

*A Sermon Preached to the Honourable  
Company of the Virginian Plantation.  
13° November 1622. By John Donne  
Deane of St. Pauls, London.*

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[DEDICATORY EPISTLE]

*To the HONORABLE COMPANY OF THE  
VIRGINIAN PLANTATION*

*By your favours, I had some place amongst you, before: but now I am an Adventurer; if not to VIRGINIA, yet for VIRGINIA; for, every man, that Prints, Adventures. For the Preaching of this Sermon, I was but under your Invitation; my Time was mine owne, and my Meditations mine owne: and I had beene excusable towards you, if I had turnd that Time, and those Meditations, to GODS service, in any other place. But for the Printing of this Sermon, I am not onely under your Invitation, but under your Commandement; for, after it was preach'd, it was not mine, but yours: And therefore, if I gave it at first, I doe but restore it now. The first was an act of Love; this, of Justice; both which Vertues, Almighty God evermore promote, and exalt in all your proceedings. Amen.*

Your humble Servant  
in Christ Jesus

JOHN DONNE

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ACTS 1.8. *BUT YEE SHALL RECEIVE POWER,  
AFTER THAT THE HOLY GHOST IS COME  
UPON YOU, AND YEE SHALL BE WITNESSES  
UNTO ME BOTH IN JERUSALEM, AND IN ALL  
JUDEA, AND IN SAMARIA, AND UNTO THE  
UTTERMOST PART OF THE EARTH.*

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**T**HERE ARE reckoned in this booke, 22. *Sermons of the Apostles*; and yet the booke is not called the *Preaching*, but the *Practise*, not the *Words*, but the *Acts* of the *Apostles*: and the *Acts* of the *Apostles* were to convay that name of *Christ Jesus*, and to propagate his *Gospell*, over all the world: Beloved, you are *Actors* upon the same Stage too: the uttermost part of the Earth are your *Scene*: act over the *Acts* of the *Apostles*; bee you a light to the *Gentiles*, that sit in darkenesse; be you content to carry him over these *Seas*, who dryed up one *Red Sea* for his first people, and hath powred out another *red Sea*, his owne bloud, for them and us. When man was fallen, *God* clothed him; made him a Leather Garment; there *God* descended to one occupation; when the time of mans redemp-  
tion was come, then *God*, as it were, to house him, became a *Carpenters Sonne*; there *God* descended to another occupation. Naturally, without doubt, man would have beene his own Taylor, and his owne Carpenter; something in these two kinds man would have done of himselfe, though hee had no patterne from *God*: but in preserving man who was fallen, to this redemption, by which he was to be raisd, in preserving man from perishing, in the Flood, *God* descended to a third occupation, to be his *Shipwright*, to give him the modell of a Ship, an *Arke*, and so to be the author of that, which man himselfe in likelihood, would never have thought of, a means to passe from *Nation* to *Nation*. Now, as GOD taught us to make cloathes, not onely to cloath our selves, but to cloath him in his poore and naked members heere; as *God* taught us to build houses, not to house

our selves, but to house him, in erecting *Churches*, to his glory: So *God* taught us to make *Ships*, not to transport our selves, but to transport him, *That when wee have received power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon us, we might be witnesses unto him, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

As I speake now principally to them who are concernd in this *Plantation* of *Virginia*, yet there may be divers in this Congregation, who, though they have no interest in this *Plantation*, yet they may have benefit and edification, by that which they heare me say, so *Christ* spoke the words of this *Text*, principally to the *Apostles*, who were present and questioned him at his *Ascencion*, but they are in their just extention, and due accomodation, appliable to our present occation of meeting heere: As *Christ* himselfe is *Alpha*, and *Omega*, so first, as that hee is last too, so these words which he spoke in the *East*, belong to us, who are to glorifie him in the *West*; *That we having received power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon us, might be witnesses unto him, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

The first word of the *Text* is the *Cardinall* word, the word, the *hinge* upon which the whole *Text* turnes; The first word, *But*, is the *But*, that all the rest shoots at. First it is an *exclusive* word; something the *Apostles* had required, which might not bee had; not that; And it is an *inclusive* word; something *Christ* was pleasd to affoord to the *Apostles*, which they thought not of; not that, not that which you beat upon, *But*, but yet, something else, something better then that, you shall have. That which this but, *excludes*, is that which the *Apostles* expresse in the *Verse* immediatly before the *Text*, *a Temporall Kingdome*; *Wilt thou restore againe the kingdome of Israel?* No; not a temporall Kingdome; let not the riches and commodities of this World, be in your contemplation in your adventures. Or, because they aske more, *Wilt thou now restore that?* not yet: If I will give you riches, and commodities of this world, yet if I doe it not at first, if I doe it not yet, be not you discouraged; you shall not have *that*, that is not *Gods* first intention; and though that be in *Gods* intention, to give it you hereafter, you shall not have it yet; thats the *exclusive* part; *But*; there enters the *inclusive*, *You shall receive*

*power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and you shall bee witnesses unto mee, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.* In which second part, we shall passe by these steps; *Superveniet Spiritus, The holy Ghost shall come upon you, The Spirit shall witnesse to your Spirit,* and rectifie your Conscience; And then, by that, you shall receive *power;* A new power besides the power you have from the *State,* and that power shall enable you, to be witnesses of *Christ,* that is, to make his doctrine the more credible, by your testimony, when you conforme your selves to him, and doe as hee did; and this witnesse you shall beare, this conformity you shall declare, first in *Jerusalem,* in this *Citie;* And in *Iudæa,* in all the parts of the *Kingdome;* and in *Samaria,* even amongst them who are departed from the true worship of *God,* the *Papists;* and to the uttermost part of the Earth, to those poore *Soules,* to whom you are continually sending. Summarily, If from the *Holy Ghost* you have a good testimony in your owne Conscience, you shall be witnesses for *Christ,* that is, as he did, you shall give satisfaction to all, to the *Citie,* to the *Countrey,* to the *Calumniating Adversary,* and the *Naturals* of the place, to whom you shall present both *Spirituall* and *Temporall* benefit to. And so you have the *Modell* of the whole frame, and of the partitions; we proceede now to the furnishing of the particular roomes.

### 1. Part.

First then, this first word, *But,* excludes a temporall Kingdome; the *Apostles* had filld themselves with an expectation, with an ambition of it; but that was not intended them. It was no wonder, that a woman could conceive such an expectation, and such an ambition, as to have her two sonnes sit at *Christs* right hand, and at his left, in his Kingdome, when the *Apostles* expected such a Kingdome, as might affoord them honours and preferment upon Earth. More then once they were in that disputation, in which *Christ* deprehended them, *Which of them should bee the greatest in his Kingdome.* Neither hath the *Bishop of Rome,* any thing, wherein he may so properly call himselfe *Apostolicall,* as this error of the *Apostles,* this their infirmitie, that he is evermore too conversant upon the contemplation of temporall Kingdomes. They did it all the way, when

*Christ* was with them, and now at his last step, *Cum actu ascendisset*, when *Christ* was not *Ascending*, but in part *ascended*, when one foot was upon the Earth, and the other in the cloud that tooke him up, they aske him now, wilt thou at this time, restore the Kingdome? So women put their husbands, and men their fathers, and friends, upon their torture, at their last gaspe, and make their death-bed a rackinge to make them stretch and encrease joyntures, and portions, and legacies, and signe Schedules and Codicils, with their hand, when his hand that presents them, is ready to close his eyes, that should signe them: And when they are upon the wing for heaven, men tye lead to their feet, and when they are laying hand-fast upon *Abrahams* bosome, they must pull their hand out of his bosome againe, to obey importunitie of men, and signe their papers: so undeterminable is the love of this World, which determines every minute. GOD, as hee is three persons, hath three Kingdomes; There is *Regnum potentiae*, The Kingdome of power; and this wee attribute to the *Father*; it is power and providence: There is *Regnum gloriae*, the Kingdome of glorie; this we attribute to the *Sonn* and to his purchase; for he is *the King* that shall say, *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdome prepared for you, from the foundation of the World*. And then betweene these there is *Regnum gratiae*, The kingdome of Grace, and this we attribute to the *Holy Ghost*; he takes them, whom the king of power, Almighty *God* hath rescued from the *Gentiles*, and as the king of grace, *Hee gives them the knowledge of the misterie of the kingdome of GOD*, that is, of *future glory*, by sanctifying them with his grace, in his *Church*. The two first kingdomes are in this world, but yet neither of them, are of this world; because both they referre to the kingdome of glory. The kingdome of the *Father*, which is the providence of *God*, does but preserve us; The kingdome of the *Holy Ghost* which is the grace of *God*, does but prepare us to the kingdome of the *Sonne*, which is the glory of GOD; and thats in heaven. And therefore, though to good men, this world be the way to that kingdome, yet this kingdome is not of this world, sayes Christ himselfe: Though the *Apostles* themselves, as good a *Schoole* as they were bred in, could never take out that lesson, yet that lesson *Christ* gives, and repeates to all, you seeke a Temporall kingdome, *But*, sayes the Text, stop there, A kingdome you must not have.

Beloved in him, whose kingdome, and Ghospell you seeke to advance, in this Plantation, our *Lord* and *Saviour Christ Iesus*, if you seeke to establish a temporall kingdome there, you are not rectified, if you seeke to bee *Kings* in either acceptation of the word; To be a *King* signifies *Libertie* and *independency*, and *Supremacie*, to bee under no man, and to be a *King* signifies *Abundance*, and *Omnisufficiencie*, to neede no man. If those that governe there, would establish such a government, as should not depend upon this, or if those that goe thither, propose to themselves an exemption from Lawes, to live at their libertie, this is to be *Kings*, to devest *Allegeance*, to bee under no man: and if those that adventure thither, propose to themselves present benefit, and profit, a sodaine way to bee rich, and an abundance of all desirable commodities from thence, this is to bee sufficient of themselves, and to need no man: and to be under no man and to need no man, are the two acceptations of being *Kings*. Whom liberty drawes to goe, or present profit drawes to adventure, are not yet in the right way. O, if you could once bring a *Catechisme* to bee as good ware amongst them as a bugle, as a knife, as a hatchet: O, if you would be as ready to hearken at the returne of a *Ship*, how many *Indians* were converted to *Christ Iesus*, as what Trees, or druggs, or Dyes that Ship had brought, then you were in your right way, and not till then; *Libertie* and *Abundance*, are Characters of kingdomes, and a kingdome is excluded in the *Text*; The *Apostles* were not to looke for it, in their employment, nor you in this your Plantation.

At least CHRIST expresses himselfe thus farre, in this answer, that if he would give them a kingdome, hee would not give it them yet. They aske him, *Wilt thou at this time, restore the kingdome?* and hee answers, *It is not for you to know the times:* whatsoever God will doe, Man must not appoint him his time. The *Apostles* thought of a *kingdome* presently after *Christs* departure; the comming of the *Holy Ghost*, who ledd them into all truthes, soone deliver'd them of that error. Other men in favour of the *Iewes*, interpreting all the prophesies, which are of a *Spirituall kingdome*, the kingdome of the *Gospell*, (into which, the *Iewes* shall be admitted) in a literall sense, have thought that the *Iewes* shall have, not onely a temporall kingdome in the same place, in *Ierusalem* againe, but because they find

that kingdome which is promised, (that is the kingdome of the *Gospel*) to bee expressed in large phrases, and in an abundant manner, applying all that largenesse to a temporall kingdome, they thinke, that the *Iewes* shall have such a kingdome, as shall swallowe and annihilate all other kingdomes, and bee the sole *Empire* and *Monarchy* of the world. After this, very great men in the *Church* upon these words, of One thousand yeares after the Resurrection, have imagin'd a *Temporall Kingdome* of the *Saints of God* heere upon Earth, before they entred the joyes of Heaven: and Saint *Augustine* himselfe, had at first some declinations towards that opinion, though he dispute powerfully against it, after: That there should bee *Sabbatismus in terris*; that as the world was to last Sixe thousand yeares in troubles, there should be a Seventh thousand, in such joyes as this world could give.

And some others, who have avoided both the *Temporall kingdome* imagin'd by the *Apostles*, presently after the *Ascension*, And the *Emperiall kingdome* of the *Iewes*, before the *Resurrection*, And the *Carnall kingdome* of the *Chiliasts*, the *Millenarians*, after the *Resurrection*, though they speake of no kingdome, but the true kingdome, the kingdome of glory, yet they erre as much in assigning a certaine time when that kingdome shall beginne, when the ende of this world, when the Resurrection, when the Judgement shall be. *Non est vestrum nosse tempora*, sayes *Christ* to his *Apostles* then; and lest it might be thought, that they might know these things, when the *Holy Ghost* came upon them, *Christ* denies that he himselfe knew that, as *Man*; and as *Man*, *Christ* knew more, then ever the *Apostles* knew. Whatsoever therefore *Christ* intended to his *Apostles* heere, hee would not give it presently, *non adhuc*, hee would not binde himselfe to a certaine time, *Non est vestrum nosse tempora*, It belongs not to us to know *Gods* times.

Beloved, use godly meanes, and give *God* his leisure. You cannot beget a Sonne, and tell the Mother, I will have this Sonne born within five Moneths; nor, when he is borne, say, you will have him past daunger of *Wardship* within five yeares. You cannot sow your Corne to day, and say it shall bee above ground to morrow, and in my Barne next weeke. Howe soone the best Husbandman, sow'd the

best Seede, in the best ground? GOD cast the promise of a *Messias*, as the seede of all, in Paradise; *In Semine Mulieris; The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpents head*; and yet this *Plant* was Foure thousand yeares after before it appeared; this *Messias* Foure thousand yeares before he came. GOD shew'd the ground where that should growe, Two thousand yeares after the Promise; in *Abrahams Family; In semine tuo, In thy Seed all Nations shall be blessed.* God hedg'd in this Ground almost One thousand yeares after that; In *Micheas* time, *Et tu Bethlem, Thou Bethlem shalt bee the place;* and *God* watered that, and weeded that, refreshed that dry expectation, with a Succession of *Prophets*; and yet it was so long before this *expectation of Nations*, this *Messias* came. So GOD promised the *Iewes* a Kingdome, in *Jacobs* Prophecie to *Iuda, That the Scepter should not depart from his Tribe.* In Two hundred yeares more, he saies no more of it; then he ordaines some institutions for their *King*, when they should have one. And then it was Foure hundred yeares after that, before they had a *King*. GOD meant from the first howre, to people the whole earth; and *God* could have made men of clay, as fast as they made Brickes of Clay in *Egypt*; but he began upon two, and when they had beene multiplying and replenishing the Earth One thousand sixe hundred yeares, the *Flood* washed all that away, and GOD was almost to begin againe upon eight persons; and they have serv'd to people *Earth* and *Heaven* too; Bee not you discouraged, if the Promises which you have made to your selves, or to others, be not so soone discharg'd; though you see not your money, though you see not your men, though a *Flood*, a *Flood of bloud* have broken in upon them, be not discouraged. Great Creatures ly long in the wombe; *Lyons* are litterd perfit, but *Beare-whelpes* lick'd unto their shape; actions which Kings undertake, are cast in a mould; they have their perfection quickly; actions of private men, and private purses, require more hammering, and more filing to their perfection. Onely let your principall ende, bee the propagation of the *glorious Gospell*, and though there bee an *Exclusive* in the *Text*, GOD does not promise you a *Kingdome, ease, and abundance* in all things, and that which he does intend to you, he does not promise presently, yet there is an *Inclusive* too; not that, *But*, but something equivalent at least,

*But yee shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and yee shall be witnesses unto me, both in Ierusalem, and in all Iudæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

## 2. Part.

Now our *Saviour Christ* does not say to these men, since you are so importunate you shall have *no Kingdome; now nor never*; tis, *not yet*; *But*, he does not say, you shall have *no kingdome, nor any thing else*; tis *not that*; *But*: the importunitie of beggers, sometimes drawes us to such a foward answer, for this importunitie, I will never give you any thing. Our patterne was not so foward; hee gave them not that, but as good as that. *Samuel* was sent to superinduct a *King* upon *Saul*, to annoint a new King. Hee thought his *Commission* had bene determined in *Eliab*, *Surely this is the Lords Anointed*. But the *Lord* said, not he; nor the next, *Aminadab*; nor the next, *Shammah*; nor none of the next seven; *But*; but yet there is one in the field, keeping sheepe, annoint him; *David* is he. Saint *Paul* prayed earnestly, and frequently, to be discharged of that *Stimulus Carnis*: *God* saies no; *not that*; but *Gratia mea sufficit*, Thou shalt have grace to overcome the temptation, though the temptation remaine. *God* sayes to you, *No Kingdome*, not *ease*, not *abundance*; nay *nothing at all yet*; the Plantation shall not discharge the Charges, not defray it selfe yet; but yet already, now at first, it shall conduce to great uses; It shall redeeme many a wretch from the Jawes of death, from the hands of the Executioner, upon whom, perchaunce a small fault, or perchance a first fault, or perchance a fault heartily and sincerely repented, perchance no fault, but malice, had otherwise cast a present, and ignominious death. It shall sweep your streets, and wash your dores, from idle persons, and the children of idle persons, and employ them: and truely, if the whole Countrey were but such a *Bridewell*, to force idle persons to work, it had a good use. But it is already, not onely a *Spleene*, to draine the ill humors of the body, but a *Liver*, to breed good bloud; already the employment breeds Marriners; already the place gives essayes, nay Fraytes of Marchantable commodities; already it is a marke for the Envy, and for the ambition of our Enemies; I speake but of our *Doctrinall*, not *Nationall* Enemies; as they are *Papists*, they are sory we have this Countrey; and surely, twenty Lec-

tures in matter of Controversie, doe not so much vexe them, as one Ship that goes, and strengthens that Plantation. Neither can I recommend it to you, by any better *Rhetorique* then their malice. They would gladly have it, and therefore let us bee glad to hold it.

Thus then this *Text* proceedes, and gathers upon you. All that you would have by this Plantation, you shall not have; GOD bindes not himselfe to measures; All that you shall have, you have not yet; GOD bindes not himselfe to times, but something you shall have; nay, you have already, some great things; and of those that in the *Text* is, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon you*. Wee find the *Holy Ghost* to have come upon men, foure times in this Booke. First, upon the *Apostles* at *Pentecost*. Then, when the whole Congregation was in prayer for the imprisonment of *Peter* and *Iohn*. Againe, when *Peter* preached in *Cornelius* his house, the *Holy Ghost fell upon all them that heard him*. And fourthly, when Saint *Paul* laid his hands upon them, who had beene formerly baptized at *Ephesus*. At the three latter times, it is evident that the *Holy Ghost* fell upon whole and promiscuous Congregations, and not upon the *Apostles* onely: and in the first, at *Pentecost*, the contrary is not evident; nay, the Fathers, for the most part, that handle that, concurre in that, that the *Holy Ghost* fell then upon the whole Congregation, men and women. The *Holy Ghost* fell upon *Peter* before hee preach'd, and it fell upon the hearers when he preach'd, and it hath fallen upon every one of them, who have found motions in themselves, to propagate the *Gospell of Christ Jesus* by this meanes. The *Sonne of GOD* did not abhorre the *Virgins* wombe, when hee would be made man; when he was man, he did not disdaine to ride upon an *Asse* into *Ierusalem*: the third person of the *Trinity*, the *Holy Ghost* is as humble as the second, hee refuses *Nullum vehiculum*, no conveyance, no doore of entrance into you; whether the example and precedent of other good men, or a probable imagination of future profit, or a willingnes to concurre to the vexation of the Enemie, what collaterall respect soever drew thee in, if now thou art in, thy principall respect be the glory of God, that occasion, whatsoever it was, was *vehiculum Spiritus Sancti*, that was the Petard, that broke open thy Iron gate, that was the Chariot, by which he entred into thee, and now hee is fallen upon thee, if thou do not *Depose*, (lay aside all consideration of profit for ever, never to looke

for returne) No not *Sepose*, (leave out the consideration of profit for a time) (for that, and Religion may well consist together,) but if thou doe but *Post-pose* the consideration of temporall gaine, and study first the advancement of the *Gospell* of *Christ Jesus*, the *Holy Ghost* is fallen upon you, for by that, *you receive power*, sayes the *Text*.

There is a *Power* rooted in *Nature*, and a *Power* rooted in *Grace*; a power yssuing from the Law of *Nations*, and a power growing out of the *Gospell*. In the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, A Land never inhabited, by any, or utterly derelicted and immemorially abandoned by the former Inhabitants, becomes theirs that wil posesse it. So also is it, if the inhabitants doe not in some measure fill the Land, so as the Land may bring foorth her increase for the use of men: for as a man does not become proprietary of the Sea, because he hath two or three Boats, fishing in it, so neither does a man become Lord of a maine Continent, because hee hath two or three Cottages in the Skirts thereof. That rule which passes through all *Municipal Lawes* in particular States, *Interest reipublicæ ut quis re sua bene utatur*, *The State must take order, that every man improove that which he hath, for the best advantage of that State*, passes also through the Law of *Nations*, which is to all the world, as the *Municipall Law* is to a particular State, *Interest mundo, The whole world, all Mankinde must take care, that all places be emprov'd, as farre as may be, to the best advantage of Mankinde in generall*. Againe if the Land be peopled, and cultivated by the people, and that Land produce in abundance such things, for want whereof their neghbours, or others (being not enemies) perish, the Law of *Nations* may justifie some force, in seeking, by permutation of other commodities which they neede, to come to some of theirs. Many cases may be put, when not onely *Commerce*, and *Trade*, but *Plantations* in lands, not formerly our owne, may be lawfull. And for that, *Accepistis potestatem*, you have your *Commission*, your *Patents*, your *Charters*, your *Seales* from *him*, upon whose acts, any private Subject, in Civill matters, may safely rely. But then, *Accipietis potestatem*, *You shall receive power*, sayes the *text*; you shall, when the *Holy Ghost* is come upon you; that is, when the instinct, the influence, the motions of the *Holy Ghost* enables your Conscience to say, that your principall ende is not gaine, nor glory, but to gaine Soules to the glory of GOD, this Seales

the great Seale, this justifies Justice it selfe, this authorises Authoritie, and gives power to strength it selfe. Let the Conscience bee upright, and then *Seales*, and *Patents*, and *Commissions* are wings; they assist him to flye the faster; let the Conscience be lame, and distorted, and he that goes upon *Seales*, and *Patents*, and *Commissions*, goes upon weake and feeble crouches. When the *Holy Ghost* is come upon you, your Conscience rectified, you shall have *Power*, a new power out of that; what to doe? that followes, to bee *witnesses unto Christ*.

*Infamy* is one of the highest punishments that the Law inflicts upon man; for it lyes upon him even after death: *Infamy* is the worst punishment, and *Intestabilitie*, (to be made *intestable*) is one of the deepest wounds of *infamy*; and then the worst degree of *intestabilitie*, is not to bee beleaved, not to bee admitted to be a witnesse of any other: he is *Intestable* that cannot make a *Testament*, not give his owne goods; and hee *Intestable* that can receive nothing by the *Testament* of another; hee is *Intestable*, in whose behalfe no testimony may be accepted; but he is the most miserably *Intestable* of all, the most detestably intestable, that discredits another man by speaking well of him, and makes him the more suspitious, by his commendations. A *Christian* in profession, that is not a *Christian* in life, is so intestable, hee discredits *Christ*, and hardens others against him. *John Baptist* was more then a *Prophet*, because he was a *Witnessse* of *Christ*; and he was a *Witnessse*, because hee was like him, he did as hee did, he lead a holy and a religious life; so he was a *Witnessse*. That great and glorious name of *Martyr*, is but a *Witnessse*. Saint *Stephen* was *Proto-martyr*, *Christs* first *Witnessse*, because hee was the first that did as he did, that put on his colours, that drunke of his *Cup*, that was baptised with his *Baptisme*, with his owne bloud: so hee was a *Witnessse*. To be *Witnessses* for *Christ*, is to be like *Christ*; to conforme your selves to *Christ*; and they in the Text, and you, are to be *witnesses of Christ in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth*.

Saint *Hierome* notes that *John Baptist* was not bid to beare witnesse in *Ierusalem*, in the *Citiie*, but in the *Wildernessee*; he, and none but he: there were but few men to witnes to there; and those few that were, came thither with a good disposition to be wrought upon there; and there there were fewe witnesses to oppose *Johns* Testi-

mony, few temptations, few worldly allurements, few worldly businesses. One was enough for the *Wildernes*; but for *Ierusalem*, for the *Citie*, where all the excuses in the *Gospell* doe alwaies meete, they have bought commodities, and they must utter them, they have purchased Lands, and they must state them, they have maried Wives, and they must study them, to the *Citie*, to *Ierusalem*, *Christ* sends all his *Apostles*, and all little inough. Hee hath sent a great many *Apostles*, *Preachers*, to this *Citie*; more then to any other, that I know. *Religious persons* as they call them, *Cloistered Friars* are not sent to the *Citie*; by their first *Canons*, they should not preach abroad: but for those who are to doe that service, there are more in this *Citie*, then in others, for there are more *Parish Churches* heere then in others. Now, beloved, if in this *Citie*, you have taken away a great part of the revenue of the *Preacher*, to your selves, take thus much of his labour upon your selves to, as to preach to one another by a holy and exemplar life, and a religious conversation. Let those of the *Citie*, who have interest in the Government of this *Plantation*, be *Witnesses* of *Christ* who is *Truth it selfe*, to all other *Governours of Companies*, in all true and just proceedings: that as CHRIST said to them who thought themselves greatest, *Except you become as this little Childe*, so we may say to the *Governours* of the greatest Companies, Except you proceed with the integrity, with the justice, with the clearnesse, of your *little Sister*, this *Plantation*, you doe not take, you doe not follow a good example. This is to beare witnesse of *Christ* in *Ierusalem*, in the *Citie*, to bee examples of *Truth*, and *Justice*, and *Clearenesse*, to others, in, and of this *Citie*.

The *Apostles* were to do this in *Iudæa* too, their service lay in the *Country* as well as in the *Citie*. Birds that are kept in cages may learne some Notes, which they should never have sung in the Woods or Fields; but yet they may forget their naturall Notes too. *Preachers* that binde themselves alwaies to *Cities* and *Courts*, and *great Auditories*, may learne new Notes; they may become *occasionall Preachers*, and make the emergent affaires of the time, their *Text*, and the humors of the hearers their *Bible*; but they may loose their Naturall Notes, both the *simplicitie*, and the *boldnesse* that belongs to the Preaching of the *Gospell*: both their power upon lowe understandings to raise them, and upon high affections to humble them. They

may thinke that their errand is but to knocke at the doore, to delight the eare, and not to search the House, to ransacke the conscience. *Christ* left the *Ninetie and nine* for one Sheepe; populous *Cities* are for the most part best provided; remoter parts need our labour more, and we should not make such differences. *Yeoman*, and *Labourer*, and *Spinster*, are distinctions upon Earth; in the Earth, in the grave there is no distinction. The *Angell* that shall call us out of that dust, will not stand to survay, who lyes naked, who in a Coffin, who in Wood, who in Lead, who in a fine, who in a courser Sheet; In that one day of the Resurrection, there is not a forenoone for Lords to rise first, and an afternoone for meaner persons to rise after. *Christ* was not whip'd to save Beggars, and crown'd with Thornes to save Kings: he dyed, he suffered all, for all; and we whose bearing witnesse of him, is to doe, as hee did, must conferre our labours upon all, upon *Ierusalem*, and upon *Iudæa* too, upon the *Citie*, and upon the *Country* too. You, who are his witnesses too, must doe so too; preach in your just actions, as to the *Citie*, to the *Country* too. Not to seale up the secrets, and the mysteries of your businesse within the bosome of *Merchants*, and exclude all others: to nourish an incompatibility betweene *Merchants* and *Gentlemen*; that *Merchants* shall say to them in reproach, you have plaid the *Gentlemen*, and they in equall reproach, you have playd the *Merchant*; but as *Merchants* growe up into worshipfull Families, and worshipfull Families let fall branches amongst *Merchants* againe, so for this particular Plantation, you may consider *Citie* and *Country* to bee one body, and as you give example of a just government to other companies in the *Citie*, (thats your bearing witnesse in *Ierusalem*,) so you may be content to give reasons of your proceedings, and account of moneyes levied, over the *Country*, for thats your bearing witnes in *Iudæa*.

But the *Apostles Dioces* is enlarged, farther then *Ierusalem*, farther then *Iudæa*, they are carried into *Samaria*; *you must beare witnesse of me in Samaria*. Beloved, when I have remembred you, who the *Samaritans* were, Men that had not renounced GOD, but mingled other *Gods* with him, Men that had not burnt the Law of GOD, but made Traditions of Men equall to it, you will easily guesse to whom I apply the name of *Samaritans* now. A *Jesuit* hath told us (an ill Intelligencer I confesse, but even his Intelligencer, the *Devill* him-

selfe, sayes true sometimes) *Maldonate* sayes, the *Samaritans* were odious to the *Iewes*, upon the same grounds as *Heretiques* and *Scismatiques* to us; and they, we know were odious to them for mingling false *Gods*, and false worships with the true. And if that be the Caracter of a *Samaritan*, wee knowe who are the *Samaritans*, who the *Heretiques*, who the *Scismatiques* of our times. In the highest reproach to *Christ*, the Jewes said, *Samaritanus es & Dæmonium habes, Thou art a Samaritan & hast a Devill.* In our just detestation of these *Men*, we justly fasten both those upon them. For as they delight in lies, and fill the world with weekely rumors, *Dæmonium habent*, they have a *Devill, quia mendax est & pater eius.* As they multiply assassinats upon Princes, and Massacres upon people, *Dæmonium habent*, they have a *Devill, quia homicida ab initio:* as they tosse, and tumble, and dispose kingdomes, *Dæmonium habent*, they have a *Devill, Omnia hæc dabo* was the Devils complement: but as they mingle truthe and falsehoods together in Religion, as they carry the word of GOD, and the Traditions of Men, in an even balance, *Samaritani sunt*, they are *Samaritanes*. At first *Christ* forbad his *Apostles*, to goe into any Citie of the *Samaritans*: after, they did preach in many of them. Beare witnesse first in *Ierusalem*, and in *Iudæa*; give good satisfaction especially to those of the houshold of the faithfull, in the *Citie* and *Countrey*, but yet satisfie even those *Samaritans* too.

They would be satisfied, what Miracles you work in *Virginia*; and what people you have converted to the *Christian Faith*, there. If we could as easily cal naturall effects Miracles, or casuall accidents miracles, or Magical illusions, miracles, as they do, to make a miraculous drawing of a tooth, a miraculous cutting of a corn, or, as *Iustus Baronius* saies, when he was converted to them, that he was miraculously cur'd of the *Cholique*, by stooping to kisse the *Popes* foot, If we would pile up Miracles so fast, as *Pope John 22.* did in the Canonization of *Aquinas*, *Tot Miracula confecit, quot determinavit quæstiones*, he wrought as many miracles, as he resolv'd questions, we might find Miracles too. In truth, their greatest Miracle to me, is, that they find men to beleeve their miracles. If they rely upon miracles, they imply a confession that they induce new doctrines; that that is old and receiv'd, needs no miracles; If they require miracles, because,

though that be ancient Doctrine, it is newly broght into those parts, we have the confession of their *Iesuit, Acosta*, that they doe no miracle in those *Indies*, and he assignes very good reasons, why they are not necessary, nor to bee expected there. But yet beare witnesse to these *Samaritans*, in the other point; labour to give them satisfaction in the other point of their chardge, What Heathens you have converted to the Faith, which is that which is intended in the next, which is the last branch, *You are to be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, & in all Judæa, & in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.*

Litterally, the *Apostles* were to bee such witnesses for *Christ*: were they so? did the *Apostles* in person, preach the *Gospell*, over all the World? I know that it is not hard to multiply places of the *Fathers*, in confirmation of that opinion, that the *Apostles* did actually, and personally preach the *Gospell* in all Nations, in their life. *Christ* saies, *the Gospell of the Kingdome shall be preach'd in all the World*; and there hee tels the *Apostles*, that they shall see something done, after that; Therefore they shall live to it. So he saies to them, *You shal be brought before Rulers and Kings for my sake*; but the *Gospell* must first be published among all Nations: In one *Evangelist* there is the *Commission*; *Preach in my name to all Nations*. And in another, the *Execution* of this *Commission*, *And they went and preach'd every where*. And after the *Apostle* certifies, and returnes the execution of this *Commission*, *The Gospell is come and bringeth forth fruit to all the world*: and upon those, and such places, have some of the *Fathers* beene pleasd, to ground their literall exposition, of an actuall and personall preaching of the *Apostles* over all the world. But had they dream'd of this world which hath been discover'd since, into which, wee dispute with perplexitie, and intricacy enough, how any men came at first, or how any beastes, especially such beastes as men were not likely to carry, they would never have doubted to have admitted a *Figure*, in that, *The Gospell was preached to all the world*; for when *Augustus* his Decree went out, *That all the world should bee taxed*, the Decree and the Taxe went not certainly into the *West Indies*; when *Saint Paul* sayes, *That their Faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*, and that *their obedience was come abroad unto all men*, surely the *West Indies* had not heard of the *faith* and the *obedience* of the *Romanes*. But as in *Moses* time, they

call'd the *Mediterranean Sea*, the *great Sea*, because it was the greatest that those men had then seene, so in the *Apostles* time, they call'd that all the world, which was knowne and traded in then; and in all that, they preach'd the *Gospell*. So that as *Christ* when he said to the *Apostles*; *I am with you, unto the end of the World*, could not intend that of them in person, because they did not last to the ende of the world, but in a succession of Apostolike men, so when he sayes, the *Apostles* should preach him to all the world, it is of the *Succession* too.

Those of our profession that goe, you, that send them who goe, doe all an *Apostolicall* function. What action soever, hath in the first intention thereof, a purpose to propagate the *Gospell* of *Christ Jesus*, that is an *Apostolicall* action; Before the ende of the world come, before this mortality shall put on immortalitie, before the Creature shall be delivered of the bondage of corruption under which it groanes, before the Martyrs under the Altar shalbe silenc'd, before al things shal be subdued to *Christ*, his kingdome perfited, and the last Enemy Death destroied, the *Gospell* must be preached to those men to whom ye send; to all men. Further and hasten you this blessed, this joyfull, this glorious consummation of all, and happie reunion of all bodies to their Soules, by preaching the *Gospell* to those men. Preach to them Doctrinally, preach to them Practically; Enamore them with your *Justice*, and, (as farre as may consist with your security) your *Civilitie*; but inflame them with your *godlinesse*, and your *Religion*. Bring them to *love* and *Reverence* the name of that *King*, that sends men to teach them the wayes of *Civilitie* in this world, but to *fear* and *adore* the Name of that *King of Kings*, that sends men to teach them the waies of Religion, for the next world. Those amongst you, that are old now, shall passe out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of that Common Wealth, and of that Church, though they live not to see the groath thereof to perfection: *Apollos* watred, but *Paul* planted; hee that begun the worke, was the greater man. And you that are young now, may live to see the Enemy as much impeach'd by that place, and your friends, yea Children, aswell accommodated in that place, as any other. You shall have made this *Island*, which is but as the *Suburbs* of the old world, a Bridge, a Gallery to the new; to joyne

all to that world that shall never grow old, the Kingdome of heaven, You shall add persons to this Kingdome, and to the Kingdome of heaven, and adde names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the Booke of Life.

To end all, as the *Orators* which declaimd in the presence of the *Roman Emperors*, in their *Panegyriques*, tooke that way to make those *Emperours* see, what they were bound to doe, to say in those publique Orations, that those *Emperors* had done so, (for that increased the love of the Subject to the Prince, to bee so tolde, that hee had done those great things, and then it convayd a Counsell into the Prince to doe them after) As their way was to procure things to bee done, by saying they were done, so beloved I have taken a contrary way: for when I, by way of exhortation, all this while have seem'd to tell you what should be done by you, I have, indeed, but told the Congregation, what hath beene done already: neither do I speake to move a wheele that stood still, but to keepe the wheele in due motion; nor perswade you to begin, but to continue a good worke, nor propose forreigne, but your own Examples, to do still, as you have done hitherto. For, for that, that which is especially in my contemplation, the conversion of the people, as I have receiv'd, so I can give this Testimony, that of those persons, who have sent in moneys, and conceal'd their names, the greatest part, almost all, have limited their devotion, and contribution upon that point, the propagation of Religion, and the conversion of the people; for the building and beautifying of the house of GOD, and for the instruction and education of their young Children. *Christ Jesus himselfe is yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever.* In the advancing of his glory, be you so to, yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever, here; and hereafter, when time shall be no more, no more yesterday, no more to day, yet for ever and ever, you shall enjoy that joy, and that glorie, which no ill accident can attaine to diminish, or Eclipse it.

### *Prayer.*

We returne to thee againe, O GOD, with *praise* and *prayer*; as for all thy mercies from before minutes began, to this minute, from our Election to this present beame of Sanctification which thou hast shed upon us now. And more particularly, that thou hast afforded us that

great dignity, to be, this way, witnesses of thy Sonne *Christ Jesus*, and instruments of his glory. Looke gratiouly, and looke powerfully upon this body, which thou hast bene now some yeares in building and compacting together, this Plantation. Looke gratiouly upon the Head of this Body, our *Soveraigne* and blesse him with a good disposition to this work, and blesse him for that disposition: Looke gratiouly upon them, who are as the *braine* of this body, those who by his power, counsell and advise, and assist in the Government thereof: blesse them with [a] disposition to unity and concord, and blesse them for that disposition: Looke gratiouly upon them who are as *Eyes* of this Body, those of the *Clergy*, who have any interest therein: blesse them with a disposition to preach there, to pray heere, to exhort every where for the advancement thereof, and bless them for that disposition. Blesse them who are the *Feete* of this body, who goe thither, and the *Hands* of this body, who labour there, and them who are the *Heart* of this bodie, all that are heartily affected, and declare actually that heartinesse to this action, blesse them all with a cheerefull disposition to that, and bless them for that disposition. Bless it so in this calme, that when the tempest comes, it may ride it out safely; blesse it so with friends now, that it may stand against Enemies hereafter; prepare thy selfe a glorious harvest there, and give us leave to be thy Labourers, That so the number of thy *Saints* being fulfilled, wee may with better assurance joyne in that prayer, *Come Lord Iesus come quickly*, and so meet all in that kingdome which the Sonne of GOD hath purchased for us with the inestimable price of his incorruptible bloud. To which glorious Sonne of GOD, &c. *Amen.*

FINIS.