

MEN ARE GODS.

BY

GEORGE SWINNOCK

ORNATISSIMIS NEC NON PIENTISSIMIS VIRIS,
EDVARDO IRONSIDE
ET
JOHANNI HUMPHRYS
ARMIGERIS:

HANC SUAM QUALEM QUALEM CONCIONEM, APUD JUDICES OLIM
HABITAM, ET JAM (PAULO CORRECTIOREM, MULTO
AUCTIONEM) IN LUCEM EDITAM,

IN PERPETUUM GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM, D.D.D.

GEORGIUS SWINNOCKE.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To his Reverend Friend Mr THOMAS HALL, B.D., Pastor of King's-Norton, in Worcestershire.

ESTEEMED SIR,—I have now at last, in answer to your desires, and in pursuance of my promise, sent you my meditations on the 6th ver. of the 82d Psalm. Indeed, soon after the sermon was preached, I was sought to, that it might be printed. But I was then scarce fledged, not having in years equalled the days of the shortest month, and so unwilling to venture a flight into the world, lest I should fall. And truly my apology still must be with the good father,¹ when the fruits of his youth were stolen to the press, *Infans eram, nec dum scribere noveram. Nunc, ut nihil aliud profecerim, saltem Socraticum illud habeo, Scio quod nescio.* Such as it is, I commend it to you; and the more cheerfully, because its younger brother, which two or three years since supplanted it, and got away the birthright, did meet with a blessing. The good Lord make it instrumental, in these unhappy and unholy days, wherein Moses and Aaron, magistracy and ministry, are trampled under foot, for the glory of his name, and the good of his people! So prayeth he who never saw you, yet loveth and honoureth you, and desireth to be frequently and fervently remembered by you at the throne of grace,

GEORGE SWINNOCK.

¹ Hiero. in Proæ. ad Obad.

TO THE READER.

IN my exposition of the 82d Psalm, when I came to the 7th verse, I perused a sermon of my brother Swinnock's, which he preached before the judges, on that verse. I found it so full and satisfactory, that I must freely confess I received more light from that single sermon than from all the commentators which I had by me. Whereupon, perceiving by his Epistle Dedicatory that he had preached an assize sermon on verse the sixth, which lay by him unprinted, I requested him to publish it with my commentary on this psalm; and thou hast it here annexed to it. The author and his labours are above my praise. If thou please to accept of these, our fraternal first-fruits, if the Lord bless us with life and health together, thou mayest expect ere long from us a commentary on Psalm lxxiii. —a psalm very seasonable for us in these times, who are exercised with such variety of providences. It were to be wished that the ministers of the gospel, would join their strength in the promoting the truth. Jesuits can do so to destroy it, why should not we in defending it? That it may be so, is the desire, and shall be the endeavour of

Thine in the Lord,

THOMAS HALL.

THE DIGNITY OF MAGISTRACY

AND THE

DUTY OF THE MAGISTRATE.

I have said, Ye are gods ; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.—Ps. lxxxii. 6, 7.

The Book of Psalms may not unfitly be called the analogy of faith, the directory for practice, the epitome of Scripture, the platform for prayer : it is abbreviated in two words—Hosanna,¹ Hallelujah ;² prayer and praise being the sum and substance of the whole book.

It is a throng of holy affections, saith one, each passion acting apart, wound up to the highest strain by the Spirit of God, breathing poetical eloquence into the heavenly prophet.

This 82d Psalm containeth a reprehension of princes, for their oppression of the people, and it is propounded partly by way of obijuration, partly by way of affirmation.

The text presenteth us with a concession of the magistrates' allegation for their illegal proceedings. They argued that, because they were gods, they might tyrannise over men : that the stamp of a deity on them would make them current coin, though they were never so light. The Holy Ghost granteth them to be gods, but denieth the consequence, that therefore they may live as they list, and rule according to their lusts, or do the work of the devil : for though they are gods in respect of their places and power, yet they are men in respect of their frailty and nature. They must 'die like men, and fall like one of the princes.'

¹ Hosanna signifieth, Save, I pray thee, or preserve, I beseech thee.

² Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord.

The sixth verse clotheth men with majesty : ‘ I have said, Ye are gods,’ &c.

The seventh verse clotheth gods with mortality : ‘ But ye shall die like men.’ They are gods *κατὰ τὴν διακονίαν*, that is, in their politic capacity in regard of their power and rule ; but they are not so *κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν*, in their physical capacity, and in regard of their nature and essence.

Though ye are now above others, yet shortly ye shall be laid as low as others, and then ye shall both answer and suffer for wrongdoing of others.¹ The height of your places will not excuse the wickedness of your practices ; for though ye are high, yet there is one higher than the highest of you, to whom you must give an account of all your injustice and oppression.

We see, then, that the sixth verse containeth a concession of the magistrates’ power, how it is by divine appointment and institution.

In it we may take notice, first, Of the magistrates’ honour : ‘ Ye are gods, and children of the Most High.’

Secondly, The author of it : ‘ I have said it.’

Or the text presenteth us—1. With the magistrates’ commission : ‘ Ye are gods and children of the Most High.’ 2. Its seal or confirmation : ‘ I have said.’ The commission for magistracy is here confirmed under the broad seal of heaven.

I, *i.e.*, I that am the Lord of lords and King of kings, the mighty possessor of heaven and earth ; I that am Commander-in-chief of the whole world, and have power to appoint whom I please to be my vicegerents, do call and constitute you to be my deputy-lieutenants on earth ; I, whose word is sufficient warrant for any office or ordinance ; ‘ I have said, Ye are gods.’

‘ Have said.’ How God speaketh is a point almost unspeakable. God speaketh or saith as well as man, but not after the same manner ; he doth not form a voice by such organs or instruments of speech. But when God speaketh he doth either create a voice in the air, as Mat. iii. 17, or declare and make known his mind, sometimes secretly and immediately to the spirits of the prophets ; so that phrase, ‘ the word of the Lord came unto me,’ so frequently used in Scripture, is to be understood ; sometimes publicly and mediately by the prophets to the people.

So then, I have said, that is, I have in my word manifested this to be my will, that ye should be gods amongst men, Exod. xxi. 28. I that speak, and none may (or who dareth) disannul it ; I who

¹ *Ego dici concessio est, qua tamen ostendit prophetam, nihil perversis iudicibus presidii fore infecta persona quam illis Deus imposuit.—Calv. in loc.*

said, 'let there be light, and there was light;' I who appointed the sun to rule the day, the moon and the stars to rule the night; I have said, be ye gods, and ye shall be gods. I have appointed you in power and dignity to excel others, and to rule over them on earth, as the greater luminaries do the lesser in the heavens.

'Ye are gods;' that is, in my place and stead amongst men. To receive honour from them both of reverence and obedience; to distribute justice amongst them both zealously and impartially; to be terrors to evil-doers, and encouragements to them that do well; to govern from love to my name, according to the rule of my law, for my honour and praise, as likewise the good and profit of the people.

The word god is taken diversely in Scripture.

1. Properly, and so it is given only to him who is essentially and by nature God; who is an infinite being of himself, and from whom all others have their being; and in this sense it is mentioned sometimes generally, without any limitation to a certain person, as Heb. xii. 29; John iv. 24; sometimes singularly, with a determination to one person, as to the Father, John iii. 16; to the Son, Rom. ix. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 16; to the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.

2. Improperly, and so it is given to them who by nature are not gods, as,

1. To the devil, in regard of his unjust usurpation, and wicked men's corruption, 2 Cor. iv. 4. He is called the god of this world; he usurpeth the honour and sovereignty of God, Mat. iv. 9, and the wicked world obeyeth him, as if he were a god, John viii. 44. The god he is, not of the world simply, but of this world, of this sinful world, that lieth in wickedness, 1 John v. 19.

2. To idols, in regard of the false persuasion of degenerate man, 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5. 'There are gods many, and lords many,'¹ that is, in their conceits, who were heathen, (they worshipped stocks and stones, anything, yea, almost all things,) though an idol be nothing in the judgment of a Christian. It is nothing, saith the apostle, *i.e.*, formally, the thing signified is nothing, yet materially it is something, as made of wood, or brass, or the like.

3. To magistrates, Exod. iv. 16, who have their commission from God, Rom. xiii., who do the work of God, 2 Cor. xiii., Rom. iii. 4, who ought to do all for God, 2 Chron. xix. 6.

'And all of you are children of the Most High.' It was no wonder that they were called gods, for here they are the children

¹ Cælestes, aërii, terrestres, marini dii. As many gods as creatures almost amongst the heathen.

of the Most High; now children are called after their father's name.

This term, son of God, or child of the Most High,¹ is attributed,

1. To Christ, because of his eternal generation, Ps. ii. 7. He is the only-begotten of the Father, John iii. 16.

2. To angels, both because of their practice—they serve God, not as slaves a master, but as children a father, cheerfully, heartily, with filial alacrity and delight; and because of their privilege, God useth them, not as slaves, but sons. They are near him always, beholding the face of their Father, Mat. xviii. 10.

3. To men, and that in regard of the purity and holiness in them—they resemble God as a child his father; or in regard of the grace and favour God bestoweth on them—in these respects all believers are the children of God; or in regard of their power and greatness—they are privileged to be higher than others in place, as sons are before and above servants; and they are like him in their dignity and authority; so magistrates. The Chaldee paraphraseth, as the angels of the high God,² because magistrates should be like angels for wisdom, 2 Sam. xiv. 24.

The words being thus opened, will yield us this doctrine.

Doctrine.—That the God of heaven hath appointed magistrates to be gods on earth.

He is God by nature, and he hath given them to be gods by name. The deity was by incarnation clothed with the human nature, and humanity is here by God's designation clothed with the divine name. 'I will praise thee before the gods,' saith David, Ps. cxxxviii. 1; that is, the tune of my heart shall be high in singing thy praise, even before them that are by thy command highest in place.

The sun in the higher world shineth most gloriously, yet he communicateth some of his light to the moon, whereby she surpasseth, and is as queen, among the glittering stars: so God, the true sun, is infinitely above all; he shineth eminently with his own native light and lustre, yet he bestoweth of his beauty and brightness on some men, whereby they excel and are above others in this lower world.

For the explication of this truth, I shall only shew in what respects magistrates are called gods, and then proceed to application.

Magistrates are in a twofold respect called gods.

1. In respect of their honourable dignity.

2. In respect of their answerable duty.

¹ And ye all sons of the Most High.—*Ainsw. leg.*

² *Ainsw. in loc.*

It speaketh that their privilege is high, and that their practices should be holy.

1. In respect of their dignity. God speaketh the nature of magistracy to be honourable by the names which he giveth to the magistrate.¹ Government is not a mean employment, but a great preferment. Magistracy is here by God himself invested with majesty

It is observable that God ascribeth to magistrates the most honourable names among men. Great men, 2 Sam. iii. 38; nobles, 2 Chron. xxiii. 20; princes, Ps. lxxxiii. 11; kings, his kings, Ps. xviii. 50; fathers, 1 Sam. xxix. 11; chief of the people, Judges xx. 2; heads over the people, Exod. xviii. 25; dignities, glories,² Jude 8. The ancients of the people, Isa. iii. 14, not only because aged persons were ordinarily elected; for 'with the ancient is wisdom, and in length of days understanding,' Job xii. 12, but also because aged persons are honourable persons.³ Men are commanded to bow down before the hoary head, and reverence the ancient, Lev. xix. 32.

Nay, God giveth magistrates not only those names which are in most esteem amongst men, but the names of angels.

Angels are the perfection, as it were, of the creation, the topstone of this glorious building. When the Spirit of God would speak a thing or person to be excellent, it doth resemble them to angels: 'My lord is wise as an angel of God,' 2 Sam. xiv. 20; and Acts vi. 15, 'They beheld his face as if it had been the face of an angel.' Further, the great happiness of holy ones in heaven is set forth by their likeness to angels: 'They shall be as angels,' Mat. xxii. 30. Now what glorious persons then are magistrates, that have the names of angels given them! Angels are called dominions, principalities, powers, Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; so are magistrates, Jude 8; Titus iii. 1, 'Be subject to principalities and powers;' but the text speaketh more of their dignity. Magistrates have not only the highest names of the most honourable visible creatures, men; and of the most honourable invisible creatures, angels; but of the Creator, of God himself, the fountain and standard of all dignity and honour: 'I have said, Ye are gods.' When Jacob would manifest to Joseph's children the extraordinary respect he had for their father, he doth it thus: 'My name be named on them, and the names of my fathers Abraham and Isaac,' Gen.

¹ Ceterum hic nomen sicuti paulo post, et aliis locis pro iudicibus sumitur, quibus specialem gloriæ notam insculpsit Deus.—*Cult in Ps. lxxxii. 1.*

² Magnifica existimatio, honor, gloria.—*Eras.*

³ Maxima debetur capiti, &c.

xlvi. 16. It is a great honour to be called the servant of God. Paul gloried in this, Titus i. 1; so did David, more in being a subject to God, than a king over men, Ps. xxxvi. title. It is a greater honour and favour to be called God's son, John i. 12; 1 John iii. 1. 'Is it a mean thing,' saith David, 'to be the king's son-in-law?' 1 Sam. xviii. 23. Magistrates are children of the Most High, they are sons to the King of kings. But the greatest honour of all is to be called gods; for God to say, my name be named on them, this is the highest name that can be given; here is a *ne plus ultra*. This is the highest name, which is above all names, and, as the diamond to the ring, addeth both virtue and value to whatsoever it is affixed.

As because gold is the most precious excellent metal, therefore we lay gold over other things; we gild pewter, brass, yea, silver itself; so because God is the most excellent name, it is laid to other things, that thereby their worth may be set forth: as the sons of God, Job i. 6; the city of God, Ps. xlv. 4; the river of God, Ps. lxxv. 9; the kingdom of God.¹

Now in their dignity magistrates resemble God in these two or three particulars,² and therefore are fitly called gods.

First, in receiving honour from others.³ Honour accompanieth power, as the shadow the body. There is naturally in man an awe and respect towards those that are magistrates: they are the fathers of their country; and their subjects, like children, owe them both obedience and reverence. Divine worship is to be given only to God in heaven, but civil worship may be given to gods on earth. David speaketh of himself being a king: 'His glory is great in thy salvation; honour and majesty hast thou put upon him,' Ps. xxi. 5.

Joseph, when advanced to be a ruler in Egypt, rideth in the second chariot, and hath one crying before him, Bow the knee, Gen. xli. 42, 43. The most high God, that giveth them kingdoms,

¹ It is ordinary in the Hebrew to add the name of God to a thing to heighten the excellency of it. A man of God is as much as an extraordinary man, an excellent man. It is said of the church, compared to a vine, 'She sent forth her branches as goodly cedars,' Ps. lxxx. 10; so we read it; but in Heb. 'as the cedars of God,' that is, tall and excellent cedars; and so in many other places; because all the creature excellencies are derived from him, and are but a drop, a beam, a print of that glory and majesty which is in him.

² *Dii per analogiam, tanquam Deum imitantes.*—*Theodor.*

³ This is a godlike prerogative. God is clothed with majesty and honour, Ps. civ. 1. The blessed and only potentate, to whom all people must pay this tribute. In this the gods on earth resemble him.

doth also give them glory, and majesty, and honour, Dan. v. 28, 29. God indeed hath the greatest honour, as the supreme governor and lawgiver, but magistrates receive it upon his account, as they are his representatives and vicegerents. ‘When I went out to the gate,’ saith Job,¹ (that is, to the place of administering justice, for that work was done in the gates, as Ruth iv. 1; Job v. 4; Ps. exxvii. 5,) ‘the young men saw me, and hid themselves: and the aged arose, and stood up. The princes refrained talking, and they laid their hands on their mouths,’ Job xxix. 8, 9.

‘My son,’ saith Solomon, ‘fear thou the Lord and the king,’ Prov. xxiv. 21. God is the proper object of fear; hence the Greeks call him fear;² but the gods, because invested with his authority, and intrusted with the administration of his kingdom upon earth, are also to be feared as superior to us, though inferior to God.

Secondly, Their dignity appeareth (and in this they resemble God also) in giving laws to others. Magistrates have power to enact laws for the encouraging of virtue and discouraging of vice, for the preservation of peace among their people.³ Zanchy saith there are three offices of the magistrate, whereof one is to ordain laws for the worship of God and the welfare of men.

There is, indeed, one supreme and absolute lawgiver, James iv. 12, whose will and word must be the rule of others’ laws. Besides, in spirituals, none can give laws to bind the conscience but God, Isa. xxxiii. 21. In that sense the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver; but in external policy the laws of men are to be observed: and they have power to make such laws as are suitable unto, and convenient for the wealth and safety of their dominions.

The end of magistracy sheweth their legislative authority; for neither will piety be promoted, nor the public good procured, or peace preserved, without it. And questionless God would never have enjoined subjects to obey, if magistrates had not power to command.

Laws are the walls and bulwarks of a nation, which in a great part may secure it against invasions from abroad and insurrections at home;⁴ the standing militia, which protecteth the lives of the people; the hedge, which keeps men in from oppressing their neighbours; the deeds and evidences which give us a right and title to

¹ Job fuit Rex.

² Θεός quasi Δεός.

³ This is a God-like privilege, Isa. xxxiii. 21, to make laws for men, to prescribe what creatures shall do, and what they shall forbear.—*Zanch. de Magistrat.*

⁴ That commonwealth only can be safe where the people obey the magistrate, and the magistrate the law.—*Solon.*

our estates,—they are the nerves and sinews of the body politic, or as physic to the natural body to prevent diseases, and purge out ill humours.

Man is by nature an untamed heifer, loathing the yoke of subjection, prone to rage and rebel, so that he needeth all means imaginable to rule and restrain him. The wise Governor of all things hath therefore thought fit not only to give Christians a natural law and moral law from himself, but also positive laws from men, that this threefold cord, which is not easily broken, may bind him fast. And this surely speaketh magistrates to be like God; for even the heathen themselves would ascribe their laws to some one of their gods. Zoroastres, who gave laws to the Persians, ascribed them to Oromazen; Trismegistus, among the Egyptians, ascribed his laws to Mercurius; Lycurgus, who gave laws to the Lacedæmonians, would make Apollo the author of them; Solon and Draco, among the Athenians, said that Minerva was their lawgiver. So almost in every nation, they who had the legislative power ascribed the invention of their laws to their false gods. But the word of God, which is a perfect rule for all men, doth empower magistrates to make laws, not according to their lusts, but agreeable to his revealed will.

Thirdly, The dignity of magistracy, wherein they likewise are like to God, consisteth in their executing the law; in punishing the nocent, and acquitting the innocent.¹ Execution is the life of the law, the lustre and glory of the prince, the security of the good people. A law unexecuted is like a sword without an edge, for no use or service; and a magistrate that neglecteth his duty herein is like a winter's sun, glorious for majesty, but yielding no warming or refreshing influences to them that are under him; or like the king's head on a sign-post, only for show.

The God of heaven doth not cast away the perfect man, nor help the evil-doer, Job viii. 20: he beholdeth the righteous with favour, he woundeth the heads of sinners, Ps. lxxviii. 21; he cutteth off the workers of iniquity; he killeth and maketh alive; with him is the fountain of life, Ps. xxxix. 9. As waters flow from a fountain, so doth life from God. And he can easily slay men: Job iv. 9, 'By the blast of God they perish.' To save and kill is a God-like privilege; the power of life and death is in the hands of these earthly gods: they enliven with their smiles; their favour, or the light of a king's countenance, is life: they kill with their

¹ Three uses of the civil sword: 1. Ad vindictam; 2. Ad protectionem bonorum; 3. Ad executionem justitiæ.—*Willēt in Rom.* xiii.

frowns: 'The wrath of a king is the messenger of death,' Prov. xvi. 14, 15. Herein their dignity and civil godship appeareth, that they can give, by reprieve or pardon, or take away a life which is forfeited to the law. Cæsar's speech was high,¹ when he was opposed by Metellus in his taking away the money out of the Roman treasury: Let me alone, or I will kill thee presently; and then, to qualify his threat, and magnify his strength, he told him, Young man, thou knowest it is harder for me to speak it than to do it. But this is certain, rulers are not for nothing called powers, Titus iii. 1. It is in their power, though not to tyrannise at their pleasure, yet to execute the laws even to the death of the offender.

2. Magistrates are called gods, not only in regard of their dignity, but also in regard of their duty.² They ought to resemble God in their execution of justice amongst men. God administereth justice impartially, and so should the gods.

The Judge of all the earth doth right, and the judges that are on the earth should do right: 'God doth judge the world in righteousness, and ministereth judgment to the poor in uprightness,' Ps. ix. 8; 'And they who rule over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God,' 2 Sam. xxiii. 3.

Justice and judgment are the habitation of God's throne, Ps. lxxxix. 14. The Holy Ghost alludeth to the thrones of earthly princes, which were underpropped with pillars, as Solomon's throne with lions, 1 Kings xix. 20, that were both a support and an ornament to it. Now, saith the psalmist, justice and judgment are the pillars upon which God's throne standeth, or, as Calvin expoundeth it, the robe and diadem, the purple and sceptre, the regalia with which God's throne is adorned.³ Thus magistrates ought to make good their pattern, and to take heed what they do, because they judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with them in the judgment,⁴ 2 Chron. xix. 6. Magistrates are therefore called gods, because they should, as God doth, do impartial justice without respect of persons; protecting the godly, as being the ministers of God for their good, Rom. xiii. 4, and punishing the wicked, which are malignant enemies to God and them.⁵

¹ Plut. in Vit. Cæs.

² Magistratus dii vocantur quia sunt vicarii dei in administrando jure, exequenda justitia, tuendo bonos, puniendo malos.—*Polan. Syntag.*, lib. vii. cap. 19.

³ Propheta ad regum insignia vel pompas alludens, dicit judicium et justitiam esse fulturam solii ejus, acsi diceret loco sceptri, vel purpuræ vel diadematis, his insignibus ornari Deum quo justus, et æquus mundi judex.

⁴ Calvin *in loc.*

⁵ Large Annot. in Exodus xxii. 28.

Now the impartiality of the gods, as of God, in executing justice, appeareth in these three particulars.

First, In not favouring any for their nearness. Magistrates must imitate God in this, who is no respecter of persons, but judgeth every man according to his works, 1 Peter i. 17. 'Though Coniah be to me,' saith God, 'as the signet on my right hand, yet I will pluck him thence,'¹ Jer. xxii. 24; that is, though he were as near and dear to me as a king's sealing-ring, which is most carefully kept and tenderly preserved, worn commonly, yea continually, on some finger, yet I would do justice in plucking him off and casting him from me. Nay, when God's own Son, who was the Son of his infinite love and choicest delight, became liable to the lash of the law, as being a sinner by imputation, God would not spare him in the least, but made him bear the curse of the law, Rom. viii. 32. Zaleneus, the lawgiver, having enacted that every person guilty of adultery should lose both his eyes, did yet, when his own son was found guilty of that fault, put out one of his own eyes and one of his son's. But the great God was more just when his Son was a surety for sinners: he caused him to pay the utmost farthing; he suffered the law to have its full stroke at him. Oh how just was God, that rather than violate the least tittle of his law, would sign a warrant with his own hand, and confirm the commission with his own seal, for his dearest Son's execution!

Thus should magistrates hear and determine, without any respect to friends or relations,² Prov. xxiv. 23. To have respect of persons is not good; yea, it is very evil. Magistrates must hear the cause, not the person, and mind not the man, but the matter which is brought before them.

David was faulty, and he smarted sharply for it, in sparing Amnon, guilty of incest, and Absalom, guilty of murder, because they were his sons. But Levi did nobly, who said to his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children, Deut. xxxiii. 9.

Pompey, aspiring to the Roman empire,³ and perceiving that Cato was against him, sent his friend Minucius to Cato to demand his two nieces, one for himself, the other for his son. But when the messenger had delivered his errand, Cato gave him this answer: Go tell Pompey, Cato is not to be won by women. As

¹ Etiamsi fuisset Jeconiah mihi charissimus, quem semper in oculis ferrem.—*Jun. in loc.*

² Prosopolepsis dicitur, si quis paribus imparia, vel imparibus paria tribuat.—*Coc.*

³ Plutarch in Vit. Cat. Utic.

long as Pompey shall deal uprightly, I shall be his friend, and in a greater degree than any marriage can ever make me. Surely this moralist will condemn many Christian rulers, of whom it is said that the sun might as soon be hindered from running his race, as he from doing what was just and upright.

God will not, upon any pretence whatsoever, have his own person accepted, Job xiii. 8, much less the persons of men.

Secondly, In not sparing or fearing any for their greatness. Rulers ought to be men of courage, Exod. xviii. 21: 'The fear of man bringeth a snare,' Prov. xxix. 25, and is often the cause why justice is perverted. Pilate feared Cæsar, John xix. 12, 13, and therefore, against his conscience, condemned Christ. The great God of heaven feareth none, spareth none, for their glory or greatness: he putteth the mighty out of their seats, Luke i. 52; he bindeth kings in chains, and princes in fetters of iron, Ps. cxlix. 8; 'The day of the Lord shall be upon all the cedars of Lebanon that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan, and upon all the high mountains, and upon every high tower, and upon every fenced wall,' Isa. ii. 12-14. He is the almighty, all-powerful God, and therefore cares not for any might or power of man.

Thus the gods on earth should do justice on all, great as well as small, fearing none but the God of heaven, Deut. i. 17; 'You shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's.' Papinianus is worthy of eternal memory, who chose rather to die than to justify or excuse the fratricide of Bossianus the emperor. Holy Job, as he was eminent for fearing God, so likewise for not fearing men: Job xxix. 17, 'I brake the jaw of the wicked, and pulled the spoil out of his teeth.' Great men oftentimes are like lions, or ravenous beasts, that prey on others without fear or pity. Now the care of this pious magistrate was to secure his people against such oppressors.

When David kept his father's sheep, 'and there came a lion and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock, David rose after the lion and smote him, and took the lamb out of his mouth,' 1 Sam. xvii. 34. Every magistrate is, or should be, a shepherd. God saith of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd,' Isa. xlv. 28. The man after God's own heart was called to feed his people Israel, Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71. Homer calleth Agamemnon *ποιμένα λαῶν*, the shepherd or the feeder of the people. And when lions or bears, men that are great and strong, come to devour their flock, they ought to protect or defend them. He is a base hireling that hides his head when the

wolf cometh in the night, though he endeavour to preserve his sheep from injury by the flies in the day. For one wolf will do more mischief in a night than a thousand flies in a year. As the day of judgment will make no difference between great and small, rich and poor, noble and ignoble ; for then the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, will hide themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and will say to the mountains and rocks, fall on us, and hide us from the wrath of the lamb, Rev. vi. 15, 16, so should not the day of executing justice in this world.¹

The impartiality of God, and also of the gods, consisteth in not taking gifts. God is no taker of gifts, 2 Chron. xix. 7. ‘ Riches prevail not in the day of wrath,’ Prov. xi. 4 ; ‘ Neither silver nor gold can deliver them from his indignation,’ Zeph. i. 18.

Thus should magistrates resemble his majesty, not perverting justice either for having or for hope of a reward. A bribe received or expected clogs or obscures the course of justice. A golden pen must not write the discharge ; when the hand of a judge is greased with gold, it cannot hold the sword of justice, but will let it slip, at least strike very partially.

‘ Thou shalt not wrest judgment, thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift ; for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous,’ Deut. xvi. 19.

The Roman story telleth us of two persons that were competitors for some place of preferment, and that a senator being asked, for which of the two he would give his voice ; answered, for neither ; because, saith he, one hath nothing, and the other hath never enough. He knew that poverty and covetousness are both unmeet qualifications for a ruler. The former maketh magistracy obnoxious to contempt and derision, and the latter prompteth the magistrate on to injustice and oppression.

A ruler that is a bribe-taker is a thief in robes, and is only differentiated from those that are in rags by this, that the height of his place doth increase his sin, and aggravate his condemnation.²

I come now from the explication to the application of the doctrine.

This truth will be useful, first, by way of information. If the God of heaven hath appointed magistrates to be gods on earth, it

¹ Of Trajan the emperor it is said, that he neither feared nor hated any man, but that he heard the causes of his subjects without prejudicate impiety, examined them without sinister obliquity, and judged them without unjust partiality.

² *Privati fures in compedibus ætatem agunt, publici vero in auro et purpura visuntur.—Cat.*

informeth us that magistracy is of divine authority. Government is not an invention of some men, who desire to lord it over others, but it is the institution of God: 'I have said, Ye are gods.'¹ The scholars of Pythagoras counted his *ipse dixit* to be sufficient. Surely, then, God's saying it must be an establishing it to us. If where the word of a king is there be power, Eccles. viii. 4, then questionless where the word of a God is, there is warrant enough for any office. Now this is the word of God which cometh to the magistrate,² as Christ saith, John x. 33, authorising him, and appointing him to that ordinance. The magistrate is therefore called the minister of God, Rom. xiii. 4. As justices are called the king's justices, because they act by commission from him; so magistrates are called the Lord's ministers, because they rule by authority derived from the Lord. Coin is carried to the mint, and there stamped with the superscription and image of the chief magistrate, and then called his coin, because current by his authority.

Governors are not of the devil, as satanical spirits have affirmed, nor of men, as others have asserted, but of God, Rom. xiii. 1.

As in the waters there be some greater, some smaller fish; and in the earth there be mountains and hills, as well as plains and valleys; and in the heavens there are stars differing from each other in glory; so amongst men there are some greater than others in power, higher in place, and excelling them in authority and glory.

As the natural body is distinguished by God himself into comely and uncomely parts, 1 Cor. xii. 23, 24, so is the political body into members noble and ignoble.

The bees in their commonwealth, as is reported, have a commander-in-chief, a master bee; the lion claimeth a command and superiority among the beasts of the field; the angels in heaven have a chief, Michael the archangel, Jude 9; 1 Thes. iv. 16. The schoolmen indeed, being more bold than they ought, do divide the angels into three hierarchies, and each hierarchy into three several orders. The first hierarchy, they say, comprehendeth cherubims, seraphims, and thrones; the second, dominions, principalities, and powers; the third, mights, archangels, and angels. As also they assert the reason of these several names. But the more modest and learned expositors, who join not in the aforesaid presumptuous division, do yet generally conclude an order, distinction, and pre-

¹ Omnis potestas a summa potestate.

² Non de quolibet verbo Dei, sed de speciali dominandi mandato.—*Calvin*.

eminence amongst angels from Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Dan. x. 13. Nay, there is a government amongst the very devils; there is not only a prince of angels, Dan. x., but Beelzebub a prince amongst devils, Mat. xii. 24. They that cause so much disorder amongst others, yet have some order among themselves. We read of the devil and his angels, Mat. xxv. 41; there is a kind of government in hell, though some would turn all out of the earth.

The apostle Peter indeed calleth magistracy an ordinance of man, 1 Pet. ii. 13, though Paul assureth us it is of God: 'The powers that be are ordained of God,' Rom. xiii. 1; and the magistrate is the minister of God, ver. 4.

Magistracy is an ordinance of man in a fourfold respect.

1. *Subjectivè*. As man is the subject thereof, by them it is executed. Our princes as well as our prophets are men of like passions with us.

2. *Objectivè*. As man is the object thereof, about them it is exercised. It is for the punishment of bad men, and encouragement of good men, for the deciding differences between man and man.

3. *Τελικῶς, Finaliter*. As man is the end thereof. He is the minister of God for man's good.

But these things will not prove magistracy to be a mere human ordinance, for in these three respects the ministry as well as the magistracy may be said to be a human ordinance, man being both the subject, object, and end thereof; yet what sober man ever denied the ministry to be an ordinance of God?

4. It is ordinance of man in regard of the kind of it, each nation having a liberty to choose what form of government they apprehend most commodious for them. Magistracy is ordained by God, though this particular magistrate or this form of government be appointed by man. The *genus* of magistracy is from God; yet the *species*, whether monarchy, democracy, or aristocracy, may be at the choice of men.

Further, though the magistrate should be of the devil, a wicked, ungodly person, yet the magistracy is of God.

There is a difference between the office or power itself and the manner of exercising it, and the means of attaining it. The first is always of God, but not always the second and third. The power of Nero was of God, as the Holy Ghost speaketh fully, Rom. xiii., though he exercised it in a devilish manner, oppressing and killing the good, encouraging and acquitting such as were evil. The power of our Richard the Third was of God, though he attained it

by ungodly and devilish means—the murdering his own sovereign and nephew.

There are four particulars which will clearly demonstrate the truth of this assertion—namely, that magistracy is of divine authority.

1. First, Their commission is from God. ‘By me kings rule,’¹ saith God, Prov. viii. 15. Subordinate magistrates may have their commission from men, but supreme magistrates have their commissions from God only.

‘The powers that be are ordained of God,’ Rom. xiii. 1; not simply ordained of God as other things, saith a learned interpreter,² but specially by precept and command from God. There are other things of God, saith he, as famine, war, sickness, poverty; but they are not ordained by precept.³

Daniel telleth Nebuchadnezzar that God had commissioned him to rule over men: Dan. ii. 37, 38, ‘Thou, O king, art a king of kings; for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold.’ These higher powers are so clearly from the highest power, that their throne is called God’s throne: 1 Chron. xxix. 23, ‘Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king instead of David.’ Their sceptre is called God’s sceptre, and their judgment God’s judgment: Deut. i. 17, ‘Ye shall not respect persons; for the judgment is God’s.’

Besides, we find that several persons received their regal investiture from God himself, as Saul, David, Jehu, Cyrus, which last was by God named and ordained to the government of the Persian monarchy above sixty years before he was born, Isa. xlv. 28, and xlv. 1.

2. Their command to govern is from God; the several precepts from God to men in high places doth fully speak their power to be of God. Why should God command them to rule according to his laws who have no authority to rule at all? Jer. xxii. 2, 3, ‘Hear the word of the Lord, O king of Judah. Execute judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoil out of the hand of the oppressed,’ &c. If the matter or substance of their rule were unlawful, surely God would not own it so far as to prescribe rules for the manner of executing it. Now God through the whole Scriptures scattereth many precepts for directions to princes how they should govern, and what they should practise, Deut. xvii.

¹ Εκ δε Διὸς βασιλῆες.

² Willet *in locum*.

³ Cujus jussu homines, ejus jussu reges.—*Ireneus*, lib. v. cap. 24.

3. Their protection is from God. As a king defendeth his inferior officers in the execution of their offices, so the King of kings defendeth magistrates in the discharge of their trusts. 'God standeth in the congregation among the gods,' Ps. lxxxii. 1, not only to observe whether they offer injuries to others, but also to take care that they receive no injuries from others. God is a stronger guard to the judge than any sheriff. And were not he a wall of fire about some worthy zealous justices, many beastly persons, who have been curbed by them, and hindered from leaping over the hedges of divine commands, would have trampled them under feet, if not torn them in pieces.

It is worthy our observation how exceedingly God manifesteth his power and zeal for the help of magistrates against all opposition. Korah and his company conspire against Moses and Aaron, magistracy and ministry, Num. xvi., and would have brought in anarchy. Indeed, both those ordinances have the same adversaries. Those that would level the ministry, making preachers, Jeroboam-like, of the lowest of the people, and filling the pulpit, as Noah's ark, with creatures clean and unclean, will at last level the magistracy too, and make the throne as low and as common as the pulpit. But observe what God saith of these opposers of magistracy and ministry, and what God doth to them; for his saying, that they are 'gathered together against the Lord,' ver. 11. They wounded God through the sides of Moses and Aaron. They that murmur and conspire against God's delegated servants, murmur and conspire against God himself. And surely God will first or last be too hard for those that thus harden themselves against him. For see what he doth to them. 'The earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods; they and all that belonged to them went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them,' ver. 32, 33. God hath strange punishments for such strange principles and practices. He will work miraculously; but that he will make such as are against magistrate and minister exemplary.

Ps. xviii. 50, 'Great deliverance giveth God to the king.' The supreme magistrate is in great dangers, therefore God giveth him great deliverances; as he is liable to more harm than others by reason of his place, so he may expect, if he be godly especially, more help than others, by reason of the divine promise, 'Be strong, and of a good courage, be not afraid; for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest,' Joshua i. 9. Josephus, from the extraordinary escape of Titus, at the view of the walls of Jerusalem,

observeth, *Imperatorum pericula Deum curare*, That God is the magistrates' guard.¹

4. The subjection of their people to them is from God.² Every man is by nature a Quaker, a leveller ; like a colt unwilling to be bridled ; like an untamed heifer, which cannot endure the yoke of subjection. It is therefore through the wonderful working of God that a few persons, or sometimes one man, as head, should rule such a monstrous body as the multitude. If he that ruleth the boisterous waves of the sea, and shutteth them up with bars and doors, Ps. lxxv. 7, did not put forth the same almighty power in quieting the spirits, and stilling the tumults of the people, it could never be done. Well might David say, 'It is God that subdueth my people under me,'³ Ps. cxliv. 1, 2.

The multitude is an unruly monster. It was a true saying of that brutish emperor, Tiberius, to one that applauded his felicity in attaining the power of so large an empire : Oh, said he, you know not what a beast the empire is, how unruly, and untoward, how headstrong, and hard to be tamed.⁴ The multitude is a beast with many heads, saith another ; cut off one, nay many, yet there will millions remain still. Now, that one should keep millions in awe, how could it be if there were not a divine constitution in a human person ? The devil is such an enemy to man's peace and welfare, and every man's nature so opposite to rule and restraint, that if there were not somewhat more than human in magistracy, one man would be a beast, nay, a devil to another, and be no whit kept under by the higher powers. But we see clearly God hath put such a majesty on princes, that their people are afraid of their fury, reverence their persons, and submit to their authority. He that readeth the wonderful strength of the horse, how his neck is clothed with thunder ; how the glory of his nostrils is terrible ; how he paweth in the valley, and goeth out to meet the armed men ; how he mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, nor turneth back from the sword, Job xxxix. 19-26 ; he that considereth the power of the elephant, how he moveth his tail like a cedar, how his bones are like strong pieces of brass, and like bars of iron, &c., Job xl. 15-24 ; when he observeth how these strong, fierce creatures are ridden and ruled by weak man, and turned about at his pleasure, will presently conclude the reason to be this, because God hath put the fear and dread of man upon every beast of the field,

¹ De Bello Judaic., lib. v. cap. 2.

² Every one hath in him the mind of a king.—*Calvin on 1 Pet. v. 5.*

³ ὑποτάσσων, subjecting them to me.—*Septuagint. leg.*

⁴ Sueton.

Gen. ix. 2. So truly he that beholdeth many millions of men subject to the word, to the command of one, when they have strength enough to overthrow thousands, must needs acknowledge that it is the Lord's doing, and it ought to be marvellous in their eyes.

Secondly, If magistrates be gods, and that by the appointment of the living God, ('I have said, Ye are gods,') it informeth us that they are guilty of great impiety that contemn and disesteem magistracy; they vilify those whom God doth dignify, and fight against God in endeavouring to pull down that order and that ordinance which he himself hath set up. Such men, by denying rule and authority, seem to be beasts, and to put off all humanity. For places, without some in power, would be rather wildernesses than cities, and the inhabitants rather herds of beasts than societies of men.

There are two sorts of men guilty of this sin.

First, Those that in their principles deny magistracy to be from God. There have in several ages been some, that because they themselves were subjects and inferiors, would therefore deny all sovereignty and superiority. The Donatists, whom Augustine undertaketh, were of that opinion; and so were the Anabaptists and libertines in Germany, who armed the rude multitude against their magistrates, and were opposed by Luther. And truly in our days there are some who, against the light both of nature and Scripture, affirm government to be a work of darkness. Though it be written in the fleshly tables of their hearts, and in the tables of stone by the finger of God, that fathers and mothers, civil as well as natural, must be honoured, yet they are so wicked and blind that they will not see or read it. In the apostles' days there were ungodly men, that turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, despisers of dominions, Jude 8, such as aimed at anarchy, (according to Calvin's comment,) and the overthrow of all authority; being proud, they scorned rule, and being licentious, they were impatient of restraint.

1. Order is needful to them that are in a state of innocency. Angels who continue in their estate of integrity differ in point of superiority; Michael the archangel, Jude 4. *Michael* speaketh the name of his person, and *archangel* the nature of his office. There are thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, different degrees among those angelical spirits. Surely if such order be conducive to the happiness of perfect angels, it is the more desirable for the happiness of imperfect man. And if there be such order in heaven, it is no part of our bondage to have some order on earth; and therefore the Grecians do upon good ground use the

word ἀρχή, to signify superiority or government, which, in its proper and native acception, signifieth *principium*, to set forth the antiquity of government, which had a being as soon as the world had a beginning.¹

2. Order and superiority are needful to them that are in a state of apostasy. The more wild man is, the more need he hath of a yoke; the more heady our horses are, the more we curb them. Unruly persons, for their own good as well as for others, require restraint.

The hearts of wicked men are like the sea, which cannot rest, but is ever casting up mire and dirt. Now, what a deluge would the boisterous waves of their unsanctified wills and affections cause, if there were no banks of magistracy to bound them in.² If some men were not gods to others, most men would be devils to others.

Sin must be discouraged; evil-doers must be punished; human society must be preserved; the good must be protected; our liberties and properties must be defended; justice must be executed; the poor must be relieved; wholesome laws must be maintained; and how can either of these be done without magistrates? Many fear not sin, nor the God of heaven, and if it were not for suffering from the gods on earth, their lusts should be their law, and they would deprive the innocent of their liberties, estates, and lives, and turn the places where they live into Aceldamas, fields of blood; nay, make the earth worse in some respects than hell; for in hell there is no oppression, as no injustice, no guilty person freed, and no guiltless person punished; but had these men their wills, it should be so upon earth.

3. Again, order or magistracy is not only necessary to those that are in a state of nature, but to those also that are in a state of grace, Titus iii. 1, 2, Rom. xiii. 1, 2. When they begin to be servants to God, they do not cease to be subjects to the gods. Christianity doth not consume but confirm magistracy: as a man, I obey and honour the magistrate for fear; as a Christian, for conscience sake; so that religion addeth a stronger tie and obligation. The sceptre in Christ's hand doth not strike the crown off

¹ Politic government was probably then instituted, when man was first created under the old covenant of works; for it is a natural blessing, and grounded upon the fifth command of the moral law, which commenced upon man's first creation, before Adam's fall; and the rather may we thus judge, because it is a law of nature, which was binding in man's estate of innocency; besides, Christ himself, who knew no sin, yet minded this duty of subjection, Luke ii. 51; Col. i. 16-22; Mat. xxii. 23.

² Augustine thinketh that all civil subjection of one man to another came in by sin, though not all natural subjection of children to parents.—*De Civit. Dei*, lib. xix.

the magistrate's head: no, it maketh it sit the faster, especially where their person is crowned with grace, and the power improved for the glory of Christ. One ordinance of God doth not weaken, but strengthen another.

I shall inquire a little, and very briefly, into the reasons which some urge against magistracy and order.

1. Say some, We are the Lord's freemen, and therefore should not be servants of men: 1 Cor. vii. 23, 'Ye are bought with a price; be not the servants of men.'

Ans. That place indeed forbiddeth sinful subjection to men, but not civil subjection to men. I may serve a prince, but I may not sin at his precept and command; if men command what God forbiddeth, I must disobey men to obey God. Or that text may import that I must give no man liberty to give my conscience laws; no, my absolute dependence for soul-direction must be only on Christ and his word.

Those whom Christ makes free are free indeed, but it is from bondage to their own and others' lusts, not from obedience to others' righteous laws.

Obj. 2. Some tell us, they are just, and need no law, for they are a law to themselves. Now laws, say they, are for them that are wicked: 1 Tim. i. 9, 'The law is not made for the righteous, but for the wicked.'

Ans. They that are so good that they need no laws for their correction, live among the wicked, and therefore need laws for their protection.

That forecited place in Timothy is meant of the moral law, of which the apostle testifieth, that believers are free from its curse or malediction; but surely not from it as a rule for their conversations.

The hearts of the best are bad enough, and apt to wander, therefore they need all means, the hedge of man's laws, as well as of God's laws, to keep them in. Laws are hedges both to fence them in from others' violence, and to prevent their wandering out.

Obj. 3. Paul forbiddeth going to law, 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, therefore no use of a magistrate.

Ans. The apostle doth not absolutely forbid going to law; but, 1. Before heathen judges, when godly Christians might have decided their differences and ended their controversies. They that deny to refer their lighter causes to honest understanding persons, give occasion to others to suspect both their causes and Christianity, ver. 1, 3, 4, 5. 2. Among brethren; the very name of brethren should allay heats and charm discords, ver. 8. The nearer

their relation (though spiritual) was, the dearer their affection should have been, and therefore the sinfuller their division. 3. About trivial and small matters. If Mohammedans go to law for mean toys, they are punished. 4. With vindictive spirits: whereas a Christian should go to law with a meek, mild, gospel spirit, without either hate or heat, as tilers break their spears on each others' breast, yet without wrath or intention of hurt. So, then, it is not simply unlawful to go to law before heathen, if right cannot be had elsewhere, and the matter be weighty, and we do it not out of spleen or malice, but with meekness and quietness of spirit.

Obj. 4. They tell us God is their keeper, therefore they need neither law nor magistrate for their defence.

Ans. God is the good man's keeper; but how? not immediately, (in an ordinary way,) but mediately. As trust in God doth not consist with trust in means, neither without use of means where God doth afford them; for then Christ might have taken the devil's counsel, and have thrown himself down from the pinnacle of the temple, when God had afforded him stairs for his safe going down. Saints are under the shadow of God's wings principally; he is their chief sun and shield, Gen. xvii. 1; but they are under the shadow of the gods' wings subordinately, they are the instrumental shields of the earth, Ps. xlvii. 9.

God can, in regard of his absolute power, protect his people, without the shields of the earth, against all the opposition from men, as he can defend immediately from all the fiery darts of the devil without the shield of faith or the sword of the Spirit. He needeth not the agency either of magistrates in civil things, nor ministers in spiritual things, but he hath ordained both. It is his pleasure that both should, in subordination to him, be used; and therefore neither can, without sinning against him, be neglected.

Obj. 5. Say they, We may not avenge ourselves; we must not render evil for evil, but overcome evil with good, Rom. xiii.

Ans. Though a Christian must rather suffer than offer injuries, yet he may, nay must, mind his own safety. He may not unjustly offend his brother, but he may justly defend himself.

All private revenge is forbidden, but the magistrate is God's minister;¹ therefore, as vengeance belongeth unto God, so the magistrate may in God's place take revenge, and one may implore his help, as he may commit his cause to God, so it be not done with a revengeful mind.

The meaning of the holy Scriptures is far different from the

¹ R. Willet in Rom. xiii.

sense which the apostate Julian put on them. When he had taken away their estates, he put them off with a mock—your master said, blessed are the poor; and when he had sorely beaten them with his hands, he would wound them with his tongue, saying, your master said, if one beat you on one cheek, turn to him the other. The gospel certainly was never intended for a cross, but a comfort to a Christian; and though its principal aim be to further him spiritually, yet it never designed to hinder him corporally by any of those commands. Christ is more tender of his people than to thrust them into the world, like sheep among ravenous wolves, and to deny them leave of calling to those civil shepherds to take care of them.¹ God hath for that end appointed magistrates to be nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers to the children of God; to be as tender of them, as provident for them, as helpful to them as parents to their children, as nurses to their babes. They are set up by God himself to be a wall upon which the weak ivy of the church may lean, and by which it may be supported.

Thus we see that piety is not opposite to authority, though that false surmise, that Christians were enemies to the policy and government of kingdoms, was the cause of several of the persecutions in the primitive times. And indeed the devil and his agents suggest to princes so much, to alienate their affections from religious persons.² But though some monstrous bodies have brought forth such an hideous birth—that religion denieth all rule—yet you see how far the gospel is from being the father of such a child, when it commandeth lawful obedience to infidel magistrates. It establisheth the first table, and surely doth not abolish the second. And Calvin thinks³ that, lest believers should think themselves free from that yoke, Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans to inform them of the contrary; for it is very strange to conjecture that that God, which is the God of order in the churches, should be a God of confusion in the commonwealth. No, but the original of this error is man's corrupt nature, which hateth enclosures and banks, and would have all common and level, that he might run to excess of riot without any rubs or hindrances; and thence it is that, like waters stopped at a bridge, he roareth and maketh such a noise. As the mad dog is enraged because of the chain that tieth him, and the unruly horse foameth and fretteth because of the bridle that curbeth him, so

¹ *Magistratus necessarius ecclesiæ, quia a Deo ordinatus est ad defensionem ecclesiæ.*—*Polan. Syntag.*, lib. vii. cap. 19.

² Herding accused, though falsely, Luther to have animated Muncer, the rebel-preacher, in Thuringia.

³ Calvin in Rom.

these men, mad upon lust, cannot endure to be chained by laws; these furious horses would have the reins on their own necks.

Secondly, Those that in their practices contemn magistracy, sin against this truth discovered in the text; for they despise an ordinance of God, Rom. xiii. 2.

Some sin in their words by uncivil, disrespectful language: the corruption of their hearts breaks out of their lips; 'these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominions, (*Κυριότητος καταφρονούντες*, they opposed not so much the officers as the office, not so much the magistrate as magistracy,) speak evil of dignities,' Jude 8; they blaspheme glories.¹ It is blasphemy against the second table. Our wicked times are a woeful comment on that text. Those persons and places which are honoured by the Spirit of God with glorious titles, are bespattered by them with dirty, disgraceful language. Because they could not by the power of their hands displace the magistrate, therefore with the poison of their tongues they did disgrace magistracy.

These men begin to speak evil of the gods, and ordinarily end in speaking evil of God himself; as Aretine, by libellous and contumelious speaking against princes, came at length to disesteem God himself.

Observe how express the command of God is: 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor speak evil of the rulers of thy people,' Exod. xxii. 28. This text is quoted by Paul, Acts xxiii. 2, 3, 5, where he called the high priest whited wall, and afterwards said, he wist not that he was the high priest, which words are very much controverted by expositors.² Some think he spake ironically, because he saw nothing in him worthy of that office, and because the priesthood was now determined in Christ, he did usurp that office which did not belong to him; and probably he was some surrogate brought in, through the disorder of the times, by some sinister practices.³ Others, and that to me more likely, expound it thus: I wist not, I considered not, I heeded not, in my haste, in heat I took not sufficient notice, but termed him whited wall, which words, I acknowledge, might well have been spared. The opinion of Junius is, that Paul did not know him to be the high priest; and therefore pleadeth his ignorance as, at least, an extenuation of his offence.⁴ But whatever the sense of the words is, this is clear, that

¹ Βλασφημοῦσι δοξὰς, idem valet quod Βλάπτειν τὴν φήμην, alterius famam lædere maledictis.

² So Deodat. in loc. Calvin.

³ Vide Joseph. Antiq., lib. xx. cap. 3, 5.

⁴ Jun. in Parall.

such as revile princes disobey God's precept:¹ thou shalt not revile the gods, nor speak evil of the rulers of thy people; that is, thou shalt not speak evil of them by reproach or calumny, nor wish any evil to them by imprecation or curses.

Nay, the Holy Ghost speaketh the persons guilty of this sin to be impudent, audacious sinners: 2 Pet. ii. 10, 'They are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.' As if he had said, If they had feared either God or man, they would not have dared to commit this sin.² They were bold sinners indeed that durst spit their venom in the faces of the gods, and with the sword of their mouths adventure upon the mouth of the sword. Oh, to what a height of unholiness are they arrived that bring railing accusations against the gods, when the archangel durst not bring one against the devil! Jude 9. But their tongues are set fire on hell, James iii. 6; therefore no wonder if they are set against heaven, Ps. lxxiii. 9. 'Is it fit to say to a king, Thou art wicked; and to princes, Ye are ungodly?'³ Job xxxiv. 18. The interrogation is a strong negation. Kings must be courted with soft and silken language. If Elias and Isaiah do otherwise, they being moved extraordinarily, are no copies for us to write after.

As some sin in their words, by uncivil language, so others in their works, by their unseemly carriage towards the magistrate. Surely the world is near its end, that there are so many dregs appearing, such brutish persons in it, that have not only banished piety, but humanity. They neither reverence the rulers nor honour the ancient. How many are in their principles antiministerial, and in their practices antimagistratical. As Nazianzen observeth of the Arians, they began in blasphemous language against the deity of Christ, but ended in tumultuous carriage against the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth; they plead for a Christian liberty with their mouths, but the vote of their hearts carrieth it for an antichristian licentiousness.

The time was, when a magistrate came by, the young men that saw him hid themselves, either for reverence of Job's person, or lest they should fail in their respectful behaviour towards him, or lest he should spy somewhat amiss in them, and the aged arose, and stood up, in token of honour, and to shew respect to him, Job xxix.

¹ Seneca saith of Egypt that it was, *Loquax et ingeniosa in contumeliam præfectorum provincia: in qua qui vitaverit culpam, non effugit infamiam.*

² Luther cried Henry the Eighth mercy for his uncivil language, such as that, *Audi, Domine Rex, edocebo te.*

³ The mother of Artaxerxes, in Plutarch, was wont to say, that they who addressed themselves to princes should use silken words.

8; but now the tide is turned. We are fellow-creatures, say some, and therefore we must be fellow-beasts, taking no notice of, nor shewing any respect to, one more than another. 'But now,' saith Job, 'they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock. And now I am their song, yea, their byword. They abhor me, they flee from me, they spit in my face,' Job xxx. 1, 9, 10. So low, indeed, are they whom God hath set on high, through the pride and profaneness of men's hearts. One observeth of the Persians,¹ that when they came into the presence of their prince, they drew their hands into their sleeves, in token of reverence and loyalty. But how many Christians come short of heathen, and that which is saddest of all, under the pretence of religion! But such must know that, by contemning such men, they condemn God. 'They have not rejected thee,' saith God to Samuel, 'but they have rejected me,' 1 Sam. viii. 7: not so much thee, who art but my minister, as myself, who, being their supreme Lord, do rule by thee as my deputy. As magistracy is God's ordinance, by despising this order, which is by divine appointment, they despise its author: as magistrates are the resemblance of his glory, God's glories, by contemning the picture, they condemn the person; and they that thus dishonour God shall be lightly esteemed by him. 'They that resist the magistrate shall receive to themselves damnation,' Rom. xiii. 2.

My second use will be by way of exhortation, first, to inferiors. If the God of heaven hath appointed magistrates to be as gods on earth, it exhorteth us to honour them:² 'Honour the king,' 1 Pet. ii. 17, saith the Holy Ghost; 'Honour to whom honour belongeth,' Rom. xiii. 7. There is honour due to our civil as well as to our natural parents; so much is expressed in that standing law of God, the fifth commandment, Exod. xx. Though they are to be honoured as gods, yet not as the true God; civil respect is due to them, not divine.³ Yet some Roman emperors, out of intolerable pride, have affected to be called gods, and commanded others to sacrifice to them. This civil honour is to be visible—

1. In giving reverence to their persons.
2. In yielding obedience to their righteous precepts.

First, In reverencing their persons. Magistrates are honoured by God, and therefore may well be honoured by us.

Those who are dignified by God must not be debased by men.

¹ Xenoph. Hellen., lib. xi.

² Magistrates are *patres patrie*.

³ Prohibiti sunt maledici, non jussi sunt sacrificiis honorari.—*Aug. in Exod.*

We ought to honour them in our hearts, by standing in awe of them, by esteeming them, as they resemble God, Prov. xxiv. 21, and are in his place, to be higher and worthier than others.¹ 'Thou art worth ten thousand of us,' say they to David, 2 Sam. xviii. 3. The godly people counted king Josiah the breath of their nostrils, Lam. iv. 20; and the Holy Ghost brandeth them for sons of Belial that despised Saul in their hearts, though he were a wicked king, 1 Sam. x. 27. In our carriage we must honour them by rising up to them, Job xxix. 8, by bowing the body to them, 2 Sam. xxiv. 20, by silence when they speak, Job xxix. 9, 10.

Honour is an outward signification of that inward reverent opinion which we have of them for their dignity and greatness.

They are honoured in our speeches. The patriarchs call Joseph their lord, Gen. xlii. 10, and themselves his servants, ver. 19. Paul calleth, Acts xxvi. 25, Most noble Festus. Esther v. 8, 'If I have found favour in the sight of the king, and if it please the king to grant my petition, and to perform my request,' saith holy Esther to the heathen king.

It is reported of the great-grandfather of Fabius Maximus,² that though he had been five times consul, and had obtained many triumphs for divers honourable victories, yet when his own son was consul, he willingly submitted himself to him, served under him as his lieutenant, and followed on horseback his son in his triumphing chariot. But such heathen will rise up in judgment against many Christians.

Secondly, Your honouring them must appear by your yielding obedience to their lawful precepts.³ In the kingdom of Christ this is wonderful, saith Zanchy,⁴ that he willeth and commandeth all princes and potentates to be subject to his kingdom, and yet he willeth and commandeth that his kingdom be subject to princes and potentates: Tit. iii. 1, 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates.' Subjection notes their acknowledgment of obedience to be due, and obedience notes the act itself of obeying, or the practice answerable to the forementioned principle. By principalities are meant those that have the supreme power, as kings or chief magistrates. Powers signify such as exercise delegated authority, and hold from those

¹ Honor est agnitio dignitatis vel excellentiæ illius quæ est in alio, cum ejusdem debita testificatione. Agnitio simul dicitur et testificatio, quia neque in externa observantia sola neque in interna consistit, sed in utroque.—*Ames. Med.*

² Plutarch, in Vit. Fab. Max.

³ Mallem obedire quam miracula facere.—*Luth.*

⁴ Zanch. Miscel., epi. ded.

higher powers, as presidents of provinces, lieutenants of counties, judges, justices, mayors, &c. Now, put them in remembrance. Men are apt to be forgetful both of obedience to God and the gods. Naturally we are so proud and high, that we are unwilling to stoop to those that are higher; and therefore we had need to be put in mind of our duties, to 'submit ourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him,' 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. Good rulers we must obey, saith one, as God; bad, for God.

But take notice, I say, magistrates must be obeyed in their lawful commands.¹ If a king, saith our civil law, giveth laws out of his own territories, he is not to be obeyed; and if magistrates command what God forbiddeth, they give laws out of their own dominions, and therefore, saith the divine law, they are not to be obeyed. God indeed is to be obeyed universally and unlimitedly, *intuitu voluntatis*, upon the bare sight of his will; but I must examine the laws of men by the laws of God, and if they are dissonant and disagreeing to God's laws, I must be disobedient to their laws. No mere man's *ipse dixit* is sufficient: Acts v. 29, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' The men of Calicot, say some, will do whatsoever their emperors command, though it be to worship the devil, as some write they do. But we must observe the order of commands: 'Fear God,' is before 'honour the king,' 1 Pet. ii. 17; and again, 'My son, fear the Lord and the king,' Prov. xxiv. 21; and Eccles. viii. 2, 'My son, keep the king's command, and that because of the oath of God,' which latter words, 'and that because of the oath of God,'² are not only a reason, but, as is excellently observed, a limitation to the precedent exhortation. They are a reason or enforcement. It is necessary to give obedience to magistrates, not only out of fear towards them, because of their sword, but out of conscience towards God, because of his vows that are upon us, Rom. xiii. 5; and so it seems to relate to some covenant and oath of fidelity which was taken by the people towards their princes, 1 Chron. xi. 3; Isa. xix. 18. And surely oaths to magistrates are to be kept, though some slip oaths as easily as the monkeys do their collars, and, like the man possessed with the devil, break all those bonds asunder. God will have a time to make inquisition for perjury, when his roll of curses, ten

¹ Magis obtemperandum est diis, apud quos diutius manendum est, quam hominibus, quibuscum admodum brevi tempore vivendum est.—*Antigon. in Sophoc.*

² *Vide* Large Annotat. *in loc.*

yards long and five yards broad, shall rest in the house of him that foreswareth himself, and destroy it, Zech. v. 2.

But the words may be considered as a limitation: 'Keep the king's command,' but so that thou do not violate thine oath and obedience due to God. Thy fealty to the gods must be such as will consist with thy fidelity to God; for we are bound to God and his service by oath and covenant, 1 Pet. iii. 21; Ps. cxix. 106; and no subordinate obedience must make us forget our obedience to him who is supreme. We must obey rulers, *usque ad aras*, as far as religion will suffer us, and no further. My obedience to man must be regulated by a good conscience towards God, Dan. iii. 16-18; 1 Sam. xxii. 17; Acts v. 29. As a subordinate officer is not to be obeyed when he useth his power against his prince, which he received from his prince, and should have improved for his prince; so neither is a prince to be obeyed when he useth his power against God, which he received from God, and should have improved for God. As we must give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, so we must give unto God the things that are God's, Mat xxii. 21, 22. One observeth that the Greek article is twice repeated when he speaketh of God,¹ more than when he speaketh of Cæsar, to shew that our special care should be to give God his due.² It was a noble speech of those worthies, mentioned Dan. iii. 16-18, who were commanded by the king to worship the image which he had set up: 'O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not worship thy god, nor fall down to the golden image which thou hast set up.' And it was a gallant answer of the Prince of Condee, who being taken prisoner by Charles the Ninth of France, and put to his choice, whether he would go to mass, or be put to death, or suffer perpetual imprisonment. The former, said he, by God's grace I will never do; and for the two latter, let the king do with me what he pleaseth; God, I hope, will turn all to the best.³

We are also to honour magistrates, both by praying for them, and paying tribute to them; the former is our duty, and the latter is their due: 'I will, saith the apostle, that prayers and supplications be made for all men, for kings, and all in authority,' 1 Tim.

¹ Τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.

² To pay to the king that tribute which is due to God only, is not *tributum Cæsaris*, sed *servitium diaboli*.—Chrysost.

³ Hist. Gall.

ii. 1, 2. The burden which lieth on them is weighty ; we had need therefore to beg of God to strengthen their backs, otherwise they can never bear it. There is a truth in that saying, Did men but know the weight of a crown, they would not stoop to take it up.¹ Pride indeed is so prevalent with many persons, that they will venture their lives to satisfy their ambition ; these men's great care is to get the sword, the sceptre, not how to use them for God and his people ; but certainly they who mind a faithful discharge of their trusts find the magistrate's throne to be a place of little ease. They are shepherds, Isa. xlv. 28, and we know the life of a shepherd is a laborious life ; they endure the scorching heat of summer, and the nipping cold of the winter, to keep their flocks safe. Cares and fears about public concerns molest them night and day, as weights hang on a clock, and will not suffer them to sleep. If they watch to protect us, should not we watch unto prayer for them ?² The emblem of King Henry the Seventh, in all the windows of his house, was still a crown in a bush of thorns, surely to tell us that great places are not free from great cares ; that no man knoweth the weight of a sceptre but he that swayeth it.

We are bound likewise to pay tribute to them, as well as pray for them : ' Render to all their dues ; tribute to whom tribute belongeth, custom to whom custom,'³ Rom. xiii. 7.

It is observable, the Holy Ghost calleth it their due. To pay tribute or custom is not an act of courtesy, but a duty which must be done out of conscience ; God commandeth it from us in lieu of the magistrate's care of us :⁴ as ver. 6, ' For this cause pay ye tribute, (*præstatis, non datis*, you pay ; not, you give,) ' for they are God's ministers,' &c. Your paying tribute and custom is a sign of your subjection to them, and a thankful acknowledgment of your protection from them ; and ver. 5, ' For this cause ought you to be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.' God taketh care for the maintenance of the magistrate as well as of the minister, and doth strictly enjoin us, that both they who watch for our souls, and they which watch for our bodies, should have an honourable subsistence. Did such as are private but seriously consider this word conscience, for conscience sake, they durst not, as they do,

¹ Moses was a pious patient man, yet he telleth us, notwithstanding all his strength of grace, *Non possum portare*, I am not able to bear all this people, Num. xi. 14.

² B. Hall's contemplation.

³ *φóπος capitatio*, poll-money which men pay by the poll, or according to their estates ; *τέλος, vectigal*, dues for merchandise.—*Beza*.

⁴ Pompey first converted the capitation or head silver to the city of Rome.—*Par. in Rom.*

cozen the public.¹ The same mighty possessor of heaven and earth, who giveth me a right to the whole, giveth them a right to a part of my estate, and therefore to cozen them of their dues in tribute or custom, is to cozen and defile my conscience by the violation of God's righteous command.

I shall, in the next place, lay down two or three thoughts to enforce the duty of honouring magistrates.

First, Consider the necessity of magistracy. Without magistracy one man would be but bread for another; and the world, which is like the sea for storms and tempests, would also resemble it in this, that the inhabitants of it would be as the fishes of the sea, the great would devour the small. 'Men are like the fishes of the sea,' saith the prophet, 'that have no ruler over them,' Hab. i. 14. No man could call anything his own, were it not for these gods. Did not they defend us by their power, every one would rob and wrong us at his pleasure. Our liberties, estates, and lives would quickly be a prey to the covetousness and cruelty of vicious persons. Liberty and property are quite banished where authority is not established. Who can express the malice and murders, the rapine and robberies, the mischiefs and miseries that reign where the magistrate doth not reign. 'In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right,' not in God's, 'but in his own eyes,' Judges xvii. 6, and xix. 1. And what evil is not good in his eye who hath the devil for his guide and leader, and corrupt nature for his law and rules? When the gate of magistracy is shut, the flood-gates for all manner of enormities are open. When these that bear up the pillars of the house are removed, how soon will the building be ruined! When God intended the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth, he took away their sanhedrim. And in the glass of our times it is too too visible what a sad deformed face things have when magistrates are overturned. Constantinople will witness to this truth, where, upon the grand signior's death, till his successor be on his throne, all things are in a confusion, and the janizaries have the rule and dominion. Some write that the Persian law commandeth that upon the decease of their kings there should be a suspension of the laws for certain five days, that subjects might know the necessity of government, and learn to value it more by being bereft of the benefit of it for a time. Nay, when God is ex-

¹ Tiberius did not approve that shepherd that flayed his sheep instead of clipping; nor Tully, him who cut the wings, so that they could never grow after. Magistrates are set for the good of the people, and therefore should be moderate in demanding their goods.

ceedingly provoked by sin, how sharply doth he make men suffer by taking away their stay and their staff!—the mighty man, the judge, the prophet, and the prudent, Isa. iii. 1–4. The taking away the civil stay and staff, the prince, and the spiritual stay and staff, the prophet, will quickly cause the fall, yea, the utter downfall of the people. Men often murmur at the magistrate, and tell us, many times falsely, he is a tyrant; if he were gone all would be well; but when he is out of the way, do they not find many tyrants for one? Everyman would be an oppressor were there no man to be a restrainer.

What would a nation without government be but a desert of savage beasts; what would towns be but dens of thieves, and what would families be but cages of unclean birds; yea, what would most men be, but like dogs trying all right and title by their teeth and strength?

Men naturally are more afraid of the noise of the musket than of the bullet—I mean of the frowns of the rulers than of the fire of hell; and therefore were they once free from them, they would do that which would soon undo both themselves and others.

Now the necessity of magistrates calleth for reverence and obedience to their authority. The more needful things are, the more grateful they should be. Things that are superfluous may be slighted, things that are only convenient may be the less valued; but things that are absolutely necessary must be highly esteemed. I tell thee, the ministry is not more necessary to the well-being of the church, than the magistracy to the well-being of the state. You may as soon see a tree thrive without a root, as a commonwealth flourish without a ruler. Magistrates are in Scripture called the heads of the people, Exod. xviii. 25, because they are as necessary to the body politic, to direct and govern it, as the head is to the body natural; therefore, as the members yield respect, and are subject unto the head, if the head do but ache, all the humours of the arm, as some observe, run to the head, and therefore the arms are thin and slender, because they want their proper nurture; yea, if the head be in danger, how do the other parts hazard themselves for its shelter! Many a hand and arm hath been wounded that the head might be saved. Thus should subjects shew their respect to, and tenderness of, their superiors; for if a member, or some of the inferior parts, be cut off, the body may live, but if the head be taken off, if governors be set aside, *actum est de republica*, that kingdom, that commonwealth, cannot stand long.

Secondly, Consider the severity of God against the contemners of magistrates. There are several in the word of God that stand up,

like the mast of a ship cast away by sands, to warn us that we steer not their course, lest we be sunk also. Those who opposed the preservers of our civil lives have not seldom been punished with violent deaths; Korah and his company, Abimelech, Athaliah, Adonijah, Absalom, Zimri, Joab, Sheba, with several others, will confirm this truth; and human as well as divine writings speak to the same purpose.

James the First, king of Scots, was murdered in Perth by Walter Earl of Atholl, in hope to attain the crown, for so had his sorcerers prophesied; and crowned he was with a crown of red iron clapped upon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith he ended at once his wicked days and desires.¹ Becket, Mortimer, Tyler, Warbeck, Sanders, Story, Campian, the Piercies, the powder-plotters, Rhodulphus Duke of Suevia, Richard the Third of England, and many others, have been marked with divine vengeance for contemning this divine ordinance.

‘My son,’ saith Solomon, ‘fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change. For their calamity shall arise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both?’ Prov. xxi. 22—*i.e.* of them that fear not God, and of them that fear not the king. And Eccles. x. 8, 9, ‘He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him. Whoso removeth stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby.’ These four proverbial expressions speak the danger of them that go about to supplant their rulers. Whilst they are digging pits to catch others, the earth falleth on them, and murdereth themselves. When they are breaking up the old hedge of government, serpents and adders, which use to harbour in old walls and hedges, will sting them. God will make men know that it is a dangerous thing to confound rule and subjection, and to break down the partition wall which he hath set up between magistrates and people. When these sharp instruments which they run against wound them deep, they will believe that it is bad meddling with edged tools; and that there is a truth in those words of the apostle, ‘They that resist procure to themselves damnation,’ Rom. xiii. 2—that is, both corporal punishment and eternal torment, saith Peter Martyr.

If thou wouldst not, therefore, suffer with others, take heed of sinning with others. ‘Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked persons,’ saith Moses to the congregation upon the conspiracy of Korah, Dathan, &c., against their rulers, ‘and touch nothing

¹ Speed Chron.

of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins,' Num. xvi. 26. They that join in common rebellions must expect to be joined in common destructions. Be not impatient of rule, as thou desirest to avoid that ruin which God's mouth doth threaten, and his hand will execute on such rebellious ones. Let those many examples, which are in Scripture and other authors mentioned, of them that are hung on gibbets as monuments of God's fury, fright thee from their acts, lest thou partake of their ends. Believe it, no king can possibly be so tender of his own honour as God is of his own officers. Do not, therefore, shoot off thy guns of opposition against the gods, lest they recoil and kill thyself. Reviling of natural parents was banishment by Plato's law, death by God's law, Exod. xxi. 17. Those then that revile civil parents shall not always go unpunished.

Thirdly, Consider thy felicity and welfare doth under God depend much on the gods. The apostle enforceth this use by this very argument:¹ 'For he is the minister of God for thy good,' Rom. xiii. If he labour to do thee good, why shouldst thou imagine evil against him? To render good for evil is God-like, Mat. v. 48, but to render evil for good is devilish.

Magistrates are shields, Ps. xlvii. 9; they defend their subjects from the darts and bullets with which the sons of violence would wound them.

Shepherds, Num. xxvii. 17, to defend them from the devouring mouths of ravenous creatures. They are called the foundations of the earth, because they support the building from ruin and sinking,² Prov. x. 25. Coverings, Ezek. xxviii. 16, which importeth that engine, under which soldiers used to be protected, in assaulting the walls of an enemy, against the stones and darts which were thrown down upon them. Guides, Prov. vi. 7, because they lead and direct the people. Angels, 2 Sam. xiv. 15, in that they defend and protect the people.³ The fathers and mothers of the country, Gen. xli. 43; Judges v. 7, because they take care of, and provide for their people. Healers, Job xxxiv. 17, because they cure their wounds, and make up their breaches. They deliver the poor that crieth, and the fatherless, and him that hath none to help. They are eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame; fathers to the poor, and helpers to the needy, Job xxix. 11-15. They are born not for

¹ Martial policy, true religion, and civil justice, are the three pillars which uphold all, saith Sir Walter Raleigh.

² Βασιλεὺς quasi βᾶσις τοῦ λαοῦ.

³ Ἀναξ ἂν ἄνθρωπος medela.

themselves, but for the good of many, as Bucer's physician told him.¹ And they govern not seeking their own wealth, but the commonwealth,² as Ælius Adrianus, emperor of Rome, would say. They are as trees whose leaves are fair, whose fruit much, and in them is meat for all; in their shadow the beasts of the field dwell, and in them the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, Dan. iv. 12, 21.

They are the keepers of our liberties, the preservers of our lives, the safety of our persons, the security of our possessions, the terrors of sinners, the defence of saints, the nerves and sinews, yea, the vital spirits of the body politic, without whom all things would run to ruin, and quickly fall to confusion. How much then do they for us, and how much then should we be subject to them! Surely, as little as many value them, they will find much cause to celebrate the funerals of these civil fathers with many tears. Our comforts as well as our consciences call upon us to be subject. To wish them harm that watch to be our helps is horrid ingratitude. Cicero saith, he that killeth his father committeth many sins in one, because he sinneth against many obligations. His father begat him, nourished him, brought him up. Magistrates are the fathers of their country; he that resisteth them, or doth violence to them, committeth several sins in one, because he sinneth against so many engagements to subjection. We owe all the comforts we enjoy for this world, nay, somewhat of them that relate to a better world, under God, to the magistrate. We could not sleep quietly in our beds one night, we could not eat one meal peaceably in the day without them; we could not call either children, or estates, or lives our own without them; we could not enjoy such liberties for our souls, such frequent communion of saints without them. How great then is our obligation, and how great should our subjection be to them! These many cords of kindness should bind us to them. He was possessed with a devil whom no cords would hold, Mark v. 3; and surely they are little better, that, against the law of God, and this protecting love of the gods, will not learn to be loyal.

Trees receive moisture from the earth, and within a while pay it back in those leaves that fall to the earth again; the rivers receive their waters from the ocean, and they acknowledge it in emptying themselves into it; sheep that are fed by us acknowledge it in serving us with their flesh and fleeces. And shall man be more brutish

¹ Non sibi sed multorum utilitati se esse natum.

² Non mihi sed populo, signifying that which he was often heard to say, Ita se rempublicam gesturum, ut sciret rem populi esse, non suam.

than the beast? I shall end this exhortation with the words of the Holy Ghost a little varied: 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your bodies, as ministers for your soul, as they that must give an account,' Heb. xiii. 17.

My second exhortation will be to the gods. If the God of heaven have appointed you to be gods on earth, then it may exhort you to walk as gods, and to work as gods amongst men.

First, walk as gods among men; your calling is high, and therefore your carriage should be holy. Every calling hath a peculiar comeliness belonging to it. A courtier hath another manner of behaviour than a country man, a scholar than a scullion, a prince than a peasant. The greater your privileges are, the more gracious your practices should be. Remember whose livery you wear, whose image you bear, whose person you represent, whose place you stand in, and walk worthy of that calling whereunto you are called, Eph. iv. 1. Some would have us give no names to children, but such as should mind them of their duty. The Spirit of God hath given you a divine name, which should mind you of the divine nature. Since your compellations are according to God, surely your conversations should be according to the gospel.

The several titles given to you call for sanctity and strictness from you.

The Spirit of God calleth you kings, 1 Sam. viii. 9, and princes, Josh. viii. 33. Now, is it seemly or suitable, to see kings or princes paddling in the mire, or playing in the dirt with every beggar's brat? Doth not every one expect that their linen should be in print, their clothes clean without the least spot of dirt? And is it comely or consonant to see magistrates, honoured with a commission from heaven, wallowing in the mire of sin and pollution with every heir of hell? Do not all expect that, as your places are god-like and honourable, so your practice should be godly and answerable, that your linen should be white, your garments undefiled, and your persons higher than others, not only in place, but piety?

When King Porus was taken prisoner, and demanded by the conqueror how he would be used? he answered, Like a king; and being three times asked the same question, he as often returned the same answer. And if you ask me how you should demean yourselves, I would answer, Like kings, every one resembling the behaviour of a king. Prov. xxxi. 3, 4, 'It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine, nor princes strong drink, lest they drink

and forget the law.¹ Give not thy strength unto women, nor thy ways to that which destroyeth kings.' Drunkenness and uncleanness are sinful and unwarrantable in subjects, but they are most sordid and abominable in a sovereign. They are so much worse than others, by how much they ought to be better than others.² A disease that surpriseth the head or heart is more dangerous than those that infect the exterior members. A spot in silk is far worse than one in sackcloth. A fly in a barrel of pitch doth not the harm which it doth in a box of ointments.

When Scipio was offered a harlot, he said, *Vellem si non essem Imperator*, I would if I were not a general, an emperor. Should such a man as I fly? said Nehemiah. So should a ruler consider, should such a man as I be unclean? I, that punish such sin in others, should I commit it myself? Should such a man as I swear, be lascivious in my language, or unsavoury in my speeches? A divine sentence is in the mouth of a king, Prov. xvi. 10. I, whose words are laws and oracles, should speak as the oracles of God, 1 Peter iv. 11. Should such a man as I profane the Sabbath, associate with sinners, be prayerless in my family, or venture upon any iniquity? It is an abomination for kings to commit wickedness, Prov. xvi. 12. Peter Martyr told Queen Elizabeth, that princes were doubly bound to God,—as men, and as princes or chief men. Their sins are sins against more obligations, and therefore are sins of more aggravations than others. A great man cannot commit a small sin; yet a great man is seldom a good man. Godliness in a ruler is like a diamond in a golden ring, which shines radiantly; but there are few jewels so set. Among all the kings of Israel, not one godly man; among the kings of Judah, very few. Men in high places are apt to have their heads giddy, and thereby are in great danger of falling.³ Of only one Roman emperor (Titus) is it said that he was the better for his honour; most are worse.

The Spirit of God calleth you the children of God, and all of you are children of the Most High. Now, how exactly, how circumspectly should the children of God walk! Much obedience may be expected from servants, but more from sons; their pre-eminence is more, and therefore their obedience should be more.

¹ Of Bonosus the emperor it was said, he was born *non ut vivat, sed ut bibat*. And when being overcome by Probus, he hanged himself; it was commonly jested, that a tankard hung there, not a man.

² Ideo deteriores sumus quia meliores esse debemus.—*Salv.*

³ Pope Urban wrote to a prelate in his time scotfully, *Monacho fervido, Abbati calido, Episcopo tepido, et Archiepiscopo frigido*; still the higher in means, the worse in manners.

The fathers of the flesh look for much dutifulness from their children; but surely the Father of spirits may look for more from his children, Phil. ii. 15: 'That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world.' Ye that are God's sons, are appointed to blame others that do evil, and therefore it behoveth you to be blameless yourselves, *Qui alterum accusat probri*, &c., but blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke. The sons of great men should be without riotousness or rebellion; but the sons of God should be without suspicion or rebuke; that is, walk so strictly as that they should do nothing blameworthy. If God be your Father, where is his honour? Mal. i. 6. Do you honour him in your hearts, by giving him your superlative love, and fear, and trust, and esteem? Do you honour him in your houses, by causing all within your charges to worship him according to his word? Are your houses houses of holiness—praying, reading, singing, catechising houses? are they examples of religion to your neighbours? Is holiness to the Lord written upon yourselves, your children, your servants, your estates, and upon all that belong to you? Do you honour God in your lives, by walking as he walked? Are ye followers of him as dear children? Eph. v. 1. Do you resemble him as children their father? Are you holy as he was holy in all manner of conversation? Was your everlasting Father, when he walked in your flesh upon earth, ever guilty of cursing, or swearing, or lying? Did any rotten communication ever drivel out of his lips? Was he ever guilty of oppressing the poor, or despising the needy? of seeking himself, or of doing his own will? Did he ever neglect praying, and instructing his family of the apostles, or supplication by himself? Was not he at prayer early in the morning, a great while before day, and was not he up at it all night? Was it not his meat and drink to do the will of his Father, and to finish his work? Did not he go about doing good, glorifying God upon earth, and doing what was well pleasing in his sight? Surely ye that are the sons of God by name and office, should resemble the Son of God by nature.

O sirs, think of it; ye that are the sons of God by deputation, should resemble this Son of God by generation. Be not as Eli's, and Samuel's, and David's children, a disgrace to your Father: but as Constantine's sons resembled their father in his good parts and practices,¹ so be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect, Mat. v. 48. David's daughters were known to be his children by their

¹ Euseb.

garments, 2 Sam. xiii. 18. Do you make it known to others that you are the children of God, by not defiling your garments; by keeping yourselves unspotted from the world; by looking to your clothes that they be not defiled, though ye walk in dirty streets; be as the children of God, without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation.

Consider, the devil is ever watching for your halting, and, like some unkind servant, he blabs presently to the Father what a dirty pickle his children are in. Suppose he seeth the dirt of drunkenness, of uncleanness, of squeezing tenants, of profaning the Sabbath, of scoffing at godliness, of irreligion and atheism in your houses, and immediately carries your clothes to God, as the patriarchs did Joseph's coat—for he accuseth men before God day and night, Rev. xii. 1—saying, Lord, is this thy son's coat? Know now whether it be thy son's coat or no, Gen. xxxvii. 32. Do thy children use to carry themselves as my children? Surely these are of their father the devil. Can you imagine that God should own you? No, certainly—as the pope disowned the bishop, when the emperor had sent the buff-coat in which he was taken prisoner, and delivered him up to justice—he will not dishonour himself by owning you. Nay, how can you expect but that Jesus Christ, who sitteth by and heareth the indictment against you—who useth to appear as an advocate for others, when the accuser of the brethren pleadeth against them—should even second the bill against you, and say to God, as Moses, Deut. xxxii. 5, they have corrupted themselves, their spot is not the spot of God's children, they are perverse and crooked persons. Father, these are sins, not of weakness, but wickedness; they are not infirmities, but enormities; they are not the spots of thy children. Those that cast thee out of their hearts, and let the flesh have the supremacy there; that cast thee out of their houses, and let the world have the superiority there; those that make no conscience of thy day and their duties; whose whole care is to be honoured and enriched; whose heat and fervour is for credit and profit, and put thee off with a few fragments of time, and a few scraps of their estate, which they can spare from the world and flesh; those sin like wretches, like rebels—not like saints, like sons; their spots are not the spots of thy children.

There are spots which may be, and spots which cannot be, the spots of God's children. All sins are unsuitable to, but some sins are inconsistent with, sonship; yea, the pre-eminence of adoption doth absolutely deny the predominancy of any corruption.

When Antigonus was to go to a place that might probably prove

a temptation to sin, he asked counsel of Menedemus what he should do. He bade him only remember he was a king's son ; so say I to you, that walk every day in the midst of many snares of temptations, and therefore should have the greater care and circumspection. Remember that ye are the sons of the King of kings, and do nothing unworthy of the name by which he calleth you, or the place to which he hath called you.

It might have been a cutting word to the heart of Brutus, whose hand was then stabbing Cæsar, What, thou my son Brutus ! I could not have expected better from a slave, but little looked for this from a son. How, think you, can the Lord take it, that you who are his children should wound the body of his Son with oaths and curses, his sacred laws by wickedness and wilful disobedience ? I beseech you be exceeding holy, that ye may shew yourselves to be children of the Most High. ' In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil : he that doeth not righteousness is not of God,' 1 John iii. 10. ' If ye therefore call on the Father, who without respect of persons will judge every man according to his works, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear,' 1 Pet. i. 17, ' forasmuch as ye know ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver or gold, from your vain conversations received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without spot and blemish,' ver. 18, 19. It is written of Boleslaus, one of the kings of Poland, that he still carried about with him the picture of his father, and when he was to do any great work he would look on the picture and pray that he might do nothing unworthy of such a father's name ; so when you set about any business, desire and labour that you may do nothing, while on earth, unworthy your Father who is in heaven.

Nay, further, the Holy Ghost calleth you gods. How godly, then, should you be ; how unsuitable are the works of the devil to them that have the name of god ! God is light, and in him is no darkness at all ; and should not the gods shine brightly with the light of holiness, and abhor all deeds of darkness ? The gods of the heathen were taxed with several crimes : Jupiter with uncleanness, Juno with passion, &c. Hence, saith Austin, the heathen took liberty to sin, because their gods were represented to them as patterns or approvers of such actions. As Charæa in Terence, *non ego facerem quæ Jupiter fecit* ? Should I be backward to what the god himself was forward ? But the God of heaven is far from such things ; he is the Holy One of Israel, holy in all his ways, and

righteous in all his works ; his nature is the pattern of holiness ; his law is the rule of holiness ; holiness is his essence, his glory, himself, Ps. lxxxix. 13. 'A God of truth without iniquity, just and right is he,' Deut. xxxii. 4. There are many spots in our moons, but not the least spot in the Sun of righteousness. Now, therefore, you that have his name should get his nature, and be pure as he is pure : the name of God is an honour to you, O be not you a dishonour to it, James ii. 8. Do not, O do not, blaspheme that worthy name by which ye are called. How holy should you be in your hearts, how watchful over your words, how wary in your works, how faithful in your families, how conscientious in all companies, for the Most High hath said, Ye are gods.¹

Alexander having a soldier of his name that was a coward, bade him either learn to be valiant, or be no more called Alexander : so say I to you that have the livery and name of God, and do the drudgery of Satan ; either learn to be holy, to be good, or be no more called gods.

Sir, observe it, is it comely for a god to swear ? for a god to wrong his neighbours ? for a god to profane God's day ? for a god to despise godliness and godly men ? for a god to keep company with those that are of their father the devil ? for a god to live without God in his affections, house, and conversation ? Blush, O guilty justice or ruler, and be ashamed, and either amend thy life and nature, or disown this name of god.

I have sometime read of Luther, that he used to repel the darts of temptations with this shield, I am a Christian, I cannot do it. Oh would you but think, when your hearts or lives are swerving from God, I am called a god, and cannot, may not do the work of the devil. I may not do anything unworthy the name of god ; it might be helpful to you against the assaults of hell.

Besides, you had the more need to walk in the way of God's commandments, because you have many following your steps :² they that have many at their heels had need to be holy, lest they cause the souls of others as well as their own to miscarry for ever. Sin, especially in great men, is like leaven, which soureth the whole lump, 1 Cor. v. 6.

The bodies of men do not sooner take infection than their souls. If the great trees fall, they usually brush and beat down smaller ones with them. When two or three men of renown, famous in

¹ Lactantius telleth us that the very heathen thought that their only way to honour their gods was to be like them, to do as they did.

² *Nemo errat sibi ipsi, sed dementiam spargit in proximos.*—*Sen.*, ep. 94.

the congregation, begin a mutiny against God, they shall not want company to join with them, Num. xvi. If the princes of the people be guilty of rebellion, how soon is the whole congregation in the same transgression, Num. xiii. 28, 29 ; Num. xiv. *init.* When a disease hath once taken the head, how often doth it thence diffuse itself into other parts of the body. When Charles V. went into Italy to be crowned emperor, being troubled with the headache, he cut his hair short, the great courtiers followed his example, so as long hair, so much in fashion before, grew quite out of fashion in his time. Alexander used to carry his head on one side, whereupon his courtiers to imitate him did the like. Before Vespasian's time the Romans were grown to great excess in clothes and furniture for their houses ; and though many laws were made against it, they could not be restrained ; but when he came to the crown, being a temperate and moderate prince, all their former vanity grew out of use. So true is that saying of king Alphonsus, that as certain flowers move after the sun, so the people follow the manners of their princes : and certain it is that the common sort, like a flock of sheep, which way the first goeth all the rest follow.

The actions of rulers are often the rulers of the people's actions. The vulgar are like soft wax, taking any and easy impression from the seals of great men. When men of quality swear, roar, deride religion, dwell without God in their houses, &c., how quickly do their neighbours take after them, and justify their practices by such patterns, thinking they sin *cum privilegio*, if they sin *cum principe*. But now, if a great man walk with God, condemn and reprove sin by his works as well as by words, (being, as the chief magistrate of Israel was, mighty in word and deed, Acts vii. 22,) if he pray with his family, keep the Lord's day strictly, work out his salvation diligently, how prevalent will such an example be to the inferior people ! Surely as when the mountains overflow with water, the valleys are much the better ; so when these mountains (as rulers are called, Micah vi. 2) overflow with the water of grace, the plains will abound the more in fruit.

Think, therefore, how comfortable it will be for thee, by thy holy life, to direct others in the way to heaven ; and how lamentable will it one day be to thee shouldst thou lead others in the road to hell ! How deep wilt thou sink into hell, that shalt be pressed down under the weight of thy own and thine other men's sins ! I remember Luther mentioneth this to be one of the papists' tenets,¹

¹ Hain. in Vit. Lutheri.

that if the pope be so neglectful of his own and his brethren's salvation, and so unprofitable and remiss in his place, that he carries along with himself innumerable people to be eternally tormented, no mortal man ought to reprove him for this sin. But sure I am, the immortal God will reprove both him and you for such crimes when ye shall meet in the other world, where the weight of sin will be sufficiently felt, and the worth of the soul, which is destroyed by it, shall be fully known.

Further, It behoveth you the rather to walk as gods, because others do not only sin with you, but suffer for you. When king David numbered the people out of pride, how did God number the people to the pestilence! 2 Sam. xxiv. What bitter fruits doth God make Israel to feed on: Jer. xv. 2, 'Such as are for death to death, such as are for famine to famine, such as are for the sword to the sword!' But if you would know the root from which those sour fruits spring: 'Because of Manasseh the king of Judah, for that which he did in Jerusalem,' ver. 4.

Whether, saith one, a gangrene begin at the head or the heel, it will kill; but a gangrene in the head will kill sooner than one in the heel. Even so will the sins of great ones overthrow a state sooner than the sins of small ones; therefore the advice of Sigismund the emperor, when a motion was made for reformation, was, Let us begin at the minorities, saith one. No: rather, saith he, let us begin at the majorities; for if the great ones be good, the meaner cannot easily be evil.

Secondly, It exhorteth you to work as gods.

I shall branch this use into three particulars.

1. Execute justice impartially.
2. Excel in shewing mercy.
3. Promote piety to the utmost of your power.

First, Execute justice impartially. God is a God of justice and judgment, Isa. xxx. 18; the most just, Job xxxiv. 17. Others *may* do justly, he *cannot but* do justly. Justice, which is an accident in others, and therefore may be separated from them, is his very essence, his being. Be ye therefore like God. Let justice run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream. Wear the same garments which he doth: Isa. lix. 17, 'He putteth on righteousness for a breastplate, and the helmet of salvation upon his head.' Such garments did holy Job wear: 'I put on righteousness, and it clothed me, my judgment was as a robe and a diadem,' Job xxix. 14. Kings and princes wear crowns and diadems, judges and other officers wear robes and other ornaments.

Now, saith Job, others place much of their glory and state in their robes, in their purple vestments, which strike a reverence in the subject toward his superior, adding, in the estimation of men, majesty to the person, and solemnity to the action of the wearer; but I place my honour in justice and judgment. I think myself better clothed with these real virtues, than others with their empty marks and ensigns of dignity.

I say, execute justice impartially; that is, without fear or favour:¹ ‘Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment; thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty,’ Lev. xix. 15; as if he had said, Ye cannot deal righteously if ye spare any because he is poor, or because he is rich. It is a principle in moral policy, that an ill executor of the laws is worse in a state than a great breaker of them; and the Egyptian kings presented the oath to their judges, not to swerve from their consciences, though they received a command from themselves to the contrary. Neither fear of greatness,—It is a mercy to have judges, saith Cicero, *modo audeant quæ sentiunt*—nor favour of nearness, should make magistrates deviate from the rule. When Charicles, the son-in-law of Phocion, was accused for taking bribes, he desired his father to defend his cause; but he answered him, I took thee for my son-in-law in all honest matters only. A magistrate should be a heart without affection, an eye without lust, a mind without passion, or otherwise his hand will do unrighteous actions. He that goeth to the seat of judicature must leave his affections, as Abraham his servants when he went to the mount, behind him. A justice must, like the earth, cherish and nourish the low violet as well as the tall cedar. The Grecians placed Justice betwixt Leo and Libra, thereby signifying that there ought to be both magnanimity in executing and indifferency in determining. But the impartiality of a ruler is notably set out by the throne of the house of David, Ps. cxxii. 5, which was placed in the gate of the city towards the sun-rising, as some observe. In the gate, to tell us that all who went in and came out at the gate might indifferently be heard, and have free access to the judgment-seat; but towards the rising of the sun, to shew that their judgment should be as clear from corruption as the sun is clear in his chiefest brightness.

It would be an ornament unto, and tend to the settlement of magistracy, for the throne is established by righteousness, Prov.

¹ It was a strange yet true saying, there was more justice in hell than in France; there the guilty are punished, be they never so great; they do not escape: but in France it is otherwise. May it not be said so of England?

xvi. 12, if those two verses, which some say are written in letters of gold over the tribunal in Zant, were practised by every court of justice:

‘Hic locus odit, amat, punit, conservat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, bonos.’

In the executing of justice, there are two things mainly to be minded.

1. That you be terrors to evil-doers: this is expressed as one of your chief duties, Rom. xiii. 3. If men be fearless in sinning, surely you should not be fearful in sentencing them for their sins. God hateth iniquity; he is of purer eyes than to behold it; the evil of sin never got a good look from God, and why should it from the gods? Edward the Confessor was held a bad prince, not by doing, but enduring evil.¹ God was angry with Eli, and telleth him that he would judge his house for ever for the iniquity which he knew, because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not, 1 Sam. iii. 13. Eli was a magistrate, and should have put forth his authority and punished those ungodly children; but because he did not, God punished both him and them. Oh it is dangerous to do the work of the Lord negligently. Sir, do not you, or might you not, upon inquiry, know of them that profane God's day, blaspheme his name, frequent alehouses and the like? Do you restrain them? Do you fright such offenders with your frowns, and shew your love to their souls by executing justice on them for their sins? If you do not, look to yourself, for God hath iron hands for justices that have leaden heels, and will one day strike them home, for forswearing themselves to spare others. He will be a terror to thee, and make thee a terror to thyself, who wilt not at his command be a terror to evil-doers.² Thou sinnest in others whilst thou sufferest them to sin, and thou shalt one day suffer with them, Rev. xviii. 4. Thou art afraid to offend thy neighbours; I tell thee, God will make thee know it were better offending all the world than one God. I beseech you, make it appear that you are magistrates by being men of courage; be as bold in executing as others are in transgressing the law. Shall iniquity be brazen-faced, and authority hide itself? If the offender be in robes, be not afraid of him, but make him afraid of you. I have read that the Athenian judges sat in Mars Street, to shew that rulers should be men of valour. Cowards are more fit to be slaves than rulers. A

¹ Dan. Hist.

² Our old word *Koning*, and by contraction *King*, comes of *Con*, saith Becanus, and comprehendeth three things: Possum, Scio, Audeo.

magistrate should be like Moses: in his own cause as meek as a lamb, in God's cause as stiff as an oak, as bold as a lion. All dare disparage him who dareth discourage none. How punctually doth Scripture tell you that this ought to be your practice! Magistrates, saith Peter, are sent for the punishment of evil-doers, 1 Pet. ii. 14. And Paul saith, 'If thou doest evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath on them that do evil,' Rom. xiii. 4. The sword which is carried before him, as an ensign of his power, is not for show or for fashion, but for the wounding disorderly persons. 'A wise king,' saith Solomon, Prov. xx. 26, 'scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them;' a kind of punishment then in use, and now in many places. Especially be severe to them that profane the Sabbath, that queen of days, that golden season of grace. Nehemiah would not spare the chief men that profaned this chiefest of days, chap. xiii. 17. This is one of the chief precepts which the Lord of the Sabbath commandeth you, Exod. xx., xxiii. 12. England's disturbing God's rest hath raised God to disturb England's rest.

He that spareth the bad hurteth the good. The chirurgeon must cut off incurable members, and the physician of the state must purge out the peccant humours of the body politic, lest they infect and injure the whole. The execution of justice is like a clap of thunder, which striketh few, but frighteth many. 'Smite a scorner, and the simple will beware,'¹ Prov. xix. 25. Thus by not punishing the evil, both the good and bad are, though unjustly, punished; yet the greatest injury is to the ruler, by the offender's impunity; for besides the guilt which he contracts on his soul, and thereby God's eternal wrath, he is oftentimes punished in his body, and made an example of God's justice to others. When the French king, Henry IV., was persuaded by the Duke of Sully to banish that generation of vipers, the Jesuits, he would not, saying, Give me security then for my life. But he was shortly after stabbed to death by their instigation. God doth not seldom make them examples of his judgments, that will not make others examples of justice.

Secondly, That you be protectors of them that do well. The Holy Ghost telleth you that you should be for the praise of them that do well. Courts of justice should be cities of refuge to them that are unjustly and causelessly pursued. Like Noah's ark, to take in and give rest to those weary doves. Like the horns of the

¹ *Pœna ad unum, timor ad omnes.*

altar, to which innocency should fly for protection. 'Mine eyes, saith David, 'shall be upon the faithful in the land,' Ps. ci. 6. Hide the godly especially under the shadow of your wings. Piety hath too much been bespattered with obloquy, and holiness suffered under the name of baseness. *Mali esse coguntur ne viles habeantur*,¹ Men have been necessitated to be vicious, lest they should be accounted vile. Be you not only patterns, but patrons of purity. Let the world know that greatness can own and countenance goodness. The kings of Gerar were called Abimelech, which signifieth My father, Gen. xxx. 2, noting that a king should be as careful and mindful, as tender and chary of his subjects, especially good ones, as fathers of their children. Alas, if the magistrates will not own them, what shall the godly do? The devil raiseth all the trainbands of hell against them that march to heaven. The world loveth its own, but because they are not of the world, therefore the world hateth them, their neighbours malign them, and rage, because they dare not run to the same excess of riot. The whole parish, if occasion be, will be gathered together against those that are pious, especially if they be zealous for God's glory, against others' impieties. Now, since God hath set you up for their shelter, surely you are concerned to secure them in times of danger. Sure I am that it is a privilege and honour to you, that you may be serviceable to the people of God. God carrieth them upon eagles' wings, Exod. xix. 4, as tenderly as the eagle her young ones, of which some observe, she carrieth her prey between her talons, but her young under her wings; and if a fowler shoot at her, she will first have her own body shot through before they shall be hurt. God is therefore called their shield, Gen. xvii. 1. Now a shield is between the body and the weapon. Look, therefore, that you imitate God in this. Remember that men were not made for you, but you were made for them; God took David from the sheepfold to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance, Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71.

It was said by Nazianzen of Athanasius, that he was *magnes et adamas*, an adamant in his stout resolute carriage against vice, and a loadstone to encourage and draw virtue to him. And the wise man telleth us, 'The king's favour is towards a wise servant, but his wrath is towards him that causeth shame,' Prov. xiv. 35. As the wind hurteth not the reeds and corn, which yield to it, but rooteth up the sturdy, stubborn oak, which will not bow, so the ruler should deal sharply with the obstinate, but gently with the mild and flexible.

¹ Salvian.

Augustus Cæsar, in whose time Christ was born, was so tender of his people, that when he died they wept, saying, Would he had never been born, or never died !¹

Secondly, As you should work like gods amongst men in executing justice impartially, so likewise in shewing mercy: God is the Father of mercies, 1 Cor. i. 3: rich in mercy, Eph. ii. 4: he hath multitudes of tender mercies, Ps. li. 1: he is abundant in mercy, 1 Pet. i. 3: his mercy is free, Rom. ix. 15: great, Ps. lvii. 10: matchless, Jer. iii. 1: sure, Isa. lv. 1. Mercy, as one observeth,² is the chief of all God's attributes. Though in themselves they are all equal; but in regard of our necessities, as oil swims above all other liquors, as the eagle is the chief of birds, the lion of beasts, gold of metals, so mercy is the chief of all God's attributes. He hath a mercy-seat, to note that he sitteth at ease when he is shewing mercy. Whereas judgment is his strange work, Isa. xxviii. 21. We read likewise that mercy pleaseth him, Micah vii. 18. Thus the gods should be merciful men; your hearts should be full of mercy and pity to the sinner, when your hands are executing justice against the sin.

The bee doth not sting till provoked; 'God doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men,' Lam. iii. 33. There should be bowels of compassion in him that pronounceth sentence of condemnation.

'Ille dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.'

Augustus never pronounced a deadly sentence without deep sorrow.

Our laws forbid butchers to be jurors, because it is supposed they will be hard-hearted.³ Among several qualifications which the Jews required in their judges, these were two—1. That they should be fathers of children, hoping that their parental affection would incline them to commiseration. 2. That they should not be eunuchs, for they conceived such very cruel. It is a bestial cruelty to delight in blood.

The laws of Draco are generally condemned, for they were written in blood, and the offender was sure to die, of what nature soever his offence was.⁴—*A. Gell.*

Our English Deborah, Queen Elizabeth, did not without cause exceedingly prize Seneca's first book of Clemency, because it treated of that which is so needful to a prince.⁵

¹ Sueton.

² Mr Calamy on Ezek. xxxvi. 32. p. 30, before the parliament.

³ Goodwin Antiq.

⁴ *Ferina rabies est sanguine et vulneribus gaudere.*—*Senec. de Cle.*, lib. i. cap. 24.

⁵ Nero, in the beginning of his empire being requested to set his hand to a warrant for the execution of an offender, would say, *Utinam nescirem literari.*

It is the devil's work to be Abaddon, a destroyer. It is Christ's work to be Goel, a Redeemer. 'Mercy and truth preserve the king, his throne is established by mercy,' Prov. xx. 28. Mercy sometime to them that sin through weakness, may be as profitable, as severity to them that sin through wilfulness.

It was certainly a cursed speech of that man, or rather monster, whom the Italian orator¹ mentioneth, that being a judge, said, To hang many is my jubilee, and a great execution is my great recreation. The expression of the Roman emperor is worthy of imitation,² That he had rather save the life of one of his subjects, than take away the lives of a thousand of his enemies. Life is a precious jewel, more worth than all this world: 'Skin for skin, and all that a man hath will he give for his life,' Job ii. It is not, therefore, to be taken away for every trifle. I do not now dispute the question, whether any theft may lawfully be punished with death, but I am sure every theft ought not. The Romans had their axes and rods carried before their consuls, to shew that if the lesser punishments, as of the rods, would serve, the greater, of the axe, should not be used. And they did justly lament the cruelty of those tribunals where the cheap proscription of lives made the judgment-seat differ little from a shambles.

3. Work as gods among men in promoting piety to your power. The great design and work of God is to promote holiness in the world. This was his aim in his internal work or his decree, Eph. i. 4. This is the great end he drives at in his external works. As in the work of redemption, Titus ii. 14; Luke i. 74. In bestowing his word; the precepts in it are the perfect rule of godliness, Gal. vi. 16; the promises are precious encouragements to godliness, 2 Cor. vii. 1; the threatenings are like the angel with a drawn sword in his hand to deter men from the way of ungodliness, Rom. i. 18. And his works of providence are to the same purpose. Afflictions are like the fire to consume the dross, and purify the gold, Heb. xii. 6. Mercies are like the warm influences of the vernal sun to draw forth the sap of grace, and hasten men's growth in holiness.

Thus should the gods promote godliness, as the chief business which the most high God hath given them to do. Other things, of what nature soever, which come within the reach of their care, are questions much inferior to this.³ And this they should do, partly

¹ Siles.

² Plut. in Vit. Jul. Cæs.

³ Prima magistratus cura debet esse, religionem veram promovere, et impietatem prohibere.—*Ames. de Consc.*, lib. v. cap. 25. In hoc reges Deo serviunt in quantum reges.—*Aug.*

by their patterns in being examples of godliness to their people; their lives should be so exact that they should be able to say as Gideon, Judges vii. 17, Look on us and do likewise; or as Paul, Walk as ye have us for an example.

Partly by your precepts; your edicts and commands should be like those of Asa, 2 Chron. xiv. 2, 4, 'Asa did that which was right in the sight of the Lord. He commanded Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment.' Mark, upright Asa did not leave men to choose their religions, nor to live as they listed; but he commanded them to obey God's law. He did not strictly enjoin the payment of taxes or customs, and such civil things, and leave it as a matter of indifference whether men would mind religion or no; but his laws did enforce and confirm the laws of God, as far as he was able.

Partly by countenancing, maintaining, and providing able ministers, 2 Chron. xix. 8; 1 Cor. ix. 13, for the church, as also by taking care that they discharge their trusts faithfully, 2 Chron. xxix. 3-5; 1 Chron. xvi. It is observed of Julian, the apostate, that to root up Christianity he disgraced the orthodox ministry, took away Church maintenance, and forbade Christian schools and places of learning; so Sozomen, lib. v. cap. 5. This very course is now cried up; the Lord prevent it! The prince, indeed, is not called to be a public preacher; but he hath a call to see that none abuse that calling to the hurt or poison of his people.

Partly by suppressing and discountenancing them whose doctrines or lives hinder godliness.¹ Suppressing evil is necessary for the promoting good. Holy Asa removed his mother from being queen upon this very account, 1 Kings xv. 12, 13. The toleration of any in such sins is an intolerable sin. And the jealous God will one day make magistrates know that they shall bear his anger, for bearing such evil doers as blasphemers and heretics are.² I speak not against a true Christian liberty in things that are indifferent, or in things that are not fundamental; but I cannot but speak against this antichristian licentiousness, which is, though under other terms, so much pleaded for. It may well make a dumb child speak when his Father is so deeply wounded in his word, honour, people, and ordinances as he is in our days. If state reason compel men to suffer it, they must know that it will prove

¹ Plato would not permit in his commonwealth any such person as asserted God the author of sin.

² Christianus nulla re magis dignosci potest quam si Deo factas contumelias et blasphemias severissime ulciscatur, suas obliviscatur.—*Guevara in ep. ad Cur.* v.

state ruin. Shall it be treason and death to speak thus and thus against men that are mortal, weak gods? and shall it not at all be penal to blaspheme the Almighty and ever-living God, in denying his truths, which are more worth than the whole world? Surely blasphemies, idolatry, and heresies, sins against the first table, are greater, as being more directly and immediately against God, than sins against the second table, and therefore deserve punishments. *Vide* 1 Kings xviii. 18; Exod. xxi. 17; Levit. xxiv. 10-17; Job xxxi. 25-27; Deut. xiii., *per totum*; though care should be first had and means used for the informing and reforming of such offenders.

Suffer me, as Elihu said, Job xxx. 2, 3, a little, and I will shew you what I have to speak on God's behalf. I will fetch my knowledge from Scripture, and will ascribe righteousness to my Maker. Because in our unholy and therefore unhappy days, the very duty which I am urging the magistrate to is questioned, as many other truths are, I shall speak a little to it. This Popish doctrine is now almost generally entertained, that magistrates have nothing to do in matters of religion, as some other Jesuitical tenets are now on foot.¹ Parsons, the English Jesuit, in his memorial for reformation, adviseth that all the colleges in the universities, with their revenues, should not be employed, as now they are, for the encouragement of godliness and learning, but be settled on six men; and also, whatever manor or parsonage belonged to the Church; that no man's conscience be pressed for matters in religion; that there should be no fixed ministers, only some itinerary preachers. This is the way, saith he, for popery to flourish in England, though he nameth more ways. But that magistrates ought to meddle in matters of religion, and promote it to their power, may appear clearly to them that are not wilfully blind:—

First, from the practices of godly rulers. What Asa did hath been already mentioned. Hezekiah was a prince that did also promote piety, 2 Chron. xxix. 2-5, 25, 30, and in 2 Chron. xxx. 5, which places are large, therefore not here recited, but full to our purpose, wherein Hezekiah commanded the Levites to sanctify themselves, to praise the Lord with the words of David, and both priests and people to keep the passover.

So Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31-33, 'And the king stood in his place, and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments.' And, mark, he caused all that were present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it. And the

¹ Princeps nihil statuat de religione, saith Mariana the Jesuit.—*Marian.*, cap. 10.

inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God. And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel. Observe, ‘And made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve the Lord their God. And all his days they departed not from following the Lord.’ He made them to serve the Lord, both by his precepts and by the punishments he inflicted on them that would not. This text can never be answered. All the subtle evasions which Jesuitical heads have used to make it invalid could never do it. For if, as some affirm, it is not binding to us under the New, because it is delivered in the Old Testament, then faith in Christ and repentance, which are the sum and substance of the Old Testament, are void also; and so they may rob us, if we will believe them, both of our Saviour and salvation.¹

Nay, a heathen king enacted a law, that whosoever would not obey the law of God, as well as the law of the king, that judgment should be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or confiscation of goods, or imprisonment: Ezra vii. 26, And for this law holy Ezra blessed God, v. 27; so Ezra vi. 11; Dan. iii. 29.

Besides these patterns in Scripture, we have the like in ecclesiastical writers.² Constantine, a godly emperor, purged the church of idolatry, and established the worship of God by his own imperial commands. Jovinian also, and Theodosius, by their royal edicts, set up and restored the true religion, which Julian and Valens had put down and discountenanced.³

Secondly, The precepts given by God to rulers speak this to be their duty. God commandeth him to write him a copy of the law, Deut. xvii. 18. For what end, but that he might keep it himself, as he is a man, and take care that others should not break it, as he is a magistrate? It was an ancient ceremony in Israel at the king’s coronation, that when the crown was set on his head, the book of God should be given into his hand, 2 Kings xi. 12, to shew that God committed the care of religion principally to him, that by his power and authority it might be established in his dominions.

God commandeth magistrates to be for the good of their subjects, Rom. xiii. 4. For good, that is, for thy natural good, in pre-

¹ It is observable that in the Kings and Chronicles, when Henry VI.* mentioneth the lives of the kings of Israel, he doth in the first place take notice how they dealt in matters of religion, whether they brake down the graven images, or cut down the groves, or took away the high places, or the like.

² Euseb. lib. ii. de vit. Constantini, cap. 44.

³ Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 20.

* Apparently a misprint.—ED.

serving thy life in safety ; for thy civil good, in securing thine estate ; for thy spiritual good, in establishing the true worship of God, as a keeper of the first table.¹ Nay, the way to promote the civil good of a people is by promoting their spiritual good. That commonwealth will certainly stand longest which hath not state policy, but state piety for its foundation. How many nations have confirmed this truth, *Ubi non est sanctitas, pietas, fides, instabile regnum est !* A nation without religion is like a city without walls, naked and open to all enemies ; like a building without a foundation, which will quickly be overthrown. Religion to a people is as the palladium to the Trojans, as the ancile to the Romans, which kept them safe. The want of this overthrew the great monarchies of the world. What, besides this, hath turned so many kingdoms into ruined heaps, and cities into solitary deserts ? If a fruitful land be turned into barrenness, is it not for the iniquity of them that dwell therein ? Ps. cvii. 34. Tully observed,² that the glory of Greece quickly decayed when the people were given to evil opinions and evil manners. Those rulers that tolerate heretical persons do but nourish a snake in their bosoms, and cherish a worm that in time will eat out their own bowels.

Besides, God promiseth that magistrates shall, in the days of the gospel, be nursing fathers and nursing mothers to his church, Isa. xlix. 23, which surely was never meant of procuring only their corporal, but chiefly of promoting their spiritual good.

Oh consider, is it not reasonable as well as religious that you who rule by God should rule for God ?³ that that power which you have received from him should be improved mostly for him ? Remember your time is short, your opportunities are many, your work is great, and your account will be heavy ; therefore, work the work of him that sent you into the world. It was a saying of Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, when he was persuaded to deal moderately with the king, *Clavum teneo et ad somnum me vocas ?* Do I sit at the stern, and would you have me sleep ? Sirs, you steer the rudder of the state ; you sit at the helm of the commonwealth ; should you be sleepy or slothful ? I beseech you to be doing for the furthering piety, and the Lord will be with you.

Now that magistrates may be enabled and incited to walk and to work as gods among men, I shall deliver a few directions, and two or three motives, and then conclude.

¹ Parens on Romans.

² Cicero de legib.

³ Vide Zanch. de Magistrat. Gerh. loc. com. Wallæum de eodem sub. Willet in Rom. xiii., controver. 4.

First, If you would walk and work as gods, then get divine principles. According to your principles, such will your practices be ; water riseth no higher than its fountain. If, therefore, you would walk as gods, and work for God, you must both walk and work from God. If ever the hand of the dial point, and go right without, the wheels and poises must be right within. It is noted of true and sincere saints, that acted for God in the regal office, that their hearts were perfect with the Lord, 1 Kings xv. 14 ; Isa. xxxviii. 3. This spiritual life in their souls made them warm and zealous for their Saviour. Caleb, that followed the Lord fully, had another spirit, a different principle from the ten carnal princes, Num. xiv. 24. Men's actions will then be sacred, when their affections are sanctified. He that followeth God he knoweth not why, will forsake God he knoweth not how. A magistrate that is zealous for God only because the times favour such, may soon be brought to be as zealous against God. He that is not knit to his service with the heart-strings of love, spun out of a renewed nature, will easily be parted from his service. Such slavish spirits will serve God no longer than they can serve themselves of God. When Jehu's interest and God's are conjoined, as in rooting out the idolatry of Baal, how fiery is Jehu ! how furiously doth he drive ! He slayeth all the false prophets, he breaketh down the images of Baal and the house of Baal, and maketh it a draught house, 2 Kings x. 25-27. But when God's interest and Jehu's are divided, as in the calves at Dan and Bethel, there Jehu must be excused ; he will uphold them, as some do by that monster of toleration out of state policy, expecting that they should uphold him, 2 Kings x. 27, 28. But what was the reason of this ? Surely the want of this divine principle. The fire of Jehu's zeal was not lighted at the altar, for then it would have continued burning, but kitchen fire kindled at a common hearth, and therefore would burn no longer than it had such gross matter as his own credit or profit to feed it ; when this fuel was taken away, his fire went out : look in ver. 31, Jehu walked not in the law of the Lord with all his heart ; his heart was not perfect ; it was not cast into the fire of the word, and new moulded by the Spirit of God. The want of this foundation overturned all that beautiful building which Jehu had set up.

It is a question in politics, Whether a wicked man may be a good magistrate ? It is, I suppose, possible for a wicked man when he is in authority to do some good ; but I conceive he will hardly do the good he ought ; or like Caleb, stand for God when the times

are against God, when the people talked of stoning him ; but like the king of Navarre, he will launch no further into the ocean than he can be sure to get back safe. Such a man is like a horse with a thorn in his foot, which may go fairly on in good ways, but if he come to hard ways, he will halt and discover himself. He that hath not gone through the pangs of the new birth, and heartily taken God in Christ for his all, and thereby secured his eternal estate, will scarce hazard his name or estate, much less his limbs or life for God, as he must do that will be faithful unto the death. For with what heart can he look that danger in the face, which, for aught he knoweth, may kill both body and soul ?

Or if he be very bold and venturous for God, yet being an evil man, he can never do good, by all his activeness as a ruler, to his own soul. God may give him parts, and gifts, and courage, as a nobleman giveth dainty fare to his nurse, not out of love to him, but for his children's sake. He may, like a ship, be instrumental to land others at some happy port, whereon it never entereth itself. He may be very helpful to others' temporal, nay, and eternal salvation, and yet miss himself. Jehu, by acting for God, got a lease of an earthly kingdom for three or four lives, but he lost the heavenly one for ever. The most that I know, that a civil, yet unsanctified magistrate, gets by his forwardness and heat for God, is only a cooler hell ; though your names are divine, yet if ye be not partakers of the divine nature, ye are lost for ever. Now, what advantage will it be to you, like Noah's carpenters, to build an ark for the saving of others, and to perish yourselves ?

Believe it, sirs, if ye would have good fruits in your lives, there must be this root of holiness in your hearts. A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things. What water is in the well, such will be in the bucket ; and what ware is in the shop, such will be on the stall ; therefore when God promiseth that men shall walk in his ways, and keep his judgments, and do them ; he promiseth also to put his spirit, or a new spirit into them, which should enable them thereunto, Ezek. xi. 19, and xxxvi. 26, 27. The flesh will serve to enable a man to walk after the flesh ; but the Spirit of God alone can enable a man to walk after the Spirit. Natural light is not sufficient to mortify natural lusts. It may cover for some time, but can never kill sin. Some men may be like the lions in Daniel's den, chained up, or restrained, and yet have their ravenous dispositions, their old carnal hearts still. Civility, though commendable, yet without inward sanctity, is not sufficient to prove one interested in a Saviour, or in a state of salvation.

There is as much difference between a moral man and a real Christian, as between a lifeless picture and a living person. A lion and a lamb, a raven and a dove, darkness and light, death and life, do not differ more than a sinner and a saint, than a man only civilised and a sanctified Christian.

Oh, sirs, think of it seriously, the terms upon which salvation may be had, are the same to you and the meanest beggar,¹ John iii. 3. If heaven be not in you by the indwelling of God's Spirit, renewing you in the spirit of your mind, it is impossible that ever you should be in heaven. The tide of your natures, and the wind of your affections must be turned the clean contrary way to what they are by your birth, if ever you sail to the haven of heaven. Labour therefore as for life, for this principle of spiritual life, without which you cannot escape the second death.

Secondly, If ye would walk and work as gods among men, then your rule must be divine as well as your principle. Every calling hath some rule to go by, in conformity to which their excellency consisteth. The lawyer hath his Littleton and Coke; the physician hath his Galen and Hippocrates; the philosopher hath his Aristotle: the Christian hath the word of God, a sure and a perfect rule to walk by, Gal. vi. 16. And this word of God is in a special manner commended and committed to the magistrate as his Directory. Joshua i. 8, 'This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth,' saith God to the chief governor of Israel, 'but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein; for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.' And Dent. xvii. 18, 19, 'The king that sitteth upon the throne, shall write him a copy of the law. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord, and to keep all the words of this law.'

It is a maxim of the law of England, that the law itself ought to be the rule by which all judges must be regulated, all controversies tried, and all cases decided. It is good to keep close to the laws of men, that are warrantable by Scripture, but it is best to keep close to the word of God. There are the best precepts for justice, the best patterns of just men; nay, and of the infinitely righteous God. You have the example of God himself, how just, how holy he is in all his doings, how he walketh, how he worketh. Caesar's ambition was to imitate Alexander; Themistocles endeavoured to resemble

¹ The smoke of a great man's sacrifice smells never the sweeter before God, because he is perfumed with musk, or clothed in silk.

Miltiades. Do you labour to be like God, to hate sin, to love holiness, to discourage the profane, to countenance the pious, to be active and zealous, both by your patterns and precepts, for the glory of God.

In all your difficulties make the word of God your counsellor; in all your doubts let Scripture resolve you. You may look too much to the light within you, which is imperfect and (1 Tit.) defiled, as Quakers make a Christ of it; but you can never look too much to this light without you, which is perfect and pure, without the least blemish or defect.

The Jews say, that if printing had been found out in the time of Moses, yet was the king bound to write out two copies of the law with his own hand; one to keep in the treasury, and the other to carry about with him as his *vade mecum*. Alphonsus, king of Arragon, as some say, read over the Bible fourteen times with Lyra's notes upon it.¹ And that renowned maiden, Queen Elizabeth, when she passed in triumphal state through the city of London, after her coronation, when the Bible was presented to her at the Little Conduit in Cheapside, she received it with both her hands, and kissing it, laid it to her breasts, saying, that it had ever been her chiefest delight, and should be the rule whereby she would frame her government.² This was the delight, the joy, the counsellor of that magistrate that was after God's own heart, Ps. cxix. 70, and cxi. 24. And this made him wiser than his teachers, than his elders, Ps. cxix. 97-100. And, indeed, this book of books only can make a wise and good Christian, captain, counsellor, and ruler. Let, therefore, the balance of the sanctuary weigh all, the oracles of God decide all, the rule of the word square all, and then nothing will be amiss. Let the Bible be to you as the pillar of fire by night, and the cloud by day to the Israelites, directing you through the wilderness of this world, till ye come to the true Canaan.

It was a memorable saying of King Edward VI.,³ when he was crowned, and had three swords put into his hands, signifying his power over three nations, England, France, and Ireland, *Deest adhuc unus gladius*, viz., *Sacrorum Bibliorum volumen*; *Ille liber gladius Spiritus est, et gladiis his omnibus longe antefereendus*. There is one sword wanting—namely, the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, which excelleth them all.

Thirdly, Let your end be divine as well as your rule, if ye would walk and work as gods among men. The moralists tell us that

¹ Theodosius II. wrote the New Testament out with his own hand.

² Speed Chronic.

³ Baldæ de Script. Brit. cent. ii.

actions are much specified from their ends.¹ If your actions are materially good, yet if finally evil, they are denominated wicked. If they are according to God's word for the matter, yet if ye make not God's glory your end, they are evil. Therefore, if ye would have the arrows of your actions to fly right, let your eyes take right aim at this mark. Do all for God.² *Quicquid agas, propter Deum agas*, saith Luther. As ye are men, ye were created to serve him; as magistrates, doubly bound to honour your great Master. God's free grace is the fountain of your power, and therefore God's glory must be the end. It is reported of Tamerlane, that warlike Seythian, that having overcome Bajazet the great Turk, he asked him, Whether he had ever given God thanks for making him so great an emperor? The great Turk confessed ingenuously that he never thought of it; to whom Tamerlane replied, That it was no wonder so ungrateful a wretch was made a spectacle of misery. For you, saith he, being blind of one eye, and I lame of one leg, was there any worth in us, why God should set us over two great empires, of Turks and Tartars? So truly may you think, it was mere mercy which advanced you more than others, and therefore it is your duty to advance God more than others. If ye love your souls, take heed of self. Oh how many millions by seeking themselves have lost themselves; by seeking their own glory, pleasure, and profit for a time, have brought themselves to shame, pain, and loss to all eternity! Oh beware of this root of bitterness, self. Do not, like Demetrius, pretend to be zealous for the goddess, when in truth it was for his gain. Or like watermen, row one way, towards God, and Christ, and heaven, and look another way, towards the world and the flesh; but give up thyself wholly to him. Lay out thy talents altogether for him; esteem it thy felicity and privilege that thou hast more advantages than others, whereby thou mayest exceed others in serviceableness to thy maker, preserver, and redeemer.

Let that peerless prince be thy pattern, even the Lord Jesus Christ: 'I seek not my own glory,' John viii. 50. And when he came to die, 'Father,' saith he, 'I have glorified thee on earth. I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do,' John xvii.

This was the Father's end in your creation, Prov. xvi. 4; Rev. iv. 11; the Son's end in your redemption, Luke i. 71; 1 Cor. vi. 20; the Spirit's end in your sanctification, Eph. ii. 10; John xvii. 10. Therefore let this be your end: pray, and read, and hear, and watch over your own souls; walk inoffensively before God, work

¹ Actiones specificantur ab objecto, fine, et circumstantiis.—*Eustath.*

² Omnibus operationibus nostris, cælestis intentio adjungi debet.

industriously for God, and do all that God may be glorified, 1 Cor. x. 31.

We call not those kings happy, saith Austin, who reigned long, but those who have reigned most for God;¹ *qui potestatem suam divine majestati famulam faciunt*,—that have made their authority serviceable to the divine majesty. God can easily throw those crowns from men's heads which are not laid at his feet; and he will assuredly lay them low that do not set him high; for those that honour him he will honour, but those that despise him shall be lightly esteemed.

I come now to the motives to stir you up both to walk and work as gods among men.

1. Consider, God beholdeth you this day. He taketh notice, and observeth how ye walk, and how ye work: 'All the ways of man are before the Lord, and he pondereth all his paths,' Prov. v. 21. Be your works what they will be, God seeth them, and he weigheth them in the balance of the sanctuary; and that beam will discover it, if they be never so little too light.

He beholdeth not only your practices, but your principles; he knoweth what is the wind which causeth the mill to go; he knoweth by what rule, and for what end, and from what principle ye act; all things are *γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχλησμένα*, 'naked and open in the eyes of him with whom we have to do,' Heb. iv. 13. The words are very emphatical, and signify thus much: that as the lineaments and outside of the body is very visible when it is naked and unclothed, and as the bowels and inside are discovered when the body is dissected and anatomised, so are both your outwards and inwards, your actions and affections, manifest, naked, and open to God.

Nay, he beholdeth what ye do in the dark. You may work so cunningly, as to hide your designs and works from men, but not from God; there is no darkness nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity can hide themselves, Job xxxiv. 22. This sun knoweth no night, no darkness. Wherever he is,—and he is infinite and omnipresent,—it is light, and day; therefore the eyes of Christ, Rev. i. 14, are said to be as a flame of fire, implying his omniscience, and that he is able to disperse all darkness. For philosophy and experience teach us that those creatures which have fiery eyes can see in the dark; and the reason is clear, because they do not see as we do, *recipiendo species ab objecto, sed extra-mittendo species*, by receiving species from the object, but by sending out species or rays, which do both enlighten the medium, the air, and

¹ Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. iii. cap. 24.

apprehend the object. Thus Christ seeth in the dark, ye see; 'yea, the darkness hideth not from him, but the night shineth as the day; to him the darkness and the light are both alike,' Ps. cxxxix. 12.

Ponder, then, this omnipresence and omniscience of God, and walk before him, and be upright, Gen. xvii. 1. The moralist would have his scholars to live always as in the eye of Cato: Oh do you live ever as in the eye of God! Beware what thou doest, for God seeth thee. 'God standeth in the congregation; he judgeth among the gods,' Ps. lxxxii. 1. He judgeth among you, he is present with you; not always in regard of approbation, for your deeds may be evil, but always in regard of observation.

This was Jehoshaphat's argument to incite his judges to care and caution: 2 Chron. xix. 6, 'Take heed what ye do; for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment.' He is with you in the judgment; with you to commend and praise you if ye do well, to condemn and punish you if you do ill, to observe and take notice whether ye do well or ill. As if Jehoshaphat had said, I cannot ride circuit with you, nor be present with you in all your councils; but the Lord, a greater than I, can, and doth: he is with you in the judgment: 'Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed, and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts,' ver. 7.

When the Ethiopian judges were set in their seats of judicature,¹ certain empty chairs were placed about them, some say twelve, into which they imagined the holy angels came. And this they hoped would work in their magistrates circumspection, and fear of doing anything unworthy the angels' eye observation. I must tell you a greater than angels is here, even the God of angels; therefore be wary and watchful; take heed what ye do.

Among the Egyptians it is reported,² when their rulers were set, they caused the image of a divine numen to be hung about his neck who sat next to the judges. The Deity is ever near you, with you, among you. Let the consideration thereof quicken you to zeal and faithfulness in all your transactions.

This made David, the king of Israel, so upright and holy in his conversation: 'I have kept thy precepts, for all my ways are before thee,' Ps. cxix. 168. Observe his holy carriage, I have kept thy precepts; and its heavenly cause, for all my ways are before thee; or, as in another place, 'I have set the Lord always before me,'

¹ Quintus Pius in 2 Chron. xix.

² Diodor. Sicul., lib. i.

Ps. xvi. 8. As if he had spoken: I have not done what seemed good in my own eyes; I have not walked according to my own will, but my race hath been according to the rule which thou hast prescribed me. I have kept thy precepts, for I considered thou wast an ear-witness to my words; therefore I did set a watch before my lips, that I might not offend with my tongue: that thou wast an eye-witness to my works, therefore I endeavoured that my feet might not decline thy paths: that thou wast an heart-witness to my thoughts, therefore I durst not let vain thoughts lodge within me: 'I have kept thy precepts, for all my ways are before thee,' &c.

Surely, if Alexander's empty chair, which his captains, when they met in council, set before them, did cause them to be kept in such good order, what behaviour should the presence of God cause among the gods!

The Jews covered Christ's face, and then they buffeted him: men hide God from their eyes, and think to hide themselves from God's eyes, and then make bold to provoke him.

Believe it, reader, God seeth thee whatever thou dost; he is present with thee wherever thou art. When thou art in thy closet, in thy family, among thy neighbours; when thou art punishing drunkards or swearers in the parish where thou livest, when thou art sitting on the bench at the sessions or assize, he observeth in what manner thou actest, whether coldly and carelessly, as one indifferent about the discouraging of sin,—though sin deal not so mildly with men, when it turneth them into intolerable and eternal flames;—or whether diligently and fervently, as one fired with love to his majesty, and zeal for his glory, and hatred of iniquity. He observeth from what principle thou actest, whether from nature or grace; and for what end thou actest, whether thy own or his glory; whether it be to please such a man, or the blessed God; whether to get thyself a name, or to make his name great.

Job hath a notable expression—I wish it were written on every magistrate's heart:—'He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous, but with kings are they on the throne,' Job xxxvi. 7. He is *totus oculus*, all eye; he seeth you through and through. His eyes are with kings on the throne, to observe what the king doth there; to see whether justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne; whether the sceptre of his kingdom be a righteous sceptre; whether he be clothed with grace as with a garment, and arrayed with purity as well as purple; to see whether the zeal of God's house do eat him up, Ps. lxxix. 9, and he prefer the spiritual before the temporal good of his people; to see whether he will suffer them to

be lawless in religion, and allow, out of hellish policy, that which is destructive to piety, even a cursed toleration.

God's eye, sirs, may well make you look well to your walking, to your hands and hearts. Are uncleanness, injustice, oppression, lukewarmness, atheism, bribery, fit objects for God's eye? It was ordered in the law of Moses, that when any went forth of the camp to ease nature, they should dig a hole with a paddle, and cover it; and the reason is given: 'For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp; therefore shall it be holy, that he see no unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee,' Deut. xxiii. 13, 14. This law noteth how the presence of God should keep us from polluting ourselves. Sin is the soul's excrement; God's walking among us should work in us a hatred of such defilements.

God's eye may make you work as gods among men. Cæsar's soldiers were prodigal of their blood when he beheld them. How bold should ye be in the discouraging the sturdiest, stateliest offenders! how forward in the countenancing the poorest, pious Christian, considering that God beholdeth you!

Epaminondas rejoiced much that he had done noble exploits, his parents being alive to take notice of them. What noble acts soever are done, for the promoting godliness, for the stopping the mouth of wickedness, by the children of the Most High, are all known to the ever-living Father, who recordeth them faithfully, and will reward them bountifully. Be therefore exact in your walkings, and zealous in your working, 'since your labour shall not be in vain for the Lord,' 1 Cor. xv. 58.

Secondly, Consider the day of your dissolutions is hastening. While ye are creeping only in God's way, or doing negligently God's work, death is posting with speed towards you. Consider the verse following the text; though he hath said, Ye are gods, and called you children of the Most High, yet ye must die like men. Your honours and your worships, your majesties and your highnesses, must shortly lie in the dust, and be as low as the meanest. Diseases spare none for their fine clothes, high places, or great estates, and the cannon of death doth as soon hit the great commanders as the common soldier; it maketh no difference. Charles the Great, Pompey the Great, and Alexander the Great, were all little in death's hands. Men in places of greatest power are not persons privileged from the arrest of this surly sergeant.

Ye that are divine in name have human mortal natures; and as ye are shields of the earth, so ye are earthen shields. What is said of the duke of Parma's sword, is true of death: it maketh no differ-

ence between robes and rags, between prince and peasant: it is the way of all the earth, Joshua xxv. 14; the great road in which all travel, and the end of all the living, Job xxx. 23; the great inn to which all travel. 'There is no man,' saith Solomon, 'that hath power of his spirit, to retain it, neither hath he power in the day of death; there is no discharge in that war,' Eccles. viii. 8.

It is storied of Alexander,¹ that having heard of Paradise, he was very eager of seeking it out, and for that end came into the east part of the earth, when an old man, meeting some of his soldiers, bade them tell Alexander that he sought Paradise in vain; for the way to Paradise was the way of humility, which he did not take: but, saith he, Take this stone and carry it to Alexander, and tell him that from this stone he shall know what he is. Now the stone was a precious stone, and of such a quality that whatsoever thing was weighed with it, that was still the heavier, only if it were covered with dust, then it was as light as straw; thereby signifying that though Alexander, and men in authority, outweigh others in life, yet when they are covered with dust, when death cometh, they are as light as others; all their greatness cometh to nothing. Oh how little earth containeth great men when they die, who will not be contented with much while they live!

If, then, ye must die shortly, doth it not behove you to live strictly? If your time be little, should not your work be great for God and your souls? Whether thou wilt think of it or no, death is approaching thee; the sun doth not move faster in the heavens than thou art moving to the earth. The glass of thy life, for aught thou knowest, is nigh its last sand. Sure I am thou art now nearer thine unchangeable estate than ever thou wert; and doth it not concern thee to walk exactly among men, and to work industriously for God? Oh how much wilt thou wish at an hour of death that thou hadst walked humbly with God, and wrought hard for the Lord all the time of thy life!

It is observed among the papists that the cardinals, who think their cowl and other religious habits ill becoming them in their health, yet are very ambitious to die and be buried in them: and I have taken notice in several churches, where are the monuments of great persons, that their effigies must be erected kneeling, with a Bible in their hands, holding their hands up to heaven, and looking very devoutly with their eyes up to the same place; when I have heard of some of them, how profane and atheistical they were in their lives; that they used the name of God often in

¹ Quin. Curt.

swearing, but seldom in praying, and prized a romance or a play-book above, and read them oftener than, the Bible. Truly thus it is; piety that is trampled under feet by you now in your health and life, believe it, will be a pearl of great price with you in your sickness and death; then you will think the holiest man the happiest man; the precisest Christian in the most blessed condition; then you would willingly change states with them which are now objects of your scorn; then you will wish that you had denied yourselves, crucified the flesh, glorified God, and walked after the Spirit; that you had spent that time in praying and reading which you have spent in carding or dicing, or vain recreations; that you had improved that wealth and strength in the service of your Saviour, for the honour of God, and welfare of your soul, which have been laid about the world and your lusts. O sirs, when this time cometh, you will have other thoughts of sin and holiness, than now ye have! Sin will not be so pleasant and lovely, nor holiness so mean and unworthy as now it is in your eyes.

Probably you can hear of death by the reports of others, and be little troubled;¹ ye can stand it out stiffly against such false fire, with, We must all die, and nothing so sure; God knoweth who shall go next; and the like: all this while the heart not with seriousness considering of it, so as to be preparing for it; the soul as much neglected, God as little regarded, and the affections as much enslaved to fleshly lusts as before. But when death, that king of terrors and terror of kings, climbs up to your own windows, and entereth into your chamber, and cometh with its pale face to your bed-side, and boldly arresteth you with a warrant from heaven, assuring you by its symptoms on your body that you must in good earnest into the other world, and there have all your walkings and workings interpreted and examined by the infinitely pure and righteous God, and your souls, according to your deeds, sentenced impartially, and sent immediately to heaven or hell; then surely your apprehensions of a new nature, and strict conversation, will change, and you will wish, with all your souls, for a little of others' oil, for your lamps will go out. The stoutest unregenerate heart alive will droop at last, when God cometh to take away his soul; then his crest falls, and his plumes flag.

Now, possibly thy cup overfloweth, thou hast a large portion of the good things of this world, and they have so much of thy heart that thou art little troubled about the things of the other world;

¹ As birds build in steeples, and are never troubled at the noise of bells, being used to it; nor ye at the sight of graves or coffins.

the table of thy life now is richly spread with honours, pleasures, relations, possessions, and these have the largest share in thy heart; in these thou solacest thyself, desiring no other heaven: but what wilt thou do when death shall come with a voider and take all away, even all thy treasure on earth? Then thou wilt wish thou couldst find a treasure in heaven, that thou mightest die the death of the righteous, and have thy latter end like his: but oh, friend, thou shouldst then have lived their lives, and have had thy conversation like theirs: as the crab in the fable told the serpent, who, when she had received her death's wound for her crooked conditions, stretched out herself straight, *at oportuit sic vixisse*, that she should have been straight in her lifetime. The way to make thy death comfortable is to make thy life serviceable to God and thy soul. He that would enjoy true rest when he dieth, must labour faithfully and diligently whilst he liveth. It will be like a dagger at the heart in an hour of death to reflect upon the talents misemployed, and opportunities misimproved, which free grace afforded you for the honouring of God and furthering of your own salvations. Sins of omission will wound deeper at a dying hour than most are aware of. God hath committed a great trust to you, and the day of your lives is the only time of discharging it; besides, ye know not how few hours ye may have to your day, whether it shall be a winter or a summer day; the shadows of the evening may suddenly stretch themselves upon you, and then it will be no longer day; therefore work the work of him that sent you into the world while it is day, for the night cometh wherein no man can work, John ix. 4. Is it not sad that our common observation should be so much verified in the practices of great men, that bells strike thick while they are rising, but stand still and give no sound at all when they are at full pitch. That magistrates should, like the sun, the higher in the zodiac, move the slower.

The more noble creatures are, the more active they are; men more active than beasts, angels than men. One I remember observeth, that God would not accept the first-born of an ass, because it was a dull slothful creature. The Spirit of God, which is in all that are sanctified, is compared to fire, Acts ii.; therefore they that would not grieve it, must not be slothful in business, but fiery, fervent (seething hot, as the word signifieth) in spirit, serving the Lord, Rom. xii. 11. Hence it was that the church of Ephesus got letters testimonial from heaven, Rev. ii. 2, 'I know thy works and thy labour, how thou canst not bear them that are evil.' And

indeed the more good a justice hath in himself, the less he will bear with evil in others.

Augustine hath a true saying, *Qui non zelat, non amat*: he that is not zealous for God, hath no true love to God; for though love be a passion, yet it delighteth to shew itself in acting for the party beloved.

When Calvin grew sickly, some friends dissuaded him from hard studying, but he gave them this answer, *Vultisne Christum me invenire otiosum*: would you have Christ, when he comes to me by death, to find me idle? so do ye think that when sinners, Jehu-like, drive furiously, ye should not, like Egyptians, go heavily, lest death find you idle. Observe what became of the idle servant that hid his talent in a napkin, Mat. xxv. 30; he was punished with an eternal long night, who would not work in his short day.

3. Consider the day of judgment. God will then search and sentence you, discover and reward you according to your works. Ye that examine and try others, shall then be examined and tried yourselves, and ye that acquit or condemn others, shall then be acquitted or condemned yourselves.

How should this thought move you to walk exactly, since your hearts shall be anatomised, and your lives manifested before God, angels, and men! Could ye but, as Jerome, hear the sound of the last trump always in your ears, 'Arise ye dead, and come to judgment,' surely ye would be holy judges and justices indeed. Peter maketh this argument a strong enforcement to holiness: 2 Pet. iii. 10, 11, 'The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works therein shall be burnt up. Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness?' Observe the certainty of it, the day of the Lord will come. If it were doubtful, it would not be so dreadful; but it will come surely, though it come slowly, therefore men had need to be holy. Tertullian observed of all those that professed Christianity in his time, none lived so loosely as those that did not believe the certainty of the day of judgment. But observe, 2, the suddenness of it: The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; when men at midnight are securely sleeping, they dream not of, nor prepare for, a thief. It is sometimes called a day, Mat. xxv. 13, *propter revelationem secretorum*—things that are now dark and secret, shall be then as clear and apparent as at noonday. The fire of that day will make things legible which

are written with the juice of lemons. In the spring-time both wholesome roots and poisonous will be discovered, which all the winter of this life were hid. The books of God's omniscience and man's conscience, saith one, shall be then opened, and secret sins shall be then as legible as if it were written with the brightest star, or the most glittering sunbeams upon a wall of crystal, Eccles. xii. 14. And it is said to be at night, *propter improvisionem*, &c., because of most men's unpreparedness for it. The destruction of this new world by fire will find men generally in the same careless, carnal, secure, sensual condition, as did the destruction of the old world by water, Luke xxi. 35; as the snare on a sudden catcheth the bird, so will that day of the Lord seize on such beasts. Observe, 3, the dreadfulfulness of it, 'The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth and the works thereof shall be burnt up.' Well may it be called the great and terrible day of the Lord, when the Judge will be a consuming fire, Heb. xii. 29; and shall come in flaming fire, 1 Thes. i. 6, 7; try them by a fiery law, Deut. xxxiii. 2; before a tribunal of fire, Ezek. i. 27; plead with them in flames of fire, Isa. lx. 15; and condemn ungodly ones to eternal fire. Oh how dreadful is the voice and noise of fire! Fire in the night! How fearful and frightful, then, will such fires at the day of judgment be! As often as I think of that day, my whole body trembleth, saith Jerome.¹ Observe, 4, the apostle's inference from it, 'What manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness!' as if he had said, We had need to have grace in truth, that must undergo such a trial. We that must meet with so strict and dreadful an examination, had need to be holy to admiration: 'What manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness!'

Surely, if any argument imaginable can persuade to purity, this terrible day can do it. The sound of the last trump may well cause a retreat, and call us off from an eager pursuit of the flesh and the world, Eccles. xi. 9; and it may also stir you up to purity, if you would meet Christ at that day in peace. The throne of Christ is a white throne, Rev. xx. 11, and oh, with what trembling heart wilt thou, oh black sinner, stand before this white throne: 1 Pet. iv. 18, 'If the righteous be scarcely saved (not in regard of the uncertainty, but difficulty,) where shall the sinner and ungodly appear?' Surely the drunkard's cup then will be wormwood, not wine. The sentence on the swearer, then, will be of cursing, not

¹ Quoties diem illum considero, toto corpore contremisco.—*Jerome*.

blessing. As he loved cursing now, so then will it come to him ; the adulterer's pleasure now will then prove poison ; and the prayerless man now will then pray hard ; work in prayer for some ease, some end, if not a pardon, yet a reprieve for one hour, at least one drop of water to cool his tongue ; but he shall work at the labour in vain, and be eternally denied.

Oh look therefore, and make sure of true holiness, of the power of godliness ; for the fire of that day will discover whether you are dross or gold. Look that the rule by which you walk be right, even the word of God, for by that you shall be judged for your eternal life or death, John xii. 36.

Ah, how exactly shouldst thou live, that must be tried for thine endless estate by so strict a law !

How diligently shouldst thou keep thy heart, knowing that God will judge the secrets of thy heart ! Rom. ii. 16. How carefully shouldst thou keep the door of thy lips, considering that of every—not only swearing or cursing, but—idle word, which thou shalt speak, thou shalt give account at the day of Christ ! Mat. xii. 35. How wary shouldst thou be in all thy deeds, believing that thou shalt appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, to give an account of everything done in the body of flesh, whether it be good, or whether it be evil ! 2 Cor. v. 10. So think, so speak, so act, as one that must be judged for all at the great day of Christ.

This may likewise incite you to work as gods amongst men, because at that day Christ will come, and his reward will be with him, to give to every one according to his works, Rev. xxii. 12. Your actions now are seed ; if ye would reap liberally on that great harvest-day, ye must sow liberally in this seed-time. Christ will then demand how ye improved the many advantages and opportunities which he put into your hands, for the magnifying his name, countenancing his people, propagating his gospel, punishing his enemies, and discouraging the workers of iniquity. He will ask you why at such a time, when you knew his name was blasphemed, his day was profaned, his ministers and ordinances were trampled upon, you never stirred, or were zealous for their vindication. You thought it was good sleeping in a whole skin ; you were loath to offend your neighbours, or you were unwilling to get the ill-will of great ones, that under pretence of love to all the people of God, would have his blasphemous adversaries spared, nay encouraged. See whether that Jesuitical tenet, that magistrates must only be second-table men, that they have nothing to do in matters of religion, will hold water at that day. Oh how exceedingly will such be ashamed of it then,

who now own it in their principles and practices! Possibly thou art one of that heathen Gallio's disciples, that would meddle in matters of wrong, but sit still in matters of religion: Acts xviii. 14, 17, 'Gallio cared for none of those things.' I must tell thee thou art like then to find hell hot, for thy being so cold in the cause of the blessed and glorious God.

Oh think of that day, and let it move thee to a faithful, zealous discharge of thy duty. Zaleucus Locrensis, in his proem to his laws, hath these words: 'Let this be often pressed upon men, that there are gods, and that an account must be given to them of men's actions.'¹ Consider the day of the Lord is coming, and who may abide it! In a word, 'Hear the conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man: For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil,' Eccles. xii. 13, 14.

² Hoc inculcatum sit esse deos, et venturum esse summum et fatalem illum diem.