his kingdom, even the experience of the great conflicts in the work of a true conversion, I should think it enough to confute all the cavils of infidels, and all the blasphemers in the world. Can a soul, that hath felt how Christ assaulted Satan and expelled him, by what means he did it, and what it cost, be ever persuaded more to question his holy, sin-hating nature and design ?

19. Yet further, to manifest this enmity to the utmost, the Lord Jesus doth possess all his sanctified true disciples with such a spirit of enmity to Satan and his ways, and so contrary to him, as they never had before, and as none else but they in the world do possess : he giveth them a Spirit which maketh them new creatures, and turneth their very hearts from the works of darkness, and maketh them hate the tempter and his temptations : a Spirit which washeth, sanctifieth, and purifieth them, and maketh them ashamed of that which was their glorying. (Rom. vi. 21 ; 1 Cor. vi. 11.) A Spirit which warreth in them against Satan and the flesh, and is contrary to it. (Gal. v. 17 ; Ezek. xi. 19, and xxxvi. 26.) They that walk in this Spirit do not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. (Gal. v. 16.) By this Spirit, he that rose from the dead doth quicken them that were dead

in trespasses and sins, and walked therein in time past, according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; among whom they also had their conversation in the time past, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. (Eph. ii. 1—3.) Where this Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom from Satan's bonds. (2 Cor. iii. 17.) This Spirit makes men like to God, and therefore must needs make them unlike the devil: for it makes us holy as he is holy, and perfect in some sort, as our heavenly father is perfect. (Matt. v. 48.) And he that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit. (1 Cor. vi. 11, 17.) It is a Spirit of holiness and life, (Rom. i. 4, and viii. 2, 10,) given us on purpose for the mortifying of the flesh, (Rom. viii. 13,) and to make us fervent in serving the Lord; (Rom. xii. 11;) and if any man have not this Spirit, he is indeed none of Christ's. (Rom. viii. 9;) nor will he own any worker of iniquity. (Matt. vii. 23.) For by one Spirit we are all baptised into his one body, and are all made to drink into one Spirit. (1 Cor. xii. 13.) This Spirit doth the second Adam, who for us was made a quickening Spirit, (1 Cor. xv. 44,) bestow upon all his members, to cast out all the interest of Satan, and make them a habitation of God. (Eph. ii. 22.) How strong soever the prince of darkness is, and how weak soever we are in ourselves, yet he of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named doth grant us, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by this his Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith, where Satan dwelt before by infidelity, and we may be rooted and grounded in love. (Eph. iii. 15—17.) The evil spirit that is in men lusteth after envy. (Jam. iv. 5.) But this Spirit doth cause us to abound in love, and by it we are taught of God to love one another. Of all other, this is one of the fullest evidences of the holiness of Christ, that he hath possessed his people with such a spirit of holiness; and the fullest evidence of his hostility with the devil, when he possesseth his people with a new nature, in some sort divine, so exceedingly contrary to the satanical nature: so that it sets their hearts against him and his ways, and awakeneth them to a vigilancy against his deceits, and maketh all their new desires and endeavours to be nothing but an opposition to him and his kingdom. If you know not

whether Christ were a friend to Satan, or befriended by him, open your eyes, deluded infidels, and see what is the business that he hath set his disciples on, and what is the drift of the lives of his truest followers through the world. What do they but hate the devil and his ways, pray against him, speak against him, withdraw his followers, disgrace his service, pull down his kingdom with all their diligence? I challenge the vilest infidel on earth to show me that society of men, that are so unlike the devil, and so averse to him and his service as the true servants of Christ are : again, I challenge them to show me such a society.

20. And as the saints' contrariety to Satan, so the constant conflicts which, by the workings of the Holy Ghost, they feel against him in themselves, is a full evidence of Christ's enmity to him. What true believer doth not perceive a continual war between Christ and Satan in his own soul? Christ is working his heart to God, and Satan is drawing him downwards to the creature : Christ is lifting him heavenward, and Satan clogs him, and draws him to the earth : Christ would possess him with right thoughts of God, and his ways, and the life to come ; and Satan would blind him, and possess him with delusions and false conceits. Christ would bring us to a contempt of this world in comparison of a better : Satan would be still setting us upon ambitious, covetous, rising designs, and have us lay up our treasure on earth. Christ is still working us to meekness, humility, and self-denial : Satan is fermenting our hearts with pride, self-esteem, and self seeking. Christ is still working us to unity, love, and peace, to forgive wrongs, and calm and moderate all our passions, and to love our enemies, and study to do all the good that we can : Satan is still sowing the seeds of division, and hatred, and contention, and revenge ; breaking in pieces churches, commonwealths, families, and relations, raising tumultuous passions in men's minds, and drawing them from all good, and provoking them to all evil. And though he cannot have his will where Christ hath cast him out, yet doth he by his suggestions let them know what his will is, if he might have it.

Yea, in the very point in hand, about our believing in Christ, we find a war in us between the persuasions of Christ's Spirit and of Satan. So industrious is the enemy to draw us to infidelity, that if the Spirit of Christ did not resist him, and carry on his work, there would not be a believer in the world. And truly I cannot believe that the devil would so incessantly tempt us to disbelieve the Scriptures, if they were according to his



mind; or to depart from Christ by unbelief, if Christ had been his confederate.

I must profess that this hath been a mighty support to me in temptations of this nature, and hath showed me manifestly the falsehood of the deceiver, and the truth of Christianity: the more the tempter hath importuned me to doubt, the more sensible I have been of this war in my own soul. I daily, also, on other occasions, do find such a conflict between Christ's Spirit and Satan, that my life is a warfare: and the church may well be called militant, while it abides in this condition. I know all these wars in my soul do certainly prove that there are some contrary, invisible powers that raise them, and therefore that there is a spirit of light and of darkness, and a spirit of good and of evil, which are in wars one against another. I find by many passages in the manner of the conflict, that it is not merely from myself, but hath a higher cause. I know also thus much more, that there is no strife, but there is something that is striven for; hence, I am confirmed that the promises of Christ are true, and that there is an everlasting glory and misery. Else, why should Satan keep such a stir to deprive me of the one, and bring me into the other; and why would Christ do so much to save me, if there were no salvation. There is some prize that the enemy expecteth if he could conquer, and that can be nothing but my everlasting undoing. There is also some prize that Christ so contendeth for, and that is certainly my everlasting felicity. So that the very experience of this war in my own soul doth much conduce to the confirming me in the faith.

21. Consider further, that all the wits of men and angels could never have laid such a design for the vanquishing of Satan, as Christ hath revealed in the Gospel, and came down on earth to execute. That so powerful a commander should be made general of the church, that Satan can have no hopes to win the field: that mercy should be so wonderfully magnified in our redemption, and God therein represented amiable to man, when Satan had drawn us, even in our innocency, to look on God as one that envied us our knowledge and delight: and thus the heart is drawn up in love to God by the constraining power of his wonderful love. That justice should be so eminently demonstrated, and the lawgiver vindicated, and the breach that was made in the frame of government and morality repaired, and God manifested so holy, and such a hater of sin, and yet the sinner saved from destruction. That so free a pardon should

be tendered to the world, and salvation offered on such gracious terms, without the least derogation from God's law, or the least impediment to holiness and good works, yea, to the greatest promoting and advantage of it that could be imagined: and that free grace should be so far from indulging and strengthening sin, that it is its greatest enemy, and giveth it the most mortal wound; all this was beyond the wit of any creature to have designed. That when man had come short of the glory of God by his fall, the Son of God should become the Captain of our salvation, and lead us up to that, or a greater glory. That by a death which he deserved not he should destroy the death that we deserved. That we should be reconciled to God by his death, and saved by his life. That he should become a sacrifice for sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. That the human nature that was so debased and depressed by the malicious temptations of apostate angels, should, by the occasion of that debasement, receive such advancement, and be set above the angelical nature, in the government of the world, and should judge those evil spirits that did seduce us. That under this head the eternal God should gather him a selected corporation for his praises, and for this wonderful mercy of redemption should have the thanks of his glorified saints for ever. These, with many other mysterious and wonderful passages of this design, do show the greatest enmity to the kingdom of the devil that can be conceived of, and would convince poor infidels if they did but well discern the perfect, well-jointed frame of the whole design.

22. Consider yet further; what admirable helps hath Christ vouchsafed us in his word for the vanquishing of Satan, by the repelling of his temptations. What is a great part of this Gospel, but a directory to his church for the management of this war, and how we may so demean ourselves as to conquer?

1. He doth unmask the deceiver, and telleth us, both generally and particularly, of his stratagems, depths, methods, wiles, and snares. (Rev. ii. 24; 1 Cor. vii. 5, 6; 2 Cor. ii. 11.) Never were his destroying projects so disclosed: so that now we may escape unless we will either wilfully wink, or put our foot into the snare when we see it, or swallow the bait when we know of the hook.

2. He hath opened unto us the ends of the tempter, and the danger of yielding, and told us of the everlasting misery that he would lead us into.

3. He calleth on us frequently to take heed, to watch, and

stand on our defence, and to beware of carelessness and sleeping in this danger.

4. When we fall asleep, he giveth us the loudest alarms and warning-pieces to awake us, enough, one would think, to rouse up the most careless soul alive !

5. He telleth us of the devil's malice and design, that he is our adversary, and walketh about like a roaring lion, night and day, seeking whom he may devour. (1 Pet. v. 8.)

6. He furnisheth us with all the christian armour for defence and offence.

7. He teacheth us how to put it on and use it. Let us transcribe one direction. "Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil : for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace ; above all taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one ; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God ; praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all Saints." (Eph. vi. 10—20.)

8. Also he doth animate and encourage us to be valiant and stand to it, and not to turn our backs or yield. Not to give place to the devil, (Eph. iv. 24,) nor forsake our ground. He telleth us into how many shapes he will turn himself to deceive : sometimes into a serpent, and sometimes a roaring lion, and sometimes into an angel of light, pretending to bring us a greater light than Christ hath given us, as he would give Adam a greater knowledge and wisdom, and as the first heretics were made believe by him, they knew more than the apostolical churches, and therefore were called gnostics. His ministers also do transform themselves into the ministers of righteousness, and will pretend to preach righteousness, and justification, more exactly than Christ's ministers do. (2 Cor. xi. 14—16.) But into how many shapes soever he shall turn himself, Christ telleth us, if we do but resist the devil, he will fly. (Jam. iv. 7.)

9. Yea, he is pleased himself to lead us on, and to bid us follow him and trust him, and hath given us an example for us to imitate.

10. Yea, and he giveth us a promise, not only of his assistance, but of a certain victory, assuring us, that "Greater is he than is in us, than he that is in the world;" (1 John iv. 4;) and that the God of peace will bruise Satan under our feet; and bids us be of good cheer, for he hath overcome for us, and will overcome in us, and in the greatest trials we shall be over-conquerors through him, (Rom. viii. 37,) and that none shall pluck us out of his hands, (John x. 28, 29) nor the gates of hell be able to prevail against his church.

23. If all this be not yet enough, consider the work, the havoc, the destruction, that Christ hath already made against Satan in his kingdom, and the success that the aforesaid means have had. When he was on earth himself, though he did many great works, yet still he omitted not the casting out of devils: and the same power he gave to believers, when he was ascended; (Mark xvi. 17, 18) he commanded them forth, and they could not resist the power of his word; he forced them to confess his superiority and prevailing power; he made them acknowledge that he did torment them before the time of his full and final conquest, by casting them out of their possessions, and overcoming their cruel, malicious endeavours; (Matt. ix. 32, 33; xii. 22, &c.; xv. 22, &c.; xvii. 17—19, &c.; Mark v. 15—18; Luke iv. 33, 34, &c.; iv. 42, &c.; xi. 14, &c.) and he healed all that were possessed with devils; (Acts x. 38;) and the principal enemies that his apostles set against, were conjurers, that worked by the help of the devil, as you may find by the foil they gave to Simon Magus, the leader of them, and to Elimas, the sorcerer, whom Paul blinded; (Acts xiii. 9—12;) and they forced out the devil from a damsel that had the spirit of divination, and got her masters much gain by soothsaying, when they were confessed by him to be the servants of the living God; (Acts xvi. 16—18;) when the Jewish exorcists thought to do the like by the bare name of Jesus and Paul, the devil prevailed over them, and caused them to fly naked and wounded. (Acts xix. 13—16.) So many books of magic and conjuration, or their black art, did the Gospel cause them at once to bring forth and burn at Ephesus, that the price of them came to fifty thousand pieces (or shekels) of silver: (Acts xix. 18, 19 :) a mighty blow to the devil's kingdom.

Yea, it is certain, from current history and church records, that the gift of casting out devils, and making them confess themselves mastered by Christ, did remain in the church for a long time after the apostles, even for three or four hundred years at least, though not in that glory and frequency as with them. I have formerly showed out of Cyprian, Tertullian, &c., how the Christians did provoke their judges to try them upon this account, and offered themselves to suffer, if they did not make the devils in the possessed confess themselves to be devils, and show themselves afraid of Christ. Yea, the writers of the first ages frequently mention it as a thing that the pagans themselves knew, as you may briefly see (besides divers others) in those testimonies which Grotius hath gathered on this point, in his 'Annotations on Mark,' (xvi. 17,) out of Justin Martyr's 'Colloq. cum Tryph.;' Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Minutius Fœlix, and Lactantius. See also what I cited before, in the disputation out of Augustin, 'De Civitat. Dei.' No where could Satan keep his possession, where the power of Christ did assault him.

2. And as Satan was thus cast out of men's bodies, so were all his oracles overthrown; and they that had before deluded the world, did suddenly cease when Christianity did approach; Porphyrius complains of this against the Christians, as being the cause of the silence of their idol gods; thus also did Christ vanquish Satan, and remove him from his throne.

3. Also Christ did overthrow the worshipping of devils, and root out that idolatry that carried away the world. Before the light of the Gospel did break forth, what abominable idolatry was exercised through the earth, even in the most learned and civil nations, at Athens and at Rome; but the Gospel brought them all to shame, and expelled this darkness, and wherever it comes, idolatry flieth away, according to the measure of its success.

4. When Satan raised up his witches and enchanters to uphold his kingdom, and bring idolatry again into credit, as Apollonius and the rest, the Gospel prevailed against all their power and devilish devices.

5. When Satan raised up the most learned philosophers to resist the Gospel, yet did it prevail against all the power of their carnal wit. And doubtless it was the purposed designment of God that the Gospel should be sent forth in such a place and age, where were the most learned enemies that were in all the

world, that so all their learning might be non-plussed, and the Gospel of Christ might triumph over it. When were there so many learned men in the world, as about the time of Christ, and his apostles, and the following time when the Gospel was conflicting with the opposition of their sciences? If ever reason or learning could have disgraced Christ and his truth, it would have been then. But Christ used other kind of weapons than theirs. They pleaded with words, and he with mighty works: they used sophisms; and he shined into men's souls with an insuperable light. Their weapons were weak and carnal; but his were strong and spiritual; their wisdom to him was foolishness, and his seeming foolishness proved wiser than they; and by weak and simple means and instruments did he overcome and confound their might and strength.

6. Yea, when the Jews themselves did plead abused Scripture against them, yet were they confounded, and their resistance of the Gospel hath brought on them such a curse as hath made them the astonishment of the world. Even the same that Christ foretold should befall them; and the same that they wished on themselves, (not knowing what they said,) "His blood be upon us and upon our children."

7. And when Satan raised an army of heretics, Simonians, Nicolaitans, gnostics, and the rest, though they came instructed with witchcraft, and wicked arts, yet Christ confounded them, and a little time did break each sect in pieces; and when new sects succeeded them, the like did befall them; so that those that were the great scourge and vexation of one age, as the libertines, ranters, quakers, the offspring of separation and anabaptistry, are now with us, were scarce known to the next, but by their names and by report. The church of Ephesus had Nicolaitans among them; but they hated their doctrine as Christ himself hated it. (Rev. ii. 6.) The church of Smyrna had blasphemers among them, that said they were Jews, but were not, but were the synagogue of Satan; but they prevailed not. (Rev. ii. 9, 10.) The church of Pergamos dwelt even where Satan's seat was, and had them that held the doctrine of Balaam, teaching men to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication; they had also them that held the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which Christ hated; and yet they held fast Christ's name, and denied not his faith, even in those days wherein his faithful martyr Antipas was slain among them, where Satan dwelt. (Rev. ii. 12—15.) The churches of Thyatira had among them

the woman Jezebel, who called herself a prophetess, and did teach and seduce the professors of Christianity to commit fornication, and eat things offered to idols ; and though the church were guilty of tolerating this, yet Christ did confound these heretics, and cast the woman Jezebel into a bed, and them that committed adultery with her, into great tribulation, and killed her children with death, that all the churches might know that it is Christ that searcheth the reins and hearts, and will give to every one according to their works ; and those that had not known this doctrine, and these depths of Satan, he cautioneth and directeth that they may persevere and overcome. (Rev. ii. 20—25.) The church of Sardis had some among them that defiled their garments, but the faithful kept clean. The churches of Philadelphia were troubled with some of the synagogue of Satan, which said that they were Jews, and were not, but did lie ; yet did they keep the word of Christ's patience, and Christ did keep them from the hour of temptation. (Rev. iii. 9--11.) Thus you see how common it was with the churches to be pestered with heretics ; and yet the light of the Gospel, and Christ's discipline, did quickly scatter them and confound them, as they sprung up.

8. And when Satan made his hottest onset by his band of persecutors, even in the midst of persecution did the church increase her strength and glory ; and the martyr's blood was the church's seed, as Tertullian speaks. No fire was hot enough to consume the Gospel ; no rage was strong enough to bear down Christ ; no sword was sharp enough to pierce his truth ; but he goes on and prevails, and overcomes the very persecutors. And here let all be laid together, and let it be well noted what a victory Christ obtained of Satan, when he conquered the Roman empire in special : when Satan had afoot all these bands at once, and all of them his strongest and best armed soldiers, viz. the Jews, with their misinterpreted law ; the idolaters, with their oracles and popular rage for the defence of their ancient worship ; the conjurers and sorcerers with their devilish conjurations ; the heretics with their witchcrafts and juggling delusions ; the great learned philosophers of all sects, with orators, poets, and the rest of their learned men ; their raging, unmerciful persecutors, and the great and potent emperors, that had mastered and then ruled so much of the world, (the Roman empire being then in the height of its glory,) yet all these could not subdue the Gospel, nor hinder the persecuted

Christians from such success ; as that sorcery, conjuration, oracles, idolatry, heresy, persecution, all is overthrown ; and the Roman emperor lays down his crown at the feet of Christ, and subjecteth all his glory to his will.

But yet a greater victory than all this was the overcoming of men's corruptions, and conquering their fleshly lusts, and purifying so many millions of polluted souls, and setting up Christ's government, where Satan had long ruled. And so this kingdom of Christ within us is his most excellent kingdom upon earth. And thus you see Christ's enmity to Satan by the utter destruction and ruin that he hath made in his kingdom.

24. Yet further consider what an army Christ hath yet afoot against Satan to this day, and how they are employed ; and by that time all this is laid together, we may well say that those blasphemers are bewitched into madness, that can yet imagine that Satan did lend Christ his help, or is a friend unto his cause, or Christ to his.

In the present army that Christ hath afoot, let us but consider these three things, or parts. His officers, his common soldiers, and his warlike instruments, arms, and ordnances.

1. For his officers, the very business that he calls them to, is to spend and be spent for the saving of souls and destroying of Satan's work. What are they to study all the week, but how to resist the deceiver, and save men from his snares ? What are they to preach in public of, but to cry down the powers and works of darkness, and turn men from the power of Satan unto God, and to proclaim all those to be rebels that follow the deceiver ? What else must they watch over their people for in private, but to rescue them from his deceits ? To this end must we reprove and instruct them with all patience, meekness, and long suffering. (2 Tim. ii. 25.) What is it that they must pray for else on their people's behalf ? Yea, and they must first see to the saving of themselves, and look to themselves as well as their doctrine, (1 Tim. iv. 16,) and must be sure to be found well-grounded in the faith ; and such as are delivered from Satan themselves, and no other should be chosen to this work. Nor should they be novices, or young converts, that have not had sufficient standing and experience ; lest themselves, being puffed up with pride, should fall into the condemnation of the devil. (1 Tim. iii. 6.) So that look how many true ministers of Christ are upon the earth, so many leading enemies of Satan there are, proclaiming Christ's enmity



to him, setting him daily at defiance, beating him out of his possessions, and recovering to God the souls that he captivated.

2. Consider also Christ's common soldiers, and their employment. What is the life of a Christian, but a militating against Satan? What else doth Christ call him to? And what else is he as a Christian employed in? So that look how many true Christians are on the face of the earth, so many professed, avowed enemies of the devil there are, that live upon the spoils of his kingdom, and lay out themselves to procure its overthrow.

3. Consider also the armour and ordnance of the saints. All God's graces, I have before showed you, are against Satan; and so are all the ordinances of Christ. In baptism, I have already showed, we are listed against him and renounce him: preaching, I have showed, is the battering of his garrisons: The Lord's Supper is a renewing of that first covenant, wherein we were engaged against him, and a remembering us of our duty and engagement. Prayer is directed purposely to the ruin of his cause. Reproofs and admonition are the reclaiming of his deceived ones. Discipline is for a just separation of Christ and Satan, the precious and the vile, and the shaming of all that is like him, and the weeding of his tares from the church of Christ.

You see, then, how the devil is assaulted and daily baited by the christian army through the world. So many true Christians as there are, so many daily or frequent prayers are put up against the interest of the devil; and so many there are that bend themselves to disgrace him, and destroy his works.

Hence it is that the very name of Satan is so odious, especially among them. How many volumes are written by them against him and his designs; and how disgracefully do they speak of him in them all! The very libraries of the christian world are such a wound to Satan, and such mortal darts in his sides, that he would have, by any cost, prevented or consumed them if he could. There it stands on record, what he is, and what he hath done, and how he hath been used in former ages, *e. g.* saith Augustin, 'Conc. ad Catechum. Contr. Judæos;' Pag. et Arrian., (tom. vi. p. 23.) "What is the devil? He is an angel, by pride separated from God, who stood not in the truth; the author of lies; deceived by himself, and desiring to deceive others. This Satan is become the adversary of mankind, the

inventor of death, the institutor of pride, the root of malice or evil, the head of wickedness, the prince of all vices, and the persuader of filthy thoughts.' Thus is the devil assaulted daily, and by all this army is Christ opposing him, and therefore, doubtless, is his greatest enemy.

25. Consider, also, how Satan reigneth where Christ hath not pursued him with his Gospel, as among the poor Indians, where he appears among them and is worshipped by them, and where Christ hath withdrawn his Gospel. If men knew and considered the difference between those places and these we live in, they would surely see that Christ is Satan's enemy.

26. Consider, also, how little is done against Satan by any other besides Christ. How did he prevail before Christ's opposing him; and who is there on earth that hath done so much against him as Christ hath done; and how would he have reigned if Christ had let him alone? All the learning and civility of the Greeks and Romans did rather confirm than extirpate their idolatry and worshipping devils; and, indeed, all the light that doth oppose him among any other sects are but some sparks that Christ hath lent them, and some small reflections of the Gospel on them.

27. Note, also, that constant experience telleth us that all sin and wickedness doth befriend infidelity: this is a known truth. The more any man woundeth or debaucheth his conscience by living in wilful sin, or selleth himself for carnal pleasure, to work wickedness, the more he is disposed to infidelity, and the easier is he drawn from Christ; and the worst men are his enemies, and the best his truest servants, through the world; which shows the enmity between him and iniquity.

28. Besides, Christ promiseth the crown to those only that fight manfully against Satan, and overcome. (Read Rev. ii. and iii., which shows his resolved enmity.)

29. Moreover, the very nature of the happiness that he promiseth, is to be perfectly rescued from Satan and his sinful works, and to be as unlike him as is possible for us to be, and to be separated as far from him as heaven is from hell: this, also, further declares the enmity.

30. Lastly, If yet after all this any will be hardened in this vile infidelity, they shall find at last, when he comes to judgment, whether Christ were a friend to Satan or not; when they themselves shall be condemned to those torments which were at first prepared for the devil and his angels. I run over these passages

so briefly because I have stood so long upon this point, and the evidence is so clear that it seems needless to say more.

Some think that Michael, the archangel, was Christ; but it is most likely that he is a prince among the holy angels, and so a leader of the army of Christ: certain it is that he is a chief agent in this warfare; and as he strove with the devil about the body of Moses, (whether Moses's dead body, or Moses in the basket when he was exposed to the waters, I determine not,) so we find some description of this war in Rev. xii. 7, &c.: "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven; and the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world. He was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him; and I heard a loud voice saying, in heaven, Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death; therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them: wo to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea, for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time. And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child; and the dragon was wrath with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." Whatever be the particular drift of these words in general, I am sure they discover his enmity, conflict, and success.

And thus you have seen (I doubt not to call it) a full demonstration, "That for this very purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." (1 John iii. 8.) And that he is already fallen before the Gospel, Spirit, ministry, and other servants of Christ, as lightning from heaven. (Luke x. 18.)

So much of Christ's holy war.

#### *The Uses, or Consecrations.*

The premises thus demonstrated do afford us further light for our information in these three following points or consecrations;

1. From what is said, it is manifest even to reason that Christ is indeed the Messiah and Son of God, and Saviour of the world, and his Gospel true, and the christian religion is of evident certainty.

For if Christ's mighty works were not wrought by Beelzebub, as the blasphemers of the Holy Ghost did imagine, then it is most certain that they were of God: for that they were truly done, I have showed before in the first discourse; and none can make doubt of it that is not a stranger to the records of the world, and especially of the church; or that knows with what clear, unquestionable evidence these matters of fact have been brought down to our hands. And, as Augustin saith that the world should be converted by miracles, when there were, indeed, no miracles, would be itself the greatest miracle: and then, that no human power could raise Christ from the dead, or do the works that he and his disciples after him performed in several countries and nations of the world, is so far past question, that I never met with man yet that doubted of it. It remaineth, therefore, that it must be either by the power of God or of Satan, that these works were done. Of this the pharisees themselves were easily convinced, and therefore had no other refuge for their unbelief, but only to blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and say that it was by Beelzebub that all these things were done: and, indeed, there is nothing else that is left them to pretend: and how vain and absurd this blasphemy is, I dare say, is demonstrated in what is already said; so that it remains that the Gospel is certainly of God, and these glorious works of Christ are of God, there being no other power to which they can be ascribed. Nay, here being, moreover, the fullest, positive evidences that it is the very work of the Almighty God, that Christ hath set a foot, and is still carrying on. If proof may be called proof, this is proved.

Quest. But are not the miracles themselves a sufficient argument to prove themselves to be of God, without fetching all this proof from the scope and use of them?

Answ. They are themselves sufficient. 1. For all the devils in hell are not able to do that which Christ and his apostles did, if they were willing. 2. And if they had a natural power, yet want they a moral power or license from God: for it is as certain as that God is the just and faithful Governor of the world, that he would never give devils leave to delude them by such miracles, without controlling them, and giving us sufficient light to discover the deceit. All this is fully proved before.

But yet, though miracles are sufficient of themselves, God hath abundantly provided for our satisfaction; and lest any should say that evil spirits are so far from our knowledge that, for ought we know, they may do as great matters as all these: or, at least, may blind the eyes of the beholders, to make them think that they are done indeed; as when witches seem to be turned into wolves and cats, to the eyes of others, and their own: and how far Satan can cheat poor mortals we cannot tell. I say, lest any should think they have this excuse for their infidelity, the Lord hath given them, as full evidence, that Satan is no friend to these works of Christ, as that the light of the sun proceedeth not from the abyss, or seat of darkness. Blessed be the Lord of truth and light, that hath set such an unquestionable seal to his Gospel, and given such an advantage to the faith of his people, and called us to believe nothing but what he hath evidenced to us to be true, by giving us so full an evidence that it is his revelation: that we may more comfortably do or suffer for our religion, and forsake all the world for the glory that is promised us, when we are so sure that it is God himself that hath promised it. Had God but left us in the dark in this point, what a loss should we have been at in every duty and temptation? How could we have resisted the lusts of the flesh, and the allurements of this world, if we had not had good assurance that there are better things hereafter this way to be attained? How could we have laid out ourselves heartily in God's service, or endured the scorns of the licentious world; or have differed from them in our course, and have forborne to run with them into riotous excess? Who will run cheerfully that doubted whether there be any prize; or sow in tears that knows not that he shall reap in joy? But, now, how cheerfully may we run; how light may we make of all our sufferings! With what alacrity and delight may we go through all duties, when we know who it is that hath promised, and on whose word we trust our souls! Now, what an argument is here ready to shame and repel all temptation, to make us condemn this empty world, and deny our flesh and carnal self, and patiently run the race that is before us, and, in a word, to be Christians indeed, and to live according to the rates of our profession or belief! Oh! what a blessed help is here to get up the heart in each day to God, and to facilitate our meditations on heavenly things. Alas! all the striving in the world would never have stirred our hearts to heaven, if we had not seen a glory to entice them. Love is not

driven but drawn ; and nothing would have drawn them but that which is true as well as good ; and no truth is fit to take with man but that which hath evidence ; nor any beyond the measure of its evidence. I know the schoolmen, and some of our own most reverend divines do say that the christian religion is *evidenter credibile, sed non evidenter verum*. But, indeed, nothing is credible but what is true, nor evidently credible but what is evidently true. But, then, this I confess is true, and so their words may be admitted that it is evidently credible, because it is evidently a divine testimony, and I desire no more evidence of truth ; but it is not *evidenter verum in se*, but only in the credit of the testifier : but though there be not *evidentia rei*, it is as good if there be evidence that it is God who doth attest it : so that evidence of verity there must be ; for, as Mr. Richard Hooker saith of them that would not have Scripture proved to be God's word, but believed only, 'How bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it comes to the trial, such as the evidence is which the truth hath, such is the assent ; nor can it be stronger, if grounded as it should be.'

If we live faithfully, if we suffer cheerfully, if we die comfortably, and lay down our bodies in the dust in hope, we may thank God that hath given us such evidence of his truth, such helps to discern them, and his Spirit to fit us for the receiving and improving of them.

And therefore what a great wrong is it to the souls of believers, both that teachers do no more to the well-laying of this foundation, and that themselves do no more study and consider of these evidences ! Certainly, whatever may be the most confident belief, that is like to be the most constant which is settled by sound evidence. And, for want of this it is, that seekers, and quakers, and apostates, do now of late prevail, to overthrow the faith of some, because that when they hear the objections which they never heard before, they are unable to answer ; and the faith which was built on borrowed grounds, doth fall at the first assault ; and they think they have found the falsehood of their former religion, when they have discovered only the falsehood or infirmity of their former belief.

And if men should resolvedly resist seducers, yet Satan himself will be ready to assault them : and if they never be tempted to doubt of the truth, yet can they never so well improve that faith, to holiness and consolation, which hath not evidence in our minds that it is certainly God himself whom we do believe.

The fullest evidence discerned doth certainly beget the strongest faith, and the strongest faith will produce the greatest holiness and consolation : so that you may perceive how much doth lie on this.

And, doubtless, evidence itself is none to us, if it be not discerned. And the frequent and serious consideration of it doth help to make the deepest impression ; and, therefore, those that never hear or read these evidences, do want very much that advantage that God hath provided for their faith ; and those that daily consider them in their strength, will find their faith exceedingly increased, and so all graces increased there withal.

Yet I know that it is the common method of the devil to set in most cunningly and violently with his temptations, when a Christian doth first set himself to look for evidence of the truth of his religion, and bring it under consideration ; and, therefore, many imagine that all such seeking for proof is but the way to loosen men's belief, and overthrow them ; but they should rather direct such novices in the faith, which way they should go about this work most safely, using the best evidence, and taking along with them the help of judicious teachers, and waiting for the reception of certainty by degrees, seeing it is not possible by ordinary means that all the evidence should be received in the beginning, and at once ; I say such directions for the right managing of this work may be very necessary to them ; but wholly to take them off and persuade them to take up all their faith on trust, and make up that in blind confidence, which they have not in true evidence, this will prove no wise or friendly advice at last.

The second consectary is this : from hence it appeareth that the matter of fact was then so evident, that the most malicious enemies of Christ did acknowledge that such mighty works were done by him : this was, then, past all doubt among the worst and most cruel of his persecutors : only all the question was, by what power he did them ? For this was the only refuge that they had left them for their unbelief, that it was by sorcery, and by the power of Beelzebub that these works were done.

What I say of Christ's own works, is true also of the disciples' works after his ascension. Say these pharisees : " What shall we do to these men ? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it ; but that it spread no further among the people, let us straightly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name." (Acts iv. 16, 17.)

We see, then, that they were past all doubt that these miracles were done, though they blasphemed the Spirit by which they were done.

So when the Holy Ghost did fall upon the church, "They heard them speak with other languages as the Spirit gave them utterance; and when it was noised abroad, the multitude of devout Jews came together, that were come out of all nations to Jerusalem, and they were confounded to hear them speak in all their own languages, and they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these that speak Galileans? and how hear we every man in our own tongue wherein we were born, Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews, and proselytes, we do hear them speak in our own tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying, what meaneth this? Others mocking said, these men are full of new wine." (Acts ii. 2—5, 12, 13.)

You see there is no question here, whether the thing was done; but only what was the cause of it. Whether it was God's Spirit by which they spake these languages? or whether all the Church were drunk, and drunkenness could cause such a thing? And, indeed, there could be no doubt of the fact, when not only the multitude in so populous a city were witnesses of it, but also when they might have gone to the christian assemblies, and heard the like again for their conviction in all countries and nations round about where the Gospel was spread, and this for twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty, if not a hundred years together. So that there was no room left for doubting about the matter of fact, whether such things were done indeed or not.

And to this day we find that the Jews, by tradition from their unbelieving ancestors, do tread the same steps, confessing Christ's works, but accusing him either of sorcery, or of I know not what acquaintance with the ineffable name, by the virtue whereof they say he did them. And so we find in their own writings yet, that when the Christians dispute with them, they will not begin with Christ's works or doctrine, but will only begin with the description of the Messiah, and then they argue thus: 'If the description of the true Messiah belong not to Jesus Christ, then, whatever were his works or doctrine, he cannot be



the Messiah : but that description belongs not to him.' The major they would prove from their carnal, false description of the Messiah, who must be the temporal deliverer of their nation from captivity, which Christ hath not done. All this you may see in their own writings ; as in their history wrote by Salomo, filius Virgæ, translated by Georg. Gentius, you may find where, in the disputations before the pope and the King of Arragon which they boast of, they conclude, that ' If we will show them a man of the tribe of Juda, that shall gather together all the dispersed Jews, and bring them from captivity into their own land, and build the temple and re-edify Jerusalem, and set up the worship of God again according to the law of Moses, in as great glory as ever it was, and make the nations of the world to reverence the Jews, and bring in their riches and glory to them, this man they will take for the Messiah ; but no other will they believe to be him, whatever works he do.' So that these carnal people, looking so much at their carnal deliverance and glory, do expect just such a Messiah as Mahomet is to the Turks ; and while they feel not their spiritual necessity and misery, they despise the remedy, and are prejudiced by this false description of the Messiah against all arguments that can be used with them ; and yet justly are deprived of the carnal things, which they do expect.

Quest. But if they were so fully convinced of Christ's miracles, and the disciples' after him for so many years, it is a wonder how their hearts can be so blinded and hardened as to continue in unbelief.

Ans. It is God's righteous judgment to permit it, but the causes of it were divers.

1. This which I have last mentioned was the chief ; the gaping after a carnal deliverer.

2. The fore-mentioned blasphemous conceit of Christ working by the devil's power was another cause.

3. The reverence which they had to Moses' law, and their misunderstanding it, was one of the greatest causes of all : for they knew it was the law of God, and they concluded that no spirit could be of God that spake against his law, nor any work of God that was done against it ; and therefore they concluded that the Spirit of Christ was an evil spirit, and his works of Beelzebub, for they had been warned by Moses to credit no worker of wonders that would draw them away from God. But all this was because these wretches did not understand that

Moses' law was but for a time to be their schoolmaster unto Christ, or to teach them Christ, and endure till he came, and that all the types did cease when the substance should appear. And this ignorance is it that misleads them and undoes them.

4. And yet, doubtless, as there were many thousands of them converted in the apostles' days, so among many of them, both great and small, there was secretly a forced belief in Christ, which fear of persecution, and other carnal respects, did cover.

For the confirmation of this, I will give you but the brief sum of a story which a learned, godly father doth relate, and that is Epiphanius, 'In Hæres. 30. Ebion.' Going about to prove that the Jews had secretly among them the Gospel of Matthew, John, and the Acts, in the Hebrew tongue, he falls into the relation of the conversion of one that acquainted him with it; and that was one Joseph, a Jew, living in the days of Constantine the Great, and advanced to honour by him, who, receiving commission to build churches to Christ at Tyberias, Capernaum, and other places in his own country, he there fixed his abode, and having very sumptuous buildings at Scythopolis, he there entertained Eusebius Vercellensis, whom the Arian emperor, Constantius, banished; and Epiphanius going thither to visit Eusebius, professeth most solemnly that he had all this whole relation from Joseph's own mouth, being then about seventy years of age. To wit, that this Joseph lived with the patriarch of the Jews, called Ellet: this patriarch being ready to die, sendeth Joseph to the Bishop of Tyberias to desire him to come to him, under pretence of being his physician. The patriarch beseecheth the bishop to baptise him; whereupon the servants are commanded to make ready some water, as if it had been for some medicinal use, and then they were all commanded to withdraw. Joseph looks through some crevice in the door, and seeth the bishop baptise the patriarch, and the patriarch giving him a sum of gold, desiring him to offer it to God for him (as the manner then was when any thing was dedicated to some pious use, they offered it to God). Three days after, the patriarch dying, bequeathed the tuition of his son, not yet of age, to Joseph and another honest man. These things stuck in Joseph's mind, and made him desirous to know more of the christian religion. And there being a certain secret place of supposed treasure, which Joseph had now the keys of, he opens it and findeth no money, but the Gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles translated into Hebrew, and with them Matthew's 'Genealogy.' The reading

of these increased his perplexities, but yet did not persuade him to be baptised. After this, the patriarch's son (he supposed his name was Judas) fell into the company of some lewd young men that enticed him to wicked courses, as to fornication and filthy lusts, and to certain tricks of sorcery or magic, by which he might obtain his lust with those he desired. Joseph and his other guardian chide him, and follow him, and dissuade him from his course, but could not prevail, and divulge it they durst not. Upon a time he went to the baths, near Gadara, which were then famous for curing many diseases, and there being a fair hard by, the people came flocking thither. It fell out that in the bath was a woman of extraordinary beauty, at whose sight Judas was pierced with lustful desires; of which, while he gave some signs, the woman, being a Christian, fortified herself with the name of Christ, and afterwards, when he solicited her, she reproached his messengers, and despised his offered gifts. The young man, being sad at his disappointment, his companions draw him in the evening to certain sepulchres which were in caves hewed in the rocks, and there they fall to their witchcraft, and with spells, and charms, and impious devices, they think to conjure the woman to yield herself presently to his lust. It pleased God to make this known to Joseph's companion, the other guardian of the young man; and he told Joseph, and sadly lamenting the case of the young man, they secretly went after them, and after sunset, in the twilight, they came to the sepulchre door, and there looked in and saw them at their charms among the dead bodies; and when they had done, they secretly withdrew. When the young men were gone, they went into the sepulchre, and found their mixtures of blood and dust, and instruments of witchcraft, and understanding all the matter, they waited to see the issue: but charms could not prevail against a Christian; whereupon, Joseph saw yet more of the power of Christianity, but yet he was not converted to Christ. Next to this, he saw, as it were, Christ in a vision, saying to him, 'I am Jesus, whom thy ancestors crucified, believe in me:' but this moved him not. Then he fell into a sore and desperate disease, and Christ appearing to him again, tells him that he shall be recovered if he will believe, which he promised to do, and recovered; but continuing obstinate, he fell sick again, and that so desperately, that they had no hope of his life. The Jews coming about him to perform those ceremonies, and give that advice which they use to do to dying men, one of the chief

of them, an ancient man, skilful in their law, came to him, and whispered these words in his ear, 'Believe that Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, being the Son of God, and afterwards born of Mary, is the Christ of God, and was raised from the dead, and shall come again to judge the dead and the living.' And thus Joseph came to know that among their last mysteries, the Jews secretly persuaded dying men to believe. This Epiphanius again most solemnly protesteth that Joseph told him in order as is related, with his own mouth: as also that he hath heard the like from another Jew. And that, as he travelled from Jericho, through the deserts of Bethel and Ephraim, this Jew joined himself with him, and Epiphanius fell into discourse about Christ's coming: the Jew did not contradict him in any thing, which made Epiphanius wonder, and ask him the reason; the Jew answered, that when he was once like to die, the Jews whispered these words in his ear, '*Jesus Christus crucifixus Dei filius de te judicabit.*' 'Jesus Christ crucified, the Son of God, shall be thy Judge.'

Thus much of this history I have recited out of Epiphanius, to show what conviction was then among many of the Jews themselves; which things this holy man so often and earnestly protesteth he heard with his own ears. As for the rest of the story of Joseph, I shall not stay to recite it all, because I am at the thing which I did intend already; only, in a word, after this, Christ appeared to him again in a vision, and gave him power to do a miracle for his conviction; but yet he delayed his return, till at last, being advanced by the young patriarch, Judas, to great dignity, he exercised so much severity over the wicked priests, and rulers of synagogues, that they conspired against him, and pry into his ways, and one day rush into his house and find him reading the Gospels, and, snatching the book out of his hand, they draw him to the synagogue and scourge him, till the bishop of the city came and delivered him. After this, meeting him on the way, they cast him into the river Cyndus, and thought they had drowned him; but being delivered, he then delayed no longer, but professed himself a Christian, and was baptised, and so went to Constantine the emperor, and told him all that had befallen him, who made him a count, and gave him power to build churches among the Jews, which was all that he desired.

So much to prove that the fact of Christ's miracles was unquestionable with the Jews.

3. The premises, thus cleared, do further inform us, what an

unreasonable, and abominably impious a sin this blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is, and therefore no wonder if it have no forgiveness.

Unreasonable I may well call it, for it is against the clearest evidence that can be desired. What, is there but one to be found in heaven or earth that could enter the lists with Satan, and overcome him, and rescue his captives out of his hands, and must that one be accused of being Satan's confederate ! Is there but one that had power and will to destroy the devil's kingdom ; and shall he be accused of building it up ! Must he condescend so low by his incarnation, to the wonder of men and angels, and stoop yet lower by a life of suffering, and yet lower in his agony, on his cross, and in his grave, and all to undermine the kingdom of darkness ; and, after all this, shall he be supposed to build what he so destroyeth ! Shall he lay out all his time and pains against Satan, and cast him down wherever he comes, and dispossess him of the bodies and souls which he possessed, and make the world to wonder at the batteries which he makes, and at his great execution upon the interest of hell, and yet shall he be accounted a friend to it ! Shall he be at so great cost in this holy war, and not think his blood and life too dear, and expose himself and all his army to so great hazards, abuses, and indignities, so that thousands must lay down their lives in the flames and suffer the most cruel torments from tyrants and the raging multitude, and all to pull down idolatry and wickedness, and to set up the interest of God on the earth, and yet shall Christ be accounted a friend of the devil's ! Shall he lay such a design to subdue Satan, and save mankind, as all the world could not have laid ; shall he establish such a frame of laws, so perfectly contrary to the will and interest of the devil, and seal them with the mighty power of God, in doing such works as no man else could do, and yet shall these very works be said to be done by Beelzebub ! O fearful, wilful blindness, and unreasonable wickedness, of such obstinate unbelievers !

Shall Christ send forth such an army of apostles, martyrs, and holy believers, to go up and down the world, making it their work to assault the kingdom of darkness wherever they shall come, charging them not to spare, for cost or pains, or their own lives, so that this work may be accomplished, and promising them the reward of glory if they fight manfully and overcome, and threatening everlasting misery if they do not ; and yet must he be called Satan's friend ! Shall he give his dis-

ciples, for a hundred years, the power of working miracles in his name, and by these to cast out idolatry and impiety ; shall he list all that will come unto him, by baptism, expressly to fight against the devil ; shall he actually expel him from so great a part of the world, silence his oracles, shame his worshippers and confederates, and cast down his laws and government in men's souls, and thus turn the world upside down, battering down Satan's garrisons and strong holds, and binding him, disarming him, and casting him out ; and after all this shall he said to do these things by Satan's help ! Shall he set up a whole frame of worship, ordinances in direct opposition to him, and animate his disciples with a holy spirit, quite contrary to Satan, and keep them continually employed against him, publicly or privately, making it the whole work of their lives, and continually maintaining by his Spirit the conflict against Satan in their souls, giving them daily victory over him, and bringing them more and more out of his power, and yet shall he be said to be on the devil's side ! In a word, shall he go before them himself as their general, and lead them, and conquer for them, in them, and by them ; even conquer and rout the whole army of Satan, Jews, idolaters, heretics, conjurors, cunning sophisters, and philosophers, mighty monarchs, bloody persecutors, raging multitudes, and, above all, their own hearts' lusts, and all the allurements of the world, temptation of the devil, and interest of the flesh, and thus bruise Satan under their feet, and cause him to fall as lightning from heaven, and bind the dragon that he cannot deceive, or devour as he did ; and yet, after all this, shall there be found a heart in the breast of any creature of God, yea, of a redeemed one, that shall entertain such cursed thoughts as these, that Christ doth all this by the power of the devil ! Judge, all men, by the unreasonableness of this iniquity, whether it be not just with God to leave such a soul as hopeless and remediless. And whether it be not such a wilful, malicious resisting of clear light, and rejecting of the remedy which was provided and offered, that it is very meet the sin should be unpardonable.

2. And consider further, whether the impiety be not yet greater by far than the iniquity or unreasonableness of it. Indeed, it is the very height of ungodliness ; and, as it seems to me, in some respects, far worse than the very denying that there is any God. For, to give you the sum of it in a word, what is it less, if with reverence of God's name and majesty we may

speak it, than to make God to be Satan, and the devil to be God? For,

1. When God hath showed himself to them in his power by miracles, in his wisdom by his Gospel truths, in his holiness by his sanctifying Spirit, and in his wonderful mercy in the whole design; yea, when his image is more clearly written and engraven upon this work of redemption in the whole frame of it, from first to last, than it is on any visible part of his works; yet do these wretches say, that it is the devil, and not God that hath done all this.

2. Hereby, also, they make the wise Almighty, and Holy God, to be one that either hath not the government of the world, or else doth govern it by delusions, and give up his people that would most willingly know the truth, to be deceived by the evil spirits, causing them to work miracles for our seduction, and giving us no remedy, but leaving us unavoidably to be led into a life of error and of misery, drawing us into a course of continual labours and suffering to no purpose, but merely to our vexation, sin, and ruin; and all this by a lie confirmed by such miracles, that we have no way possible to discover the deceit. This is the very image that they draw of the great and gracious God, and these are the things which these infidels must affirm of him. And whether this be not plainly to make him to be Satan; the most Good to be the most evil one, and an enemy to truth and goodness, and to mankind, let but right reason itself be judge.

And, then, on the other side, do but consider whether there they do not make a god of the devil; for they give him that all-mightiness as to raise the dead, and work the rest of the miracles that were wrought. They ascribe to him that wisdom as to lay the great design of the Gospel, and to be the author of that word of perfect wisdom; so that, whereas it is the heretical, contentious, envious wisdom, which, being from beneath, is earthly, sensual, and devilish; (James iii. 15—17;) which bringeth envy and strife, and therewith confusion and every evil work: they make the wisdom from above, which hath prescribed us the rules of purity, peace, gentleness, tractableness, and mercy, and good works, to be from the devil. They make him also to be most good and amiable, as being the cause of all those good laws, promises, and good works that Christ hath done, and of all those holy performances before mentioned, by which he hath so battered the kingdom of sin, and cast down

the great abominations of the world, and brought in light and holiness into men's souls, making on them those holy changes, and possessing them with that renewing, sanctifying Spirit. If all this be the work of Satan, is not Satan most holy and good, and so most amiable, and to be beloved by mankind?

Moreover, they make him to be most righteous, as being the author and confirmer of those righteous laws and ways. They make him to be the supreme governor of the world, that can do all this, and carry it on so without controul. They make him to be most merciful, and a lover of mankind, that will do such things as these for their good: and they make him to be the chief enemy to his own kingdom of sin and darkness, in doing more than all the world besides to batter it down.

Judge, now, whether these blasphemers do any less than make a god of the devil, and put God in his stead; and then judge whether the heart of man can devise a viler sin, and whether it be not worse than atheism itself, which saith that there is no God; for such a god as Satan is, is worse than none.

And as this is the heinousness of this unpardonable sin, so consider, further, here, whether every infidel must not run, if he know not what he doth and whither he goeth, upon the like horrid conclusions: for if most certain history itself may drive them to acknowledge the matter of fact, concerning the works of Christ and his apostles, and thousands more of his disciples; and so to confess that these works must needs be either of God or of the devil. There is, then, no way left, but either to be believers, if they say they were of God, or to blaspheme the Holy Ghost, if they say they were of the devil: and what a sin that is, I hope, by what is said, you may see, if you are not willingly blind.

And, now, I further leave it to consideration whether Mr. Richard Hooker said not truly that "It is not a thing impossible, nor greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs, so to manifest and clear that point of the truth of Scripture, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true. And these things we believe, knowing by reason that Scripture is the word of God."

Indeed, the absurdity that infidelity would lead to is no less than he denying that there is a God, who is most wise, most good, most great, or, *Optimus Maximus*, as nature hath always well called him: and that is, to deny the most certain, intelligible



verity among the whole world of certainties and intelligibles : for though these things that are nearest sense are first known in order and time, according to the course of our natural reception : yet nothing in the world is so illustriously and eminently intelligible and certain as that there is a God : so that if this principle were denied, I doubt not upon that ground to deny and destroy all the rest, and to prove that no man knoweth any thing ; and not only that sense is fallible, but that there is no such thing as a man in the world, nor any other being, truth, or good, if there be not a first being, truth and good. So much for the informing consecrations.

The subject directeth me to add somewhat yet more practical, by way of further application of the point ; but because it is information that was the main thing which I intended in this discourse, I will say but very little, and briefly of the other.

And, 1. If this be the state of the war between Christ and Satan, you see what a help poor, captivated sinners have for their recovery, if they will but take it, and make use of it in time. Christ Jesus leadeth an army for your relief ; he layeth siege to your souls by his word and judgment. O yield, and forsake your former master, before you receive the wages that is your due ; yea, make it your daily cries to God, that he would save you from temptation, and deliver you from the evil one, and that his kingdom may come, and his will be done within you, as Christ hath taught you daily to pray. If a poor bird be in the talons of a kite, her cries will make you know her case ; but sinners that are in the jaws of Satan, do not lift up their cries for help. O cry, and cry aloud, while help is near ; you are yet but as the lamb that is caught by the wolf, but not killed : if you stay till your impenitent souls be torn from those bodies, there is then no relief to be had ; but you are undone for ever.

2. Hence, you may see, from the state of this war and Satan's enmity, how exceedingly the godly are beholden to Christ for their recovery ; yea, and how much the ungodly themselves are beholden to him for the offers of help, and for so much restraining of the malicious foe. It is a miserable case that witches are in, that have the devil so often appearing to them in ugly shapes, and carrying them about, and abusing their bodies ; but if the promised seed had not bruised the serpent's head, we should all have been in a far worse case : then devils would have been our daily companions, and have used soul and body far worse, making us their slaves and drudges, and tormenting us for our

labour. It is a sad case to see how he useth some melancholy and mad people, how he hauuteth some persons or houses with apparitions; but much more sad to see how he captivateth men's understandings with errors, and their hearts with impenitence and contempt of the grace of God. How great is that mercy that hath rescued you from such a tyrant; or, at least, waiteth to be gracious, if you do not obstinately reject his grace!

3. Hence, also, we may see what encouragement every true Christian hath to go on with confidence in the holy war. Fear not the devil, any further than to prevent his deceiving you. You serve under a general whom Satan feareth. Though he would make all others unbelievers, that he might torment them, yet he himself believeth and trembleth. (Jam. ii. 19.) The name of the Lord Jesus is dreadful to the devils: you march under his banner, that hath already conquered, and that is certainly both able and willing to overcome. O, what should we silly mortals do, if we had not such a Captain of our salvation! But now, while we look with one eye of faith upon the life and death of the Lord Jesus behind us, and with the other upon the Lord Jesus in glory above us, and upon the same Christ that is coming to raise and judge the world before us, we may well cry out, with the apostle, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" (Rom. viii. 31.) For he that now sounds the trumpet of war will then sound the trumpet of victory, "and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed: so when this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this mortal hath put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory! The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be to God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord." (1 Cor. xv. 52—58.)

4. Lastly, seeing this is the state of Christ's church, to live in a continual war with Satan, and to serve against him under Christ, let all Christians then remember their condition, and their baptismal vow and covenant with Christ, and stand to their colours, and live as in a continual fight; and do not either basely yield, or lazily sit down, or foolishly imagine the field is won, and the fight is done, as long as you are in the body. How far soever you have gone, and how much soever you have done or

suffered, as you love Christ and your souls, think not that all is done, and there remaineth no more work or danger.

1. There is yet a tempting, malicious devil alive, who would have you, that he may sift you as wheat. (Luke xxii. 31.)

2. There is yet a remnant of his seed within you, even sin, which will betray you to him, if you be not wary.

3. You have more of your race to run, more time to spend; and many that begun in the Spirit, do end in the flesh.

4. There are yet many and great duties in this time to be done.

5. There are yet many snares of temptation before you, and you may meet with such as you have not met with.

6. The last assaults and trials are usually the greatest.

7. Your resisting graces are weak and imperfect in degree.

8. You have no assurance or command of the time and measure of the Spirit's assistance.

9. God will have all obedience tried and honoured by opposition: that which costs nothing is nothing worth; and all his followers must pass under the cross, yea, take it up, and follow their General; and through the fiery trial, escape the fiery torment.

10. Perseverance, only, must put on the crown. Though perseverance itself be purposed to the elect, yet is the possession of the crown suspended on it as the condition. To him that overcometh, and only to him will Christ give to eat of the hidden manna, the tree of life in the midst of paradise, and to dwell in God's temple, and never to go forth. Be valiant and vigilant, therefore, that you may be victorious.

And because your safety and everlasting welfare lie upon it, I will here briefly name you a few directions, which are necessary to be followed, if you would escape the devil's rage; and with them I shall conclude this discourse.

Direct. 1. Keep up hard thoughts of Satan, that so your hearts may be kept against him as your enemy; and as hard thoughts of sin, which is the means of your destruction. The affections and actions do much follow our thoughts and apprehensions.

Direct. 2. Beware of the wounds of wilful sin; it is a fearful advantage that he gets by every such.

Direct. 3. Be acquainted with all the christian armour, and the use of it; and put it on, and go not one day, nor on any one business unarmed; especially with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Read Eph. vi. Labour for a good understanding of the word, and to that end study it day and night.

Direct. 4. Do not continue children in knowledge and grace; for children are easily deceived, tossed up and down, and carried to and fro with every wind of doctrine, according to the cunning craftiness of Satan and his instruments, who lie in wait to deceive. (Eph. iv. 14.) Grow according to the time and means which you do enjoy. (Heb. v. 11—14.)

Direct. 5. Keep in rank and file, and not only under Christ, your General, but under those particular officers that he hath placed over you, except you can groundedly say, that they are turned traitors, and fight for the enemy. You must know your own particular company, and colours, and commanders; that is, your particular church and church-guides, as well as the general. Stragglers are easily snatched up and destroyed; the ruin of many thousands in most ages of the church, and in particular in these times, hath come from hence, that they have proudly contemned their teachers and overseers in the Lord, and thinking themselves as sufficient to guide themselves, and taking a straggling singularity and separation for a way of piety, have departed from their colours, and been deceived by the deceiver, and destroyed by the destroyer.

Direct. 6. Entertain no familiarity with Satan's familiars. When you must be among them, let it be as an enemy to their sin and their master: and let them be sure to know it, if you have opportunity. But use none of them as your familiars, lest they bring you before you are aware to have to be your familiar, who is theirs. One witch useth to entice many into the confederacy; and so doth one sinner entice many into the snare.

Direct. 7. Keep out of Satan's way; avoid occasions and opportunities of sinning; lest the devil catch you, as he did the woman that one of the fathers mentions, at a stage play, and said, he found her upon his own ground. If you will be thrusting into ale-houses, or needless recreations and pleasures of the flesh, or among enticing baits of lust, or into ways of worldly gain or honours, take that you get by it, if you are surprised by Satan when you least fear it.

Direct. 8. Be sure to learn well the two great lessons of humility and self-denial. The proud are the common prey of the devil. Of them he may make heretics, infidels, or almost what he will; for the Spirit of Christ forsaketh them. And self-seeking is his greatest engine for our ruin; of which self-denial doth disarm him, and enervates all his temptations.

Direct. 9. Keep near to God in Christ; the nearer God, the

safer from the devil. His name is a terror to Satan, and a strong tower to the righteous, to which if they do but fly, they are safe. Be much with him, therefore, in all his holy ordinances : especially in secret prayer and contemplation.

Direct. 10. Be sure to offend as well as defend. It is not safe to stand still to be shot at. Do as much work for Christ, and as much hurt to Satan's interest, as possibly you can. Be still studying the ruin of his kingdom, as he is studying the ruin of your souls. Be as diligent to do good in your places to all about you, and to destroy the works of the deceiver, as he is diligent to do harm, and destroy the works of Christ. Hold on thus doing, and be faithful to the death, and you shall receive the crown of life, (Rev. ii. 10,) and the lion of the tribe of Judah, shall save you from the devouring lion of hell.

A

## POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

## DISCOURSE OF THE BLASPHEMING OF THE HOLY GHOST.

SINCE this was printed, I met with a book of a reverend divine's, (now with God,) Mr. William Lyford, wherein, among others, that are more deeply charged, I am confuted as one guilty of errors, or heresy, or I know not what. (Chap. v. sec. 3, p. 144, &c.) My error lieth in a wrong description of the sin against the Holy Ghost, and thus he begins the charge :

"A learned man, correcting the common opinion of divines touching this point, doth think that this is it, which is called the sin against the Holy Ghost : when men will not be convinced by miracles that Jesus is the Christ."

Reply 1. He is a man that pretendeth not to much learning, but is unfeignedly willing to know the truth, and to bring this controversy to the test of God's word ; but little did he think that his opinion in this was of that moment to be enumerated with the intolerable errors against the Deity, or divine worship of the Holy Ghost, or the rest in the black bill.

2. It is only the common opinion of our modern, reformed divines that I there contradict ; but whether the ancient doctors were more for their exposition or for mine, I leave them to judge, that have considered what I have said before, as also, whether the said doctors be not taken into the black bill as well as I ; yet will I not say, that I had rather err with them, than be orthodox with our moderns ; but I will see better reason for it than this author allegeth, before I will condemn them, or depart from their opinion.

3. The description is too short, as the next page in my book will show : to the not believing, he should have added blaspheming, by ascribing the works of Christ to Beelzebub, and he had taken in all my sense.

But three things he opposeth against my definition.

1. That miracles are not a sole, sufficient conviction to beget faith; the proper end of miracles was to bring the mind to a marking of the doctrine, &c.

Reply 1. Little do I know to what purpose is this observation, or how it is any opposition of my doctrine, unless he meant to argue thus: If miracles be not a sole, sufficient conviction to beget faith, then the blasphemous rejecting them is not the sin against the Holy Ghost; but the former is true, therefore: Answ. I deny the consequence, and never look to see it proved.

2. I distinguish of sufficiency. It is alone sufficient to its own use or office, but not sufficient to the whole work of conversion or producing faith. Miracles presuppose the doctrine of the Gospel, and are the seal of that doctrine, proving it to be of God. Who ever said the seal was sufficient without the instrument sealed? The question was, when the Gospel was preached, whether it were true or false. The infidels said it was false; Christ proves it true by his miracles, for these were God's attestation of it. Now, to this use, these miracles are sufficient, objectively, in their own kind; but this excludeth not the need of the Spirit's internal efficiency on the soul, much less the need of the Gospel, the truth of which it serveth to confirm.

And, as for the testimony of the prophets, on which, he saith after, "Their belief was to be grounded, and not on miracles alone." I reply, 1. Either miracles alone, or the believed testimony of the prophets alone, are a sufficient proof of those doctrines of Christ, to which they do attest; but both together is more than one; and the sense of the prophets was not so easily manifested to unbelievers, to be so undoubtedly full for Christ, as that we could imagine it to be equal to miracles for their conviction. We hear how men differ still about the sense of as plain Scriptures, who seem yet very godly on both sides; and we see how little the Jews to this day are convinced from the prophets; and we find expressly, in Scripture, that miracles were the ordinary, convincing means, which I have proved in the preface to the second part of the 'Book of Rest.'

2. The testimony of the prophets was of no validity to any that believed not the prophets, and that was almost all the world except the Jews: for the apostle to have proved the Gospel to be true by the prophets, to the gentile world, had been but to prove one unknown thing by another.

3. And how would you have proved that those prophets spoke true to the nations that would have called for proof? It was by miracles that Moses and many of the prophets did prove their doctrine, and by these you must prove them to the world, before they would receive their witness to the Gospel. And is it not as clear, or much clearer, means of conviction, to appeal directly to the more numerous miracles that were near at hand, than to those so far off, whose truth the world would be more ready to question?

I must freely confess, for my part, it is the evidence of truth in the Gospel that owneth the Old Testament, which is my best objective help to believe that Testament.

Moreover, I would fain know whether that illumination of the Holy Ghost, which you say men do maliciously oppose, who sin against the Holy Ghost was a sufficient means of thorough conviction and belief, or not. If not; then doth not your reason confound your own definition, as much, at least, as mine? If it were, then it seems some unbelievers, or unregenerate men, have sufficient grace to conversion, which is not effectual: which doctrine, I conjecture, will not well relish with your orthodox friends.

The second assault is thus, against these words of mine: "When men will not be convinced by miracles."

Mr. L. Will not? It is not in our choice whether we will be convinced or not, &c. Many are convinced against their wills: others are not convinced, though they desire it: the heretic useth means to prove his way to be truth: he would persuade himself that he is in the right, but cannot; and, therefore, the apostle saith he is self-condemned, because he holds on his way against the convictions of his own conscience. It is not in my choice whether I will understand or remember. These are not commanded faculties.

Reply. All men confess that the will hath not that plenary, despotical command of the understanding, memory, or passions, as it hath of the hand, foot, or tongue. But, I. If these are not commanded faculties, then the whole school of all sects that I am acquainted with, have erred. And in philosophy, and so high a point about man's soul, it becomes not so young a scholar as I am, to follow the singular opinion of Mr. L. before all the world. What is the offence against my doctrine, but that it seemed singular? And must I side with one man against all the world, to cure my singularity, in siding with the ancient doctors against many moderns?



2. If the understanding be not a commanded faculty, then its acts are not imperate acts : but its acts are imperate acts ; therefore, for the minor, I have the consent of the world.

3. If the understanding be not a commanded faculty, then are not any of its acts *participativè*, free ; but the acts of the intellect are *participativè liberi* ; therefore,

The consequent of the major is certain : for the intellect is not free of itself, but is necessitated by the object, and wrought on *per modum naturæ*, further than as it is commanded by the will.

The minor is proved by common consent, and the very name of *liberum arbitrium*, which taketh in the acts of the intellect, as is commonly maintained by divines. It is proved also by the argument following.

4. If the understanding be not a commanded faculty, and its acts free, *participativè*, then it is not capable of moral virtue or vice, of duty or sin ; but it is capable of duty and sin, of moral virtue and vice, *participativè*, as it is free, therefore

The consequence of the major is apparent, in that voluntariness is absolutely necessary to actual sin ; it is no further sin than a man is some way voluntary ; that is, either willing of the thing itself or its cause ; or not willing the contrary, or the means of prevention or cure. Nature hath taught all the world to excuse him that is wholly unwilling, and so could not help it.

But the minor is certainly true. He that will undertake to prove that all the errors of the intellect are no sins, will justify those that Christ will condemn. Ignorance, error, unbelief, undervaluing God and spiritual things, are very great sins, and not to be justified. Specially, it is an unfit task to be undertaken by those that write of the intolerableness and damnableness of error and heresy, and in such a book as this is. If, indeed, the understanding be no commanded faculty, nor any man able to be wilfully an unbeliever, it being not in their choice, then let no more write or speak against errors and the toleration of them ; nor provoke the magistrate to meddle with men that cannot help it, how great soever their error may be.

5. If the intellect be not a commanded faculty, and, by participation, free, then no wicked man can by the most devilish, vicious habits of his will, make his understanding worse than it is. But the consequent is proved false by Scripture and constant experience : therefore, &c.

6. If the intellect be not a commanded faculty and *participa-*

tivè, free ; then God is the chief cause of all its sinful error ; but the consequent is false and abominable ; therefore, so is the antecedent.

The consequence is evident, because either God or man must be the chief cause of our errors : not man, if he have no command of his intellect, for he is forced to it, and cannot avoid it. If God make it the nature of the intellect to be moved *ad modum naturæ*, and to be void of liberty ; and wholly from under the command of the will, and if the same God shall set before us those objects that thus necessitate the intellect, it is past all doubt that he is the principal and necessitating cause of all its errors ; which is a doctrine unfit for a Christian to maintain.

7. If it be no whit in the choice of our wills, whether we will be convinced, and so become believers, then no preachers should offer it to men's choice, nor persuade them to a right choice, nor use means with their wills. But the consequent is most unchristian ; therefore, so is the antecedent.

8. If it be not in a man's choice whether a man will be convinced and believe, then no man needs God's grace to cause him herein to make a right choice ; but the consequent is false ; therefore, so is the antecedent.

9. If it be not in man's choice to be convinced and believe, then no man is to be blamed by God or man, much less condemned or punished, for not making a right choice herein ; but the consequent is false, therefore, so is the antecedent.

10. But because this learned man did make so strange of it, that I should say, 'Men will not be convinced by miracles,' let us see whether the scripture use not this strange language as I do. And first, it is strange how he could overlook what he cited himself, from John iii. 19, 20 : "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world ; and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." Darkness was in the understanding, and not a false pretence of darkness on the tongue. And this darkness is damnable because men love it better than the light ; and love is in the will ; and so is the hatred mentioned in the next verse.

"Men perish because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved ; and for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that all they might be damned that believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." (2 Thess. ii. 10—12.) And he that "will come in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that

know not God," (1 Thess. i. 8,) doth find their wills guilty of their understandings', ignorance. And why else is faith called "an obeying of the Gospel, (1 Thess. i. 8,) and "obedience to the faith," (Rom. i. 5,) when obedience is certainly a voluntary thing? I think "coming to Christ" is believing; and he saith, "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." (John v. 40.) It is the willingly ignorant that Peter condemneth. (2 Pet. iii. 5.) Christ saith to the unbelieving Jews, "How oft would I have gathered you, and ye would not!" And Job saith, "Yet would I not believe that he had hearkened to my voice." (Job ix. 16.) And sure there are still such men in the world as say, "Depart from us; we would not the knowledge of thy ways." The guests that were invited to believe in Christ, (Matt. xxii. 3,) made excuses, and would not come. They that "did not like to retain God in their knowledge, did God give over to a reprobate mind." (Rom. i. 28.) What should I stand to cite multitudes of the like texts for?

11. If the very passions may do much towards the determining of the understanding, much more may the will do; but the passions may do much towards it; therefore. The minor is known by too common experience, that *impedit ira animum; perit omne judicium cum res transit in affectum.*

12. The will may command the thoughts; therefore it can command the understanding. It can command it to think or not think; to think of this and not of that; and by turning away the thoughts it can hinder knowledge or belief.

To conclude, I appeal to the experience of all the world, whether the understanding be not much biassed and commanded to believe, or not believe, according to the inclination of the will. That which a man would have true, he can easily believe, and that which he would not have true he will very hardly be brought to believe, unless the timorous passion cause credulity; in which case we say, *facile credimus et quod volumus, et quod non volumus.*

Yet one argument more, which I forgot. If the understanding be not a commanded faculty, then was God the chief cause of Adam's first sin, and so of all the sin and misery in the world; but the consequent is intolerable, therefore so is the antecedent.

The reason of the consequence is evident; for if God made the intellect such as must irresistibly be determined by objects, and caused those objects to be presented to it that must so de-

termine it, and made a law to condemn that determination as sinful; then it is apparent that God did irresistibly necessitate all the sin, and so the penal misery following.

But you say many are convinced against their wills.

Reply 1. Your friend, Mr. Pemble, that thought that truth and goodness were all one, would not have yielded that. 2. They are willing of truth as truth, though they are more unwilling of it as hurtful to them. 3. What of that? If some be convinced against their wills, doth it follow that all are so; or they in all things; or that the will hath no command of the understanding, because it hath not an absolute despotical command?

But you add, others are not convinced though they desire it: and you instance in heretics that are said to be self-condemned.

Reply 1. It follows not that because some light of evidence is so clear to nature, that the will cannot cause the understanding to reject it, that therefore it is so with all light; or with this in question; and that the will cannot cause the understanding to be unbelieving.

2. You should instance in cases where there is *plena voluntas* or else a resistible evidence. Austin puts the case oft, whether faith be in the power of the will, and answers affirmatively; not because any man's will, without true grace, will believe; but because he that believeth is willing to believe; and he that is truly willing to believe, doth believe.

3. I do not believe your exposition of the self-condemnation of heretics. I remember a heretic once strongly pleaded that exposition, to prove himself no heretic, and that erroneous persons should be tolerated. There are three senses that the text will far better bear, either of them, than yours. First, they are self-condemned meritoriously, deserving their own condemnation. 2. They are self-condemned by the testimony of their own evil ways, which may be brought in against them to their condemnation. 3. And they are self-condemned effectually in that they separate themselves from the communion of the catholic church, before any sentence of the church hath condemned them by excommunication.

But that your strange opinion is not true, is evident thus. If that be true that all heretics do sin therein against their own knowledge, and so know themselves to maintain errors, then all heresy lieth only in the tongue, and in hypocritical dissimulation, and then all heretics are orthodox, and sound in the faith,

as to the understanding, and only take on them to err when they do not : but the consequent is certainly false ; therefore so is the antecedent.

O what a difference is there between God's language and yours. The Scripture saith that they are given up to believe a lie. (2 Thess. ii. 11.) You say, it is but a desire and pretence to believe a lie, but they cannot believe it. The Scripture saith, that they err, deceive, and are deceived, their understandings are darkened, blinded, &c. Your doctrine makes them not to err, nor be blinded, or deceived, but only to desire it, and pretend it, making themselves worse than they are. For so far as a man erreth, he knoweth not that he erreth. Christ saith of unbelievers that indeed they "Believe not." (Matt. xxi. 25 ; John v. 38, 47 ; vi. 36, 64 ; viii. 24, 25 ; x. 26 ; xvi. 9 ; 2 Cor. iv. 4 ; John x. 25. But you make it as if they did believe, and would not confess it.

Yet further, I pray you see whether you accuse not the Lord Jesus for using the same phrase which you accuse me for, that "Men will not be convinced, or believe." (Luke xx. 67.) "The elders, priests, and scribes, led him to their councils, and said, art thou the Christ? tell us : and he said unto them, if I tell you, you will not believe : except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe." (John iv. 48.) You see, Christ saith, "They will not believe," as well as I.

And you see here that he determineth the main cause against you about the sin against the Holy Ghost, while he tells you that the pharisees believed not ; and therefore did not oppose the known or believed truth. Of which more anon.

Mr. L. Thirdly, I demand : are miracles a convincing way of revealing Jesus Christ? Were the Jews that saw them, really convinced, or not? If not, then they do not sin against the Holy Ghost, which are not convinced by them. For, as himself saith, no man was bound to believe that which was never convincingly revealed ; if they be a convincing means, and if those Jews which saw Christ's miracles were really convinced, and yet opposed Christ's kingdom, then human nature is capable of sinning against the Holy Ghost in that way that our divines have defined the sin ; that is maliciously, after the knowledge of the truth. And so did those Jews sin by the testimony of that very text which Mr. B. allegeth for his opinion. (John xv. 24.) They hated Christ after they had seen and known him. It is not an act incompatible with the

rational soul, as he supposeth, to hate God and Christ, whom we have seen and known.

Reply 1. The words "convincing way," is ambiguous. Either it meaneth "an objective sufficiency to convince, *in suo genere*," and so they are a convincing means. Or it meaneth "an objective sufficiency in regard of the whole sort of objects." Or "an universal sufficiency *in omni causarum genere*." Or "an actual convincing." The three last I deny, as I affirm the first.

2. But you seem to mean it of actual conviction, or else you would never make your second question of equal importance, viz. "Whether the Jews were really convinced?" To which I say, "Those that blasphemed the Holy Ghost, were not then convinced."

3. I was not so far beside myself, as to intend by that saying which you recite, that "No man was bound to believe that which he was not actually convinced of," but "that which had not objective evidence *in suo genere*, sufficient to convince;" else I should have said, "That no man is bound to believe but he that doth believe; which, methinks, should seem no sweet morsel to any ordinary understanding."

4. They are a convincing means, and yet the Jews were not then really convinced by them, nor some of them ever.

5. You do not fairly change or obscure the case in controversy: whether ever any of those Jews had believed before, and after fell from it, I never determined, but the thing that I affirmed is, that at that time when they sinned against the Holy Ghost, they believed not the doctrine of Christ to be true, and so did not persecute the then known truth. Now you talk of "hating Christ whom they had known, and after they had known him;" but the question is whether they knew him.

6. Nor is it all knowledge that is in question; but whether they then knew him to be the Son of God, and the Messiah, and his doctrine to be true.

7. Christ doth not say, as you feign him to say, (John xv. 24,) that they had known him; he only saith, "they had seen;" that is, his great works and person, and hated him and his Father: when he expressly said, (ver. 22,) that they will persecute his disciples, "Because they knew not him that sent him."

8. It was such ill, unfriendly dealing as, by a strange unhappiness, I meet with from other learned, pious divines, that this

reverend man should here publish to the world, among his list of errors and heresies, that "I suppose it an act incompatible with the rational soul, to hate God and Christ, whom we have seen and known:" a mere forgery; never such a passage that I know of, did fall from my pen or tongue. This strange yet common untruth and injustice makes me resolve yet less to give credit to all that good and sober men shall say of the party that their zeal is kindled against, in the heat of their oblivious disputations. The words that I wrote were these: "That which some divines judge to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, (an opposing the known truth only out of malice against it,) it is a question, whether human nature be capable of; and whether all human opposition to truth be not through ignorance, or prevalence of the sensual lusts; and so all malice against truth, is against it only as conceived to be falsehood, or else, as it appeareth an enemy to our sensual desires.—So that I think none can be guilty of malice against truth as truth." And is this the same that I am feigned to suppose? I do affirm not only that it is possible to hate that Christ and God, whom a man hath formerly known, but also, whom at present he doth, in a common sort, know to be the only God and Christ; yea, and that all wicked men and infidels do so; which is clean contrary to that which I am feigned to hold: but I say, that this hatred is not of truth as truth, or of good as good; and this I should have thought I need not, against excellent reformed divines to have been put to prove.

As for Mr. Lyford's confirmation of his opinion from Heb. vi. and x., *valeat quantum valere potest*; I shall leave the reader to judge of it as he seeth cause, for I see nothing that I should stand to reply to, or that can prejudice the cause that I maintain; only let the reader, 1. Observe what I have before said on the same texts. 2. And observe that Mr. L. still puts the case of "malicious persecuting the truth which was once known," or else confoundeth it with the other, when the thing denied it; that "all that sin against the Holy Ghost, do maliciously persecute the truth, which they then know or believe, when they persecute or hate it, or that any do hate the truth as truth."

If I had said, as Mr. L. doth, that these apostates had "tasted the heavenly gift of justification," how many tongues and pens would have let fly at me; as experience in a better cause hath told me.

The last section against me is in confutation of these words of mine : " I think none can be guilty of malice against truth as truth ; and to be at enmity with truth because it is an enemy to our sensual desires, is a sin that every man in the world is in some measure guilty of, therefore not the true definition of the sin against the Holy Ghost."

Mr. L. " He that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd." (John iii. 20.) " Some of the Jews both saw and hated both Christ and his Father," (John xv. 24.) " Cain hated his brother, because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous." Now to hate the light because of its intrinsical properties, namely, to discover and reprove men's evil deeds ; to malice the truth because it is an enemy to my lie ; to hate my brother because his works be righteous, and my own evil ; what is this short of opposing the truth because it is truth ?"

Reply 1. You speak full enough against your own cause. He that hateth the light *eo nomine*, as it reproveth his evil deeds, hates it not as light ; for to reprove his evil deeds is an effect of it, and not convertible with light. Besides, the very metaphorical term of light signifieth not truth as truth, but truth as discovering, and so as effecting. What doth this text say, but the very same which I affirmed, that there is a hatred of truth, as it is an enemy to our carnal or sensual desires ? The same man may love the truth as truth, yea, and as it discovereth his brother's faults, or any thing that he would know.

2. Did ever good expositor, on John iii. 20, think, that all that hated the light lest his deeds should be reprov'd, did sin the unpardonable sin ?

3. Of John xv. 24, I have spoken already. Of Cain's hating his brother, I say, that he hated him because his works were righteous, crossing and reprov'ing his own evil works. But that righteousness was not hated *sub ratione formali aut boni aut veri*, not as good, or as truth, but as apprehended evil. *Veritas qui veritas, or bonum, qua bonum* cannot here be hated by man.

4. Whatever man hateth is hated by him *sub ratione mali* ; this is certain, from the definition of hatred. But the *ratio formalis boni*, or *veri*, is not the *ratio formalis mali* ; therefore whatever man hateth, it is not hated by him *sub ratione boni aut veri*.

Yea, *verum* and *ens* are so proper objects of the understanding,



and *bonum* of the will, that *in quantum apparent*, they are embraced by human nature as such. And whenever truth or good is hated, it is only as apprehended either not true, and not good, but evil in itself, or as evil to the person, by depriving him of some dearer appearing good. These things I thought had been unquestionable, and yet I was so modest as but to say, "I thought thus:" I may next be enrolled among the heretics, by some zealous orthodox man, for saying that I think a man is a reasonable creature, and I think on the like grounds.

Mr. L. "But if you spitefully oppose truth, and cast reproaches upon it, only because it appears an enemy to your sensual lusts, especially if it be after illumination, and tasting and professing the good word of God; this is no excuse, but rather a manifestation of this great sin; because such a person doth tread Jesus Christ and his covenant of grace under foot; he treads him under all these base lusts which he prefers before him. And thus to oppose truth, by Mr. B.—'s leave, I think very few men in the world are guilty of."

Reply. If by truth here you mean only that Jesus is the Christ, or the truth of christian religion, or its essentials, the reproaching of this, by apostates, I have spoken of more at large before in this discourse, to which I shall refer the reader. But that is not the case in hand.

2. I have proved, and shall further prove, that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not only the sin of such as have believed, or professed belief; no, nor the sin of any that believe while they do believe, and so not of a believer in *sensu composito*; for it is an aggravated species of unbelief. Though yet it is sometimes the sin of those that were once some kind of believers.

3. But if you speak of all truth in general, I still say, that it is a common case, maliciously to oppose the truth, because it is against men's lusts. For 1. All men's nature hath in it a hatred of God, and his holy truth and way. 2. That which men hate, they maliciously hate in this case. 3. And they that so hate it may oppose it, and actually resist the Holy Ghost in the ministry, and at their hearts. 4. The godly are cured of this but in part. 5. These sad days of faction do commonly proclaim it of abundance of professors, who so reproach that truth which is against the interest of their party.

4. Yea, if you mean it of the power of godliness, or practical truth, or yet of Christianity itself, if you will prove that all who maliciously oppose the latter before profession of Christianity,

or all who maliciously oppose the former after profession of Christianity or baptism, are guilty of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, I will quickly prove to you that these are commoner sins than you talk of: and indeed such as the converted did themselves commit, at least many of them, before conversion: and therefore it cannot be the unpardonable sin. Were it believed to be so, it might turn thousands among us into despair.

I shall conclude all with some fuller discovery from Scripture that the pharisees were not then mental believers, no, nor ever before; nor convinced that Christ was the true Messiah, nor believed that his works were the attestation of God; but took him for an impostor, and his works to be done by the power of Beelzebub.

1. Christ saith, they believed not John himself. (Matt. xxi. 32; Luke xx. 5; John x. 24—26.) “How long dost thou make us to doubt? if thou be the Christ tell us plainly. Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my father’s name, they bear witness of me; but ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep.” (Ver. 33, 37, 38; John xii. 36—40.) “While ye have light, believe in the light.” But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him; that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled: “Lord, who hath believed our report?” Therefore they could not believe, because Esaias saith again, “He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, and understand with their heart,” &c. (Acts xvii. 5.) “The Jews which believed not, moved with envy,” &c. (Acts xix. 9.) “But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude,” &c. (Acts xxviii. 24, 26; Rom. x. 2, 3.) “I bear them record that they have a zeal of God: but not according to knowledge; for they being ignorant of God’s righteousness,” &c. (John v. 38, 44—47.) “For whom he hath sent, him ye believe not: How can ye believe which receive honour one of another?” (John vi. 36.) “Ye also have seen me, and believe not.” (Ver. 64; John viii. 24, 45, 46.) “Ye shall die in your sins: for if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins. Because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not. If I say the truth, why do ye not believe?” In the very text, (Matt. xii. 25,) Christ is said to know their thoughts; by which it seems that they thought as they spake. And what need he else bestow so many arguments to confute them, when he might have told them plainly,

that they were convinced already and dissembled their belief ; but we never find any such word from him.

(Acts iii. 17.) "And now brethren I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers." (Acts xiii. 27.) "For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voice of the prophets that are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him." (1 Cor. ii. 8.) "For had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." (John i. 10, 11.) "The world knew him not : he came to his own, and his own received him not." (1 John iii. 1.)

I shall add no more but this : he that after all these passages of Scripture observed, and the whole story (Matt. xii.) considered, shall yet believe that these pharisees were believers in heart even when they blasphemed the Holy Ghost, and so that this sin is always committed against present knowledge of the truth of that which is reproached : yea, or that these pharisees did ever believe before, and were now turned apostates, and so that this blasphemy is the sin of apostates only ; I would advise that man, that he would not also believe that the understanding is not a commanded faculty. And were I worthy to advise my reverend brethren of the ministry, as I would not have them befriend the smallest error, so I would not have them too rash in defaming the truth and their brethren, in a groundless confidence on their own understandings : nor to call others fools or erroneous, till they are sure that they are wiser and more judicious themselves ; and to give the world a better proof of their illumination, before they draw up too large catalogues of errors, and proclaim their fitness to be censurers of the world. At least, that they would not begin too young thus of their own commanding intellects : I confess I can far more patiently hear a confident, though mistaken, confutation of others from a man of sixty or seventy years of age, than from one of thirty. I am in the fortieth year of my age myself ; and yet, though I adventure to condemn a palpable error, or to defend a truth when others assault it, I think myself twenty years too young, at least, to lay about me with that confidence against the heterodox, in controvertible points, as I hear many do. If some young, raw preachers did but know how loathsome it is to judicious men to hear them talk against things that they understand not, they would better employ their zeal and confidence. Though I must also confess, that it is a very sad thing, that with ancient, reve-

rend, and sober divines, such reasonings as these that I have now encountered should seem sufficient to ground such censures, and to kindle in others an operative, contentious zeal. It is light and humility that must reconcile and pacify us : which are so rare, so hardly got, and so imperfect in the best, that we must look towards a wiser and better world for our so-much-desired unity and peace.

June 5, 1655.