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Barclay's Apology

FOR THE

TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY,

AS PROFESSED BY THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

ABRIDGED

BY

GEORGE HARRISON.

Second Edition.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HARVEY AND DARTON, GRACECHURCH-STREET;

AND SOLD BY

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1822.

PREFATORY ADDRESS

TO THE READER.

I AM aware that some men of erudition and of leisure, entertain an unfavourable opinion of abridgments, and, as it respects works of science, this opinion has some weight; but, in application to tracts on religion and morals, I think there is just ground to doubt its propriety. Is it not obvious, that if the quintessence of many valuable works, ancient and modern, on religious and moral subjects, were comprised and dispersed in an octavo volume, greater and more general advantage would accrue to the community at large, than by the original works, which are much confined to the shelves of expensive libraries, in the shape of ponderous quartos and folios?

But in any case, to render an abridgment acceptable, the original should be of acknowledged reputation and utility. These qualities will not be denied to *Barclay's Apology*, first published in the year 1678; and yet it is not read so generally as it deserves to be, owing, it may be presumed, to its having been composed in a manner, though very suitable to the state of literature in the seventeenth

century, yet not adapted to the taste of reading in the present times. With some, and those not a few, the length of the work may be an objection; for which reason it may fail of being useful to families, and persons unacquainted with learned subjects; and yet these are the people, as has been elsewhere justly observed, who seem most to stand in need of a clear and judicious explanation of the principles of religion, and on whom the practice of it should be enforced by the most convincing arguments.

It seems proper to apprise the reader, that in contracting the work and forming this abridgment, care has been used to reject nothing which amounts to an argument, or which is not elsewhere implied or insisted on.

The authorities of the Fathers I have not considered of essential import, agreeably to the sentiment of our Author himself, who, in speaking of the Fathers, very frankly says, that "there are few of them to be found, who do not only frequently contradict one another, but themselves also."—

PROP. x. Sec. 22. Moreover, in speaking of the Scriptures, he says: "For our parts, we are very willing that *all* our doctrines and practices be tried by them;" and further: "We do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversy among Christians," (PROP. iii. Sec. 6.) conformably to the observation of Chillingworth, that the Bible contains the religion of Protestants. And if I may use the

expression, I should say, that the New Testament is the Magna Charta of Christians*. Without some particular interposition of Providence, in what darkness would the world at this time be involved, if the illumination of the Scriptures had been withheld! and by what perplexities have authors embarrassed themselves and their readers, by extending the field of controversy, in regard to the tenets of the Christian religion, beyond the limits of Scripture!

Let none, therefore, (to use a term frequently adopted by our Author,) *sottishly* decry learning in the knowledge of Hebrew and Greek; seeing, without it we should never have had one sentence of the Old or New Testament, in our own or any other modern language. What then would have become of the glorious attempt to diffuse the knowledge of the Scriptures to the uttermost limit of the habitable world!

It is strange that any serious person, in his zeal for religion, should endeavour to form an argument against the utility of learning. Whoever is conversant with the pages of Sacred History, must have

* Bishop Andrews, disputing with Cardinal Perron about ceremonies, urged, that man ought not to add to God's word, lest he lose his part in the Book of Life. The politic Cardinal asked, Why then do you retain the cross in baptism? The Bishop answered, Because authority enjoins it. And for the same reason, replied the Cardinal, do we retain all the rest of the ceremonies.

remarked three notable instances of men of great distinction for learning being selected by Divine Wisdom, for purposes of the highest importance to religion and morals.

Not to mention any others, Moses, Daniel, and the apostle Paul, are such instances. The first, largely imbued with the learning of Egypt, the school of literature and science in the Heathen world, was the appointed lawgiver of the children of Israel. Of him, that eminent scholar Dionysius Longinus testifies, *that he was no common man**. The second lived in a country where learning and the sciences were successfully cultivated; in these Daniel was pre-eminently distinguished, and qualified to achieve the purposes of Divine Wisdom.

The apostle Paul, more learned unquestionably than any of the apostles, and accurately versed in the rabbinical doctrines, is a signal instance of the importance of learning, when sanctified and directed to the purpose of promoting the cause of religion and virtue. He was commissioned the Apostle to the Gentiles, the qualified instrument to spread the glad tidings of the gospel, and to promulgate the doctrines of Christ to the nations around, amongst whom the Greek was at that time generally spoken or understood.

In the writings of the Greek authors, Paul was obviously conversant, as appears by the frequent

* ο των Ιεδαιων θεσμοδετης, εχ ο τυχων ανηρ.—Longinus.

quotations from them, incorporated with his Epistles. The same learned author, Longinus, places him amongst the most distinguished characters of Greece; after naming Demosthenes, Lysias, Æschines, Aristides, and others, he classes with them Paul of Tarsus*.

Learning and science, like all other qualifications, may be perverted and abused; they are, therefore, no certain or necessary guides to the individual accomplishment of that most important of all purposes, the purpose of religion; but sanctified to us by divine goodness, they are of most essential benefit. Here let it be noted, that before they can be sanctified to us, we must possess them. But let me be correctly understood: I do not speak of learning and science as convertible terms with that knowledge, of which the prophet under divine commission speaks, when he says: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected

* προς τετοις Παυλος ο Ταρσευς, ου τινι και πρωτον φημι προΐσχυμενον δογματος αναποδεικτη.—Longinus.

On the preceding quotation the Editor thinks it incumbent upon him to remark, that although it stands in both Pearce's and Toup's editions of Longinus, as a fragment, contained in a manuscript copy of the Gospels, preserved in the Vatican library, yet Fabricius declares that it is not genuine; and Dr. Lardner, whose authority is of the first order, seems to coincide with him in opinion.

See Lardner's Works, 8vo. edit. vol. 8. pp. 166, 167.

Fabricius, Bib. Græc. tom. 4. p. 445.

knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me.”—HOSEA. Let us not, however, abandon the hope, that in the providential arrangement and ordination of human affairs, that happy period spoken of by the evangelical prophet will arrive, when “wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times.”—ISAIAH.

To shew, however, that little stress need be laid on the jarring opinions of the Fathers, it is quoting no ordinary authority in Biblical criticism, when I adduce the testimony of Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff, who says, that, “as interpreters of Scripture, the Fathers are far inferior to the moderns.”

Theological Tracts, 2nd Edit. Vol. 6. Catalogue of Books, in Divinity, under article “*Patrum qui temporibus Apostolicis, &c.**.”

It was observed, by that eminent character, Chillingworth: “I see plainly, and with my own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a consent of Fathers of one age against a consent of Fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age†.”

* I determined to study nothing but my Bible, being much unconcerned about the opinions of councils, fathers, churches, bishops, and other men, as little inspired as myself.

DR. WATSON, *Landaff*.

† Whoever wishes to form a correct opinion of the authority and fallibility of councils, whether general, national, provincial,

I think it would be needless to add any further vindication of the propriety of omitting, in this argumentative and methodical compendium of Christian doctrine, the quotations from the Fathers; nor should I have thought it necessary to say so much respecting them, but in deference to the opinion of those who are unwilling to forego the authorities of the Fathers, when they rank in their own favour.

There are other parts not essential to the argument, which have also been omitted, and the remarkable redundancy of our Author's style has afforded ample scope for abridgment.

The formal syllogisms, also, which give a stiffness to the work, have generally been dropped, but the substance retained.

By these means the work has been so much contracted, and that, as it is conceived, without abating the strength or symmetry of the ancient fabric, that it is hoped no person, who relishes sound argument in support of the truths of Christianity, and, connected therewith, the most important interests of mankind, will find it a task to peruse this abridgment, which the candid reader is requested to receive, as it is intended, for the purpose of information and edification, not of controversy.

It must, indeed, be admitted, that instruction

or diocesan, would do well to consult the valuable work of Bishop Taylor, on the Liberty of Prophesying, Sect. 6.

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given in a flowing, easy style, is more accordant with the taste of the times ; but it may, perhaps, be assumed, that such instruction is more evanescent and less impressive, than that which is derived through the medium of a composition requiring a more close exercise of the understanding in the enquiry after truth: a hope is therefore entertained, that the reader, whose mind is receptive of conviction, and seriously intent upon religious improvement, will take up this volume with a disposition duly to appreciate cogency of argument without the ornament of style.

And when the extraordinary occurrences of the times press upon the mind considerations other than those of a temporal nature, and when pernicious tenets are diffused with uncommon assiduity, a manual of faith and doctrines, like the present volume, may be of some use in the community, to promote correctness of thinking, and Christian rectitude of conduct, equally free from the influence of superstition and infidelity : doctrines which, being fairly deducible from the writings of the evangelists and apostles, will stand the test of time and the assaults of opposition, whatever, in the lapse of years, may be the practice and conduct of those who profess them ; and who will do well never to forget that our Author wrote his book as an Apology for the *True Christian Divinity*, to promote the practical knowledge of which has been the sincere purpose of this abridgment.

I have been solicitous, for the sake of the less opulent classes of the community, to bring this work into such a compass, as may place it, in point of price, within their reach; for, generous as this nation is in administering to the manifold wants of the poor, to an extent and diversity perhaps unprecedented in the annals of mankind; and notwithstanding the happiness and good order of society so much depend upon their instruction; yet, though much has been done of late years, much remains to be done, in regard to the moral and religious education of the lower orders, whose *eternal* happiness is of equal importance with that of the highest order of human beings; for in the immensity of eternity all temporal distinctions sink and vanish. This sentiment may, in the present state of existence, be confirmed to our understandings, if we only suppose one of the highest and one of the lowest order of the human race upon their knees, in supplication to the throne of grace; when we may be assured, that the sovereign prince and the abject child of poverty, will find and feel themselves equally distant from the glorious source of mercy and of love; and in the solemn judgment to come, the former must stand divested of all temporal distinction of superiority over the latter.

Let the poor then entertain a just sense of the dignity of their nature, and consider themselves equally called to glory and to virtue; capable, as the

Scriptures teach, of becoming “heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.”

What a striking lesson to the pride of man, and what consolation to the friendless and indigent, to reflect, that the King of Kings, the Lord of Life and Glory, was brought forth in a stable, on a bed of straw, a species of accommodation within the reach of the meanest mortals; and even afterwards, this divine person had not whereon to lay his head!

Perhaps it is a singular instance in the history of religion in modern times, that the society, for an explanation and vindication of whose principles and doctrines this Apology was intended, want not, in the performance of their worship, the aid of man, nor can they be deprived of the benefit of such worship by the power of man. The qualification for true worship is as a dew from the Lord, *that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.*

This abridgment has been formed, chiefly from the eighth edition of the Apology, printed in 1780, but with frequent reference to the Latin original, by which a number of errors in the English edition has been corrected; but, in whatever manner it may appear to have been executed, certain it is, that an abridgment of Barclay’s Apology, as a methodical, and at the same time a brief exposition, as well as vindication, of the religious principles of those with whom the Author professed, has long been a work looked for by many judicious men, warmly interested in the prosperity and diffusion of

truth, and sincerely attached to the cause of Christianity.

It will not be deemed improper here to observe, that our Author was a man, not only of distinguished talents, much improved by a classical education, but of a remarkably mild disposition and great suavity of manners; if, therefore, the reader should feel his mind disturbed, or unpleasantly affected, by the severity of any strictures which remain in the following work, upon the opinions or conduct of any description of Christian professors, it is hoped that he will ascribe it less to the habit of the writer than to the temper of the times, when theological controversy was conducted with too much asperity, even on the side of truth.

GEO. HARRISON.

WEST HILL,
WANDSWORTH.

N.B. The Editor wishes to apprise the reader, that the society of the people called Quakers are in no degree implicated by what is said in the preceding Address, or in the Notes contained in the following work, or by the manner in which the Abridgment is executed.

Prefixed to the following work is the Address of the Author to King Charles the Second, which is not unworthy the attention of those who by Divine Providence are entrusted with the exercise of power and authority in the affairs of mankind.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

OF the purpose contemplated by the following work, sufficient has probably been said in the preface to the former edition; in which it may have appeared that the essential integrity of our eminent author's ancient fabric has been cautiously and strictly preserved; and the Editor believes he is warranted in saying, that this volume, in its present form, contains a more concise and complete explication of the religious principles and doctrines of the people with whom our author professed, than any that is extant.

This explication is supported by solid reasoning and cogent arguments, adapted to the understandings of learned and unlearned, and peculiarly deserving the deep attention of the descendants of the author's fellow-professors, respecting whom, as a religious society, the Editor is induced to state the truth, be the inference what it may; and state he does, without meaning the least disparagement to any other class or denomination of Christians. Under this impression then, he has no hesitation in saying, that the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, have deserved well of their country; for where, in the king's dominions, is there a body of people, the individuals of which, aged, middle aged

and young, male and female, who have come forward with more alacrity—with more activity and practical effect, in promoting the numerous institutions of their native land? such as are calculated to alleviate the distresses, and to improve the moral and religious habits of their fellow-subjects: so that though the number of the society in Great Britain and Ireland is very small, comparatively with the whole population, it may be justly said that they furnish an ample quota of good citizenship, in all its functions connected with social life, and that their enemies, if such there are, cannot charge them with having ever conducted themselves in a manner hostile to the government under which they live.

Hence it may be fairly inferred that the principles and doctrines of this Society have a powerful and intrinsic influence upon their conduct, as men and Christians, in the discharge of the social and relative duties of life; and to make those doctrines and those principles, which the Editor conceives to be the doctrines and principles of the Gospel dispensation, more generally known, is the purpose of this abridgment.

Away then with the idle cavilling and affected contempt of their peculiarities, innocent in themselves, and offensive only to minds not properly imbued with the leading, practical principle of Christianity, with charity and universal benevolence.

It is matter of complacency and only justice on the part of the Editor to say, that with respect to the higher orders of the community, a disposition

to sneer at this formerly-despised people has ceased to exist, and is now confined to the lowest rabble.

Such is the pleasing but natural result of an uniform system of sobriety, integrity, morality, and virtue in all the social relations of life, practised now for more than a century and a half, on the part of this people; who are kept together as a body of Christians, by the excellency and leavening operation of the principle they profess, independent of any routine of forms or ceremonies, or prescribed formula of faith.

Happy will it be for the inhabitants of this land, if their improvement in morality and virtue, and their practice of the Christian duties, keep pace with their progress in knowledge and science. To promote the accomplishment of this desirable state of things is unquestionably the duty, and must be the wish, of every good man.

To this reference to their doctrines and practice it may be added, that the economy of the Society, in its system of religious discipline, is highly conducive to the preservation of Christian harmony, and to the promotion of consistency and purity of conduct in religious association among themselves. In confirmation of this, I may confidently, and with complacency, refer the impartial reader to a most valuable compilation, printed in 1802, under the title of "Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends," and sold by William Phillips, George Yard, Lombard-street.

I speak of this system in the abstract: I do not mean to say, that in all cases the administration of their discipline is uniformly and correctly practised by their accredited assemblies, under the denomination of Monthly Meetings. To aggregate bodies, no more than to individuals, can we ascribe infallibility. But the longer I live, the more I admire the excellent economy of this people, in its religious and social relations, and in its happy tendency to preserve the members of the society from the contagion of moral evil, alas! too prevalent in the various classes of the community. Under this impression I feel a deep interest in their prosperity, as connected with the virtuous tuition of the rising and of future generations.

This abridgment, which has received the spontaneous approbation of many pious and judicious characters, both in England and elsewhere, is thus again respectfully submitted, as a manual of Christian doctrine, to an enlightened public, by a sincere welwisher to the cause it advocates. It only remains to repeat, that any merit or demerit, that may be ascribed to the abridgment, or to the notes inserted in this work, does not at all attach to the Society of Friends.

GEORGE HARRISON.

WEST HILL,
WANDSWORTH.

N. B. By the kind assistance of two intelligent and judicious Friends, who have carefully examined the work, and to whom the Editor feels himself highly obliged, this second edition of the abridgment has, in several places, been improved.

TO
CHARLES II.

*King of Great Britain, and the Dominions
thereunto belonging,*

ROBERT BARCLAY,

A servant of JESUS CHRIST, called of GOD to the dispensation of the Gospel now again revealed, and, after a long dark night of apostasy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wisheth health and salvation.

As the condition of kings and princes placeth them in a station more obvious to the view and observation of the world, than that of other men; of whom, as Cicero observes, neither any word or action can be obscure; so are those kings, during whose appearance upon the stage of this world it pleaseth the GREAT KING OF KINGS singularly to make known unto men the wonderful steps of his unsearchable providence, more signally observed, and their lives and actions more diligently remarked and inquired into by posterity; especially if those things be such as not only relate to the outward transactions of this world, but also

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are signalized by the manifestation or revelation of the knowledge of God in matters spiritual and religious. These are the things that rendered the lives of Cyrus, Augustus Cæsar, and Constantine the Great in former times, and of Charles the Fifth, and some other modern princes in these last ages, so considerable.

But among all the transactions which it hath pleased God to permit, for the glory of his power, and the manifestation of his wisdom and providence, no age furnisheth us with things so strange and marvellous, whether with respect to matters civil or religious, as these that have fallen out within the compass of thy time; who, though thou be not yet arrived at the fiftieth year of thy age, hast yet been a witness of stranger things than many ages before produced. So that whether we respect those various troubles wherein thou foundest thyself engaged while scarce got out of thy infancy; the many different afflictions wherewith men of thy circumstances are often unacquainted; the strange and unparalleled fortune that befel thy father; thy own narrow escape, and banishment following thereupon, with the great improbability of thy ever returning, at least without very much pains and tedious combatings; or finally the incapacity thou wert under to accomplish such a design, considering the strength of those that had possessed themselves of thy throne, and the terror they had inflicted upon foreign states; and yet that, after all this, thou shouldst be restored without stroke of

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sword, the help or assistance of foreign states, or the contrivance and work of human policy; all these do sufficiently declare that it is the Lord's doing; which, as it is marvellous in our eyes, so it will justly be a matter of wonder and astonishment to generations to come; and may sufficiently serve, if rightly observed, to confute and confound that Atheism wherewith this age doth so much abound.

As the vindication of the liberty of conscience (which thy father, by giving way to the importunate clamours of the clergy, the answering and fulfilling of whose unrighteous wills has often proved hurtful and pernicious to princes, sought in some part to restrain) was a great occasion of those troubles and revolutions; so the pretence of conscience was that which carried it on, and brought it to that pitch it came to. And though no doubt some that were engaged in that work designed good things, at least in the beginning, albeit always wrong in the manner they took to accomplish it, viz. by carnal weapons; yet so soon as they had tasted the sweets of the possessions of them they had turned out, they quickly began to do those things themselves for which they had accused others. For their hands were found full of oppression, and they hated the reproof of instruction, which is the way of life; and they evilly entreated the messengers of the Lord, and caused his prophets to be beaten and imprisoned, and persecuted his people, whom he had called and gathered out from among them, whom he had

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made to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and not to learn carnal war any more: but he raised them up, and armed them with spiritual weapons, even with his own Spirit and power, whereby they testified in the streets and highways, and publick markets and synagogues, against the pride, vanity, lusts, and hypocrisy of that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, though often cruelly entreated therefore; and they faithfully prophesied and foretold them of their judgment and downfall, which came upon them, as by several warnings and epistles delivered to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, the parliament, and other then powers, yet upon record, doth appear.

And after it pleased God to restore thee, what oppressions, what banishments, and evil entreatings they have met with, by men pretending thy authority, and cloaking their mischief with thy name, is known to most men in this island; especially in England, where there is scarce a prison that hath not been filled with them, nor a judge before whom they have not been haled; though they could never yet be found guilty of any thing that might deserve that usage. Therefore the sense of their innocency did no doubt greatly contribute to move thee, three years ago, to cause some hundreds of them to be set at liberty: for indeed their sufferings are singular, and obviously

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distinguishable from all the rest of such as live under thee, in these two respects.

First, in that among all the plots contrived by others against thee since thy return into Britain, there was never any, owned of that people, found or known to be guilty, (though many of them have been taken and imprisoned upon such kind of jealousies,) but were always found innocent and harmless, as became the followers of Christ; not coveting after, nor contending for, the kingdoms of this world, but subject to every ordinance of man, for conscience' sake.

Secondly, In that in the hottest times of persecution, and the most violent prosecution of those laws made against meetings, being clothed with innocency, they have boldly stood to their testimony for God, without creeping into holes or corners, or once hiding themselves, as all other Dissenters have done; but daily met, according to their custom, in the public places appointed for that end; so that none of thy officers can say of them, that they have surprised them in a corner, overtaken them in a private conventicle, or caught them lurking in their secret chambers; nor needed they to send out spies to get them, whom they were sure daily to find in their open assemblies, testifying for God and his truth.

By which those who have an eye to see, may observe their Christian patience and courage, constancy and suffering joined in one, more than in

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any other people that differ from them, or oppose them. And yet, in the midst of those troubles, thou canst bear witness, that as on the one part they never sought to detract from thee, or to render thee and thy government odious to the people, by nameless and scandalous pamphlets and libels; so on the other hand they have not spared to admonish, exhort, and reprove thee; and have faithfully discharged their consciences towards thee, without flattering words, as ever the true prophets in ancient times used to do to those kings and princes, under whose power violence and oppression were acted.

And although it is evident by experience to be most agreeable both to divine truth and human policy to allow every one to serve God according to their consciences, nevertheless those other sects, who for the most part durst not peep out in the times of persecution, while these innocent people stood bold and faithful, do now combine in a joint confederacy, notwithstanding all the former janglings and contentions among themselves, to render us odious; seeking unjustly to wrest our doctrine and words, as if they were both inconsistent with Christianity and civil society: so that to effectuate this their work of malice against us, they have not been ashamed to take the help, and commend the labours, of some invidious Socinians against us. So do Herod and Pontius Pilate agree to crucify Christ.

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But our practice, known to thee by good experience to be more consistent with Christianity and civil society, and the peace and welfare of this island, than that of those who thus accuse us, doth sufficiently guard us against this calumny; and we may indeed appeal to the testimony of thy conscience, as a witness for us in the face of the nations.

These things moved me to present the world with a brief but true account of this people's principles, in some short theological propositions; which, according to the will of God, proving successful, beyond my expectation, to the satisfaction of several, and to the exciting in many a desire of being farther informed concerning us, as being every where evil spoken of; and likewise meeting with public opposition by some, as such will always do, so long as the devil rules in the children of disobedience; I was thereby farther engaged, in the liberty of the Lord, to present to the world this Apology of the truth held by those people: which, because of thy interest in them, and theirs in thee, as having first appeared, and mostly increased, in these nations under thy rule, I make bold to present unto thee.

Thou knowest, and hast experienced, their faithfulness towards their God, their patience in suffering, their peaceableness towards the king, their honesty, plainness, and integrity in their faithful warnings and testimonies to thee; and if thou wilt allow thyself so much time as to read this, thou mayest find

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how consonant their principles are both to Scripture, truth, and right reason. The simplicity of their behaviour, the generality of their condition, as being poor men and illiterate; the manner of their procedure, being without the wisdom and policy of this world, hath made many conclude them fools and madmen, and neglect them, as not being capable of reason. But though it be to them as their crown, thus to be esteemed of the wise, the great, and learned of this world, and though they rejoice to be accounted fools for Christ's sake, yet of late some, even such who in the world's account are esteemed both wise and learned, begin to judge otherwise of them, and find that they hold forth things very agreeable both to Scripture, reason, and true learning.

As it is inconsistent with the truth I bear, so it is far from me, to use this epistle as an engine to flatter thee, the usual design of such works; and therefore I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if thereby I might have more confidence to present it to the world, or be more hopeful of its success. To God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters spiritual; and therefore to him alone, and to the service of his truth, I dedicate whatever work he brings forth in me; to whom only the praise and honour appertain, whose truth needs not the patronage of worldly princes; his arm and power being that alone by which it is propagated, established, and confirmed. But I found it upon my spirit to take occasion to

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present this book unto thee; that as thou hast been often warned by several of that people, who are inhabitants of England; so thou mayest not want a seasonable advertisement from a member of thy ancient kingdom of Scotland; and that thou mayest know, which I hope thou wilt have no reason to be troubled at, that God is raising up and increasing that people in this nation. And the nations shall also hereby know, that the truth we profess is not a work of darkness, nor propagated by stealth; and that we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because we know it to be the power of God unto salvation; and that we are no ways so inconsistent with government, nor such disturbers of the peace, as our enemies, by traducing us, have sought to make the world believe we are: for which to thee I dare appeal, as a witness of our peaceableness and Christian patience.

Generations to come shall not more admire that singular step of Divine Providence, in restoring thee to thy throne, without outward bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this truth, without all outward help, and against so great opposition; which shall be none of the least things rendering thy memory remarkable. God hath done great things for thee; he hath sufficiently shewn thee, that it is by him princes rule, and that he can pull down and set up at his pleasure. He hath often faithfully warned thee by his servants, since he restored thee to thy royal dignity, that thy

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heart might not wax wanton against him, to forget his mercies and providences towards thee; whereby he might permit thee to be soothed up, and lulled asleep in thy sins, by the flattering of court-parasites, who, by their fawning, are the ruin of many princes.

There is no king in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians: which thing renders thy government more honourable, thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations, filled with slavish and superstitious souls.

Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne; and being oppressed, thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man: if after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him, who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation.

Against which snare, as well as the temptation of those that may or do feed thee, and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself to that Light of Christ, which shineth in thy conscience, which neither can, nor will flatter thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy

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sins; but doth and will deal plainly and faithfully with thee, as those that are followers thereof have also done.

GOD Almighty, who hath so signally hitherto visited thee with his love, so touch and reach thy heart, ere the day of thy visitation be expired, that thou mayest effectually turn to him, so as to improve thy place and station for his name. So wisheth, so prayeth,

Thy faithful friend and subject,

ROBERT BARCLAY.

From *Ury*, in my native country
of *Scotland*, the 25th of the
month called *November*, in the
year M.DC.LXXV.

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AN
APOLOGY
FOR THE
TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY.

PROPOSITION I.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

Seeing the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, ("This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent,") the right understanding of this foundation of knowledge is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place.

HE that desireth to acquire any art or science, seeketh first those means by which that art or science is obtained. If we ought to do so in things natural, how much more then in spiritual? In this affair then should our inquiry be the more diligent, because he that errs in the entrance is not so easily brought back again into the right way.

Thus when a man first proposeth to himself the knowledge of God, from a sense of his own unworthiness, and wearied by the secret checks of his conscience, and the tender yet real glances of God's light upon his heart, the

earnest desires he has to be redeemed from his present trouble, and the fervent breathings he has to be eased of his disordered passions, and to find peace in the certain knowledge of God, and in the assurance of his love and good-will towards him, make his heart tender, and ready to receive any impression; and so (not having then a distinct discerning) through forwardness embraceth any thing that brings present ease. If either through the reverence he bears to certain persons, or from the secret inclination to what doth comply with his natural disposition, he fall upon any principles or means, by which he apprehends he may come to know God, it will be hard to remove him thence again, how wrong soever they may be: for the first anguish being over, he becomes more hardy; and the enemy being near, creates a false peace, and a certain confidence, which is strengthened by the mind's unwillingness to enter again into the former anxiety of a search.

This is sufficiently verified in the example of the Pharisees and Jewish Doctors, who most of all resisted Christ, disdaining to be esteemed ignorant; for this vain opinion, which they had of their knowledge, hindered them from the true knowledge; and the mean people, who were not so much pre-occupied with former principles, nor conceited of their own knowledge, did easily believe. This is also abundantly proved by the experience of all such, as being secretly touched with the call of God's grace unto them, do apply themselves to false teachers, where the remedy proves worse than the disease; because, instead of knowing God, or the things relating to their salvation aright, they drink in wrong opinions of him; from which it is harder to be disentangled, than while the soul remains a blank. For they that conceit themselves wise, are worse to deal with than those that are sensible of their ignorance. Nor hath it been less the device of the great enemy of mankind, to

persuade men into wrong notions of God, than to keep them altogether from acknowledging him; the latter taking with few, because odious, but the other having been the constant ruin of the world: for there hath scarce been a nation found, but hath had some notions or other of religion; so that not from their denying any Deity, but from their misapprehensions of him, hath proceeded all the idolatry and superstition of the world; yea, hence even atheism itself hath proceeded: for these various opinions of God and religion, being so much mixed with the uncertain judgments of men, have begotten in many the opinion, that there is no God at all.

How needful and desirable that knowledge is, which brings life eternal, Epictetus sheweth, saying excellently well *, “ Know, that the main foundation of piety is this, to have right opinions and apprehensions of God.”

This therefore I judged necessary, as a first principle, in the first place, to affirm; and this I suppose will not need much farther explanation or defence, as being generally acknowledged by all, as that which will easily commend itself to every man’s reason and conscience.

PROPOSITION II.

Of Immediate Revelation.

Seeing no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him; and seeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit; therefore the

* ἵνα οἱ Κυριωτάτων εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπολήψεις εἶναι.

Enchir. cap. 38.

testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he disposed the chaos of this world into that wonderful order in which it was in the beginning, and created man a living soul, to rule and govern it, so by the revelation of the same Spirit he hath manifested himself all along unto the sons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, were of old the formal object of their faith, and remain yet so to be; since the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though held forth under divers administrations. Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the test, either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule and touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto, even as the common principles of natural truths do incline the mind to a natural assent: as, that the whole is greater than its part; that two contradictories can neither be both true, nor both false.

§. I. It is very probable that many carnal Christians will oppose this proposition; who being wholly unacquainted with the movings and actings of God's Spirit

upon their hearts, judge the same nothing necessary; and to that height is the generality of Christians apostatized and degenerated, that though there be not any thing more plainly asserted, more seriously recommended, or more certainly attested, in all the writings of the Holy Scriptures, yet nothing is less minded by all sorts of Christians, than immediate and divine revelation. Whereas of old none were ever judged Christians, but such as had the Spirit of Christ. Rom. viii. 9. But now many do boldly call themselves Christians, who make no difficulty of confessing they are without it. Of old they were accounted the sons of God, who were led by the Spirit of God, *ibid.* ver. 14. But now many aver themselves sons of God, who know nothing of this leader; and he that affirms himself so led is, by the pretended orthodox of this age, presently proclaimed a heretic. The reason hereof is very manifest, *viz.* Because many in these days, under the name of Christians, do experimentally find, that they are not actuated nor led by God's Spirit; yea, many great doctors, divines, and bishops of Christianity, (commonly so called,) have wholly shut their ears from hearing, and their eyes from seeing, this inward guide; whence they are, by their own experience, brought to this strait, either to confess that they are as yet ignorant of God, and have not the true knowledge of him, or that this knowledge is acquired without immediate revelation.

For the better understanding then of this proposition, we do distinguish betwixt the certain knowledge of God, and the uncertain; betwixt the spiritual knowledge, and the literal; the saving heart-knowledge, and the airy head-knowledge. The last, we confess, may, be divers ways obtained; but the first by no other way than the immediate manifestation and revelation of God's Spirit, shining in and upon the heart, and enlightening the understanding,

§. II. Having then proposed to myself, in these propositions, to affirm those things which relate to the true and effectual knowledge which brings life eternal with it, I have truly affirmed, that this knowledge is no otherways attained, and that none have any true ground to believe they have attained it, who have it not by this revelation of God's Spirit.

The certainty of which truth is such, that it hath been acknowledged by some of the most famous professors of Christianity in all ages; who being truly upright-hearted, and earnest seekers of the Lord, the true seed in them hath been answered by God's love, who hath had regard to the good; and hath had of his elect ones amongst all, who finding a distaste and disgust in all other outward means, even in the very principles and precepts more particularly relative to their own forms and societies, have at last concluded, with one voice, that there was no true knowledge of God, but that which is revealed inwardly by his own Spirit.

This was the very basis, and main foundation, upon which the primitive reformers built*.

§. III. If we make a right definition of a Christian, according to the Scripture, That he is one who hath the Spirit, and is led by it, how many Christians, yea, and of these, great masters and doctors of Christianity so accounted, shall we justly divest of that noble title?

If those therefore who have all the other means of knowledge, and are sufficiently learned therein, whether it be the letter of the Scripture, the tradition of churches, or the works of Providence, whence they are able to deduce strong and undeniable arguments, are not yet to be esteemed Christians, according to the infallible definition above

* See Luther, tom. 5, p. 76; and Melancthon on John, ch. 6.

mentioned; and if the inward and immediate revelation of God's spirit in the heart, in such as have been altogether ignorant of some, and but very little skilled in others, of these means of attaining knowledge, hath brought them to salvation; then it will necessarily follow, that inward and immediate revelation is the only certain way to attain the true and saving knowledge of God.

Now as this argument doth very strongly conclude for this way of knowledge, and against such as deny it; so in this respect it is the more to be regarded, as the propositions from which it is deduced are so clear, that our *opponents** cannot deny it.

§ IV. I would however not be understood, as if hereby I excluded those other means of knowledge from any use or service to man: it is far from me so to judge, as concerning the Scriptures. The question is not, what may be profitable or helpful, but what is absolutely necessary.

The sum then of what is said amounts to this, That where the true inward knowledge of God is, through the revelation of his Spirit, there is all; neither is there an absolute necessity of any other. But where the best, and most profound knowledge is without this, there is nothing, as to the obtaining the great end of salvation. This truth is very effectually confirmed by the first part of the proposition itself, which in few words comprehendeth divers unquestionable arguments.

First, That there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son.

* *Adversarii*, in the Latin, is an inoffensive term, meaning those who sit *opposite* in the forms of disputation: not so the word *adversaries* in the English, in which it implies something offensive and hostile. The word *opponents* is therefore deemed more apposite to the intention of the author.—EDIT.

Secondly, That there is no knowledge of the Son but by the Spirit.

Thirdly, That by the Spirit God hath always revealed himself to his children.

Fourthly, That these revelations were the formal* object of the saints' faith.

And *Lastly*, That the same continueth to be the object of the saints' faith to this day.

Of each of these I shall speak a little particularly, and then proceed to the latter part.

§. V. As to the first, viz. That there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son, it will easily be proved, being founded upon the plain words of Scripture, and is therefore a fit ground from whence to deduce the rest of our assertions.

For the infinite and most wise God, who is the foundation, root, and spring of all operation, hath wrought all things by his eternal Word and Son. "This is that WORD that was in the beginning with God, and was God, by whom all things were made, and without whom was not any thing made that was made." This is that "Jesus Christ, by whom God created all things, by whom, and for whom, all things were created, that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or

* "Formal object," or, the essential ground of faith. An explanation of the scholastic term *formal*, in the sense here used, would lead into too wide a digression. A reader desirous of exact information on the subject may, as to the phrase *formal object*, consult Barclay himself, by referring to pp. 742 and 896 of his works, edit. 1692; and as to the particular term *formal*, which occurs not only here, but in other parts of the present abridgment, he may meet with a copious illustration in the writings of the late JAMES HARRIS of Salisbury. In this place, the meaning of the author will be perhaps sufficiently obvious to readers in general, by the suggested substitution of *essential ground* for *formal object*.

principalities, or powers," Col. i. 16. who therefore is called "The first born of every creature," Col. i. 15. As then that infinite and incomprehensible fountain of life and motion operateth in the creatures by his own eternal word and power, so no creature has access again unto him but in and by the Son, according to his own express words, "No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him," Mat. xi. 27. Luke x. 22. And again, he himself saith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life : no man cometh unto the Father but by me," John xiv. 6.

Hence he is fitly called, "The mediator betwixt God and man:" for having been with God from all eternity, being himself God, and also in time partaking of the nature of man, through him is the goodness and love of God conveyed to mankind, and by him again man receiveth and partaketh of these mercies.

§. VI. Having then laid down this first principle, I come to the second, viz. That there is no knowledge of the Son but by the Spirit; or, That the revelation of the Son of God is by the Spirit.

Where it is to be noted, that I always speak of the saving, certain, and necessary knowledge of God; which that it cannot be acquired otherwise than by the Spirit, doth also appear from many clear Scriptures. For Jesus Christ, in and by whom the Father is revealed, doth also reveal himself to his disciples in and by his Spirit. As his manifestation was outward, when he testified and witnessed for the truth in this world, and approved himself faithful throughout, so being now withdrawn, as to the outward man, he doth instruct mankind inwardly by his own spirit; He standeth at the door and knocketh, and whoso heareth his voice and openeth, he comes in to such, Rev. iii. 20. Of this revelation of Christ in him Paul speaketh,

Gal. i. 16. in which he placeth the excellency of his ministry, and the certainty of his calling. And the promise of Christ to his disciples, "Lo, I am with you to the end of the world," confirmeth the same thing; for this is an inward and spiritual presence, as all acknowledge. I shall deduce the proof of this proposition from two manifest places of Scripture: the first is, 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12. "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him. Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given us of God." The apostle, in the verses before, speaking of the wonderful things which are prepared for the saints, after he hath declared that "the natural man cannot reach them," adds, that "they are revealed by the Spirit of God," ver. 9, 10. giving this reason, "For the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." And then he bringeth in the comparison, in the verses above-mentioned, very apt, and answerable to our purpose and doctrine, that as the things of a man are only known by the spirit of man, so the things of God are only known by the Spirit of God; that is, that as nothing below the spirit of man (that is of brutes, or any other creatures) can properly comprehend the things of a man, as being of a nobler and higher nature; so neither can the spirit of man, or the natural man, receive or discern the things of God, or the things that are spiritual, as being also of a higher nature; which the apostle himself gives for the reason, saying, "Neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

The other Scripture is also a saying of the same apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 3. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." This Scripture, which is full of

truth, and answereth full well to the enlightened understanding of the spiritual and real Christian, may perhaps prove very strange to those carnal persons, by whom it hath not been so diligently remarked. Here the apostle doth so much require the Holy Spirit in the things that relate to a Christian, that he positively avers, we cannot so much as affirm Jesus to be the Lord without it; which insinuates no less, than that the spiritual truths of the gospel are as lies in the mouths of carnal men; for though in themselves they be true, yet are they not true as to them, because not known, nor uttered forth in and by that principle and spirit that ought to direct the mind; neither can it be more truly and properly called a real knowledge of God and Christ, than the actions of Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar, &c. if now transacted upon a stage, might be called truly and really their doings, or the persons representing them might be said truly and really to have conquered Asia, overcome Pompey, &c.

This knowledge then of Christ, which is not by the revelation of his own Spirit in the heart, is no more properly the knowledge of Christ, than the prating of a parrot may be said to be the voice of a man. Wherefore from this Scripture I shall further add this argument:

If no man can say Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost; then no man can know Jesus to be the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.

From this argument another may be deduced, concluding in the very terms of this assertion: thus,

If no man can know Jesus to be the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, then there can be no certain knowledge or revelation of him but by the Spirit.

§. VII. The third thing affirmed is, That by the Spirit God always revealed himself to his children.

For making the truth of this assertion appear, it will be

but needful to consider God's manifesting himself towards and in relation to his creatures from the beginning, which resolves itself always herein. The first step of all is ascribed hereunto by Moses, Gen. i. 2. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." I think it will not be denied, that God's converse with man, from Adam to Moses, was by the immediate manifestation of his Spirit: and afterwards, through the whole tract of the law, he spake to his children no otherways; which, as it naturally followeth from the principles above proved, so it cannot be denied by such as acknowledge the Scriptures of Truth to have been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; for these writings, from Moses to Malachi, do declare, that during all that time God revealed himself to his children by his Spirit.

But if any will object, that after the dispensation of the law, God's method of speaking was altered;

I answer: First, That God spake always immediately to the Jews, in that he spake always immediately to the High Priest from betwixt the Cherubim; who, when he entered into the Holy of Holies, returning, did relate to the whole people the voice and will of God, there immediately revealed.

Secondly, from this immediate fellowship were none shut out, who earnestly sought after and waited for it; in that many, besides the High Priest, who were not so much as of the kindred of Levi, nor of the prophets, did receive it and speak from it; as it is written, Numb. xi. 25. where the Spirit is said to have rested upon the seventy elders; which Spirit also reached unto two that were not in the tabernacle, but in the camp; whom when some would have forbidden, Moses would not, but rejoiced, wishing that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them, ver. 29.

This is also confirmed, Neh. ix. where the elders of the people, after their return from captivity, when they began to sanctify themselves by fasting and prayer, numbering up the many mercies of God towards their fathers, say, ver. 20. "Thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them;" and ver. 30. "Yet many years didst thou forbear, and testify against them by thy Spirit in thy prophets." Many are the sayings of spiritual David to this purpose; as, Psalm li. 11, 12. "Take not thy holy Spirit from me; uphold me with thy free Spirit." Psalm cxxxix. 7. "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?" Hereunto doth the prophet Isaiah ascribe the credit of his testimony, saying, chap. xlviii. 16. "And now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me." And that God revealed himself to his children under the New Testament, to wit, to the apostles, evangelists, and primitive disciples, is confessed by all. How far now this yet continueth, and is to be expected, comes hereafter to be spoken to.

§. VIII. The fourth thing affirmed is, That these revelations were the object of the saints' faith of old.

This will easily appear by the definition of faith, and considering what its object is: for which we shall not dive into the various notions of the school-men, but stay in the plain and positive words of the apostle Paul, who, Heb. xi. describes it two ways. "Faith (saith he) is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen:" which is no other but a firm and certain belief of the mind, whereby it resteth, and in a sense possesseth the substance of some things hoped for, through its confidence in the promise of God: and thus the soul hath a most firm evidence, by its faith, of things not yet seen nor come to pass. The object of this faith is the word, or testimony of God, speaking in the mind. Hence it hath been generally

affirmed, that the object of faith is, God speaking*, &c. which is also manifest from all those examples deduced by the apostle throughout that whole chapter, whose faith was founded neither upon any outward testimony, nor upon the voice or writing of man, but upon the revelation of God's will, manifest unto them, and in them; as in the example of Noah, verse 7, thus, "By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith." What was here the object of Noah's faith, but God speaking unto him? He had not the writings nor prophesyings of any going before, nor yet the concurrence of any church or people to strengthen him; and yet his faith in the word, by which he contradicted the whole world, saved him and his house. Of which also Abraham is set forth as a singular example, being therefore called the Father of the Faithful, who is said against hope to have believed in hope, in that he not only willingly forsook his father's country, not knowing whither he went; in that he believed concerning the coming of Isaac, though contrary to natural probability; but above all, in that he refused not to offer him up, not doubting but God was able to raise him from the dead; of whom it is said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called. And last of all, in that he rested in the promise, that his seed should possess the land, wherein he himself was but a pilgrim, and which to them was not to be fulfilled until divers ages after. The object of Abraham's faith in all this was no other but inward and immediate revelation, or God signifying his will unto him inwardly and immediately by his Spirit.

* Deus loquens.

But because, in this part of the proposition, we made also mention of external voices, appearances, and dreams in the alternative, I think also fit to speak hereof, what in that respect may be objected; to wit,

That those who found their faith now upon immediate and objective revelation, ought to have also outward voices or visions, dreams or appearances for it.

It is not denied, but God made use of the ministry of angels, who, in the appearance of men, spake outwardly to the saints of old, and that he did also reveal some things to them in dreams and visions; none of which we will affirm to be ceased, so as to limit the power of God in manifesting himself towards his children. But while we are considering the object of faith, we must not stick' to that which is but circumstantially and accidentally so, but to that which is universally and substantially so.

Next again, we must distinguish betwixt that which in itself is subject to doubt, and therefore is received for and because of another; and that which is not subject to any doubt, but is received simply for and because of itself, as being the very first and original truth*. Let us then consider how far these outward voices, appearances, and dreams were the object of the saints' faith: was it because they were simply voices, appearances, or dreams? Nay, certainly; God forbid that the saints' faith should be founded upon so fallacious a foundation as man's outward and fallible senses. What made them then give credit to these visions? Certainly nothing else but the secret testimony of God's Spirit in their hearts, assuring them that the voices, dreams, and visions were of and from God. Abraham believed the angels; but who told him that these men were angels? We must not think his faith then was

* Prima veritas.

built upon his outward senses, but proceeded from the secret persuasion of God's Spirit in his heart. This then must needs be acknowledged to be originally and principally the object of the saints' faith, without which there is no true and certain faith, and by which many times faith is begotten and strengthened without any of these outward or visible helps; as we may observe in many passages of the Holy Scripture, where it is only mentioned, And God said, &c. And the word of the Lord came unto such and such, saying, &c.

But if any one should affirm, That this did import an outward audible voice to the carnal ear;

I would gladly know what other argument such a one could bring for this his affirmation, saving his own simple conjecture. It is said indeed, "The Spirit witnesseth with our spirit;" but not to our outward ears, Rom. viii. 16. And seeing the Spirit of God is within us, and not without us only, it speaks to our spiritual, and not to our bodily ear. Therefore I see no reason, where it is so often said in Scripture, The Spirit said, moved, hindered, called such or such a one, to do or forbear such or such a thing, that any have to conclude, that this was not an inward voice to the ear of the soul, rather than an outward voice to the bodily ear.

The inward and immediate revelation of God's Spirit, speaking in and unto the saints, was by them believed as the ground and foundation of their hope in God, and life eternal.

§. IX. That which now cometh under debate, is what we asserted in the last place, to wit, That the same continueth to be the object of the saints' faith unto this day. Many will agree to what we have said before, who differ from us herein.

There is nevertheless a very firm argument, confirming

the truth of this assertion, included in the proposition itself, to wit, 'That the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though held forth under divers administrations;

For where the faith is one, the object of the faith is one.

That the faith is one, is the express words of the apostle, Eph. iv. 5. who placeth the one faith with the one God; importing no less, than that to affirm two faiths is as absurd as to affirm two gods.

Moreover, if the faith of the ancients were not one and the same with ours, *i. e.* agreeing in substance therewith, and receiving the same definition, it had been impertinent for the apostle, Heb xi. to have illustrated the definition of our faith by the examples of that of the ancients, or to go about to move us by the example of Abraham, if Abraham's faith were different in nature from ours. Nor doth any difference arise hence, because they believed in Christ with respect to his appearance outwardly as future, and we as having already appeared: for neither did they then so believe in him to come, as not to feel him present with them, and witness him near; seeing the apostle saith, They all drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, which rock was Christ. Nor do we so believe concerning his appearance past, as not also to feel and know him present with us, and to feed upon him. Except Christ (saith the apostle) be in you, ye are reprobates; so that of both our faith is one, terminating in one and the same thing. And as to the other part or consequence of the antecedent, to wit, 'That the object is one where the faith is one, the apostle also proveth it in the fore-cited chapter, where he makes all the worthies of old examples to us. Now wherein are they imitable, but because they believed in God? And what was the object of their faith, but

inward and immediate revelation, as we have before proved? Their example can be no ways applicable to us, except we believe in God, as they did; that is, by the same object. The apostle clears this yet further by his own example, Gal. i. 16. where he saith, So soon as Christ was revealed in him, he consulted not with flesh and blood, but forthwith believed and obeyed. The same apostle, Heb. xiii. 7, 8, where he exhorteth the Hebrews to follow the faith of the elders, adds this reason, "Considering the end of their conversation; Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever:" Hereby insinuating, that in the object there is no alteration.

If any now object the diversity of administration;

I answer; That altereth not at all the object: for the same apostle mentioning this diversity three times, 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. centereth always in the same object; the same Spirit, the same Lord, the same God.

But further; If the object of faith were not one and the same both to us and to them, then it would follow that we were to know God some other way than by the Spirit, which were absurd.

Such as deny this proposition now-a-days use here a distinction; granting that God is to be known by his Spirit, but again denying that it is immediate or inward, but in and by the Scriptures; in which the mind of the Spirit (as they say) being fully expressed, we are thereby to know God, and be led in all things.

As to the negative of this assertion, that the Scriptures are not sufficient, neither were ever appointed to be the adequate and only rule, nor yet can guide or direct a Christian in all those things that are needful for him to know, we shall leave that to the next proposition to be examined. What is proper in this place to be proved is, That Christians now are to be led inwardly and immedi-

ately by the Spirit of God, even in the same manner (though it befal not many to be led in the same measure) as the saints were of old.

§. X. I shall prove this by divers arguments, and first from the promise of Christ in these words, John xiv. 16. "And I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever." Ver. 17. "Even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." Again, ver. 26. "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance." And xvi. 13. "But when the Spirit of truth shall come, he shall lead you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear he shall speak, and shall declare unto you things to come." We have here first, who this is, and that is divers ways expressed; to wit, The Comforter, the Spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost, the sent of the Father in the name of Christ. And hereby is sufficiently proved the folly of those Socinians, and other carnal Christians, who neither know nor acknowledge any internal Spirit or power but that which is merely natural; by which they sufficiently declare themselves to be of the world, who cannot receive the Spirit, because they neither see him nor know him. Secondly, Where this Spirit is to be, He that dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. And Thirdly, What his work is, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, and guide you into all truth*.

As to the First, Most do acknowledge that there is nothing else understood than what the plain words signify:

* οὐδὲν γινώσκει υμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθειαν.

which is also evident by many other places of Scripture; neither do I see how such as affirm otherwise can avoid blasphemy: for, if the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, and Spirit of truth, be all one with the Scriptures, then it will follow that the Scriptures are God, seeing it is true that the Holy Ghost is God. If these men's reasoning might take place, wherever the Spirit is mentioned in relation to the saints, thereby might be truly and properly understood the Scriptures; which, what a nonsensical monster it would make of the Christian religion, will easily appear to all men.

Secondly, That this Spirit is inward, needs no interpretation or commentary. He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. This indwelling of the Spirit in the saints, as it is a thing most needful to be known and believed, so is it as positively asserted in the Scripture as any thing else can be. "If so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you," saith the apostle to the Romans, chap. viii. 9. And again, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost," 1 Cor. vi. 19. "And that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" 1 Cor. iii. 16. Without this the apostle reckoneth no man a Christian. If any man (saith he) have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. These words immediately follow those above-mentioned out of the epistle to the Romans, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you." The context of which sheweth, that the apostle reckoneth it the main token of a Christian, both positively and negatively: for in the former verses he sheweth how the carnal mind is enmity against God, and that such as are in the flesh cannot please him. Where subsuming, he adds concerning the Romans, that they are not in the flesh, if the Spirit of God dwell in them. What is this but to affirm, that they in whom the Spirit dwells are no longer in the

flesh, nor of those who please not God, but are become Christians indeed? Again, in the next verse he concludes negatively, that, If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his; that is, he is no Christian. He then that acknowledges himself ignorant and a stranger to the inward in-being of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, doth thereby acknowledge himself to be yet in the carnal mind, which is enmity to God; to be yet in the flesh, where God cannot be pleased; and in short, whatever he may otherwise know or believe of Christ, or however much skilled or acquainted with the letter of the Holy Scripture, not yet to have attained to the least degree of a Christian; yea, not once to have embraced the Christian religion. For take but away the Spirit, and Christianity remains no more Christianity, than the dead carcass of a man, when the soul and spirit is departed, remains a man. Lastly, Whatsoever is excellent, whatsoever is noble, whatsoever is worthy, whatsoever is desirable in the Christian faith, is ascribed to this Spirit, without which it could no more subsist than the outward world without the sun. Hereunto have all true Christians, in all ages, attributed their strength and life*. If therefore it be so, why should any be so foolish as to deny, or so unwise as not to seek after, this Spirit, which Christ hath promised shall dwell in his children? They then that do suppose the indwelling and leading of his Spirit to be ceased, must also suppose Christianity to be ceased, which cannot subsist without it.

Thirdly, What the work of this Spirit is, is partly before shewn, which Christ compriseth in two or three things, He will guide you into all truth; He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance.

* Calvin's Institutions, Book 3. Ch. 2.

Since Christ hath provided for us so good an instructor, why need we then lean so much to those traditions and commandments of men wherewith so many Christians have burdened themselves ?

From all then that hath been mentioned concerning this promise, and these words of Christ, it will follow, that Christians are always to be led inwardly and immediately by the Spirit of God dwelling in them, and that the same is a perpetual ordinance, as well to the church in general in all ages, as to every individual member in particular, as appears from this argument :

Christ hath promised that the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, shall abide with his children for ever, shall dwell with them, shall be in them, shall lead them into all truth, shall teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance :

And the promises of Christ to his children are Yea and Amen, and cannot fail, but must of necessity be fulfilled.

Every true Christian is in measure redeemed from the carnal mind, is gathered out of the enmity, and can be subject to the law of God ; is out of the flesh, and in the Spirit, the Spirit of God dwelling in him.

Again : Whosoever hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his ; that is, no child, no friend, no disciple of Christ.

Every true Christian is the temple of the Holy Ghost.

And to conclude : He in whom the Spirit of God dwelleth, it is not in him a lazy, useless thing ; but it moveth, governeth, and teacheth him all things whatsoever are needful for him to know, (as to salvation.)

§ XI. But there are some that will confess, That the Spirit doth now lead and influence the saints, but that he

doth it only subjectively*, or in a blind manner, by enlightening their understandings, to understand and believe the truth delivered in the Scriptures; but not at all by presenting those truths to the mind by way of object, and this they consider as that of whose working a man is not sensible†.

This opinion, though somewhat more tolerable than the former, is nevertheless not altogether according to truth, neither doth it reach the fulness of it.

1. Because there be many truths, which, as they are applicable to particulars and individuals, and most needful to be known by them, are in no-wise to be found in the Scripture.

For that which teacheth me all things, and is given me for that end, without doubt presents those things to my mind which it teacheth me. It is not said, It shall teach you how to understand those things that are written; but, It shall teach you all things. Again, That which brings all things to my remembrance, must needs present them by way of object; else it were improper to say, It brought them to my remembrance; but only, that it helpeth to remember the objects brought from elsewhere.

My second argument shall be drawn from the nature of the new covenant; by which, and those that follow, I shall prove that we are led by the Spirit both immediately and

* By an author who was probably cotemporary with Barclay, (Barron of Aberdeen, cited by Keith in his "Immediate Revelation not ceased," p. 134,) *subjective* and *objective* revelation are attempted to be explained by the following simile: *Subjective* revelation is compared to the removing of a veil or cover from the eye; that is, from the *subject* or faculty that perceives, [or rather, organ of perception:] *objective*, to the removing of a veil or cover from any particular *object*. This is here adduced, as shewing the origin of the terms; which, it may be added, have now almost, if not entirely, fallen into disuse.

J. E.

† Medium incognitum assentiendi.

objectively. The nature of the new covenant is expressed in divers places; and

First, Isa. lix. 21. "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever." By the latter part of this is sufficiently expressed the perpetuity of this promise. In the former part is the promise itself, which is the Spirit of God being upon them, and the words of God being put into their mouths.

First, This was immediate, for there is no mention made of any medium; he saith not, I shall by the means of such and such writings or books, convey such and such words into your mouths; but, My words I, even I, saith the Lord, have put into your mouths.

Secondly, This must be objectively; for [the words put into the mouth] are the object presented by him. He saith not, The words which ye shall see written, my Spirit shall only enlighten your understandings to assent unto; but positively, My words, which I have put into thy mouth, &c.

Secondly, The nature of the new covenant is yet more amply expressed, Jer. xxxi. 33, which is reasserted by the apostle, Heb. viii. 10, 11, in these words: "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest."

The object here is God's law written in the heart, and

placed in the mind; from whence they become God's people, and are brought truly to know him.

In this then is the law distinguished from the gospel; the law before was outward, written in tables of stone, but now is inward, written in the heart: of old the people depended upon their priests for the knowledge of God, but now they have all a certain and sensible knowledge of Him.

How much then are they deceived, who, instead of making the gospel preferable to the law, have made the condition of such as are under the gospel far worse. For no doubt it is a far better and more desirable thing to converse with God immediately, than only mediately, as being a higher and more glorious dispensation: and yet these men acknowledge that many under the law had immediate converse with God, whereas they now cry it is ceased.

Again: Under the law there was the holy of holies, into which the high priest did enter, and received the word of the Lord immediately from betwixt the cherubim, so that the people could then certainly know the mind of the Lord; but now, according to these men's judgment, we are in a far worse condition, having nothing but the outward letter of the Scripture. But Jesus Christ hath promised us better things, though many are so unwise as not to believe him, even to guide us by his own unerring Spirit, and hath rent and removed the veil, whereby not only one, and that once a year, may enter; but all of us, at all times, have access unto him, as often as we draw near unto him with pure hearts: he reveals his will to us by his Spirit, and writes his laws in our hearts.

§. XII. The third argument is from these words of John, 1 John ii. ver. 27. "But the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that

any man teach you: but the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."

First, This could not be any special, or extraordinary privilege, but that which is common to all the saints, it being a general epistle, directed to all them of that age.

Secondly, The apostle proposeth this anointing in them, as a more certain touch-stone for them to discern and try seducers by, even than his own writings; for having in the former verse said, that he had written some things to them concerning such as seduced them, he begins the next verse, But the anointing, &c. and ye need not that any man teach you, &c. which infers, that having said to them what can be said, he refers them to the inward anointing, which teacheth all things, as the most certain bulwark against all seducers.

§. XIII. The most usual objection to the second part of the proposition is, that these revelations are uncertain.

But this bespeaketh much ignorance in the opposers; for we distinguish between the thesis and the hypothesis; that is, between the proposition and the supposition. For it is one thing to affirm, that the true and undoubted revelation of God's Spirit is certain and infallible; and another thing to affirm, that this or that particular person or people is led infallibly by this revelation in what they speak or write, because they affirm themselves to be so led by the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit. The first only is asserted by us, the latter may be called in question. The question is not who are or are not so led? But whether all ought not or may not be so led?

Seeing then we have already proved that Christ hath promised his Spirit to lead his children, and that every one of them both ought and may be led by it, if any depart from this certain guide in deeds, and yet in words pretend

to be led by it into things that are not good, it will not from thence follow, that the true guidance of the Spirit is uncertain, or ought not to be followed; no more than it will follow that the sun sheweth not light, because a blind man, or one who wilfully shuts his eyes, falls into a ditch at noon-day for want of light; the fault then is in the organ, and not in the object.

All these mistakes therefore are to be ascribed to the weakness or wickedness of men, and not to that Holy Spirit.

Therefore, if any reason after this manner,

(That because some wicked, ungodly men have committed wicked actions, and have yet more wickedly asserted, that they were led into these things by the Spirit of God;

Therefore, No man ought to lean to the Spirit of God, or seek to be led by it,)

I utterly deny the consequence of this proposition, which, were it to be received as true, then would all faith in God and hope of salvation become uncertain, and the Christian religion be turned into mere Scepticism.

§. XV. And because the Spirit of God is the fountain of all truth and sound reason, therefore we have well said, That it cannot contradict either the testimony of the Scripture, or right reason: "Yet it will not from thence follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of Scripture, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more certain rule; for the divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident by itself, forcing the well-disposed understanding, and irresistibly moving it, to assent by its own evidence, even as the common principles of natural truths do bend the mind to a natural assent."

He that denies this part of the proposition must needs

affirm, that the Spirit of God neither can, nor ever hath manifested itself to man without the Scripture, or a distinct discussion of reason; or that the efficacy of this supernatural principle, working upon the souls of men, is less evident than natural principles in their common operations; both which are false.

For, First, Through all the Scriptures we may observe, that the manifestation and revelation of God by his Spirit to the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, was immediate and objective; which they did not examine by any other principle, but received from their own evidence and clearness.

Secondly, To say that the Spirit of God has less evidence upon the mind of man than natural principles have, is to have too mean and too low thoughts of it. How comes David to invite us to taste and see that God is good, if this cannot be felt and tasted? This were enough to overturn the faith and assurance of all the saints, both now and of old. How came Paul to be persuaded, that nothing could separate him from the love of God, but by that evidence which the Spirit of God gave him? The apostle John, who knew well wherein the certainty of faith consisted, judged it no ways absurd, without further argument, to ascribe his knowledge and assurance, and that of all the saints, hereunto in these words, "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit," 1 John, iv. 13. And again, chap. v. ver. 6. It is "the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth."

Observe the reason brought by him, Because the Spirit is truth. We then confide in this Spirit, because we know, and certainly believe, that it can only lead us aright, and never mislead us; and from this certain confidence it is that we affirm, that no revelation coming

from it can ever contradict the Scripture's testimony nor right reason.

That for and because of which all other foundations are recommended, and accounted worthy to be believed, and without which they are granted to be of no weight at all, must needs be the only most true, certain, and unmoveable foundation of all Christian faith.

The proposition is so evident, that it will not be denied; the assumption shall be proved by parts.

And First, as to the Papists, they place their foundation in the judgment of the church and tradition. If we press them to say, Why they believe as the church doth? Their answer is, "Because the church is always led by the infallible Spirit." So here the leading of the Spirit is the utmost foundation. Again, if we ask them, Why we ought to trust tradition? They answer, "Because these traditions were delivered us by the doctors and fathers of the church; which doctors and fathers, by the revelation of the Holy Ghost, commanded the church to observe them." Here again all ends in the revelation of the Spirit.

And for the Protestants and Socinians, both which acknowledge the Scriptures to be the foundation and rule of their faith; the one as subjectively influenced by the Spirit of God to use them, the other as managing them with and by their own reason; ask both or either of them, Why they trust in the Scriptures, and take them to be their rule? Their answer is, "Because we have in them the mind of God delivered unto us by those to whom these things were inwardly, immediately, and objectively revealed by the Spirit of God;" and not because this or that man wrote them, but because the Spirit of God dictated them.

It is strange then that men should render that so uncer-

tain and dangerous to follow, upon which alone the foundation of their own faith is built; or that they should shut themselves out from that holy fellowship with God, which only is enjoyed in the Spirit, in which we are commanded both to walk and live.

PROPOSITION III.

Concerning the Scriptures.

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures of Truth, which contain,

- I. A faithful historical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages; with many singular and remarkable providences attending them.
- II. A prophetic account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come.
- III. A full and ample account of the chief doctrines of the Christian faith, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors.

Nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Yet because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty:

for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, That the Spirit is that Guide by which the saints are led into all Truth; therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader. Seeing then that we do therefore receive and believe the Scriptures because they proceed from the Spirit, for the very same reason is the Spirit more originally and principally the rule*.

§. 1. THE former part of this proposition, though it needs no apology for itself, yet it is a good apology for us, and will help to sweep away that, among many other calumnies, wherewith we are often loaded, as if we were vilifiers and deniers of the Scriptures; for in that which we affirm of them, it doth not appear at what high rate we value them, accounting them, without all deceit or equivocation, the most excellent writings in the world; to which not only no other writings are to be preferred, but even in divers respects not comparable thereto. For as we freely acknowledge that their authority doth not depend upon the approbation or canons of any church or assembly; so neither can we subject them to the fallen, corrupt, and defiled reason of man: and therein as we do freely agree with the Protestants against the error of the Romanists, so on the other hand, we cannot go the length of such Protestants as make their authority to depend upon any

- * The editor submits to the reader the following elucidation, quoted from a pious and an enlightened author: "The Holy Scripture is, in regard to truth, what John the Baptist was to Jesus. We read that John was not the Light, but was sent to bear witness of the Light. This gives us a complete idea of the relation between the Holy Scripture and truth, and at the same time shows the difference between them."

MURALT.

virtue or power that is in the writings themselves; but we ascribe all to that Spirit from which they proceeded.

§. II. Though then we do acknowledge the Scriptures to be very heavenly and divine writings, the use of them to be very comfortable and necessary to the church of Christ, and that we also give praise to the Lord, for his wonderful providence in preserving these writings so pure and uncorrupted as we have them, through so long a night of apostasy, to be a testimony of his truth against the wickedness even of those whom he made instrumental in preserving them, so that they have kept them to be a witness against themselves; yet we may not call them the principal fountain of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the first adequate rule of faith and manners; because the principal fountain of truth must be the Truth itself; *i. e.* that whose authority depends not upon another. Even so the writings and sayings of all men we must bring to the Word of God, I mean the Eternal Word, and if they agree hereunto we stand there. For this Word always proceedeth, and doth eternally proceed from God, in and by which the unsearchable counsel and will of God is made known unto us.

Since the Scriptures' authority and certainty depend upon the Spirit by which they were dictated; and the reason why they were received as truth, is because they proceeded from the Spirit, they are not the principal ground of truth.

The Scriptures are not, nor can be, the rule of that faith by which I believe them,

Consequently, they are not the primary adequate rule of faith and manners.

As to what is affirmed, that the Spirit, and not the Scriptures, is the rule, it is largely handled in the former

proposition; the sum whereof I shall subsume in one argument, thus,

If by the Spirit we can only come to the true knowledge of God; if by the Spirit we are to be led into all truth, and so be taught of all things; then the Spirit, and not the Scriptures, is the foundation of all truth and knowledge, and the primary rule of faith and manners :

Next, the very nature of the gospel itself declareth that the Scriptures cannot be the only and chief rule of Christians; else there should be no difference betwixt the law and the gospel; as, from the nature of the new covenant, by divers Scriptures described in the former proposition, is proved.

But besides these which are before mentioned, herein do the law and the gospel differ, in that the law, being outwardly written, brings under condemnation, but hath not life in it to save; whereas the gospel, as it declares and makes manifest the evil, so, being an inward powerful thing, it gives power also to obey, and deliver from the evil. Hence it is called glad tidings*. The law or letter, which is without us, kills; but the gospel, which is the inward spiritual law, gives life; for it consists not so much in words as in virtue. Wherefore such as come to know it, and be acquainted with it, come to feel greater power over their iniquities, than all outward laws or rules can give them. Hence the apostle concludes, Rom. vi. 14. "Sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace." This grace then that is inward, and not an outward law, is to be the rule of Christians. From what is above said, I argue thus :

The principal rule of Christians under the gospel is not an outward letter, nor law outwardly written and delivered,

* Ευαγγελιον.

as the Scriptures are, but an inward spiritual law, engraven in the heart, the law of the Spirit of life, the word that is nigh in the heart and in the mouth.

§. III. Thirdly, In that there are numberless things, with regard to their circumstances, which particular Christians may be concerned in, for which there can be no particular rule had in the Scriptures;

Therefore the Scriptures cannot be a rule to them.

It is not to be doubted but some men are particularly called to some particular services; their being not found in which, though the act be no general positive duty, yet in so far as it may be required of them, is a great sin to omit; forasmuch as God is jealous of his glory, and every act of disobedience to his will manifested, is enough not only to hinder one greatly from that comfort and inward peace which otherwise he might have, but also bringeth condemnation.

As for instance, Some are called to the ministry of the word: Paul saith, there was a necessity upon him to preach the gospel: "Wo unto me, if I preach not."

If it be necessary that there be now ministers of the church, as well as then, then there is the same necessity upon some, more than upon others, to occupy this place; which necessity, as it may be incumbent upon particular persons, the Scripture neither doth nor can declare.

If it be said, That the qualifications of a minister are found in the Scripture, and by applying these qualifications to myself, I may know whether I be fit for such a place or not;

I answer, The qualifications of a bishop, or minister, as they are mentioned both in the epistle to Timothy and Titus, are such as may be found in a private Christian; yea, which ought in some measure to be in every true Christian; so that this giveth a man no

certainly. Every capacity to an office giveth me not a sufficient call to it.

Next again, By what rule shall I judge if I be so qualified? How do I know that I am sober, meek, holy, harmless? Is it not the testimony of the Spirit in my conscience that must assure me hereof? And suppose that I was qualified and called, yet what Scripture-rule shall inform me, Whether it be my duty to preach in this or that place, in France or England, Holland or Germany? Whether I shall take up my time in confirming the faithful, reclaiming hereticks, or converting infidels, as also in writing epistles to this or that church?

The general rules of the Scripture, viz. To be diligent in my duty, to do all to the glory of God, and for the good of his church, can give me no light in this thing. Seeing two different things may both have a respect to that way, yet may I commit a great error and offence in doing the one, when I am called to the other. If Paul, when his face was turned by the Lord toward Jerusalem, had gone back to Achaia or Macedonia, he might have supposed he could have done God more acceptable service, in preaching and confirming the churches, than in being shut up in prison in Judea; but would God have been pleased herewith? Nay, certainly. Obedience is better than sacrifice; and it is not our doing that which is good simply that pleaseth God, but that good which he willeth us to do.

The apostle sheweth this distinction well, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us; whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation." Now what scripture-rule

sheweth me that I ought to exhort, rather than prophesy? or to minister, rather than teach? Surely none at all.

Moreover, that which of all things is most needful for him to know, to wit, whether he really be in the faith, and an heir of salvation, or not, the Scripture can give him no certainty in, neither can it be a rule to him. That this knowledge is exceedingly desirable, all do unanimously acknowledge; besides that it is especially commanded, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith, prove yourselves; know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" And 2 Pet. i. 10. "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give all diligence to make your calling and election sure." Now I say, What Scripture-rule can assure me that I have true faith? That my calling and election are sure?

If it be said, By comparing the Scripture-marks of true faith with mine:

I demand, Wherewith shall I make this observation? What shall ascertain me that I am not mistaken? It cannot be the Scripture: that is the matter under debate.

If it be said, My own heart:

How unfit a judge is it in its own case? And how like to be partial, especially if it be yet unrenewed? Doth not the Scripture say, that it is deceitful above all things? I find the promises, I find the threatenings, in the Scripture; but who telleth me that the one belongs to me more than the other? The Scripture gives me a mere declaration of these things, but makes no application.

This is indeed so pungent, that the best of Protestants, who plead for this assurance, ascribe it to the inward testimony of the Spirit*.

Moreover, the Scripture itself, wherein we are so earnest-

* See Westminster Confession of Faith, ch. 18, §. 12.

ly pressed to seek after this assurance, doth not at all affirm itself a rule sufficient to give it, but wholly ascribeth it to the Spirit, as Rom. viii. 16. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." 1 John iv. 13. "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit." And chap. v. 6. "And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth."

§. IV. Lastly, That cannot be the only, principal, nor chief rule, which doth not universally reach every individual that needeth it to produce the necessary effect; and from the use of which, either by some innocent defect, or natural yet blameless imperfection, many who are within the compass of the visible church, and may, without absurdity, yea, with great probability, be accounted of the elect, are necessarily excluded, and that either wholly, or at least from the immediate use thereof. But it so falls out frequently, concerning the Scriptures, in the case of deaf people, children, and ideots, who can by no means have the benefit of the Scriptures. Shall we then affirm, that they are without any rule Godward, or that they are all damned? As such an opinion is in itself very absurd, and inconsistent both with the justice and mercy of God, so I know no sound reason can be alleged for it. Now if we may suppose any such to be under the new covenant dispensation, as I know none will deny but that we may suppose it without any absurdity, we cannot suppose them without some rule and means of knowledge; seeing it is expressly affirmed, "They shall all be taught of God," John vi. 45. "And they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest," Heb. viii. 11. But secondly, Though we were rid of this difficulty, how many illiterate and yet good men are there in the church of God, who cannot read a letter in their own mother tongue? These

can have no immediate * knowledge of the rule of their faith; so their faith must needs depend upon the credit of other men's reading or relating it unto them; where either the altering, adding, or omitting of a little word may be a foundation in the poor hearer of a very dangerous mistake, whereby he may either continue in some iniquity ignorantly, or believe a lie confidently.

Through and by the clearness which the Spirit gives us it is that we are only best rid of those difficulties that occur to us concerning the Scriptures. The real and undoubted experience whereof I myself have been a witness of, with great admiration of the love of God to his children in these latter days: for I have known some of my friends, who profess the same faith with me, faithful servants of the Most High God, and full of divine knowledge of his truth, as it was immediately and inwardly revealed to them by the Spirit, from a true and living experience, who not only were ignorant of the Greek and Hebrew, but even some of them could not read their own vulgar language, who being pressed by their adversaries with some citations out of the English translation, and finding them to disagree with the manifestation of truth in their own hearts, have boldly affirmed the Spirit of God never said so, and that it was certainly wrong; for they did not believe that any of the holy prophets or apostles had ever written so; which when I on this account seriously examined, I really found to be errors and corruptions of the translators.

§. V. If it be then asked me, Whether I think hereby to render the Scriptures altogether uncertain, or useless?

I answer; not at all. The proposition itself declares

* Direct.

how much I esteem them; and provided that to the Spirit, from which they came, be but granted that place the Scriptures themselves give it, I do freely concede to the Scriptures the second place, even whatsoever they say of themselves, which the apostle Paul chiefly mentions in two places, Rom. xv. 4. "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. "The holy Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ. All Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work."

For though God doth chiefly lead us by his Spirit, yet he sometimes conveys his consolation to us through his children, whom he raises up and inspires to speak or write a word in season, whereby the saints are made instruments in the hand of the Lord to strengthen and encourage one another, which doth also tend to make them wise unto salvation; and such as are led by the Spirit cannot neglect, but do naturally love, and are wonderfully cherished by, that which proceedeth from the same Spirit in another; because such mutual emanations of the heavenly life tend to quicken the mind, when at any time it is overtaken with heaviness. Peter himself declares this to have been the end of his writing, 2 Pet. i. 12, 13. "Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth; yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance."

God is teacher of his people himself; and there is nothing more express, than that such as are under the new

covenant, need no man to teach them: yet it was a fruit of Christ's ascension to send teachers and pastors for perfecting of the saints. So that the same work is ascribed to the Scriptures as to teachers; the one to make the man of God perfect, the other for the perfection of the saints.

As then teachers are not to go before the teaching of God himself under the new covenant, but to follow after it; neither are they to rob us of that great privilege which Christ hath purchased unto us by his blood; so neither is the Scripture to go before the teaching of the Spirit, or to rob us of it.

Secondly, God hath seen meet that herein we should, as in a looking-glass, see the conditions and experiences of the saints of old; that finding our experience answer to theirs, we might thereby be the more confirmed and comforted, and our hope of obtaining the same end strengthened; that observing the providences attending them, seeing the snares they were liable to, and beholding their deliverances, we may thereby be made wise unto salvation, and seasonably instructed in righteousness.

§. VI. In this respect then we have shewn what service and use the holy Scriptures, as managed in and by the Spirit, are of to the church of God; wherefore we do account them a secondary rule. Moreover, because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of time to have slipped in, are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith; we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary to their testimony, may therefore justly be rejected as false. And for our parts, we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them; which we never

refused, nor ever shall, in all controversies with our opponents, as the judge and test. We shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, That whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil.

Thus far we have shewn both what we believe and what we believe not, concerning the holy Scriptures. But since they that will needs have them to be the only, certain, and principal rule, want not some shew of argument, even from the Scripture itself (though it nowhere calls itself so) by which they labour to prove their doctrine; I shall briefly lay them down by way of objections, and answer them.

§. VII. Their first objection is usually drawn from Isaiah viii. 20. "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Now this law, testimony, and word, they plead to be the Scriptures.

To which I answer, that that is to beg the thing in question, and remains yet unproved. Nor do I know for what reason we may not safely affirm this law and word to be inward: but suppose it was outward, it proves not the case at all for them, neither makes it against us; for it may be confessed, without any prejudice to our cause, that the outward law was more particularly to the Jews a rule, and more principally than to us; seeing their law was outward and literal, but ours under the new covenant is expressly affirmed to be inward and spiritual; so that this Scripture is so far from making against us, that it makes for us. For if the Jews were directed to try all things by their law, which was without them, written in tables of stone; then if we will have this advice of the prophet to reach us, we must make it hold parallel to that dispensation of the gospel which we are under: so that we are to try all

things, in the first place, by that word of faith which is preached unto us, which the apostle saith is in the heart; and by that law which God hath given us, which the apostle saith also expressly is written and placed in the mind.

Lastly, If we look to this place according to the Greek interpretation, the Septuagint, our opponents shall have nothing from thence to carp; yea, it will favour us much; for there it is said, that the law is given us for an help; which very well agrees with what is above asserted.

Their second objection is from John v. 39. "Search * the Scriptures," &c.

Here, say they, we are commanded, by Christ himself, to search the Scriptures.

I answer, First, That the Scriptures ought to be searched, we do not at all deny; but the question is, Whether they be the only and principal rule? Which this is so far from proving, that it proveth the contrary; for Christ checks them here for too high an esteem of the Scriptures, and neglecting of him that was to be preferred before them, and to whom they bore witness, as the following words declare; for in "them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life." This shews, that while they thought they had eternal life in the Scriptures, they neglected to come unto Christ that they might have life. This answers well to our purpose, since our opponents now do also exalt the Scriptures, and think to have life in them; which is no more than to look upon them as the only principal rule and way to life, and yet refuse to come unto the Spirit of which they testify, even the inward spiritual law, which could give them life: so that the cause

* Εξιναῖτε may, and perhaps ought to be rendered, "Ye search."

of this people's ignorance and unbelief, was not their want of respect to the Scriptures, which though they knew, and had a high esteem of, yet Christ testifies in the former verses, that they had neither seen the Father, nor heard his voice at any time; neither had his word abiding in them; therefore they did not believe in the Son.

§. VIII. Their third objection is from these words, Acts xvii. 11. "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so."

Here, say they, the Bereans are commended for searching the Scriptures, and making them the rule.

I answer, That the Scriptures either are the principal or only rule, will not at all follow from this; neither will their searching the Scriptures, or being commended for it, infer any such thing: for we approve the use of them in that respect as much as any; yet will it not follow, that we affirm them to be the principal and only rule.

Secondly, It is to be observed that these were the Jews of Berea, to whom these Scriptures, which were the law and the prophets, were more particularly a rule; and the thing under examination was, whether the birth, life, works, and sufferings of Christ, did answer to the prophecies that went before of him; so that it was most proper for them, being Jews, to examine the apostle's doctrine by the Scriptures; seeing he pleaded it to be a fulfilling of them. It is said nevertheless, in the first place, That they received the word with cheerfulness; and in the second place, They searched the Scriptures: not that they searched the Scriptures and then received the word; for then could the Scriptures not have prevailed to convert them, had they not first minded the word abiding in them, which opened their understandings, no more than the

Scribes and Pharisees, who searched the Scriptures, and exalted them, and yet remained in their unbelief, because they had not the word abiding in them.

But lastly, If this commendation of the Berean Jews might infer that the Scriptures were the only and principal rule to try the apostle's doctrine by, what should have become of the Gentiles? How should they ever have come to have received the faith of Christ, who neither knew the Scriptures, nor believed them? We see in the end of the same chapter, how the apostle, preaching to the Athenians, took another method, and directed them to somewhat of God within themselves, that they might feel after him. He did not go about to proselyte them to the Jewish religion, and to the belief of the law and the prophets, and from thence to prove the coming of Christ; nay, he took a nearer way. Now certainly the principal and only rule is not different; one to the Jews, and another to the Gentiles, but is universal, reaching both: though secondary and subordinate rules and means may be various, and diversly suited, according as the people they are used to are circumstanced: even so we see that the apostle to the Athenians used a testimony of one of their own poets*, which he judged would have credit with them; and no doubt such testimonies, whose authors they esteemed, had more weight with them than all the sayings of Moses and the prophets, whom they neither knew nor would have cared for. Now because the apostle used the testimony of a poet to the Athenians, will it therefore follow he made that the principal or only rule to try his doctrine by? So neither will it follow, that though he made use of the Scriptures to the Jews, as being a principle already be-

* Τὸ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν.—ARATUS.

For we are also his offspring.

lietied by them, to try his doctrine, that from thence the Scriptures may be accounted the principal or only rule.

§. IX. The last, and that which at first view seems to be the greatest objection, is this :

If the Scripture be not the adequate, principal, and only rule, then it would follow that the Scripture is not complete, nor the canon filled ; that if men be now immediately led and ruled by the Spirit, they may add new Scriptures of equal authority with the old ; whereas every one that adds is cursed : yea, what assurance have we, but at this rate every one may bring in a new gospel, according to his fancy ?

The dangerous consequences insinuated in this objection were fully answered in the latter part of the last proposition, and in what was said a little before, offering freely to disclaim all pretended revelations contrary to the Scriptures.

But if it be urged, That it is not enough to deny these consequences, if they naturally follow from your doctrine of immediate revelation, and denying the Scripture to be the only rule ;

I answer ; We have proved both these doctrines to be true and necessary, according to the Scriptures themselves ; and therefore to fasten evil consequences upon them, which we make appear do not follow, is not to accuse us, but Christ and his apostles, who preached them.

But secondly, We have shut the door upon all such doctrine in this very position ; affirming, that the Scriptures give a full and ample testimony to all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith ; for we do firmly believe that there is no other gospel or doctrine to be preached, but that which was delivered by the apostles ; and do freely subscribe to that saying, “ Let him that preacheth any

other gospel, than that which hath been already preached by the apostles, and according to the Scripture, be accursed."

So we distinguish betwixt a revelation of a new gospel, and new doctrines, and a new revelation of the good old gospel and doctrines; the last we plead for, but the first we utterly deny. For we firmly believe, That no other foundation can any man lay, than that which is laid already. But that this revelation is necessary we have already proved; and this distinction doth sufficiently guard us against the hazard insinuated in the objection.

As to the Scriptures being a filled canon, I see no necessity of believing it. And if these men, that believe the Scriptures to be the only rule, will be consistent with their own doctrine, they must needs be of my judgment; seeing it is simply impossible to prove the canon by the Scriptures. For it cannot be found in any book of the Scriptures, that these books, and just these, and no other, are canonical, as all are forced to acknowledge.

If they should allege; That the admitting of any other books to be now written by the same Spirit might infer the admission of new doctrines;

I deny that consequence; for the principal or fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion are contained in the tenth part of the Scripture; but it will not follow thence that the rest are useless. If it should please God to bring to us any of those books, which by the injury of time are lost, which are mentioned in the Scripture; as, The prophecy of Enoch; the book of Nathan, &c. or the third epistle of Paul to the Corinthians; I see no reason why we ought not to receive them, and place them with the rest. That which displeaseth me is, that men should first affirm that the Scripture is the only and principal rule,

and yet make a great article of faith of that which the Scripture can give us no light in.

As for instance: How shall a Protestant prove by Scripture, to such as deny the Epistle of James to be authentic, that it ought to be received?

First, If he would say, Because it contradicts not the rest, perhaps these men think it doth contradict Paul in relation to faith and works. But, if that should be granted, it would as well follow, that every writer that contradicts not the Scripture, should be put into the canon; and by this mean these men fall into a greater absurdity than they fix upon us: for thus they might equal every one the writings of their own sect with the Scriptures.

And Lastly, as to these words, Rev. xxii. 18. "That if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book;" I desire they will shew me how it relates to any thing else than to that particular prophecy. It saith not, Now the canon of the Scripture is filled up, no man is to write more from the Spirit; yea, do not all confess that there have been prophecies and true prophets since?

PROPOSITION IV.

Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall.

All Adam's posterity, or mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam, or earthly man, is fallen and degenerated; deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or seed of God; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed of the serpent, which he

soweth in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted estate; from whence it comes, that not only their words and deeds, but all their imaginations, are evil perpetually in the sight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed. Man, therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil seed, and united to the Divine Light, are unprofitable both to himself and others. Hence are rejected the Socinian and Pelagian errors, in exalting a natural light; as also of the Papists, and most Protestants, who affirm, That man, without the true grace of God, may be a true minister of the gospel. Nevertheless, this seed is not imputed to infants, until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith; for those are by nature the children of wrath, who walk according to the power of the prince of the air*, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience, having their conversation in the lusts of the flesh, and doing the things that are agreeable to the flesh and to the imagination.

§. I. **H**ITHERTO we have discoursed how the true knowledge of God is attained; also of what use the holy Scriptures are.

We come now to examine the condition of man as he stands in the fall; what his capacity and power is; and how far he is able, of himself, to advance in relation to the things of God. This we touched a little in the beginning of the second proposition; but the right and thorough understanding of it is of great use and service; because from the ignorance and altercations that have been about it,

* The usual import of the word *ang*, in classic authors, is *darkness*.

there have arisen dangerous errors, both on the one hand and on the other. While some do so far exalt the light of nature, or the faculty of the natural man, as capable of himself, by virtue of the inward will, light, and power, that pertains to his nature, to follow that which is good, and make real progress towards heaven; others again will needs run into another extreme, not only confessing man incapable of himself to do good, and prone to evil; but that in his very mother's womb, and before he commits any actual transgression, he is contaminate with a real guilt, whereby he deserves eternal death: in which respect they are not afraid to affirm, That many poor infants are eternally damned, and for ever endure the torments of hell. The God of truth, having now again revealed his truth, by his own Spirit, hath taught us to avoid both these extremes.

That then which our proposition leads us to treat of is,

First, What the condition of man is in the fall; and how far incapable to meddle in the things of God.

And Secondly, That God doth not impute this evil to infants, until they actually join with it.

§. II. As to the first, not to dive into the many curious notions which many have concerning the condition of Adam before the fall, all agree in this, that thereby he came to a very great loss, not only in the things which related to the outward man, but in regard of that true communion he had with God. This loss was signified unto him in the command, "For in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die," Gen. ii. 17. This death could not be an outward death; for as to that, he did not die yet many hundred years after; so that it must needs respect his spiritual life and communion with God. The consequence of this fall, besides that which relates to the fruits of the earth,

is also expressed, Gen. iii. 24. "So he drove out the man, and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim, and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life." Now whatever literal signification this may have, we may safely ascribe to this paradise a mystical signification, and truly account it that spiritual communion, which the saints obtain with God by Jesus Christ; to whom only these cherubim give way, and unto as many as enter by him, who calls himself the door. So that though we do not ascribe any whit of Adam's guilt to men, until they make it theirs by the like acts of disobedience; yet we cannot suppose that men, who are come of Adam naturally, can have any good thing in their nature, as belonging to it; which he, from whom they derive their nature, had not himself to communicate unto them.

If then we may affirm, that Adam did not retain in his nature any will or light capable to give him knowledge in spiritual things, then neither can his posterity: for whatsoever real good any man doeth, it proceedeth not from his nature, as he is man, or the son of Adam; but from the seed of God in him, as a new visitation of life, in order to bring him out of this natural condition: so that, though it be in him, yet it is not of him; and this the Lord himself witnessed, Gen vi. 5. where it is said, he saw that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually: which words as they are very positive, so are they very comprehensive. Observe the emphasis of them; First, There is every imagination of the thoughts of his heart; so that this admits of no exception of any imagination of the thoughts of his heart. Secondly, Is only evil continually; it is neither in some part evil continually, nor yet only evil at some times; but both only evil, and always and continually evil; which certainly excludes any good, as a proper effect of man's

heart, naturally: for that which is only evil, and that always, cannot of its own nature produce any good thing. The Lord expressed this again a little after, chap. viii. 21. "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth;" thus inferring how natural and proper it is unto him; from which I thus argue:

If the thoughts of man's heart be not only evil, but always evil; then are they, as they simply proceed from his heart, neither good in part, nor at any time.

Again,

If man's thoughts be always and only evil, then are they altogether useless to him in the things of God.

This appears clearly from that saying of the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xvii. 9. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." For who can with any colour of reason imagine, that that which is so hath any power of itself, or is in any wise fit, to lead a man to righteousness, whereunto it is of its own nature directly opposite: From this then I also thus argue:

The heart of man, which is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, is not fit, neither can it lead a man aright in things that are good and honest.

But the apostle Paul describeth the condition of men in the fall at large, taking it out of the Psalmist: "There is none righteous, no not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have used deceit, the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known. There is no fear of God before their eyes." What

more positive can be spoken? He seemeth to be particularly careful to avoid that any good should be ascribed to the natural man; he shews how he is polluted in all his ways; he shews how he is void of righteousness, of understanding, of the knowledge of God; than which nothing can be more fully said to confirm our judgment: for if this be the condition of the natural man, or of man as he stands in the fall, he is unfit to make one right step to heaven.

If it be said, That is not spoken of the condition of man in general; but only of some particulars, or at the least that it comprehends not all.

The text sheweth the contrary in the foregoing verses, where the apostle takes in himself, as he stood in his natural condition. "What then? Are we better than they? No, in no wise; for we have before proved, both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin, as it is written:" by which it is manifest that he speaks of mankind in general.

If they object that which the same apostle saith in the foregoing chapter, ver. 14, to wit, That the Gentiles do by nature the things contained in the law, and so consequently do by nature that which is good and acceptable in the sight of God;

I answer; This nature must not, neither can be understood of man's own nature, which is corrupt; but of the spiritual nature, which proceedeth from the seed of God in man, as it receiveth a new visitation of God's love, and is quickened by it: which clearly appears by the following words, where he saith, These not having a law (*i. e.*) outwardly, are a law unto themselves; which shews the work of the law written in their hearts. These acts of theirs then are an effect of the law written in their hearts; but the Scripture declareth, that the writing of the law in the heart is a part, yea and a great part too, of the new cove-

nant dispensation, and so no consequence nor part of man's nature.

Secondly, If this nature here spoken of could be understood of man's own nature, which he hath as he is a man, then would the apostle unavoidably contradict himself; since he elsewhere positively declares, that the natural man discerneth not the things of God, nor can. Now I hope the law of God is among the things of God, especially as it is written in the heart. The apostle, in the viith chap. of the same epistle, saith, verse 12. that the law is holy, just, and good; and verse 14. the law is spiritual, but he is carnal. Now in what respect is he carnal, but as he stands in the fall unregenerate? Now what inconsistency would here be, to say, That he is carnal, and yet not so of his own nature, seeing it is from his nature that he is so denominated? We see the apostle contradistinguisheth the law as spiritual, from man's nature as carnal and sinful. Wherefore, as Christ saith, There can no grapes be expected from thorns, nor figs of thistles; so neither can the fulfilling of the law, which is spiritual, holy, and just, be expected from that nature which is fallen, and unregenerate. Whence we conclude, with good reason, that the nature here spoken of, by which the Gentiles are said to have done the things contained in the law, is not the common nature of men; but that spiritual nature that ariseth from the operation of the righteous and spiritual law that is written in the heart.

§. III. I might also here use another argument from those words of the apostle, 1 Cor. ii. where he so positively excludes the natural man from an understanding in the things of God; but because I have spoken of that Scripture in the beginning of the second proposition, I will here aviid to repeat what is there mentioned; yet because the Socinians and others, who exalt the light of the

natural man, or a natural light in man, do object against this Scripture, I shall remove it before I proceed.

They say, The Greek word ψυχικός ought to be translated animal, and not natural; else, say they, it would have been φυσικός. From which they seek to infer, that it is only the animal man, and not the rational, that is excluded here from discerning the things of God. Which shift, without disputing about the word, is easily refuted; neither is it any wise consistent with the scope of the place. For

First, The animal life is no other than that which man hath in common with other living creatures; for as he is a mere man, he differs no otherwise from beasts than by the rational property. Now the apostle deduceth his argument in the foregoing verses from this simile; That as the things of a man cannot be known but by the spirit of a man, so the things of God no man knoweth but by the Spirit of God. But I hope these men will confess that the things of a man are not known by the animal spirit only, i. e. by that which he hath in common with the beasts, but by the rational; so that it must be the rational that is here understood. Again, the assumption shews clearly that the apostle had no such intent as these men's gloss would make him have, viz. "So the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." According to their judgment he should have said, The things of God knoweth no man by his animal spirit, but by his rational spirit: for to say, the Spirit of God, here spoken of, is no other than the rational spirit of man, would border upon blasphemy, since they are so often contra-distinguished. Again, going on, he saith not that they are rationally, but spiritually discerned.

Secondly, The apostle throughout this chapter shews

how the wisdom of man is unfit to judge of the things of God, and ignorant of them. Now I ask these men, whether a man be called a wise man from his animal property, or from his rational? If from his rational, then it is not only the animal but also the rational, as he is yet in the natural state, which the apostle excludes here, and whom he contra-distinguisheth from the spiritual, verse 15. "But the spiritual man judgeth all things." This cannot be said of any man merely because rational, or as he is a man, seeing the men of the greatest reason, if we may so esteem men whom the Scripture calls wise, as were the Greeks of old, not only may be, but often are, enemies to the kingdom of God; while both the preaching of Christ is said to be foolishness with the wise men of the world, and the wisdom of the world is said to be foolishness with God. Now whether it be any ways probable that either these wise men that are said to account the gospel foolishness, are only so called with respect to their animal property, and not their rational; or that the wisdom that is foolishness with God is not meant of the rational, but only the animal property, any rational man, laying aside prejudice, may easily judge.

§. IV. I come now to the other part, to wit, That this evil and corrupted seed is not imputed to infants, until they actually join with it. For this there is a reason given in the end of the proposition itself, drawn from Eph. ii. "For these are by nature children of wrath, who walk according to the prince of the power of the air*, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." Here the apostle gives their evil walking, and not any thing that is not reduced to act, as a reason of their being

* See Note, page 46.

children of wrath*. And this is suitable to the whole strain of the gospel, where no man is ever threatened or judged for what iniquity he hath not actually wrought; such indeed as continue in iniquity, and so do allow the sins of their fathers, God will visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children. The apostle saith plainly, Rom. iv. 15. "Where no law is, there is no transgression." And again, v. 13. "But sin is not imputed where there is no law."

From which I thus argue:

Infants being under a physical impossibility, to whom there is no law, sin is not imputed to them.

Secondly, What can be more positive than that of Ezek. xviii. 20. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die; the son shall not bear the father's iniquity?" For the prophet here first sheweth what is the cause of man's eternal death, which he saith is his sinning; and then, as if he purposed expressly to shut out such an opinion, he assures us, The son shall not bear the father's iniquity; far less shall he bear the iniquity of Adam.

§. V. Having thus far shewn how absurd this opinion is, I shall briefly examine the reasons its authors bring for it.

First, They say, Adam was a public person, and therefore all men sinned in him, as being in his loins. And for this they allege that of Rom. v. 12. "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned, &c." These last words, say they, may be translated, "In whom all have sinned."

* Our Author here seems to have been led into a mistake, by not considering the words *children of wrath* to mean *wrathful children*, as *children of disobedience* means *disobedient children*.

To this I answer: That Adam is a public person is not denied; and that through him there is a seed of sin propagated to all men, which in its own nature is sinful, and inclines men to iniquity; yet it will not follow from thence, that infants, who join not with this seed, are guilty. As for these words in the Romans, the reason of the guilt there alleged is, For that all have sinned. Now no man is said to sin, unless he actually sin in his own person: of which that infants are incapable, the apostle clearly shows by the following verse, Sin is not imputed, where there is no law: and since there is no law to infants, they cannot be here included.

Their second objection is from Psalm li. 5. "Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Hence, they say, it appears that infants from their conception are guilty.

How they infer this consequence, I see not. The iniquity and sin here appear to be far more ascribable to the parents than to the child. It is said indeed, In sin did my mother conceive me; not, My mother did conceive me a sinner. Besides that, so interpreted, contradicts expressly the Scripture before-mentioned, in making children guilty of the sins of their immediate parents, (for of Adam there is not here any mention,) contrary to the plain words, the son shall not bear the father's iniquity.

Thirdly, they object, That the wages of sin is death; and that seeing children are subject to diseases and death, therefore they must be guilty of sin.

I answer, That these things are a consequence of the fall, and of Adam's sin, is confessed; but that that infers necessarily a guilt in all others that are subject to them is denied. For though the whole outward creation suffered a decay by Adam's fall, which groans under vanity; according to which it is said in Job, that the heavens are not

clean in the sight of God; yet will it not from thence follow, that the herbs, earth, and trees are sinners.

Next, death, though a consequence of the fall, incident to man's earthly nature, is not the wages of sin in the saints, but rather a sleep, by which they pass from death to life; which is so far from being painful to them, as all real punishments for sin are, that the apostle counts it gain: "To me," saith he, "to die is gain," Philip. i. 21.

Some are so foolish as to make an objection farther, saying, That if Adam's sin be not imputed to those who actually have not sinned, then it would follow that all infants are saved.

But we are willing that this supposed absurdity should be the consequence of our doctrine, rather than that which it seems our opponents reckon not absurd, though the undoubted and unavoidable consequence of theirs, viz. That many infants eternally perish, not for any sin of their own, but only for Adam's iniquity; where we are willing to let the controversy stop, commending both to the illuminated understanding of the Christian reader.

We confess then that a seed of sin is transmitted to all men from Adam, although imputed to none, until by sinning they actually join with it; in which seed he gave occasion to all to sin, and it is the origin of all evil actions and thoughts in men's hearts, In which death all have sinned*, Rom. v. For this seed of sin is frequently called death in the Scripture, and the body of death; seeing indeed it is a death to the life of righteousness and holiness: therefore its seed and its product is called the old man, the old Adam, in which all sin is; for which cause we use this name to express this sin, and not that of original sin; of which phrase the Scripture makes no mention, and

* εφ' ᾧ viz. θανάτῳ.

under which unscriptural barbarism this notion of imputed sin to infants took place among Christians.

PROPOSITION V.

God, out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath so loved the world, that he hath given his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should be saved, John iii. 16. who enlighteneth EVERY man that cometh into the world, John i. 9. and maketh manifest all things that are reprobable, Ephes. v. 13. and teacheth all temperance, righteousness, and godliness; and this Light enlighteneth the hearts of all for a time, in order to salvation; and this is it which re-proves the sin of all individuals, and would work out the salvation of all, if not resisted. Nor is it less universal than the seed of sin, being the purchase of his death, who tasted death for every man: "for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive," 1 Cor. xv. 22.

PROPOSITION VI.

According to which principle or hypothesis all the objections against the universality of Christ's death are easily solved; neither is it needful to recur to the ministry of angels, and those other miraculous means which they

say God useth to manifest the doctrine and history of Christ's passion unto such, who, living in parts of the world where the outward preaching of the gospel is unknown, have well improved the first and common grace. For as hence it well follows that some of the old philosophers have been saved, so also may some, who by providence are cast into those remote parts of the world where the knowledge of the history is wanting, be made partakers of the divine mystery, if they receive and resist not that grace, a manifestation whereof is given to every man to profit withal. This most certain doctrine being then received, that there is an evangelical and saving light and grace in all, the universality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind, both in the death of his beloved Son the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the manifestation of the light in the heart, is established against all the objections of such as deny it. Therefore Christ hath tasted death for every man; not only for all kinds of men, but for every man of all kinds; the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to such as have the distinct and outward knowledge of his death and sufferings, as the same is declared in the Scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by some inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such from whom God himself hath withheld it; yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of his death, though ignorant of the history, if they suffer his seed and light, enlightening their hearts, to take place, in which light communion with the Father and the Son is enjoyed, so as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whose inward and secret touches they feel themselves turned from the evil to the good, and

learn to do to others as they would be done by, in which Christ himself affirms all to be included. As they have then erroneously taught, who have denied Christ to have died for all men; so neither have they sufficiently taught the truth, who affirming him to have died for all, have added the absolute necessity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to obtain its saving effect. Among whom the remonstrants of Holland have been chiefly wanting, and many other asserters of universal redemption, in that they have not placed the extent of this salvation in that divine and evangelical principle of light and life wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, which is excellently and evidently held forth in these Scriptures, Gen. vi. 3. Deut. xxx. 14. John i. 7, 8, 9, 16. Rom. x. 8. Titus ii. 11.

HITHERTO we have considered man's fallen and degenerated condition. Now it is fit to inquire, how and by what means he may come to be freed out of this miserable condition, which in these two propositions is declared and demonstrated.

As for that doctrine which these propositions chiefly strike at, to wit, absolute reprobation, according to which some are not afraid to assert, "That God, by an eternal and immutable decree, hath predestinated to eternal damnation the far greater part of mankind, not considered as created, much less as fallen, without any respect to their disobedience or sin, but only for the demonstrating of the glory of his justice; and that for the bringing this about, he hath appointed these miserable souls necessarily to walk in their wicked ways, that so his justice may lay hold on them: and that God doth therefore not only suffer them to be liable to this misery in many parts of the world,

by withholding from them the preaching of the gospel and the knowledge of Christ, but even in those places where the gospel is preached, and salvation by Christ is offered; whom, though he publicly invite them, yet he justly condemns for disobedience; albeit he hath withheld from them all grace by which they could have laid hold of the gospel, viz. Because he hath, by a secret will unknown to all men, ordained and decreed (without any respect had to their obedience or sin) that they shall not obey, and that the offer of the gospel shall never prove effectual for their salvation, but only serve to aggravate and occasion their greater condemnation."

I say, as to this blasphemous doctrine, our cause is common with many others, who have both wisely and learnedly, according to Scripture and reason, refuted it. Seeing then so much is already and so well said against this doctrine, that little can be superadded, I shall be short in this respect.

§. I. First, We may safely call this doctrine a novelty, seeing the first four hundred years after Christ there is no mention made of it: for as it is contrary to the Scriptures' testimony, and to the tenor of the gospel, so all the ancient writers and doctors of the church pass it over with a profound silence. However, we should not oppugn it for the silence of the ancients, paucity of its asserters, or for the learnedness of its opposers, if we did observe it to have any real bottom in the sacred writings, and that it were not highly injurious to God himself, to Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer, and to the power, virtue, and excellency of his blessed gospel, and lastly unto all mankind.

§. II. First, It is highly injurious to God, because it makes him the author of sin, which of all things is most contrary to his nature.

§. III. Secondly, this doctrine is injurious to God, because it makes him delight in the death of sinners, and to will many to die in their sins, contrary to these Scriptures, Ezek. xxxiii. 11. 1 Tim. ii. 4. 2 Pet. iii. 9. For if he hath created men only for this very end, that he might shew forth his justice and power in them, as these men affirm, and for effecting thereof hath not only withheld from them the means of doing good, but also predestinated the evil, that they might fall into it; and that he forces them into great sins; certainly he must necessarily delight in their death, and will them to die; seeing against his own will he neither doth nor can do any thing.

§. IV. Thirdly, It is highly injurious to Christ our mediator, and to the efficacy and excellency of his gospel: for it renders his mediation ineffectual, as if he had not by his sufferings thoroughly broken down the middle wall, nor yet removed the wrath of God, or purchased the love of God towards all mankind, if it was afore-decreed that it should be of no service to the far greater part of them. It is to no purpose to allege, that the death of Christ was of efficacy enough to have saved all mankind, if in effect its virtue be not so far extended as to put them into a capacity of salvation.

Fourthly, It makes the preaching of the gospel a mere mock and illusion, if many of these, to whom it is preached, be by any irrevocable decree excluded from being benefited by it; it wholly makes useless the preaching of faith and repentance, and the whole tenor of the gospel-promises and threatenings, as being all relative to a former decree and means before appointed to such; which, because they cannot fail, man needs do nothing but wait for that irresistible juncture, which will come, though it be but at the last hour of his life, if he be in the decree of elec-

tion; and be his diligence what it can, he shall never attain it, if he belong to the decree of reprobation.

Fifthly, It makes the coming of Christ, and his propitiatory sacrifice, which the Scripture affirms to have been the fruit of God's love to the world, and transacted for the sins and salvation of all men, to have been rather a testimony of God's wrath to the world, and one of the greatest judgments, and severest acts of God's indignation towards mankind, it being only ordained to save a very few, and for the hardening, and augmenting the condemnation of the far greater number of men, because they believe not truly in it; the cause of which unbelief again, is the hidden counsel of God: certainly the coming of Christ was never to them a testimony of God's love, but rather of his implacable wrath: and if the world may be taken for the far greater number of such as live in it, God never loved the world, according to this doctrine, but rather hated it greatly, in sending his son to be crucified in it.

§. V. Sixthly, This doctrine is highly injurious to mankind; for it renders them in a far worse condition than the devils in hell. For these were sometime in a capacity to have stood, and do suffer only for their own guilt; whereas many millions of men are for ever tormented, according to them, for Adam's sin, which they neither knew of, nor ever were accessary to. It renders them worse than the beasts of the field, of whom the master requires no more than they are able to perform; and if they be killed, death to them is the end of sorrow; whereas man is for ever tormented for not doing that which he never was able to do. It makes the outward creation of the works of Providence, the smitings of conscience, sufficient to convince the heathens of sin, and so to condemn and judge them: but not at all to help them to salvation. It makes the preaching of the gospel, the offer of salvation by Christ, the use

of the sacraments, of prayer, and good works, sufficient to condemn those they account reprobates within the church, serving only to inform them to beget a seeming faith and vain hope; yet because of a secret impotency, which they had from their infancy, all these are wholly ineffectual to bring them the least step towards salvation; and do only contribute to render their condemnation the greater, and their torments the more intolerable.

Having thus briefly removed this false doctrine which stood in my way, I come to the matter of our proposition; which is, That God out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him might be saved; which also is again affirmed in the sixth proposition, in these words, Christ then tasted death for every man of all kinds. Such is the evidence of this truth, delivered almost wholly in the express words of Scripture, that it will not need much probation.

§. VI. This doctrine of universal redemption, or Christ's dying for all men, is of itself so evident from the Scripture testimony, that there is scarcely found any other article of the Christian faith so frequently, so plainly, and so positively asserted. It is that which maketh the preaching of Christ to be truly termed the gospel, or an annunciation of glad tidings to all. Thus the angel declared the birth and coming of Christ to the shepherds to be, Luke ii. 10. "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people:" he saith not, to a few. Now if this coming of Christ had not brought a possibility of salvation to all, it should rather have been accounted bad tidings of great sorrow to most people; neither should the angel have had reason to have sung, "Peace on earth, and

good will towards men," if the greatest part of mankind had been necessarily shut out from receiving any benefit by it. How should Christ have sent out his servants to preach the gospel to every creature, Mark xvi. 15. that is, to every son and daughter of man, without all exception? He commands them to preach salvation to all, repentance and remission of sins to all; warning every one, and exhorting every one, as Paul did, Col. i. 28. Now how could they have preached the gospel to every man, as became the ministers of Jesus Christ, in much assurance, if salvation by that gospel had not been possible to all? What! if some of those had asked them, or should now ask any of these doctors, who deny the universality of Christ's death, and yet preach it to all promiscuously, Hath Christ died for me? How can they, with confidence, give a certain answer to this question? If they give a conditional answer, as their principle obligeth them to do, and say, If thou repent, Christ hath died for thee; doth not the same question still recur? Hath Christ died for me, so as to make repentance possible to me? To this they can answer nothing, unless they run in a circle; whereas the feet of those that bring the glad tidings of the gospel of peace are said to be beautiful, for that they preach the common salvation, repentance unto all; offering a door of mercy and hope to all, through Jesus Christ, who gave himself a ransom for all. The gospel invites all: and certainly by the gospel Christ intended not to deceive the greater part of mankind, when he invites, and crieth, saying; "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." If all then ought to seek after him, and to look for salvation by him, he must needs have made salvation possible to all; for who is bound to seek after that which is impossible? Certainly it were a mocking of men to bid them do so. And such as deny,

that by the death of Christ salvation is made possible to all men, do most blasphemously make God mock the world, in giving his servants a commission to preach the gospel of salvation unto all, while he hath before decreed that it shall not be possible for them to receive it. But seeing Christ, after he arose and perfected the work of our redemption, gave a commission to preach repentance, remission of sins, and salvation to all, it is manifest that he died for all. For He that hath commissioned his servants thus to preach, is a God of truth, and no mocker of poor mankind; neither doth he require of any man that which is simply impossible for him to do: for that no man is bound to do that which is impossible, is a principle of truth engraven in every man's mind. And seeing he is both a most righteous and merciful God, it cannot at all stand, either with his justice or mercy, to bid such men repent or believe, to whom it is impossible.

§. VII. Moreover, if we regard the testimony of the Scripture in this matter, where there is not one Scripture, that I know of, which affirmeth, Christ not to die for all, there are divers that positively and expressly assert, He did; as 1 Tim. ii. 1, 3, 4, 6. "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, &c. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth: who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." Except we will have the apostle here to assert quite another thing than he intended, there can be nothing more plain to confirm what we have asserted. And this Scripture doth well answer to that manner of arguing which we have hitherto used: for, first, the apostle here recommends them to pray for all men; and to obviate such

an objection, as if he had said with our opponents, Christ prayed not for the world, neither willeth he us to pray for all; because he willeth not that all should be saved, but hath ordained many to be damned, that he might shew forth his justice in them; he obviates, I say, such an objection, telling them that it is good and acceptable in the sight of God, who will have all men to be saved. To conclude, he gives us a reason of his willingness that all men should be saved, in these words, Who gave himself a ransom for all; as if he would have said, Since Christ died for all, since he gave himself a ransom for all, therefore he will have all men to be saved. This Christ himself gives as a reason of God's love to the world, in these words: John iii. 16. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." This *whosoever* is an indefinite term, from which no man is excluded.

From all which then I argue thus, That as it is not only lawful but a duty to pray for every man, therefore salvation is possible to every man; and that as God willeth all men to be saved, therefore their salvation is not impossible; and further, that as Christ gave himself a ransom for all, therefore salvation is possible to all.

§. VIII. This is very positively affirmed, Heb. ii. 9. in these words: "But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God might taste death for every man." He that will but open his eyes, may see this truth here asserted; if he tasted death for every man, then certainly there is no man for whom he did not taste death, then there is no man who may not be made a sharer of the benefit of it: for "he came not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved," John iii. 17. "He came not to judge the

world, but to save the world," John xii. 47. Whereas, according to the doctrine of our opponents, he rather came to condemn the world, and judge it; and not that it might be saved by him or to save it. For if he never came to bring salvation to the greater part of mankind, but that his coming, though it could never do them good, yet shall augment their condemnation; from thence it necessarily follows, that he came not of intention to save, but to judge and condemn the greater part of the world, contrary to his own express testimony; and as the apostle Paul, in the words above cited, doth assert affirmatively, That God willeth the salvation of all, so doth the apostle Peter assert negatively, That he willeth not the perishing of any, 2 Pet. iii. 9. "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness, but is long suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." And this is correspondent to that of the prophet Ezekiel, xxxiii. 11. "As I live saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." What mean all those earnest invitations, all those serious expostulations, wherewith the Holy Scriptures are full? As, "Why will you die, O house of Israel? Why will ye not come unto me, that ye might have life? I have waited to be gracious unto you: I have sought to gather you: I have knocked at the door of your hearts: is not your destruction of yourselves? I have called all the day long."

This doctrine is abundantly confirmed by that of the apostle, 1 John ii. 1, 2. "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." The way which our opponents take to evite this testimony, is most foolish and ridiculous: the *world* here, say they, is the

world of believers: for this commentary we have nothing but their own assertion, and so while it manifestly destroys the text, may be justly rejected. For, first let them shew me, if they can, in all the Scripture, where the *whole world* is taken for believers only; I shall shew them where it is many times taken for the quite contrary; as, The world knows me not: The world receives me not: I am not of this world. The apostle contra-distinguisheth the world from the saints thus; And not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world: What means the apostle by *ours* here? Is not that the sins of believers? Was not he one of those believers? And was not this an universal epistle, written to all the saints that then were? So that according to these men's comment, there should be a very unnecessary redundancy in the apostle's words; as if he had said, He is a propitiation not only for the sins of all believers, but for the sins of all believers: Is not this to make the apostle's words void of good sense?

§. IX. This doctrine of the universality of Christ's death being then so certain and agreeable to the Scripture testimony, it may be wondered how so many, some whereof have been esteemed not only learned, but also pious, have been capable to fall into so gross an error. But the cause of this doth evidently appear, in that the way by which the virtue and efficacy of his death is communicated to all men, hath not been rightly understood, but indeed hath been erroneously taught.

§. X. It falls out then, that as darkness, and the great apostasy, came not upon the Christian world all at once, but by certain degrees, one thing making way for another, until that thick and gross veil beclouded and overshadowed the nations, from the seventh and eighth, until the sixteenth century: even as the darkness of the night comes not upon the outward creation at once, but by degrees, ac-

cording as the sun declines in each horizon; so neither did that clear light and knowledge of the glorious dispensation of the gospel of Christ appear all at once; the work of the first witnesses being more to testify against and discover the abuses of the apostasy, than to establish the truth in purity. Therefore the Lord God, who as he seeth meet doth communicate to man the more evident and perfect knowledge of his everlasting truth, hath been pleased to reserve the more full discovery of this evangelical dispensation, to this our age; albeit divers testimonies have thereunto been borne by some noted men in several ages. And for the greater augmentation of the glory of his grace, that no man might have whereof to boast, he hath raised up a few despicable and illiterate men, and for the most part mechanics, to be the dispensers of this gospel; by which all the doubts and objections above-mentioned are easily and evidently answered, and the justice as well as mercy of God, according to their divine and heavenly harmony, are exhibited and confirmed. According to which certain light and gospel, as the knowledge thereof has been manifested to us by the revelation of Jesus Christ in us, fortified by our own sensible experience, and sealed by the testimony of the Spirit in our hearts, we can confidently affirm, and according to the testimony of the holy Scriptures clearly evince the following points:

§. XI. First, That God, who out of his infinite love sent his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, who tasted death' for every man, hath given to every man, whether Jew or Gentile, Turk or Scythian, Indian or Barbarian, of whatsoever nation, country, or place, a certain day or time of visitation; during which day or time it is possible for them to be saved, and to partake of the fruit of Christ's death.

Secondly, That for this end God hath communicated and given unto every man a measure of the light of his own Son, a measure of grace, or a measure of the Spirit, which the Scripture expresses by several names, as sometimes of the "seed of the kingdom," Mat. xiii. 18, 19. "the Light that makes all things manifest," Eph. v. 13. "the Word of God," Rom. x. 17. or "manifestation of the Spirit given to profit withal, 1 Cor. xii. 7. "a talent," Mat. xxv. 15. "a little leaven," Mat. xiii. 33. "the gospel preached in every creature," Col. i. 23.

Thirdly, That God, in and by this light and seed, calls, exhorts, and strives with every man, in order to save him; which, as it is received and not resisted, works the salvation of all, even of those who are ignorant of the death and sufferings of Christ, and of Adam's fall, both by bringing them to a sense of their own misery, and to be sharers in the sufferings of Christ inwardly, and by making them partakers of his resurrection, in becoming holy, pure, and righteous, and recovered out of their sins. By which also are saved they that have the knowledge of Christ outwardly, in that it opens their understanding rightly to use and apply the things delivered in the Scriptures, and to receive the saving use of them: but that this may be resisted and rejected in both, in which then God is said to be resisted and pressed down, and Christ to be again crucified, and put to open shame in and among men. And to those who thus resist and refuse him, he becomes their condemnation.

First then, according to this doctrine the mercy of God is excellently well exhibited, in that none are necessarily shut out from salvation; and his justice is demonstrated, in that he condemns none but such to whom he really made offer of salvation, affording them the means sufficient thereunto.

Secondly, This doctrine, if well weighed, will be found to be the foundation of Christianity and salvation.

Thirdly, It agrees with the whole tenor of the gospel promises and threats, and with the nature of the ministry of Christ; according to which, the gospel, salvation, and repentance, are commanded to be preached to every creature, without respect of nations, families, or tongues.

Fourthly, It magnifies and commends the merits and death of Christ, in that it not only accounts them sufficient to save all, but declares them to be brought so nigh unto all, as thereby they are put into the nearest capacity of salvation.

Fifthly, It exalts above all the grace of God, to which it attributeth all good, even the least and smallest actions that are so; ascribing thereunto not only the first beginnings and motions of good, but also the whole conversion and salvation of the soul.

Sixthly, It contradicts that false doctrine which exalts the light of nature, the liberty of man's will, in that it wholly excludes the natural man from having any place or portion in his own salvation, by any acting or working of his own, until he be first quickened and actuated by God's Spirit.

Seventhly, As it makes the whole salvation of man solely to depend upon God, so it makes his condemnation wholly to be of himself, in that he refused and resisted somewhat that from God strove in his heart, and forces him to acknowledge God's just judgment in rejecting him.

Eighthly, It takes away all ground of despair, in that it gives every one cause of hope and certain assurance that they may be saved; neither doth feed any in security, in that none are certain how soon their day may expire; and therefore it is a constant incitement and lively encourage-

ment to every man, to forsake evil, and close with that which is good.

Ninthly, It wonderfully commends as well the certainty of the Christian religion among infidels, as it manifests its own verity to all, in that it is confirmed by the experience of all men, seeing there was never yet a man found in any place of the earth, however barbarous, but hath acknowledged, that at some time or other, less or more, he hath found somewhat in his heart reproving him for some things evil which he hath done, threatening a certain horror if he continued in them, as also promising and communicating a certain peace and sweetness, as he has given way to it.

Tenthly, It wonderfully sheweth the excellent wisdom of God, by which he hath made the means of salvation so universal and comprehensive, that it is not needful to recur to miraculous ways; seeing, according to this most true doctrine, the gospel reacheth all, of whatsoever condition, age, or nation.

Eleventhly, It is really and effectively, though not in so many words, yet by deeds, confirmed by all the preachers and doctors of the Christian religion that ever were, or now are, even by those that otherways in their judgment oppose this doctrine, in that they all, whatever they have been or are; or whatsoever people or country they come to, do preach to the people, and to every individual among them, that they may be saved; intreating them to believe in Christ, who hath died for them. So that what they deny in the general, they acknowledge of every particular; there being no man to whom they do not preach in order to salvation, telling him Jesus Christ calls and wills him to believe and be saved; and that if he refuse, he shall be condemned, and that his condemnation is of himself. Such is the evidence and virtue of Truth, that it

constrains its adversaries, even against their wills, to plead for it.

Lastly, That which every man is bound to believe, is true;

Every man is bound to believe that God is merciful unto him:

It is therefore true, that God is merciful to every man.

This assumption no man can deny, seeing his mercies are said to be over all his works. And herein the Scripture every way declares the mercy of God to be, in that he invites and calls sinners to repentance, and hath opened a way of salvation for them: so that though those men be not bound to believe the history of Christ's death and passion who never came to know it, yet they are bound to believe that God will be merciful to them, if they follow his ways; and that he is merciful unto them, in that he reproves them for evil, and encourages them to good.

As it manifestly appears from the thing itself, that these good consequences follow from the belief of this doctrine, so from the proof of them, it will yet more evidently appear; to which before I come, it is requisite to speak somewhat concerning the state of the controversy, which will bring great light to the matter.

§. XII. First then, by this day and time of visitation, which we say God gives unto all, during which they may be saved, we do not understand the whole time of every man's life; though to some it may be extended to the very hour of death, as we see in the example of the thief converted upon the cross; but such a season at least as sufficiently exonerateth God of every man's condemnation, which to some may be sooner, and to others later, according as the Lord in his wisdom sees meet.

§. XIII. Secondly, By this seed, grace, and word of

God, and light wherewith we say every one is enlightened, and hath a measure of it, which strives with him in order to save him, we understand a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells; a measure of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God. This is that Christ within, which we are heard so much to speak of, every where preaching him up, and exhorting people to believe in the light, and obey it, that they may come to know Christ in them, to deliver them from all sin.

But by this, as we do not at all intend to equal ourselves to that holy man the Lord Jesus Christ, who was born of the virgin Mary, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, so neither do we destroy the reality of his present existence, as some have falsely calumniated us. But, as we believe he was a true and real man, so we also believe that he continues so to be, in the heavens, glorified in soul and body, by whom God shall judge the world, in the great and general day of judgment.

§. XV. Fourthly, We do not hereby intend any ways to lessen or derogate from the sacrifice or propitiation of Jesus Christ; but on the contrary do magnify and exalt it. For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted which are recorded in the holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ; so we do also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it to whom it pleases God to reveal the same, and to bring to them the knowledge of it. Nevertheless as we firmly believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree; so we believe that the remission of sins which any partake

of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise. For it is by the obedience of that one that the free gift is come upon all to justification. For we affirm, that as all men partake of the fruit of Adam's fall, in that by reason of that evil seed, which through him is communicated unto them, they are prone and inclined unto evil, though thousands of thousands be ignorant of Adam's fall; so also many may come to feel the influence of this holy and divine seed and light, and be turned from evil to good by it, though they know nothing of Christ's coming in the flesh, through whose obedience and sufferings it is purchased unto them. And as we affirm it is absolutely needful that those do believe the history of Christ's outward appearance whom it hath pleased God to bring to the knowledge of it; so we do freely confess, that even that outward knowledge is very comfortable to such as are subject to and led by the inward seed and light.

But Fifthly, We have said before that a divine, spiritual, and supernatural light is in all men; that God and Christ dwelleth in it, and is never separated from it; also that as it is received and closed with in the heart, Christ comes to be formed and brought forth: but we are far from ever having said that Christ is thus formed in all men, or in the wicked. But in regard Christ is in all men as in a seed, and that he never is nor can be separate from that holy pure seed, and light which is in all men; therefore may it be said in a larger sense, that he is in all. In this respect then, as he is in the seed which is in all men, we have said Christ is in all men, and have preached and directed all men to Christ in them, who lies crucified in them by their sins and iniquities, that they may look upon him whom they have pierced, and repent: whereby he that now lies as it were slain and buried in them, may come to be raised, and have dominion in their hearts over all. And thus

also the apostle Paul preached to the Corinthians and Galatians, 1 Cor. ii. 2. Christ crucified in them*. This Jesus Christ the apostle desired to know in them, and make known unto them, that they might come to be sensible how they had thus been crucifying Christ, that so they might repent and be saved. And forasmuch as Christ is called that light that enlightens every man, the light of the world, therefore the light is taken for Christ, who truly is the fountain of light, and hath his habitation in it for ever. Thus the light of Christ is sometimes called Christ, *i. e.* that in which Christ is, and from which he is never separated.

§. XVI. Sixthly, It will manifestly appear by what is above said, that we understand not this divine principle to be any part of man's nature, nor yet to be any reliques of any good remaining in Adam, after his fall, in that we make it a distinct, separate thing from man's soul, and all the faculties of it: yet our opponents cease not sometimes to calumniate us, as if we preached up a natural light, or the light of man's natural conscience. But we rightly distinguish this from man's natural conscience; for conscience being that in man which ariseth from the natural faculties of man's soul, may be defiled and corrupted. It is said expressly of the impure, Tit. i. 15. That even their mind and conscience is defiled; but this light can never be corrupted nor defiled; neither did it ever consent to evil in any: for it is said expressly, that it makes all things manifest that are reprobable, Eph. v. 13. and so is a faithful witness for God against every unrighteousness in man. Now conscience, to define it truly, comes from *conscire*, and is that knowledge which ariseth in man's heart, from what agreeth, contradicteth, or is contrary to any thing

* *εἰς υἱαὶν*, as the Greek hath it.

believed by him, whereby he becomes conscious to himself that he transgresseth by doing that which he is persuaded he ought not to do. So that the mind, being once blinded or defiled with a wrong belief, there ariseth a conscience from that belief, which troubles him when he goes against it.

Thus then man's natural conscience is sufficiently distinguished from it; for conscience followeth the judgment, doth not inform it; but this light, as it is received, removes the blindness of the judgment, opens the understanding, and rectifies both the judgment and conscience. So we confess also, that conscience is an excellent thing, where it is rightly informed and enlightened. To the light of Christ then in the conscience, and not to man's natural conscience, it is that we continually commend men; that, not this, is it which we preach up, and direct people to, as to a most certain guide unto life eternal. Although there be a possibility of salvation to every man, during the day of his visitation, yet cannot a man at any time, when he pleaseth, or hath some sense of his misery, stir up that light and grace, so as to procure to himself tenderness of heart; but he must wait for it: which comes upon all at certain times and seasons, wherein it works powerfully upon the soul, mightily tenders it, and breaks it; at which time, if man resist it not, but close with it, he comes to know salvation by it. Thus God moves in love to mankind, in this seed in his heart, at some singular times; setting his sins in order before him, and seriously inviting him to repentance; offering to him remission of sins and salvation; which if man accept of, he may be saved. Now there is no man, who, if he will deal faithfully and honestly with his own heart, will not be forced to acknowledge that he has been sensible of this, in some measure, which is a thing that man cannot bring upon himself, with all

his pains and industry. This then, O man or woman! is the day of God's gracious visitation to thy soul, which, if thou resist not, thou shalt be happy for ever.

§. XVII. And lastly, This leads me to speak concerning the manner of this seed or light's operation in the hearts of all men, which will shew yet more manifestly, how widely we differ from all those that exalt a natural power or light in man; and how our principle leads to attribute our whole salvation to the mere power, spirit, and grace of God.

As the grace and light in all is sufficient to save all, and of its own nature would save all; so it strives and wrestles with all, in order to save them; he that resists its striving, is the cause of his own condemnation; he that resists it not, it becomes his salvation: so that in him that is saved, the working is of the grace, and not of the man; and it is a passiveness rather than an act; though afterwards, as man is wrought upon, there is a will raised in him, by which he comes to be a co-worker with the grace. So that the first step is not by man's working, but by his not contrary working, And we believe, that at these singular seasons of every man's visitation, as man is wholly unable of himself to work with the grace, neither can he move one step out of the natural condition, until the grace lay hold upon him; so it is possible for him to be passive, and not to resist it, as it is possible for him to resist it. So we say, the grace of God works in and upon man's nature; which, though of itself wholly corrupted and prone to evil, yet is capable to be wrought upon by the grace of God; even as iron, though a cold and hard metal of itself, may be warmed and softened by the heat of the fire, and wax melted by the sun. And as iron or wax, when removed from the fire or sun, returneth to its former condition of coldness and hardness; so man's heart, as it

resists or retires from the grace of God, returns to its former condition again.

§. XVIII. Lastly, as we truly affirm that God willeth no man to perish, and therefore hath given to all grace sufficient to salvation; so we do not deny, but that in a special manner he worketh in some, in whom grace so prevaieth, that they necessarily obtain salvation; neither doth God suffer them to resist; but, working in those to whom this prevalency of grace is given, doth so hide himself, to shut out all security and presumption, that such may be humbled, and the free grace of God magnified, and all reputed to be of the free gift, and nothing from the strength of self. Those also who perish, when they remember those times of God's visitation towards them, wherein he wrestled with them by his light and spirit, are forced to confess that there was a time, wherein the door of mercy was open unto them, and that they are justly condemned, because they rejected their own salvation.

Thus both the mercy and justice of God are established, and the will and strength of man are rejected; his condemnation is made to be of himself, and his salvation to depend only upon God.

§. XIX. Having thus clearly stated the question, and opened our mind in this matter, as divers objections are hereby prevented, so will it make our proof both the easier and the shorter.

The first thing to be proved is, That God hath given to every man a day or time of visitation, wherein it is possible for him to be saved. If we can prove that there is a day and time given, in which those might have been saved that actually perish, the matter is done: for none deny but those that are saved have a day of visitation. This then appears by the complaints which the Spirit of God throughout the whole Scripture makes, even to those

that did perish; sharply reproofing them, for that they did not accept of God's visitation and offer of mercy to them. Thus the Lord expresses himself first of all to Cain, Gen. iv. 6. 7. "And the Lord said unto Cain, Why art thou wrath? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." This was said to Cain before he slew his brother Abel, when the evil seed began to tempt him, and work in his heart. We see how God gave warning to Cain in season, and afforded him a day of visitation, promising remission if he did well: for this interrogation, Shalt thou not be accepted? imports an affirmative, Thou shalt be accepted, if thou doest well. So that if we may trust God Almighty, the fountain of all truth, it was possible at one time, even for Cain to be accepted. Neither could God have proposed the doing of good as a condition, if he had not given Cain sufficient strength, whereby he was capable to do good. This the Lord himself also shews, even that he gave a day of visitation to the old world, Gen. vi. 3. "And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive in man*;" for so it ought to be translated. This manifestly implies, that his Spirit did strive with man, and doth strive with him for a season; which season expiring, God ceaseth to strive with him, in order to save him: for the Spirit of God cannot be said to strive with man after the day of his visitation is expired: seeing it naturally works its effect then, to wit, continually to judge and condemn him.

If God plead with the wicked, from the possibility of their being accepted; if God's Spirit strive in them for a season, in order to save them, who afterwards perish; if he wait to be gracious unto them; if he be long-suffering

towards them; and if this long-suffering be salvation to them while it endureth, during which time God willeth them not to perish, but exhibiteth to them the riches of his goodness and forbearance to lead them to repentance; then there is a day of visitation wherein they might have been, and now many might be, saved, who have perished, and may perish, if they repent not.

§. XX. So it is, after real offers of mercy and salvation rejected, that men's hearts are hardened, and not before. Thus that saying is verified, "To him that hath, shall be given; and from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath."

§. XXI. Secondly, that which comes in the second place to be proved is, That whereby God offers to work this salvation during the day of every man's visitation; and that is, That he hath given to every man a measure of saving and supernatural light and grace. This I shall do by some plain testimonies of the Scripture.

First, from that of John, i. 9. "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." This place doth so clearly favour us, that by some it is called the Quakers' text; for it doth evidently demonstrate our assertion; so that it scarce needs either consequence or deduction, seeing itself is a consequence of two propositions asserted in the former verses, from which it followeth as a conclusion in the very terms of our faith. The first of these propositions is, The life that is in him is the light of men: the second, The light shineth in the darkness; and from these two he infers, and He is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

From whence I observe, That this divine apostle calls Christ the light of men, and giveth us this as one of the chief properties, especially to be observed by us; seeing

hereby, as he is the light, and as we walk with him in that light which he communicates to us, we come to have fellowship with him; as the same apostle saith elsewhere, 1 John, i. 7. Secondly, That this light shineth in darkness, though the darkness comprehend it not. Thirdly, That this true light enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Where the apostle, being directed by God's Spirit, hath carefully avoided their captiousness, that would have restricted this to any certain number: where every one is, there is none excluded. Next, should they be so obstinate, as to say that this *every man* is only every one of the elect; these words following, every man that cometh into the world, would obviate that objection. Now for what end this light is given, is expressed verse 7. where John is said to come for a witness, to bear witness to the light, that all men through it might believe; to wit, through the light *. For, seeing Christ hath lighted every man with this light, is it not that they may come to believe through it? Since then this light is the light of Jesus Christ, and the light through which men come to believe, I think it needs not to be doubted, but that it is a supernatural, saving, and sufficient light. If it were not supernatural, it could not be properly called the light, of Jesus; for though all things be his, and of him, and from him; yet those things which are common to our nature, as being a part of it, we are not said in so special a manner to have from Christ. Moreover, the evangelist is holding out to us here the office of Christ as mediator, and the benefits which from him as such do redound unto us.

Secondly, It cannot be any of the natural gifts or faculties of our soul, whereby we are said here to be enlighten-

* δι' αὐτοῦ.

ed, because this light is said to shine in the darkness, and cannot be comprehended by it. Now this darkness is no other but man's natural state; in which natural state he can easily comprehend, and doth comprehend, those things that are peculiar to him as such. That man in his natural condition is called darkness, see Eph. v. 8. "For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." And in other places, as Acts xxvi. 18. Col. i. 3. 1 Thess. v. 5. where the condition of man in his natural state is termed darkness: therefore I say this light cannot be any natural faculty of man's soul, but a supernatural gift and grace of Christ.

Thirdly, It is sufficient and saving.

That which is given that all men through it may believe, must needs be saving and sufficient: that, by walking in which, fellowship with the saints and the blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin, is possessed, must be sufficient:

Moreover; That which we are commanded to believe in, that we may become the children of the Light, must be a supernatural, sufficient, and saving principle.—"While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light," John xii. 36.

To this they object, That by *light* here is understood Christ's outward person, in whom he would have them believe.

That they ought to have believed in Christ, that is, that he was the MESSIAH that was to come, is not denied; but how they evince that Christ intended that here, I see not: nay the place itself shews the contrary, by these words, While ye have the light; and by the verse going before, Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: which words import, that when that light in which they were to believe was removed, then they should lose

the capacity of believing. Now this could not be understood of Christ's person, else the Jews might have believed in him; and many did savingly believe in him, as all Christians do at this day, when his bodily presence is far removed from them. So that this light in which they were commanded to believe, must be that inward spiritual light that shines in their hearts for a season, even during the day of man's visitation; which while it continueth to invite, and exhort, men are said to have it, and may believe in it; but when men refuse to believe in it, and reject it, then it ceaseth to be a light to shew them the way; but leaves the sense of their unfaithfulness as a sting in their conscience, which is a terror and darkness unto them, in which they cannot know where to go, neither can work any ways profitably in order to their salvation. And therefore to such rebellious ones the day of the Lord is said to be darkness, and not light, Amos v. 18.

§. XXII. That this saving light and seed, or a measure of it, is given to all, Christ tells us expressly in the parable of the sower, Mat. xiii. from verse 18. Mark iv. and Luke viii. 11. he saith, That this seed sown in those several sorts of ground is the word of the kingdom, which the apostle calls the word of faith, Rom. x. 8. James i. 21 *. the implanted ingrafted word, which is able to save the soul; the words themselves declare that it is that which is saving in the nature of it, for in the good ground it fructified abundantly.

Let us then observe, that this seed of the kingdom, this saving, supernatural, and sufficient word, was really sown in the stony, thorny ground, and by the way-side, where it did not profit, but became useless as to these grounds: it was, I say, the same seed that was sown in the good

* ὁ λόγος ἐμφύτος.

ground. So that though all are not saved by it, yet there is a seed of salvation planted in the hearts of all by God, which would grow up and redeem the soul, if it were not choked and hindered. And to this answered the parable of the talents, Mat. xxv. he that had two talents was accepted, as well as he that had five, because he used them to his master's profit; and he that had one might have done so; his talent was of the same nature with the rest; it was as capable to have proportionably brought forth its interest as the rest. And so though there be not a like proportion of grace given to all, to some five talents, to some two talents, and to some but one talent; yet there is given to all that which is sufficient, and no more is required than according to that which is given: "For unto whomsoever much is given, from him shall much be required," Luke xii. 48. He that had the two talents was accepted for giving four, nothing less than he that gave the ten: so should he also that had the one, if he had given two; and no doubt one was capable to have produced two, as well as two to have produced four, or five ten.

§. XXIII. Thirdly, this saving, spiritual light is the gospel, which the apostle saith expressly is preached in every creature under heaven; even that very gospel whereof Paul was made a minister, Col. i. 23. For the gospel is not a mere declaration of good things, being the power of God unto salvation to all those that believe, Rom. i. 16. Though the outward declaration of the gospel be taken sometimes for the gospel; yet it is but figuratively. For to speak properly, the gospel is this inward power and life, which preacheth glad tidings in the hearts of all men, offering salvation unto them, and seeking to redeem them from their iniquities, and therefore it is said to be preached in every creature under heaven: whereas

there are many thousands of men and women to whom the outward gospel was never preached. Therefore the apostle Paul, Romans i. where he saith the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, adds, that therein is revealed the righteousness of God from faith to faith; and also the wrath of God against such as hold the truth of God in unrighteousness: for this reason, saith he, because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shown it unto them. Now that which may be known of God, is known by the gospel, which was manifest in them. For those of whom the apostle speaks had no outward gospel preached unto them; so that it was by the inward manifestation of the knowledge of God in them, which is indeed the gospel preached in man, that the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith; that is, it reveals to the soul that which is good and righteous; and that as the soul receiveth it and believes, righteousness comes more and more to be revealed from one degree of faith to another. For though the outward creation declares the power of God; yet that which may be known of him is manifest within: by which inward manifestation we are made capable to discern the Eternal Power and Godhead in the outward creation; so were it not for this inward principle, we could no more understand the invisible things of God by the outward visible creation, than a blind man can discern the variety of shapes and colours, or judge of the beauty of the outward creation. Therefore he saith, first, That which may be known of God is manifest in them, and in and by that they may understand the power of the Godhead in those things that are outward and visible. And though any might pretend that the outward creation doth of itself, without any supernatural or saving principle in the heart, even declare to the natural man that there is a God; yet

what would such a knowledge avail, if it did not also communicate to me what the will of God is, and how I shall do that which is acceptable to him? For the outward creation, though it may beget a persuasion that there is some eternal power by which the world hath had its beginning; yet it doth not inform me of that which is holy and righteous; how I shall be delivered from my temptations and evil affections, and come unto righteousness; that must be from some inward manifestation in my heart. Whereas those Gentiles of whom the apostle speaks, knew, by that inward law and manifestation of the knowledge of God in them, to distinguish betwixt good and evil. The prophet Micah, speaking of man indefinitely, or in general, declares this, Mic. vi. 8. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" He doth not say God requires, till he hath first assured that he hath shewed unto them. Now because this is shewed unto all men, and manifest in them, therefore, saith the apostle, is the wrath of God revealed against them, for that they hold the truth in unrighteousness; that is, the measure of truth, the light, the grace in them: for that they hide the talent in the earth; that is, in the earthly and unrighteous part in their hearts, and suffer it not to bring forth fruit, but to be choked with the sensual cares of this life, the fear of reproach, and the deceitfulness of riches. But the apostle Paul illustrates this matter yet more, Rom. x. where he declares, That the word which he preached (now the word which he preached, and the gospel which he preached, and whereof he was a minister, is one and the same) is not far off, but nigh in the heart, and in the mouth; which done, he frameth, as it were, the objection of our opponents, in the 14th and 15th verses, "How shall they

believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?" This he answers in the 18th verse, saying, "But, I say, have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world;" whence it appears that this divine preacher had sounded in the ears and hearts of all men: for of the apostles that saying was not true, neither then, nor many hundred years after; yea, for aught we know, there may be yet great and spacious nations and kingdoms that never have heard of Christ nor his apostles. This inward and powerful word of God is yet more fully described in the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. iv. 12. 13. "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart." The virtues of this spiritual word are here enumerated: it is quick, because it searches and tries the hearts of all; no man's heart is exempt from it: for the apostle gives this reason of its being so in the following verse, "But all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do: and there is not any creature that is not manifest in his sight." Though this ultimately and mediately be referred to God, yet nearly and immediately it relates to the word or light, which is in the hearts of all, else it had been improper to have brought it in here. The apostle shews how every intent and thought of the heart is discerned by the word of God, because all things are naked before God; which imports nothing else but it is in and by this word whereby God sees man's thoughts; and so it must needs be in all men, because the apostle saith, there is no creature that is not manifest in his sight. This then is that faithful witness and messenger of God that

bears witness for God, and for his righteousness, in the hearts of all men: for he hath not left himself without a witness, Acts xiv. 17. and he is said to be given for a witness to the people, Isa. lv. 4. And as this word beareth witness for God, so it is not placed in men only to condemn them: for as he is given for a witness, so saith the prophet, he is given for a leader and commander.

§. XXIV. The third proposition which ought to be proved is, That it is by this light, seed, or grace, that God works the salvation of all men, and that they come to partake of the benefit of Christ's death, and salvation purchased by him. By the inward and effectual operations of which, as many heathens have come to be partakers of the promises who were not of the seed of Abraham after the flesh, so may some now, to whom God hath rendered the knowledge of the history impossible, come to be saved by Christ. For the farther satisfaction of all who desire to know the truth, and hold it as it is in Jesus, I shall prove this from two or three clear Scripture testimonies, and remove the most common as well as the more strong objections usually brought against it.

Our theme then hath two parts; First, That those that have the gospel and Christ outwardly preached unto them, are not saved but by the working of the grace and light in their hearts.

Secondly, That by the working and operation of this, many have been, and some may be saved, to whom the gospel hath never been outwardly preached, and who are utterly ignorant of the outward history of Christ.

As to the first, though it be granted by most, yet because it is more in words than deeds, I shall prove it in few words. And first from the words of Christ to Nicodemus, John iii. 3. "Verily, verily I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

Now this birth cometh not by the outward preaching of the gospel, or knowledge of Christ, or historical faith in him; seeing many have that, and firmly believe it, who are never thus renewed. The apostle Paul also goes so far, while he commends the necessity and excellency of this new creation, as in a certain respect to lay aside the outward knowledge of Christ, or the knowledge of him after the flesh, in these words, 2 Cor. v. 16, 17. "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, old things are passed away, behold all things are become new." But such as come to know this new birth, to be in Christ indeed, to be a new creature, to have old things pass away, and all things become new, may safely say with the apostle, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more." Now this new creature proceeds from the work of this light and grace in the heart: that word which we speak of, is sharp and piercing, the implanted word, able to save the soul, by which this birth is begotten; "being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever," 1. Pet. i. 23.

§. XXV. Secondly, that which remains now to be proved is, That by the operation of this light and seed some have been and may yet be saved, to whom the gospel is not outwardly preached, nor the history of Christ outwardly known. To make this the easier, we have already shewn that Christ hath died for all men; and consequently these are enlightened by Christ, and have a measure of saving light and grace; that the gospel, though not in any outward dispensation, is preached to them, and in them; so that thereby they are placed in a possibility of salvation. From which I thus argue.

To whom the gospel, the power of God unto salvation, is manifest, they may be saved, whatever outward knowledge they want:

But this gospel is preached in every creature; in which are certainly comprehended many that have not the outward knowledge:

Therefore of those many may be saved.

But to those arguments, by which it hath been proved, That all men have a measure of saving grace, I shall add one, and that very worthy of observation, viz. that excellent saying of the apostle Paul to Titus, chap. ii. ver. 11. "The grace of God, that brings salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world:" than which there can be nothing more clear, it comprehending both the parts of the controversy. First, It testifies that it is no natural principle or light, but saith plainly, It brings salvation. Secondly, It says not, that it hath appeared to a few, but unto all men. The fruit of it declares also how efficacious it is, seeing it comprehends the whole duty of man: it both teacheth us, first, to forsake evil; and then it teacheth us our whole duty. First, to live Soberly; that comprehends temperance, chastity, meekness, and those things that relate unto a man's self. Secondly, Righteously; that comprehends equity, justice, and honesty, and those things which relate to our neighbours. And lastly, Godly; which comprehends piety, faithfulness, and devotion, which are the duties relating to God. So then there is nothing required of man, or is needful to man, which this grace teacheth not. Some, that cannot deny but this grace is saving allege, This *all* comprehends not every individual, but only all kinds: but is a bare negation sufficient to overturn the strength of a positive assertion? If the Scriptures

may be so abused, what so absurd, as may not be pleaded for from them? or what so manifest, as may not be denied? Can there be any thing more absurd, than to say, where the word is plainly *all*, few only is intended? For they will not have *all* taken here for the greater number. Indeed, as the case may be sometimes, by a figure *all* may be taken, of two numbers, for the greater number; but let them shew us, if they can, either in Scripture, or profane writings, that any man that wrote sense did ever use the word *all*, to express, of two numbers, the lesser. Whereas they affirm, that the far lesser number have received saving grace, and yet will they have the apostle, by *all*, to have signified so. Though this might suffice, yet, to put it further beyond all question, I shall instance another saying of the same apostle, that we may use him as his own commentator, Rom. v. 18. "Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." Here no man of reason will deny, but this similitive particle *as* makes the *all* which goes before, and comes after, to be of one and the same extent; or else let them shew one example, either in Scripture, or elsewhere, among men that speak proper language, where it is otherwise. We must then either affirm that this loss, which leads to condemnation, hath not come upon all; or say, that this free gift is come upon all by Christ. Whence I thus argue:

If all men have received a loss from Adam, which leads to condemnation; then all men have received a gift from Christ which leads to justification.

From all which it naturally follows, that all men, even the heathens, may be saved: for Christ was given as a light to enlighten the Gentiles, Isa. xlix. 6. Now, to say that though they might have been saved, yet none were, is

to judge too uncharitably. I see not what reason can be alleged for it; yea, though it were granted, which never can be, that none of the heathens were saved; it will not from thence follow, that they could not have been saved; or that none now in their condition can be saved. For, That consequence is false that concludes a thing cannot be, because it is not*.

But if it be objected, which is the great objection, That there is no name under heaven, by which salvation is known, but by the name JESUS:

Therefore they (not knowing this) cannot be saved:

I answer; Though they know it not outwardly, yet if they know it inwardly, by feeling the virtues and power of it, the name JESUS indeed, which signifies a Saviour, to free them from sin and iniquity in their hearts, they are saved by it. I confess there is no other name to be saved by: but salvation lieth not in the literal, but in the experimental knowledge; albeit, those that have the literal knowledge are not saved by it, without this real experimental knowledge: yet those that have the real knowledge may be saved without the external.

§. XXVI. If there were such an absolute necessity for this outward knowledge, that it were even of the essentials of salvation, then none could be saved without it; whereas our opponents deny not, but readily confess, that many infants and deaf persons are saved without it: so that here they break that general rule, and make salvation possible without it. Neither can they allege, that it is because such are free from sin; seeing they also affirm, that all infants, because of Adam's sin, deserve eternal condemnation, as being really guilty in the sight of God; and of deaf people, it is not to be doubted, and experience shews us, that

* A non esse ad non posse non datur sequela.

they are subject to many common iniquities, as well as other men.

If it be said, That these children are the children of believing parents:

What then? They will not say that they transmit grace to their children. Do they not affirm, that the children of believing parents are guilty of original sin, and deserve death as well as others? How prove they that that makes up the loss of all explicit knowledge?

If they say, Deaf people may be made sensible of the gospel by signs:

All the signs cannot give them any explicit knowledge of the history of the death, sufferings, and resurrection of Christ. For what signs can inform a deaf man, That the Son of God took on him man's nature, was born of a virgin, and suffered under Pontius Pilate?

And if they should further allege, That they are within the bosom of the visible church, and partakers of the sacraments:

All that gives no certainty of salvation; for, as the Protestants confess, they confer not grace from any act done*. And will they not acknowledge, that many are in the bosom of the church, who are visibly no members of it? But if this charity be extended towards such as are where the gospel is preached, so that they may be judged capable of salvation, because they are under a simple impossibility of distinctly knowing the means of salvation; what reason can be alleged why the like charity may not be had to such, as though they can hear, yet are under a simple impossibility of hearing, because it is not spoken unto them? Is not a man in China, or in India, as much to be excused for not knowing a thing which he never heard of, as a deaf

* Ex opere operato.

man here, who cannot hear? For as the deaf man is not to be blamed, because God hath been pleased to suffer him to lie under this infirmity; so is the Chinese or the Indian as excusable, because God hath withheld from him the opportunity of hearing. He that cannot hear a thing, as being necessarily absent, and he that cannot hear it, as being naturally deaf, are to be placed in the same predicament.

Secondly, This manifestly appears by that saying of Peter, Acts x. 34. "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." Peter was before liable to that mistake that the rest of the Jews were in; judging that all were unclean, except themselves, and that no man could be saved, except he was proselyted to their religion, and circumcised. But God shewed Peter otherwise in a vision, and taught him to call nothing common or unclean; and therefore, seeing that God regarded the prayers of Cornelius, who was a stranger to the law and to Jesus Christ as to the outward; yet Peter saw that God had accepted him; and he is said to fear God before he had this outward knowledge; therefore Peter concludes that every one in every nation, without respect of persons, that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. So he makes the fear of God and the working of righteousness, and not an outward historical knowledge, the qualification: they then that have this, wherever they be, are saved. Now we have already proved, that to every man that grace is given, whereby he may live godlily and righteously; and we see, that by this grace Cornelius did so, and was accepted, and his prayers were heard before he had this outward knowledge. Also, Was not Job a perfect and upright man, that feared God, and eschewed evil? Who taught Job

this? How knew Job Adam's fall? And from what Scripture learned he that excellent knowledge he had, and that faith, by which he knew his Redeemer lived? Was not this by an inward grace in the heart? Was it not that inward grace that taught Job to eschew evil, and to fear God? And was it not by the workings thereof that he became a just man? How doth he reprove the wickedness of men, chap. xxiv. ? And after he hath numbered up their wickedness, doth he not condemn them, verse 13. for rebelling against this light, for not knowing the way thereof, nor abiding in the paths thereof? It appears then Job believed that men had a light, and that because they rebelled against it, therefore they knew not its ways, and abode not in its paths. And also Job's friends, though in some things wrong; yet who taught them all those excellent sayings and knowledge which they had? Did not God give it them, in order to save them? or was it merely to condemn them? Who taught Elihu, That the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding; that the Spirit of God made him, and the breath of the Almighty gave him life? And did not the Lord accept a sacrifice for them? And who dare say that they are damned? But further, the apostle puts this controversy out of doubt; for, if we may believe his plain assertions, he tells us, Rom. ii. That the heathens did the things contained in the law. From whence I thus argue;

In every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted:

But many of the heathens feared God, and wrought righteousness:

Therefore they were accepted.

Further; He that doth the things contained in the law, feareth God, and worketh righteousness:

But the heathens did the things contained in the law :

Therefore they feared God, and wrought righteousness.

Can there be any thing more clear? For if to do the things contained in the law, be not to fear God, and work righteousness, then what can be said to do so, seeing the apostle calls the law spiritual, holy, just, and good? But this appears manifestly by another medium, taken out of the same chapter, ver. 13. So that nothing can be more clear: the words are, “The doers of the law shall be justified. From which I thus argue, without adding any word of my own;

The doers of the law shall be justified:

But the Gentiles do the things contained in the law:

All, that know but a conclusion, do easily see what follows from these express words of the apostle. And indeed, he through that whole chapter labours as if he were contending with our opponents to confirm this doctrine, ver. 9, 10, 11. “Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God.” Where the apostle clearly confesses to the sentence of Peter before-mentioned; and shews that Jew and Gentile, both they that have an outward law, and they that have none, when they do good, shall be justified. And to put us out of all doubt, in the very following verses he tells, That the doers of the law are justified; and that the Gentiles did the law. So that except we think he spake not what he intended, we may safely conclude, that such Gentiles were justified, and did partake of that glory and peace, which comes upon every one that doeth good; even the Gentiles, that are without the law, when they work good; seeing with God there is no respect of persons. So

we see, that it is not the having the outward knowledge that doth save, without the inward; so neither doth the want of it condemn any one, who hath the inward.

§. XXVIII. Seeing then it is by this inward grace and light, that those that have the gospel preached unto them, come to have Jesus brought forth in them, and to have the saving and sanctified use of all outward advantages; and also by this same light, that all may come to be saved; and that God invites and strives with all, in a day, and saveth many, to whom he hath not seen meet to convey this outward knowledge; therefore we, having the experience of the inward and powerful work of this light in our hearts, even Jesus revealed in us, cannot cease to proclaim the day of the Lord that is arisen in it, crying out with the woman of Samaria; “Come and see one that hath told me all that ever I have done; Is not this the Christ?” That others may come and feel the same in themselves, and may know, that that little small seed that reproves them in their hearts, however they have despised it, is nothing less than the gospel preached in them; Christ, the wisdom and power of God, in and by that seed seeking to save their souls.

This is that universal evangelical principle, in and by which this salvation of Christ is exhibited to all men, both Jew and Gentile, Turk, Scythian, and Barbarian: and therefore God hath raised up unto himself, in this our age, faithful witnesses to preach again his everlasting gospel, and to direct all, as well the high professors, who boast of the law and the Scriptures, and the outward knowledge of Christ, as the infidels and heathens that know him not that way, that they may all come to mind the light in them, and know Christ in them, the just one*, whom they have killed, and he hath not resisted, James

* τον δικαιο.

v. 6, and give up their iniquities, false faith, and outside righteousness, to be crucified by the power of his cross in them, so as they may know Christ within to be the hope of glory, and may come to walk in his light and be saved, who is that "true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

PROPOSITION VII.

Concerning Justification.

As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, it becomes in them a holy and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God: by which holy birth, to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works in us, as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words; "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God," 1 Cor. vi. 11. Therefore it is not by our works wrought in our will, nor yet by good works considered as of themselves; but by Christ, who is both the gift and the giver, and the cause producing the effects in us; who, as he hath reconciled us while we were enemies, doth also in his wisdom save us and justify us after this manner, as saith the same apostle elsewhere; "According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost," Tit. iii. 5.

§. I. **THE** doctrine of justification comes well in order after the discussing of the extent of Christ's death, and of the grace thereby communicated, some of the sharpest contests concerning this having from thence their rise.

§. III. First then, we renounce all natural power in ourselves, in order to bring us out of our lost and fallen condition and first nature; and confess, that as of ourselves we are able to do nothing that is good, so neither can we procure remission of sins or justification by any act of our own, so as to merit it, or draw it as a debt from God due unto us; but we acknowledge all to be of and from his love, which is the fundamental cause of our acceptance.

Secondly, God manifested this love towards us, in the sending of his beloved Son the Lord Jesus Christ into the world, who gave himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour, having made peace through the blood of his cross, that he might reconcile us unto himself; and by the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto God, and suffered for our sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us unto God.

Thirdly then, Forasmuch as all men who have come to man's estate, (the man Jesus only excepted) have sinned, therefore all have need of this Saviour, to remove from them the wrath of God due to their offences; in this respect he is truly said to have borne the iniquities of us all in his body on the tree, and therefore is the only Mediator, having averted the wrath of God from us; so that our former sins stand not in our way, being by virtue of his most satisfactory sacrifice removed and pardoned. Neither do we think that remission of sins is to be expected or obtained any other way, or by any works or sacrifice whatsoever; though, as has been said, they may come to partake of this remission that are ignorant of the

history. So then Christ by his death and sufferings hath reconciled us to God, even while we were enemies; that is, he offers reconciliation unto us; we are put into a capacity of being reconciled; God is willing to forgive us our iniquities, and to accept us, as is well expressed by the apostle, 2 Cor. v. 19. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath put in us the word of reconciliation." And therefore the apostle intreats them in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God; intimating that the wrath of God being removed by the obedience of Christ Jesus, he is willing to be reconciled unto them, and ready to remit the sins that are past, if they repent.

We consider then our redemption in a two-fold respect, both which in their own nature are perfect, though in their application to us the one is not, nor can be, without respect to the other.

The First is the redemption accomplished by Christ for us in his crucified body without us: the other is the redemption wrought by Christ in us, which no less properly is called and accounted a redemption than the former. The first then is that whereby a man, as he stands in the fall, is put into a capacity of salvation, and hath conveyed unto him a measure of that power, life, and grace that was in Christ Jesus, which, as the free gift of God, is able to overcome, and root out the evil seed, wherewith we are naturally, as in the fall, leavened.

The Second is that whereby we witness this perfect redemption in ourselves, purifying and redeeming us from the power of corruption, and bringing us into unity and friendship with God. By the first of these two, we that were lost in Adam, plunged into the corrupt seed, unable of ourselves to do any good thing, but naturally united to evil, propense to all iniquity, servants to the power of

darkness, are, notwithstanding all this, so far reconciled to God by the death of his Son, while enemies, that we are put into a capacity of salvation, having the glad tidings of the gospel of peace offered unto us, and God is reconciled unto us in Christ, and invites us to himself, in which respect we understand these Scriptures; "He slew the enmity in himself. He loved us first; seeing us in our blood, he said unto us, Live; he who did not sin his own self, bare our sins in his own body on the tree; and he died for our sins, the just for the unjust."

By the Second, we witness this capacity brought into act, whereby receiving and not resisting the purchase of his death, to wit, the light, spirit, and grace of Christ revealed in us, we witness a real and inward redemption from the power of sin, and so come to be truly redeemed and made righteous, and to a sensible union with God. Thus he died for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity; and thus we know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death. This last follows the first in order, and is a consequence of it, as an effect from its cause: so as none could have enjoyed the last without the first had been, such being the will of God; so also can none now partake of the first, but as he witnesseth the last. Wherefore as to us, they are both causes of our justification; the first the procuring efficient, the other the formal cause.

Fourthly, We understand not by this justification by Christ, barely the good works even wrought by the Spirit of Christ; for they are rather an effect of justification than the cause of it; but we understand the formation of Christ in us, Christ born and brought forth in us, from which good works as naturally proceed as fruit from a fruitful tree. It is this inward birth in us, bringing forth righteousness and holiness in us, that doth justify us; which, having removed

the contrary nature and spirit that did bear rule and bring condemnation, now is in dominion over all in our hearts. Those then that come to know Christ thus formed in them, do enjoy him wholly and undivided, who is "the LORD our RIGHTEOUSNESS," Jer. xxiii. 6. This is to be clothed with Christ, and to have put him on, whom God therefore truly accounteth righteous and just. Thus then, the formal cause* of justification is not the works, to speak properly, they being but an effect of it; but this inward birth, this Jesus brought forth in the heart, who is the well-beloved, whom the Father cannot but accept, and all those who are thus sprinkled with the blood of Jesus, and washed with it. By this also comes that communication of the goods of Christ unto us, by which we come to be made partakers of the divine nature, as saith Peter, 2 Pet. i. 4. and are made one with him, as the branches with the vine, and have a title to what he hath done and suffered for us; so that his obedience becomes ours, his righteousness ours, his death and sufferings ours.

Lastly, Though we place remission of sins in the righteousness and obedience of Christ performed by him in the flesh, as to what pertains to the remote procuring cause, and that we hold ourselves formally justified by Christ Jesus formed and brought forth in us, yet can we not, as some Protestants have unwarily done, exclude works from justification. For though properly we be not justified from them, yet are we justified in them; and they are necessary, even as the cause, without which none are justified†. For the denying of this, as it is contrary to the Scriptures' testimony, so it hath brought a great scandal

* By substituting *essential* for *formal*, (though not strictly synonymous,) the meaning of the author might perhaps be rendered clearer.—See Note in page 8.

J. E.

† Causa sine qua non.

to the Protestant religion, opened the mouths of Papists, and made many too secure, while they have believed themselves justified without good works. And lastly, if we had that notion of good works which most Protestants have, we could freely agree to make them not only not necessary, but reject them as hurtful, viz. That the best works even of the saints are defiled and polluted. For though we judge so of the best works performed by man, endeavouring a conformity to the outward law by his own strength, and in his own will, yet we believe that such works as naturally proceed from this spiritual birth of Christ in us are pure and holy, even as the root from which they come; and therefore God accepts them, justifies us in them, and rewards us for them out of his own free grace. The state of the controversy being thus laid down, these following positions do from hence arise in the next place to be proved.

§. IV. First, That the obedience, sufferings, and death of Christ, is that by which the soul obtains remission of sins, and is the procuring cause of that grace, by whose inward working Christ comes to be formed inwardly, and the soul to be made conformable unto him, and so just and justified. And that therefore, in respect of this capacity and offer of grace, God is said to be reconciled; not as if he were actually reconciled, or did actually justify, or account any just, so long as he remains in his sins really impure and unjust.

Secondly, That it is by this inward birth of Christ in man that man is made just, and therefore so accounted by God: wherefore, to be plain, we are thereby, and not till that be brought forth in us, formally, if we must use that word, justified in the sight of God.

Thirdly, That since good works as naturally follow from this birth as heat from fire, therefore are they of absolute

necessity to justification. And though they be not meritorious, and draw no debt upon God, yet he cannot but accept and reward them: for it is contrary to his nature to deny that which proceeds from his own Spirit. Wherefore their judgment is false that say, that the holiest works of the saints are defiled and sinful in the sight of God: for these good works are not the works of the law, excluded by the apostle from justification.

§. V. As to the first, I prove it from Rom. iii. 25. "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. Here the apostle holds forth the extent and efficacy of Christ's death, shewing that thereby, and by faith therein, remission of sins that are past is obtained, as being that wherein the forbearance of God is exercised towards mankind. So that though men for the sins they daily commit deserve eternal death, and that the wrath of God should lay hold upon them; yet, by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice of Christ Jesus, the grace and seed of God moves in love towards them, during the day of their visitation; yet not so as not to strike against the evil, for that must be destroyed, but to redeem man out of the evil.

Secondly, If God were perfectly reconciled with men, and did esteem them just while they are actually unjust, and do continue in their sins, then should God have no controversy with them; how comes he then so often to complain, and to expostulate so much throughout the whole Scripture with such as our opponents confess to be justified, telling them that their sins separate betwixt him and them? Isai. lix. 2. For where there is a perfect reconciliation, there is no separation. From this doctrine it necessarily follows, either that such for whom Christ died,

and whom he hath reconciled, never sin, or that when they do so, they are still reconciled, and their sins make not the least separation from God: yea, that they are justified in their sins. From whence also would follow this abominable consequence, that the good works and greatest sins of such are alike in the sight of God, seeing neither the one serves to justify them, nor the other to hinder their reconciliation.

Thirdly, This would make void the whole practical doctrine of the gospel, and make faith itself needless. For if faith and repentance, and the other conditions called for throughout the gospel, be a qualification upon our part necessary to be performed, then, before this be performed by us, we are either fully reconciled to God; or but in a capacity of being reconciled to God, he being ready to reconcile and justify us as these conditions are performed; which latter is according to the truth we profess. And if we are already perfectly reconciled and justified before these conditions are performed (which conditions are of that nature that they cannot be performed at one time, but are to be done all one's life-time) then can they not be said to be absolutely needful; which is contrary to the very express testimony of Scripture, which is acknowledged by all Christians: "For without faith it is impossible to please God. They that believe not are condemned already, because they believe not in the only begotten Son of God. Except ye repent, ye cannot be saved: for if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die." And of those that were converted; "I will remove your candlestick from you, unless ye repent." Should I mention all the Scriptures that evidently prove this, I might transcribe much of all the doctrinal part of the Bible. For since Christ said, "It is finished," and did finish his work sixteen hundred years ago and upwards; if he so fully perfected redemption then, and

did actually reconcile every one that is to be saved, not simply opening a door of mercy for them, offering the sacrifice of his body, by which they may obtain remission of their sins when they repent, and communicating unto them a measure of his grace, by which they may see their sins, and be able to repent; but really making them to be reputed as just, either before they believe, or after they have assented to the truth of the history of Christ, or are sprinkled with the baptism of water, while nevertheless they are actually unjust, so that no part of their redemption is to be wrought by him now, as to their reconciliation and justification; then the whole doctrinal part of the Bible is useless: in vain were the apostles sent forth to preach repentance and remission of sins; and in vain do all the preachers bestow their labour; yea, much more in vain do the people spend their money which they give them for preaching; seeing it is all but a vain essay, to do that which is already perfectly done without them.

But lastly, To pass by their human labours, as not worth the disputing whether they be needful or not, since themselves confess the best of them is sinful; this also makes void the present intercession of Christ for men. What will become of that great article of faith, by which we affirm, That he sits at the right hand of God, daily making intercession for us; and for which end the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered? For Christ maketh not intercession for those that are not in a possibility of salvation; that would be absurd. Our opponents will not admit that he prayed for the world at all; and to pray for those that are already reconciled, and perfectly justified, is to no purpose: to pray for remission of sins is yet more needless, if all be remitted, past, present, and to come. Indeed there is not any solving of this, but by acknowledging according to

the truth, That Christ by his death removed the wrath of God, so far as to obtain remission of sins for as many as receive that grace and light that he communicates unto them, and hath purchased for them by his blood; in which, as they believe, they come to know remission of sins past, and power to save them from sin, and to wipe it away, so often as they may fall into it by unwatchfulness, if, applying themselves to this grace, they truly repent; for to as many as receive him, he gives power to become the sons of God: so none are sons, none are justified, none reconciled, until they thus receive him in that little seed in their hearts: "And life eternal is offered to those who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, honour, and immortality: for if the righteous man depart from his righteousness, his righteousness shall be remembered no more." And therefore on the other part, none are longer sons of God, and justified, than they patiently continue in righteousness and well-doing. And therefore Christ lives always making intercession, during the day of every man's visitation, that he may be converted: and when men are in some measure converted, he makes intercession that they may go on, and not faint, nor go back again. Much more might be said to confirm this truth; but I go on to take notice of the common objections against it, which are the arguments made use of to propagate the errors contrary to it.

§. VI. The first and chief is drawn from that saying of the apostle before-mentioned, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. "God hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ: God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them."

From hence they seek to infer, That Christ fully perfected the work of reconciliation while he was on earth.

I answer; If by *reconciliation* be understood the remov-

ing of wrath, and the purchase of that grace by which we may come to be reconciled, we agree to it; but that that place speaks no more, appears from the place itself: for when the apostle speaks in the perfect time, saying, He hath reconciled us, he speaks of himself and the saints; who having received the grace of God purchased by Christ, were through faith in him actually reconciled. But as to the world, he saith *reconciling* not *reconciled*; which reconciling, though it denotes a time somewhat past, yet it is by the imperfect time, denoting that the thing begun was not perfected. For this work Christ began towards all in the days of his flesh, and long before; for He was the mediator from the beginning, and the lamb slain from the foundation of the world: but in his flesh, after he had perfectly fulfilled the law, and the righteousness thereof; had rent the veil, and made way for the more clear and universal revelation of the gospel to all, both Jew and Gentile; he gave up himself a most satisfactory sacrifice for sin; which becomes effectual to as many as receive him in his inward appearance, in his light in the heart. Again, this very place sheweth that no other reconciliation is intended, but the opening of a door of mercy upon God's part, and a removing of wrath for sins that are past; so as men, notwithstanding their sins, are placed in a capacity of salvation: for the apostle, in the following verse, saith, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God." For if their reconciliation had already been perfectly accomplished, what need any intreating then to be reconciled?

Secondly, They object, verse 21st of the same chapter, "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." From whence they argue, That as our sin is im-

puted to Christ, who had no sin; so Christ's righteousness is imputed to us, without our being righteous.

But this interpretation is easily refuted; for though Christ bare our sins, and suffered for us, and was among men accounted a sinner, and numbered among transgressors; yet that God reputed him a sinner, is no where proved. For it is said, He was found before him holy, harmless, and undefiled, neither was there found any guile in his mouth. That we deserved these things, and much more for our sins, which he endured in obedience to the Father, and according to his counsel, is true; but that ever God reputed him a sinner, is denied: neither did he ever die that we should be reputed righteous, though no more really such than he was a sinner. For indeed, if this argument hold, it might be stretched to that length, as to become very pleasing to wicked men that love to abide in their sins: for if we be made righteous, as Christ was made a sinner, merely by imputation; then as there was no sin, not in the least, in Christ, so it would follow, that there needed no more righteousness, no more holiness, no more inward sanctification in us, than there was sin in him. So then, by his *being made sin for us* must be understood his suffering for our sins, that we might be made partakers of the grace purchased by him; by the workings whereof we are made the righteousness of God in him. For that the apostle understood here a being made really righteous, and not merely a being reputed such, appears by what follows, seeing in ver. 14, 15, 16. of the following chapter, he argues largely against any supposed agreement of light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness; which must needs be admitted, if men are to be reckoned ingrafted in Christ, and real members of him, merely by an imputative righteousness wholly without them, while they themselves are actually unrighteous. And indeed it

may be thought strange, how some men have made this so fundamental an article of their faith, which is so contrary to the whole strain of the gospel: a thing which Christ in none of all his sermons and gracious speeches ever willed any to rely upon; always recommending to us works, as instrumental in our justification. And the more it is to be admired, because that sentence (so frequently in their mouths, and so often pressed by them, as the very basis of their hope and confidence) to wit, The imputed righteousness of Christ, is not to be found in all the Bible.

§. VII. I come then to the second thing proposed by me, which is; That it is by this inward birth, or Christ formed within, that we are (so to speak) formally justified in the sight of God. I suppose I have said enough already to demonstrate how much we ascribe to the death and sufferings of Christ, as that whereby satisfaction is made to the justice of God, remission of sins obtained, and this grace and seed purchased, by and from which this birth proceeds. The thing now to be proved is, That by Christ Jesus formed in us, we are justified, or made just. Let it be marked, I use justification in this sense upon this occasion.

First then I prove this by that of the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 11. "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." First, This *justified* here understood, must needs be a being really made just, and not a being merely imputed such; else *sanctified* and *washed* might be reputed a being esteemed so, and not a being really so; and then it quite overturns the whole intent of the context. For the apostle shewing them in the preceding verses, how the unrighteous cannot inherit the kingdom of God, and descending to the several species of wickedness, subsumes, That they were some-

times such, but now are not any more such. Wherefore, as they are now washed and sanctified, so are they justified: for if this justification were not real, then it might be alleged that the Corinthians had not forsaken these evils; but, though they still continued in them, were notwithstanding justified: which as in itself it is most absurd, so it very clearly overturneth the very import of the place; as if the Corinthians turning Christians had not wrought any real change in them, but had only been a belief of some barren notions, which had wrought no alteration in their affections, will, or manner of life.

Now is it not strange, that men should be so easy about a matter of so great concernment, as to build their acceptance with God upon a mere metaphorical signification, to the excluding, or at least esteeming not necessary, that without which the Scripture saith expressly, No man shall ever see God? For if holiness be requisite, of which this is said, then must good works also; unless our opponents can shew us an holy man without good works. But, moreover, *justified* in this figurative sense is used for approved; and indeed for the most part, if not always in Scripture, when the word *justify* is used, it is taken in the worst part; that is, that as the use of the word that way is an usurpation, so it is spoken of such as usurp the thing to themselves, while it properly doth not belong unto them; as will appear to those that will be at the pains to examine these places. Exod. xxiii. 7. Job ix. 20. & xxvii. 5. Prov. xvii. 15. Isai. v. 23. Jer. iii. 11. Ezek. xvi. 51, 52. Luke x. 29. & xvi. 15. which are all spoken of men justifying the wicked, or of wicked men justifying themselves; that is, approving themselves in their wickedness. If it be at any time in this signification taken in good part, it is very seldom, and that so plain by the context, as leaves no scruple. But the question is not so much of the use of

the word, where it is occasionally used, as where the very doctrine of justification is handled. Where indeed to mistake it, viz. in its proper place, so as to content ourselves with an imaginary justification, while God requires a real, is of most dangerous consequence. For the disquisition of which let it be considered, that in all these places to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and elsewhere, where the apostle handles this theme, the word may be taken in its own proper signification without any absurdity. As, where it is often asserted in the above-mentioned epistles to the Romans and Galatians, That a man cannot be justified by the law of Moses, nor by the works of the law; there is no absurdity in understanding it according to its own proper signification, to wit, that a man cannot be made just by the law of Moses; seeing this so well agrees with that saying of the same apostle, That the law makes nothing perfect. And also where it is said, We are justified by faith, it may be very well understood of being made just; seeing it is also said, That faith purifies the heart; and no doubt the pure in heart are just; and the just live by faith. Again, where it is said, We are justified by grace, we are justified by Christ, we are justified by the Spirit; it is no ways absurd to understand it of being made just, seeing by his spirit and grace he doth make men just. But to understand it universally the other way, merely for acceptance and imputation, would infer great absurdities. But further, in the most weighty places where this word justify is used in Scripture, with an immediate relation to the doctrine of justification, our opponents must needs acknowledge it to be understood of making just, and not barely in the legal acceptance: as first, in that of 1 Cor. vi. 11. "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified."

Secondly, In that excellent saying of the apostle, so

much observed, Rom. viii. 30. "Whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he also glorified:" this is commonly called the golden chain, as being acknowledged to comprehend the method and order of salvation. And therefore, if *justified* were not understood here in its proper signification of being made just, sanctification would be excluded out of this chain. And truly it is very worthy of observation, that the apostle, in this succinct account, makes the word *justified* to comprehend all betwixt calling and glorifying; thereby clearly insinuating, that the being really righteous is that only medium by which we pass from our calling to glorification.

§. VIII. Having thus sufficiently proved, that by justification is to be understood a really being made righteous, I do boldly affirm, That the immediate, nearest, or formal cause (if we must in condescension to some use this word) of a man's justification in the sight of God, is, the revelation of Jesus Christ in the soul, changing and renewing the mind, by whom (even the author of this inward work) thus formed and revealed, we are truly justified and accepted in the sight of God. For it is as we are thus clothed with him, in whom the Father is always well pleased, that we may draw near to God, and stand with confidence before his throne, being purged by the blood of Jesus inwardly poured into our souls, and clothed with his life and righteousness therein revealed. And this is that method of salvation held forth by the apostle in that divine saying. Rom. v. 10. "For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." For the apostle first holding forth the reconciliation wrought by the death of Christ, wherein God is near to receive and redeem man, holds forth his salvation and justification to be by the life of Jesus. Now, that this life is an inward,

spiritual thing revealed in the soul, whereby it is brought forth out of death, where it naturally hath been by the fall, and so quickened unto God, the same apostle shews, Eph. ii. 5. "Even when we were dead in sins and trespasses, he hath quickened us together in Christ (by whose grace ye are saved) and hath raised us up together." Now this none will deny to be the inward work of renovation, and therefore the apostle gives that reason of their being saved by grace; which is the inward power of Christ in the soul. Of the revelation of this inward life the apostle also speaketh, 2 Cor. iv. 10. That the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our bodies; and verse 11. That the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh. Now this inward life of Jesus is that whereby, he said, we are saved.

Secondly, That it is by this revelation of Jesus Christ, and the new creation in us, that we are justified, doth evidently appear from that excellent saying of the apostle included in the proposition itself, Tit. iii. 5. "According to his mercy he hath saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost," &c. Now that whereby we are saved, by that we are also no doubt justified. Here the apostle clearly ascribes the immediate cause of justification to this inward work of regeneration, which is Jesus Christ revealed in the soul, as being that which formally places us in a capacity of being reconciled with God; the washing or regeneration being that inward power and virtue, whereby the soul is cleansed, and clothed with the righteousness of Christ, so as to be made fit to appear before God.

Thirdly, This doctrine is manifest from 2 Cor. xiii. v. "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves: know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?" First, It

appears here how earnest the apostle was that they should know Christ in them; so that he presses this exhortation upon them, and inculcates it three times. Secondly, He makes the cause of reprobation, the want of Christ thus revealed and known in the soul: whereby it necessarily follows, by the rule of contraries, where the parity exists (as in this case it is evident) that where Christ is inwardly known, there the persons subjected to him are approved and justified.

§. IX. The third thing proposed to be considered, is concerning the necessity of good works to justification.

But if it be queried, Whether we have not said, or will not affirm, that a man is justified by works?

I answer; I hope none need, neither ought, to take offence, if in this matter we use the plain language of the holy Scripture, which saith expressly in answer hereunto, James ii. 24. "Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only." Whence arises this argument:

If no man can be justified without faith, and no faith be living, nor yet available to justification without works, then works are necessary to justification.

This truth is so apparent in the Scriptures, that for the proof of it we might transcribe most of the precepts of the gospel. I shall instance a few, which of themselves do so clearly assert the thing in question, that they need no further demonstration. Heb. xii. 14. "Without holiness no man shall see God." Mat. vii. 21. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." John xiii. 7. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." 1 Cor. vii. 19. "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God." Rev. xxii. 14. "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right

to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." From all which I thus argue:

If those only can enter into the kingdom that do the will of the Father; if those be accounted only the wise builders and happy that do the sayings of Christ; if no observations avail, but only the keeping of the commandments; and if they be blessed that do the commandments, and thereby have right to the tree of life, and to an entrance through the gates into the city; then works are absolutely necessary to salvation and justification.

§. X. But they object, That works are not necessary to justification: First, because of that saying of Christ, Luke xvii. 10. "When ye shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants," &c.

Answer; As to God we are indeed unprofitable, for he needeth nothing, neither can we add any thing unto him: but as to ourselves we are not unprofitable; else it might be said, that it is not profitable for a man to keep God's commandments; which is most absurd, and would contradict Christ's doctrine throughout. Doth not Christ, Mat. v. through all those beatitudes, pronounce men blessed for their purity, for their meekness, for their peaceableness, &c. And is not then that for which Christ pronounceth men blessed, profitable unto them? Moreover, Mat. xxv. 21, 23. Doth not Christ pronounce the men good and faithful servants that improved their talents? Was not their doing of that then profitable unto them? And ver. 30. it is said of him that hid his talent, and did not improve it, "Cast ye the unprofitable servant into utter darkness." If then not improving of the talent made the man unprofitable, and he was therefore cast into utter darkness, it will follow at least by the rule of contraries, that the improving made the other profitable; seeing, if our opponents will

allow us to believe Christ's words, this is made a reason, and so at least a cause instrumental of their acceptance; "Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Secondly, They object those sayings of the apostle, where he excludes the deeds of the law from justification; as first, Rom. iii. 20. "Because by the deeds of the law there shall be no flesh justified in his sight." And ver. 28. "Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law."

Answer; We have shewn already what place we give to works, even to the best of works, in justification; and how we ascribe its immediate and formal cause to the worker brought forth in us, but not to the works. But in answer to this objection, I say, there is a great difference betwixt the works of the law, and those of grace, or of the gospel. The first are excluded, the second necessary. The first are those which are performed in man's own will and by his strength, in a conformity to the outward law and letter; and therefore are man's own imperfect works, or works of the law, which makes nothing perfect: and to this belong all the ceremonies, purifications, and traditions of the Jews. The second are the works of the Spirit of grace in the heart, wrought in conformity to the inward and spiritual law; which works are not wrought in man's will, nor by his power, but in and by the power and Spirit of Christ in us, and therefore are pure and perfect in their kind, and may be called Christ's works, for that he is the immediate author of them; such works we affirm absolutely necessary to justification; and all faith without them is dead and useless, as the apostle James saith. Now, that such a distinction is to be admitted, and that the works excluded by the apostle in the matter of justifi-

cation are of the first kind, will appear, if we consider the occasion of the apostle's mentioning this, as well here, as throughout his epistle to the Galatians, where he speaks of this matter and to this purpose at large: which was this, That whereas many of the Gentiles, that were not of the race or seed of Abraham, as concerning the flesh, were come to be converted to the faith of Christ, and to believe in him, some of those that were of the Jewish proselytes, thought to subject the believing Gentiles to the legal ceremonies, as necessary to their justification: this gave the apostle Paul occasion at length, in his epistle to the Romans, Galatians, and elsewhere, to shew the use and tendency of the law, and of its works, and to contra-distinguish them from the faith of Christ, and the righteousness thereof; shewing how the former was ceased and become ineffectual, the other remaining, and yet necessary. And that the works excluded by the apostle are of this kind of works of the law, appears by the whole strain of his epistle to the Galatians, chap. i. ii. iii. and iv. For after, in chap. iv. he upbraideth them for their returning unto the observation of days and times, and that, in the beginning of chap. v. he sheweth them their folly and the evil consequence of adhering to the ceremonies of circumcision, then he adds, ver. 6. "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth, but faith, which worketh by love;" and thus he concludes again, chap. vi. ver. 15. "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." From which places appeareth that distinction of works before-mentioned, whercof the one is excluded, the other necessary to justification. For the apostle sheweth here, that circumcision (which word is often used to comprehend the whole ceremonies and legal performances of the Jews) is not necessary, nor doth avail. Here then are the works which

are excluded, by which no man is justified; but faith, which worketh by love, the new creature, this is that which availeth, which is absolutely necessary; for faith, that worketh by love, cannot be without works, for, as it is said in the same 5th chapter, verse 22. Love is a work of the Spirit; also the new creature, if it avail and be necessary, cannot be without works; seeing it is natural for it to bring forth works of righteousness. Again, that the apostle no ways intends to exclude such good works appears, in that in the same epistle he exhorts the Galatians to them, and holds forth the usefulness and necessity of them, and that very plainly, chap. vi. ver. 7, 8, 9. "Be not deceived," saith he, "God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap: for he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. And let us not be weary of well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." Doth it not hereby appear, how necessary the apostle would have the Galatians know that he esteemed good works to be?

But lastly; For a full answer to this objection, and for the establishing of this doctrine of good works, I shall instance another saying of the same apostle Paul; to wit, Tit. iii. 5. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." It is generally granted by all, that *saved* is here all one as if it had been said *justified*. Now there are two kinds of works here mentioned: one by which we are not saved, that is, not justified; and another by which we are saved, or justified. The first, the works of righteousness which we have wrought, that is, which we in our first fallen nature, by our own strength, have wrought, our own legal performances, and therefore may truly be called ours,

whatever specious appearances they may have. And that it ought to be so understood, doth appear from the other part, "By the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;" seeing regeneration is a work, comprehensive of many good works; even of all those which are called the fruits of the Spirit.

Now in case it should be objected, That these may also be called ours, because wrought in us, and also by us many times as instruments;

I answer; It is far otherwise than the former: for in the first we are yet alive in our own natural state, working of ourselves, seeking to save ourselves, by endeavouring a conformity to the outward letter of the law; and so striving in the carnal mind, that is enmity to God, and in the cursed will not yet subdued. But in this second we are crucified with Christ, we are become dead with him, have partaken of the fellowship of his sufferings, are made conformable to his death; and our old man with all his deeds, as well the openly wicked as the seemingly righteous, our legal observations and selfish wrestlings, are all buried and nailed to the cross of Christ; and so it is no more we, but Christ alive in us, the worker in us. So that though it be we in a sense, yet it is according to that of the apostle to the same Galatians, chap. ii. ver. 20. "I am crucified, yet nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: not I but the grace of Christ in me." These works are especially to be ascribed to the Spirit of Christ, and the grace of God in us, as being immediately thereby acted and led in them, and enabled to perform them. And this manner of speech is not strained, but familiar to the apostle, as appears, Gal. ii. 8. "For he that wrought effectually in Peter, to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me," &c. Phil. ii. 13. "For it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do," &c. It appears

by this place, that since the washing of regeneration is necessary to justification, and that regeneration comprehends works, works are necessary; and that these works of the law that are excluded, are different from those that are necessary.

§. XI. Thirdly, They object that no works, yea, not the works of Christ in us, can have place in justification, because nothing that is impure can be useful in it; and all the works wrought in us are impure. For this they allege that saying of the prophet Isaiah, lxiv. 6. "All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags," adding this reason, That seeing we are impure, so must our works be, which though good in themselves, yet as performed by us, they receive a tincture of impurity, even as clean water passing through an unclean pipe is defiled.

That no impure works are useful to justification is confessed; but that all the works wrought in the saints are such, is denied. We confess, that the first sort of works above-mentioned are impure; but not the second: because the first are wrought in the unrenewed state, but not the other. And as for that of Isaiah, it must relate to the first kind; for though he saith, "All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags," yet that will not comprehend the righteousness of Christ in us, but only that which we work of and by ourselves. For should we so conclude, then it would follow, that we should throw away all holiness and righteousness; since that which is as filthy rags, and as a menstruous garment, ought to be thrown away; yea, it would follow, that all the fruits of the Spirit, mentioned Gal. iv. were as filthy rags: whereas on the contrary, some of the works of the saints are said to have a sweet savour in the nostrils of the Lord; are said to be an ornament of great price in the sight of God; are said to prevail with him, and to be acceptable to him.

§. XII. As to the other part, That seeing the best of men are still impure and imperfect, therefore their works must be so; it is to beg the question, and depends upon a proposition denied. But though we should suppose a man not thoroughly perfect in all respects, yet will not that hinder, but good works in their kind may be brought forth in him by the Spirit of Christ: neither doth the example of water going through an unclean pipe hit the matter; because though water may be capable to be tinctured with uncleanness, yet the Spirit of God cannot, whom we assert to be the immediate author of those works that avail in justification: and therefore Jesus Christ's works in his children are pure and perfect, and he worketh in and through that pure thing of his own forming and creating in them. Moreover, if this did hold, according to our opponents' supposition, That no man ever was or can be perfect, it would follow, that the very miracles and works of the apostles, which Christ wrought in them, and they wrought in and by the power, Spirit, and grace of Christ, were also impure and imperfect; such as their converting of the nations to the Christian faith; their gathering of the churches, their writing of the holy Scriptures; and their offering up and sacrificing of their lives for the testimony of Jesus. What may our opponents think of this argument, whereby it will follow that the holy Scriptures, whose perfection and excellency they seem so much to magnify, are proved to be impure and imperfect, because they came through impure and imperfect vessels?

But lastly, It is fit here to say something of the merit and reward of works. We are far from thinking or believing, that man merits any thing by his works from God, all being of free grace. Nevertheless we cannot deny but that God, out of his infinite goodness wherewith he hath loved mankind, after he communicates to them his

holy grace and Spirit, doth, according to his own will, recompense and reward the good works of his children.

§. XIII. And to conclude this proposition, let none be so bold as to mock God, supposing themselves justified and accepted in the sight of God, by virtue of Christ's death and sufferings, while they remain unsanctified and unjustified in their own hearts, and polluted in their sins, lest their hope prove that of the hypocrite, which perisheth. Neither let any foolishly imagine, that they can by their own works, or by the performance of any ceremonies or traditions, or by the giving of money, or by afflicting their bodies in voluntary humility, or foolishly striving to conform their way to the outward letter of the law, flatter themselves that they merit before God, or draw a debt upon him, or that any man or men have power to make such kind of things effectual to their justification, lest they be found foolish boasters, and strangers to Christ and his righteousness.

But blessed for ever are they, that have truly had a sense of their own unworthiness and sinfulness, and having seen all their own endeavours fruitless, and beheld their own emptiness, and the vanity of their vain hopes and confidence, while they remained inwardly condemned by God's holy witness in their hearts; and so having applied themselves thereto, and suffered his grace to work in them, are become changed and renewed in the spirit of their minds, passed from death to life, and know Jesus arisen in them, working both the will and the deed; and so having put on the Lord Jesus Christ, in effect are clothed with him, and partake of his righteousness and nature: such can draw near to the Lord with boldness, and know their acceptance in and by him, in whom, and in as many as are found in him, the Father is well pleased.

PROPOSITION VIII.

Concerning Perfection.

In whom this pure and holy birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the truth, so as not to obey any suggestions or temptations of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect: yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth always in some part a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord.

§. I. SINCE we have placed justification in the revelation of Jesus Christ formed in the heart, there working his works of righteousness, and bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit, the question is, How far he may prevail in us while we are in this life; or we over our souls' enemies, in and by his strength? Those that plead for justification wholly without them, merely by imputative righteousness, denying the necessity of being clothed with inward righteousness, do consequently affirm*, "That it is impossible for a man, even the best of men, to be free of sin in this life, which no man ever was; but on the contrary, that none can, neither of himself, nor by any grace received in this life, keep the commandments of God perfectly; but that every man doth break the commandments in thought,

* Westminster larger Catechism.

word, and deed:" whence they also affirm, "That the very best actions of the saints, their prayers, their worships, are impure and polluted." We on the contrary, though we freely acknowledge this of the natural fallen man, whatever his profession may be, so long as he is unregenerate, yet we do believe, that to those in whom Christ comes to be formed, and the new man brought forth, and born of the incorruptible seed, (as that birth, and man in union therewith, naturally doeth the will of God,) it is possible so far to keep to it, as not to be found daily transgressors of the law of God. And for the more clear stating of the controversy, let it be considered:

§. II. First, That we place not this possibility in man's own will and capacity, as he is a man, the son of fallen Adam, or as he is in his natural state, however wise, or however much endued with a notional and literal knowledge of Christ, thereby endeavouring a conformity to the letter of the law, as it is outward.

Secondly, That we attribute it wholly to man, as he is born again, renewed in his mind, raised by Christ, knowing Christ alive, reigning and ruling in him, and guiding him by his spirit, and revealing in him the law of the Spirit of life; which not only manifests and reproves sin, but also gives power to come out of it.

Thirdly, That by this we understand not such a perfection as may not daily admit of a growth, and consequently mean not as if we were to be as pure and perfect as God in his divine attributes of wisdom, knowledge, and purity; but only a perfection proportionable to man's measure, whereby we are kept from transgressing the law of God, and enabled to answer what he requires of us; even as he that improved his two talents so as to make four of them, perfected his work, and was so

accepted of his Lord as to be called a good and faithful servant, nothing less than he that made his five, ten.

Fourthly, Though a man may witness this deliverance from sin, and therefore all ought to press after it; yet we do not affirm but those that have attained it in a measure may, by the temptations of the enemy, fall into iniquity, and lose it sometimes, if they do not diligently attend to and follow the light of God in the heart. And we doubt not but many good and holy men, who have arrived to everlasting life, have had divers ebbings and flowings of this kind; for though every sin weakens a man in his spiritual condition, yet it doth not so as to destroy him altogether, or render him incapable of rising again.

Lastly, Though I affirm, that after a man hath arrived at such a state, in which he may be able not to sin, yet he may sin: nevertheless, I will not affirm that a state is not attainable in this life, in which to do righteousness may be so natural to the regenerate soul, that in the stability of that condition he cannot sin. 1 John, iii. 9. "He that is born of God sinneth not, neither can he, because the seed of God remaineth in him."

The controversy being thus stated, which will serve to obviate objections, I shall proceed, First, to shew the absurdity of that doctrine that pleads for sin for term of life, even in the saints.

Secondly, To prove this doctrine of perfection from many pregnant testimonies of the holy Scripture.

And, Lastly, To answer the arguments and objections of our opposers.

§. III. First then, This doctrine, *viz.* That the saints nor can nor ever will be free of sinning in this life, is inconsistent with the wisdom of God, and with his glorious power and majesty, who is of purer eyes than to behold

iniquity; who having purposed in himself to gather a people that should worship him, and be witnesses for him on earth, doth also no doubt sanctify and purify them. For God hath no delight in iniquity, but abhors transgression; and though he regard man in transgression so far as to pity him, and afford him means to come out of it; yet he loves him not, neither delights in him, as he is joined thereunto. Wherefore if man must be always joined to sin, then God would always be at a distance from him; as it is written, *Isai. lix. 2.* "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you;" whereas on the contrary, the saints are said to partake, even while here, of the divine nature, *1 Pet. i. 4.* and to be one spirit with the Lord, *1 Cor. vi. 17.* Now no unclean thing can be so. It is expressly written, That there is no communion betwixt light and darkness, *2 Cor. vi. 14.* But God is light, and every sin is darkness.

§. IV. Secondly, It is inconsistent with the justice of God. For since he requires purity from his children, and commands them to abstain from every iniquity, and since his wrath is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, it must needs follow, that he hath capacitated man to answer his will, or else that he requires more than he has given power to perform; which is to declare him openly unjust. We have elsewhere spoken of the injustice these men ascribe to God, in making him to damn the wicked, to whom, they allege, he never afforded any means of being good; but this is yet an aggravation more irrational, to say, that God will not afford to those, whom he hath chosen to be his own, (whom they confess he loveth,) the means to please him.

This imperfection in the saints either proceeds from God or from themselves: If it proceeds from them, it must be because they are short in improving the power

given them, whereby they are capable to obey; and so it is a thing possible to them, as indeed it is by the help of that power: but this our opponents deny: they are then not to be blamed for their continuing in sin, since it is not possible for them to do otherwise. If it be not of themselves, it must be of God, who hath not seen meet to allow them grace in that degree to produce that effect: and what is this but to attribute to God the height of injustice, to make him require his children to forsake sin, and yet not to afford them sufficient means for so doing? But these men confess we ought to seek of God power to redeem us from sin, and yet believe they are never to receive such a power; such prayers then cannot be in faith, but are all vain. Is not this to make God as unjust to his children as Pharaoh was to the Israelites, in requiring brick, and not giving them straw? But, blessed be God, he deals not so with those that truly trust in him, as these men vainly imagine; for such faithful ones find of a truth that his grace is sufficient for them, and know how, by his power and Spirit, to overcome the evil one.

§. V. Thirdly, This doctrine is highly injurious to Jesus Christ, and greatly derogates from the power and virtue of his sacrifice, and renders his coming and ministry, as to the great end of it, ineffectual. For Christ principally appeared for the removing of sin, for the gathering a righteous generation, that might serve the Lord in purity of mind, and walk before him in fear, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and that evangelical perfection which the law could not do. Hence he is said, Tit. ii. 14. to have given himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. This is certainly spoken of the saints while upon earth; but, contrary thereunto, these men affirm, that we are never redeemed from all iniquity,

and so make Christ's giving of himself for us ineffectual, and give the apostle Paul the lie plainly, by denying that Christ purifieth to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works? How are they zealous of good works, who are ever committing evil ones? How are they a purified people, that are still in impurity, as they are that daily sin, unless sin be accounted no impurity? Moreover it is said expressly, 1 John, iii. 5, 8. That "for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil; and ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins." And lest any should wrest this place of the apostle, as if it were spoken only of taking away the guilt of sin, as if it related not to this life, the apostle, as if by design, adds in the following verses, "Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not," &c. I hope then they sin not daily in thought, word, and deed. "Let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous; he that committeth sin, is of the devil; but he that sinneth daily in thought, word, and deed, committeth sin; how comes such a one then to be the child of God? And if Christ was manifest to take away sin, how strangely do they overturn the doctrine of Christ that deny that it is ever taken away here? And how injurious are they to the efficacy of Christ's appearance? Came not Christ to gather a people out of sin into righteousness; from the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of the dear Son of God? How greatly then doth it contradict the end of Christ's coming? as it is expressed by the apostle, Eph. v. 25, 26, 27. "Even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word: that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish." Now if Christ hath really

thus answered the thing he came for, then the members of this church are not always sinning in thought, word, and deed, or there is no difference betwixt being holy and unholy, being daily blemished with sin, and being without blemish.

§. VI. Fourthly, This doctrine renders the work of the ministry, the preaching of the word, the writing of the Scripture, and the prayers of holy men altogether useless and ineffectual. As to the first, Eph. iv. 11. Pastors and teachers are said to be given for the perfection of the saints, &c. until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto a measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. Now if there be a necessity of sinning daily, and in all things, then there can be no perfection; for such as do so cannot be esteemed perfect. And if for effectuating this perfection in the saints the ministry be appointed and disposed of God, do not such as deny the possibility hereof render the ministry useless, and of no profit? Seeing there can be no other true use assigned, but to lead people out of sin into righteousness. If so be these ministers assure us that we need never expect to be delivered from it, do not they render their own work needless? What needs preaching against sin, for reprovng of which all preaching is, if it can never be forsaken? Our opponents are exalters of the Scriptures in words, much crying up their usefulness and perfection: now the apostle tells us, 2 Tim. iii. 17. That the Scriptures are for making the man of God perfect; and if this be denied to be attainable in this life, then the Scriptures are of no profit. It renders the prayers of the saints altogether useless, seeing themselves do confess they ought to pray daily that God would deliver them from evil, and free them from sin, by the help of his Spirit and grace, while in this world. But though we

might suppose this absurdity to follow, that their prayers are without faith, yet were not that so much, if it did not infer the like upon the holy apostles, who prayed earnestly for this end, and therefore no doubt believed it attainable, Col. iv. 12. "Labouring fervently for you in prayers that ye may stand perfect," &c. 1 Thess. iii. 13. and v. 23. &c.

§. VII. But Fifthly, This doctrine is contrary to common sense and reason. For the two opposite principles, whereof the one rules in the children of darkness, the other in the children of light, are sin and righteousness; and as they are respectively actuated by them, so they are accounted either as reprobated or justified, seeing it is abomination in the sight of God, either to justify the wicked, or condemn the just. Now to say that men cannot be so leavened by the one, as to be delivered from the other, is in plain words to affirm, that sin and righteousness are consistent; and that a man may be truly termed righteous, though he be daily sinning in every thing he doeth; and then what difference betwixt good and evil? Is not this putting light for darkness, and calling good evil, and evil good? I shall now proceed to the second thing proposed by me, to wit, to prove our doctrine from several testimonies of the holy Scriptures.

§. VIII. And First, I prove it from the positive command of Christ and his apostles, seeing this is a maxim engraven in every man's heart naturally, that no man is bound to do that which is impossible; since then Christ and his apostles have commanded us to keep all the commandments, and to be perfect in this respect, it is possible for us so to do. Now that this is thus commanded without any commentary or consequence, is apparent from these plain testimonies, Mat. v. 48. and vii. 21. John xiii. 17. 1 Cor. vii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. 1 John ii. 3, 4, 5, 6. and iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. These Scriptures intimate a

positive command for it; they declare the absolute necessity of it; and therefore, as if they had purposely been written to answer the objections of our opposers, they shew the folly of those that will esteem themselves children or friends of God, while they do otherwise.

Secondly, It is possible, because we receive the gospel and law thereof for that effect; and it is expressly promised to us, as we are under grace, as appears by these Scriptures, Rom. iv. 14. "Sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace:" and Rom. viii. 3. "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son," &c. "that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us," &c. For if this were not a condition both requisite and attainable under the gospel, there were no difference betwixt the bringing in of a better hope, and the law which made nothing perfect. Whereas the apostle, throughout the whole sixth to the Romans, argues not only the possibility, but the necessity of being free from sin, from their being under the gospel, and under grace, and not under the law; and therefore states himself and those to whom he wrote in that condition in these verses, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and therefore in the 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18 verses, he argues both the possibility and necessity of this freedom from sin; and in the 22d he declares them in measure to have attained this condition in these words, "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." And as this perfection or freedom from sin is attained and made possible where the gospel and inward law of the Spirit is received and known, so the ignorance hereof has been and is an occasion of opposing this truth. This hath made them wrest the Scriptures for an imputative righteousness wholly without them, to cover

their impurities ; and this hath made them imagine an acceptance with God possible, though they suppose it impossible ever to obey Christ's commands.

Lastly, This perfection or freedom from sin is possible, because many have attained it, according to the express testimony of the Scripture ; some before the law, and some under the law, and many under the gospel. As first, It is written of Enoch, Gen. v. 22, 24, that he walked with God, which no man while sinning can do ; nor doth the Scripture record any failing of his. It is said of Noah, Gen. vi. 9. and of Job. i. 8. and of Zacharias and Elizabeth, Luke i. 6. that they were perfect ; but under the gospel, besides that of the Romans above mentioned, see what the apostle saith of many saints in general, Eph. ii. 4, 5, 6. " But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he hath loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ ; by grace ye are saved ; and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," &c. I judge while they were sitting in these heavenly places, they could not be daily sinning in thought, word, and deed. And to conclude, let that of the Revelations, xiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, be considered, where though their being found without fault be spoken in the present time, yet it is not without respect to their innocency while upon earth ; and their being redeemed from among men, and no guile found in their mouth, is expressly mentioned in the time past.

§. IX. Their chief and great argument is the words of the apostle, 1 John i. 8. " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

But is it not strange to see men so blinded with partiality ? How many Scriptures tenfold more plain do they reject, and yet stick so tenaciously to this, that can receive so many answers ? As first, *If we say we have no sin*, &c.

will not import the apostle himself to be included. Sometimes the Scripture useth this manner of expression when the person speaking cannot be included; which manner of speech the grammarians call *metaschematismus*. Thus James iii. 9, 10. speaking of the tongue, saith, "Therewith bless we God, and therewith curse we men;" adding, "These things ought not so to be." Who from this will conclude that the apostle was one of those cursers? But Secondly, this objection hitteth not the matter; he saith not, We sin daily in thought, word, and deed; far less that the very good works which God works in us by his Spirit are sin: the very next verse clearly shews, that upon confession and repentance we are not only forgiven, but also cleansed; "He is faithful to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." The apostle having shewn that not the guilt only, but even the filth also of sin is removed, subsumes his words in the time past in the 10th verse, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar." Thirdly, The apostle's words are not if we say we sin not, or commit not sin daily, but if we say we have no sin: and betwixt these two there is a manifest difference; for in respect all have sinned, as we freely acknowledge, all may be said in a sense to have sin. Again, sin may be taken for the seed of sin, which may be in those that are redeemed from actual sinning; but as to the temptations and provocations proceeding from it being resisted by the servants of God, and not yielded to, they are the devil's sin that tempteth, not the man's that is preserved. Fourthly, This being considered, as also how positive once and again the same apostle is in that very epistle, is it rational to strain this one place, presently after so qualified and subsumed in the time past, to contradict not only other positive expressions of his, but the

whole tendency of his epistle, and of the rest of the holy commands of the Scripture ?

Secondly, Their second objection is from two places of Scripture, much of one signification: the one is, 1 Kings viii. 46. "For there is no man that sinneth not." The other is, Eccles. vii. 20. "For there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not."

I answer, These affirm nothing of a daily and continual sinning, so as never to be redeemed from it; but only that all have sinned, or that there is none that doth not sin, though not always, so as never to cease to sin; and in this lies the question. Yea, in that place of the Kings he speaks within two verses of the returning of such with all their souls and hearts; which implies a possibility of leaving off sin.

Thirdly, They object some expressions of the apostle Paul, Rom. vii. 19. "For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do." And verse 24. "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

I answer, This place infers nothing, unless it were apparent that the apostle here was speaking of his own condition, and not rather in the person of others, or what he himself had sometimes borne; which is frequent in Scripture, as in the case of cursing, in the epistle of James before mentioned. But there is nothing in the text that doth clearly signify the apostle to be speaking of himself, or of a condition he was then under, or was always to be under; on the contrary, in the former chapter, he declares, they were dead to sin; demanding how such should yet live any longer therein? Secondly, It appears that the apostle personated one not yet come to a spiritual condition, in that he saith, verse 14. "But I am carnal, sold under sin." Now is it to be imagined that the apostle

Paul, as to his own proper condition, when he wrote that epistle, was a carnal man, who in chap. i. testifies of himself, That he was separated to be an apostle, capable to impart to the Romans spiritual gifts; and chap. viii. ver. 2. That the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus had made him free from the law of sin and death? So then he was not carnal. And seeing there are spiritual men in this life, as our opponents will not deny, and is intimated through the whole viiith chapter to the Romans, it will not be denied but the apostle was one of them: so then as his calling himself carnal in chap. vii. cannot be understood of his own proper state, neither can the rest of what he speaks there of that kind be so understood: yea after, verse 24. where he makes that exclamation, he adds in the next verse, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;" signifying that by him he witnessed deliverance; and so goeth on, shewing how he had obtained it in the next chapter, *viz.* viii. ver. 35. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" And ver. 37. "But in all these things we are more than conquerors:" and in the last verse, "Nothing shall be able to separate us," &c. But wherever there is a continuing in sin, there is a separation in some degree, seeing every sin is contrary to God, and a transgression of the law*, 1 John iii. 4. and whoever committeth the least sin, is overcome of it, and so in that respect is not a conqueror, but conquered. This condition then, which the apostle plainly testified he with some others had obtained, could not consist with continual abiding in sin.

Fourthly, They object the faults and sins of several eminent saints, as Noah, David, &c.

I answer, That doth not at all prove the case: for the

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question is not whether good men may not fall into sin, which is not denied; but whether it be not possible for them not to sin? It will not follow because these men sinned, that therefore they were never free of sin, but always sinned: for at this rate of arguing, it might be urged, according to this rule, (The reason of contraries is alike*,) that if, because a good man hath sinned once or twice, he can never be free from sin, but must always be daily a sinner all his life long; then by the rule of contraries, if a wicked man have done good once or twice, he can never be free from righteousness, but must always be a righteous man all his life-time: which as it is most absurd in itself, so it is contrary to the plain testimony of the Scripture. Ezek. xxxiii. 12 to 18.

§. XI. Blessed then are they that believe in him, who is both able and willing to deliver as many as come to him through true repentance from all sin, and do not resolve to be the devil's servants all their life-time, but daily go on forsaking unrighteousness and forgetting those things that are behind, press forward toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus; such shall not find their faith to be in vain, but in due time shall be made conquerors through him in whom they have believed; and so overcoming, shall be established as pillars in the house of God, so as they shall go no more out, Rev. iii. 12,

• Contrariorum par ratio.

PROPOSITION IX.

Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of Falling from Grace.

Although this gift and inward grace of God be sufficient to work out salvation, yet in those in whom it is resisted, it both may and doth become their condemnation. Moreover, they in whose hearts it hath wrought in part to purify and sanctify them in order to their further perfection, may, by disobedience, fall from it, turn it to wantonness, Jude iv. make shipwreck of faith, 1 Tim. i. 19. and after having tasted the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, again fall away, Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6. yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there can be no total apostasy.

§. I. THE first sentence of this proposition hath already been treated of in the fifth and sixth propositions, where it hath been shewn that that light which is given for life and salvation becomes the condemnation of those that refuse it, and there I did demonstrate the possibility of man's resisting the grace and Spirit of God : and indeed it is so apparent in the Scriptures, that it cannot be denied by such as will but seriously consider these testimonies, Prov. i. 24, 25, 26. John iii. 18, 19. 2 Thess. ii. 11, 12. Acts vii. 51. and xiii. 46. Rom. i. 18. As for the other part of it, that they in whom this grace may have wrought in a good measure in order to purify and sanctify them, tending to their further perfection, may afterwards, through disobe-

dience, fall away, &c. the testimonies of the Scripture included in the proposition itself are sufficient to prove it to men of unbiassed judgment.

§. II. From these Scriptures then included in the proposition, I argue thus:

If men may turn the grace of God into wantonness, then they must once have had it:

If men may make shipwreck of faith, they must once have had it; neither could they ever have had true faith without the grace of God:

If men may have tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and afterwards fall away, they must needs have known in measure the operation of God's saving grace and Spirit, without which no man could taste the heavenly gift, nor yet partake of the Holy Spirit:

Seeing the contrary doctrine is built upon this false hypothesis, That grace is not given for salvation to any, but a certain elect number, which cannot lose it, and that all the rest of mankind, by an absolute decree, are debarred from grace and salvation; that being destroyed, this falls to the ground. Now as that doctrine is wholly inconsistent with the daily practice of those that preach it, in that they exhort people to believe and be saved, while if they belong to the decree of reprobation, it is simply impossible for them so to do; and if to the decree of election, it is needless, seeing it is as impossible to them to miss of it; so also in this matter of perseverance, their practice and principle are no less inconsistent. For while they daily exhort people to be faithful to the end, shewing them if they continue not they shall be cut off, and fall short of the reward, which is very true, but no less inconsistent with that doctrine that affirms there is no hazard, because no possibility of departing from the least measure

of true grace; which if true, it is to no purpose to beseech them to stand, to whom God hath made it impossible to fall.

§. III. First, they allege in objection, That those places mentioned of making shipwreck of faith, are only to be understood of seeming faith, and not of a real true faith.

This objection is very weak, and apparently contrary to the text, 1 Tim. i. 19, where the apostle addeth to faith a good conscience, by way of complaint; whereas if their faith had been only hypocritical, the men had been better without it than with it; neither had they been worthy of blame for losing that which in itself was evil. But the apostle expressly adds *and of a good conscience*, which shews it was real; neither can it be supposed that men could truly attain a good conscience without the operation of God's saving grace; far less that a good conscience doth consist with an hypocritical faith. Again, these places of the apostle being spoken by way of regret, clearly import that these attainments they have fallen from were good and real, not false and deceitful, else he would not have regretted their falling from them; and so he saith positively, They tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, &c. not that they seemed to be so, which sheweth this objection is very frivolous.

Secondly, They allege, Phil. i. 6. "Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ," &c. and 1 Pet. i. 5. "Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."

These Scriptures, as they do not affirm any thing positively contrary to us, so they cannot be understood otherwise than as the condition is performed upon our part, seeing salvation is no otherwise proposed there but upon certain

necessary conditions to be performed by us, as Rom. viii. 13. "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." And Heb. iii. 14. "We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end. For if these places of the Scripture upon which they build their objections were to be admitted without these conditions, it would manifestly overturn the whole tenor of their exhortations throughout all their writings.

§. IV. As upon the one hand they err who affirm that the degree of true and saving grace cannot be fallen from, so do they err upon the other hand that deny any such stability to be attained from which there cannot be a total and final apostasy. For all the arguments which these allege that affirm there can be no falling away, may well be received upon the one part, if said of those who have attained to this stability, and their objections solved by this confession; so upon the other hand, the arguments alleged from Scripture testimonies by those that affirm the possibility of falling away may well be received concerning such as are not come to this establishment, though they may have attained a measure of true grace. For such as judge it always possible for the best of men before they die to fall away, I shall add some brief considerations from some few testimonies of the Scripture.

§. V. And first, I freely acknowledge that it is good for all to be humble, and in this respect not over confident, so as to lean to this, to foster themselves in iniquity, or lie down in security, as if they had attained this condition, seeing watchfulness and diligence is of indispensable necessity to all men; for God will have this to be the constant practice of a Christian, that thereby he may be the more fit to serve him, and better armed against all the temptations of the

enemy. For since the wages of sin is death, there is no man, while he sinneth, and is subject thereunto, but may justly suppose himself capable of perishing. Hence the apostle Paul himself saith, 1 Cor. ix. 27. "But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away." Here the apostle supposes it possible for him to be a cast-away, and yet it may be judged he was far more advanced in the inward work of regeneration, when he wrote that epistle, than many who now-a-days too presumptuously suppose they cannot fall away, because they feel themselves to have attained some small degree of true grace. But the apostle makes use of this supposition or possibility of his being a cast-away, as an inducement to them to be watchful; I keep under my body, lest, &c. Nevertheless the same apostle, at another time, in the sense and feeling of God's holy power, and in the dominion thereof, finding himself a conqueror there-through over sin and his soul's enemies, maketh no difficulty to affirm, Rom. viii. 38. "For I am persuaded that neither death nor life," &c. which clearly sheweth that he had attained a condition from which he knew he could not fall away.

But secondly, It appears such a condition is attainable, because we are exhorted to it; and the Scripture never proposeth to us things impossible. Such an exhortation we have from the apostle, 2 Pet. i. 10. "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure. And though there be a condition here proposed, yet since we have already proved that it is possible to fulfil this condition, then also the promise annexed thereunto may be attained. And since, where assurance is wanting, there is still a place left for doubtings and despairs, if we should affirm it never attainable, then should

there never be a place known by the saints in this world, wherein they might be free of doubting and despair.

Thirdly, God hath given to many of his saints and children, and is ready to give unto all, a full and certain assurance that they are his, and that no power shall be able to pluck them out of his hand. But this assurance would be no assurance, if those who are so assured were not established and confirmed beyond all doubt and hesitation: if so, then surely there is no possibility for such to miss of that which God hath assured them of. And that there is such assurance attainable in this life, the Scripture abundantly declareth, both in general and as to particular persons. As Rev. iii. 12. "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out," &c. which containeth a general promise unto all.

PROPOSITION X.

Concerning the Ministry.

As by the light or gift of God all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed, so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the ministry; and by the leading, moving, and drawing hereof ought every evangelist and Christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to

whom, and as to the time wherein he is to minister. Moreover, they who have this authority may and ought to preach the gospel, though without human commission or literature; as on the other hand, they who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned, or authorized by the commission of men and churches, are not to be esteemed true ministers of the gospel. 'Also they who have received this holy and unspotted gift, as they have freely received it, so are they freely to give it, without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a Trade to get money by: yet if God hath called any from their employment or trades by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals (to wit, what may be needful for them for meat and clothing) as are given them freely and cordially by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

§. I. **H**ITHERTO I have treated of those things which relate to the Christian faith and Christians, as they stand each in his particular condition, and how and by what means every man may be a Christian indeed, and so abide. Now I come in order to speak of those things that relate to Christians, as they are placed in a joint fellowship, and come under a visible society, which society is called the church of God, and in Scripture compared to a body, and therefore named the body of Christ. As then in the natural body there be divers members, all concurring to the common end of preserving the whole body, so in this spiritual and mystical body there are also divers members, according to the different measures of grace and of the Spirit diversly administered unto each member; and from this diversity ariseth that distinction of persons in the

visible society of Christians, as of apostles, pastors, evangelists, ministers, &c. That which in this proposition is proposed, is, What makes or constitutes any a minister of the church, what his qualifications ought to be, and how he ought to behave himself? But because it may seem somewhat preposterous to speak of the distinct offices of the church, until something be said of the church in general, I shall briefly premise something thereof, and then proceed to the particular members of it.

§. II. The Church then, as it is used in the holy Scripture, signifies an assembly or gathering of many into one place*; and indeed, as this is the grammatical sense of the word, so also it is the proper signification of the thing, the church being no other thing but the society, or company of such as God hath called out of the world, and worldly spirit, to walk in his LIGHT and LIFE. The church then is to be considered, as it comprehends all that are thus called and gathered truly by God, both such as are yet in this world, and such as having already laid down the earthly tabernacle, are passed into their heavenly mansions, which together do make up the one catholic church. Out of which church we freely acknowledge there can be no salvation; because under this church and its denomination are comprehended all, and as many, of whatsoever nation, kindred, tongue, or people they be, though outwardly strangers, and remote from those who profess Christ and Christianity in words, and have the benefit of the Scriptures, as become obedient to the holy light and testimony of God in their hearts, so as to become sanctified by it, and cleansed from the evils of their ways. For this is the universal or catholic spirit,

* The substantive *ἐκκλησία* comes from the word *ἐκκαλεῖω*, *I call out of*, and originally from *καλεῖω*, *I call*.

by which many are called from all the four corners of the earth, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: by this the secret life and virtue of Jesus is conveyed into many that are afar off, even as by the blood that runs into the veins and arteries of the natural body the life is conveyed from the head and heart unto the extreme parts. There may be members; therefore of this catholic church both among heathens, Turks, Jews, and all the several sorts of Christians, men and women of integrity and simplicity of heart, who though blinded in some things in their understanding, and perhaps burdened with the superstitions of the several sects in which they are included, yet being upright in their hearts before the Lord, chiefly aiming to be delivered from iniquity, and loving to follow righteousness, are by the secret touches of this holy light in their souls enlivened, thereby secretly united to God, and there-through become true members of this catholic church. Now the church in this respect hath had a being in all generations; for God never wanted some such witnesses for him, though many times slighted, and not much observed by this world; and therefore this church, though still in being, hath been oftentimes as it were invisible, in that it hath not come under the observations of men of this world, being, as saith the Scripture, Jer. iii. 14. "one of a city, and two of a family." And yet though the church thus considered may be as it were hid from wicked men, as not then gathered into a visible fellowship, and not observed even by some that are members of it, yet may there notwithstanding many belong to it, as when Elias complained he was left alone, 1 Kings xix. 18. God answered him, I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed their knees to the image of Baal; whence the apostle argues, Rom. xi. the being of a remnant in his day.

§. III. Secondly, The church is to be considered as it signifies a certain number of persons gathered by God's Spirit, and by the testimony of some of his servants raised up for that end, unto the belief of the true doctrines of the Christian faith, who through their hearts being united by the same love, and their understandings informed in the same truths, assemble together to wait upon God, to worship him, and to bear a joint testimony for the truth against error, and willingly to suffer for the same, and so becoming through this fellowship as one family and household in certain respects, do each of them watch over, instruct, and care one for another, according to their several attainments: such were the churches of the primitive times gathered by the apostles. And as to the visibility of the church in this respect, there hath been a great interruption since the apostles' days, by reason of the apostasy.

§. IV. To be a member then of the catholic church, there is need of the inward calling of God by his light in the heart, and a being leavened into the nature and spirit of it, so as to forsake unrighteousness and be turned to righteousness, to be cut out of the wild olive-tree of our own first fallen nature, and ingrafted into Christ by his Word and Spirit in the heart.

To be a member of a particular church of Christ, as this inward work is indispensably necessary, so is also the outward profession of, and belief in, Jesus Christ, and those holy truths delivered by his Spirit in the Scriptures; seeing the testimony of the Spirit recorded in the Scriptures, doth answer the testimony of the same Spirit in the heart, even as face answereth face in a glass. Hence it follows, that the inward work of holiness, and forsaking iniquity, is necessary in every respect to the being a member in the church of Christ; and that the outward pro-

fession is necessary to be a member of a particular gathered church, but not to the being a member of the catholic church.

§. VII. That which comes first to be questioned in this matter, is concerning the call of a minister; to wit, What maketh, or how cometh a man to be, a minister, pastor, or teacher in the church of Christ?

We answer; By the inward power and virtue of the Spirit of God. For, Having received the true knowledge of things spiritual by the Spirit of God, without which they cannot be known, and being by the same in measure purified and sanctified, he comes thereby to be called and moved to minister to others; being able to speak, from a living experience, of that of which he himself is a witness; and therefore knowing the terror of the Lord, he is fit to persuade men, &c. 2 Cor. v. 11. and his words and ministry, proceeding from the inward power and virtue, reach to the heart of his hearers, and make them approve of him. Our opponents are forced to confess, that this were indeed desirable and best; but this they will not have to be absolutely necessary. I shall first prove the necessity of it, and then shew how much they err in that which they make more necessary than this divine and heavenly call.

First; That which is necessary to make a man a Christian, so as without it he cannot be truly one, must be more necessary to make a man a minister of Christianity. They that are not Christians, cannot be teachers and ministers among Christians.

But this inward call and virtue of the Spirit of God, is necessary to make a man a Christian; according to these Scriptures, "He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his." "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God:"

Therefore this call, moving and drawing of the Spirit, must be more necessary to make a minister.

Secondly, All ministers of the New Testament ought to be ministers of the Spirit, and not of the letter, according to that of 2 Cor. iii. 6. "Not by the letter, but by the Spirit." But how can a man be a minister of the Spirit, who is not inwardly called by it, and who looks not upon the operation and testimony of the Spirit as essential to his call? As he could not be a minister of the letter who had thence no ground for his call, yea, who was altogether unacquainted with it, so neither can he be a minister of the Spirit who is unacquainted with the motions thereof, and knows it not to draw and move him, and go before him in the work of the ministry. I would willingly know, how those that take upon them to be ministers of the gospel, merely from an outward vocation, without so much as being any ways sensible of the work of the Spirit, or any inward call therefrom, can either satisfy themselves or others that they are ministers of the Spirit, or wherein they differ from the ministers of the letter? For,

Thirdly; If this inward testimony of the Spirit were not essential to a minister, then the ministry of the New Testament would not only be no ways preferable to, but in divers respects far worse than, that of the law. For under the law there was a certain tribe allotted for the ministry, and of that tribe certain families set apart for the priesthood and other offices, by the immediate command of God to Moses; so that the people needed not be in any doubt who should be priests and ministers of the holy things: and besides this, God called forth, by the immediate testimony of his Spirit, several at divers times to teach and reprove his people, as Samuel, Nathan, Elias, Elisha, Jeremiah, Amos, and many more: but now under the new covenant, where the ministry ought to be more

spiritual, the way more certain, and the access more easy unto the Lord, our opponents, by denying the necessity of this inward and spiritual vocation, make it quite otherwise. For there being now no certain family or tribe to which the ministry is limited, we are left in uncertainty, to choose pastors at a venture, without any certain assent of the will of God; having not an outward rule in this affair to walk by.

Fourthly; Christ proclaims them all thieves and robbers, that enter not by him the door into the sheepfold, but climb up some other way; whom the sheep ought not to hear: but such as come in without the call and leadings of the Spirit of Christ, wherewith he leads his children into all truth, come in certainly not by Christ, who is the door, but some other way, and therefore are not true shepherds.

§. VIII. To all this they object the succession of the church; alleging, That since Christ gave a call to his apostles and disciples, they have conveyed that call to their successors, having power to ordain pastors and teachers; by which power the authority of ordaining and making ministers and pastors is successively conveyed to us; so that such, who are ordained and called by the pastors of the church, are therefore true and lawful ministers; and others, who are not so called, are to be accounted but intruders. Hereunto also some Protestants add a necessity, though they make it not a thing essential; That besides this calling of the church, every one, being called, ought to have the inward call of the Spirit, inclining him, so chosen, to his work.

As to what is subjoined of the inward call of the Spirit, in that they make it not essential to a true call, but a supererogation as it were, it sheweth how little they set by it. Yet, in that it hath been often mentioned,

especially by the primitive Protestants in their treatises on this subject, it sheweth how much they were secretly convinced in their minds, that this inward call of the Spirit was most excellent, and preferable to any other; and therefore in the most noble acts of the reformation, they laid claim unto it; so that many of the primitive Protestants did not scruple both to reject and disown this outward call, when urged by the Papists against them. But now Protestants, having gone from the testimony of the Spirit, plead for the same succession; and being pressed with the example of their forefathers' practice against Rome, they are not at all ashamed utterly to deny that their fathers were called to the work by the immediate vocation of the Spirit; clothing themselves with that call, which they say their forefathers had, as pastors of the Roman church.

§. X. But against this vain succession, as asserted either by the Papists or Protestants as a necessary thing to the call of a minister, I answer; That such as plead for it, as a sufficient or necessary thing to the call of a minister, do thereby sufficiently declare their ignorance of the nature of Christianity, and how much they are strangers to the life and power of a Christian ministry, which is not entailed by succession, as an outward inheritance; and herein they not only make the gospel not better than the law, but even far short of it. For Jesus Christ, as he regarded not any distinct particular family or nation in the gathering of his children; but only such as are joined to his own pure and righteous seed, so neither regards he a bare outward succession, where his pure and righteous life is wanting. He took not the nations into the new covenant, that he might suffer them to fall into the old errors of the Jews, or to approve them in their errors, but that he might gather unto himself a pure people out of the earth. Now this was the

great error of the Jews, to think they were the church and people of God, because they could derive their outward succession from Abraham, whereby they reckoned themselves the children of God, as being the offspring of Abraham, who was the Father of the Faithful. But how severely doth the Scripture rebuke this vain pretence? Telling them, That God is able of the stones to raise children unto Abraham; and that not the outward seed, but those that were found in the faith of Abraham, are the true children of faithful Abraham. Far less then can this pretence hold among Christians, seeing Christ rejects all outward affinity of that kind: These, saith he, are my mother, brethren, and sisters, who do the will of my Father which is in heaven: And again; He looked round about him, and said, Who shall do the will of God, these, saith he, are my brethren. So then, such as do not the commands of Christ, are not found clothed with his righteousness, are not his disciples; and that which a man hath not, he cannot give to another; and it is clear, that no man, nor church, though truly called of God, and as such having the authority of a church and minister, can any longer retain that authority, than they retain the power, life, and righteousness of Christianity; for the form is entailed to the substance, and not the substance to the form. So that when a man ceaseth inwardly in his heart to be a Christian by turning to Satan, and becoming a reprobate, he is no more a Christian, though he retain the name and form, than a dead man is a man, though he hath the image of one. As death then makes such interruption of an outward natural succession, that no art nor outward form can uphold, and as a dead man, after he is dead, can have no issue, neither can dead images of men make living men: so that it is the living that are only capable to succeed one another; and such as die, as soon as they die, cease to succeed, or to

transmit succession. So it is in spiritual things; it is the life of Christianity, taking place in the heart, that makes a Christian; and so it is a number of such, being alive, joined together in the life of Christianity, that makes a church of Christ; and it is all those that are thus alive, considered together, that make the catholic church of Christ: therefore when this life ceaseth in one, then that one ceaseth to be a Christian; and all virtue and authority, which he had as a Christian, ceaseth with it; so that if he hath been a minister or teacher, he ceaseth to be so any more. And as this is most agreeable to reason, so it is to the Scriptures' testimony; for it is said of Judas, Acts i. 25. That Judas fell from his ministry and apostleship by transgression; so his transgression caused him to cease to be an apostle any more: whereas, had the apostleship been entailed to his person, so that transgression could not cause him to lose it, until he had been formally degraded by the church, (which Judas never was so long as he lived,) Judas had been as really an apostle, after he betrayed Christ, as before. From all which I infer, That since the authority of the Christian church and her pastors is always united with, and never separated from, the inward power, virtue, and righteous life of Christianity; where this ceaseth, that ceaseth also. But our opponents acknowledge, That many, if not most of those, by and through whom they derive this authority, were altogether destitute of this life and virtue of Christianity: therefore they could neither receive, have, nor transmit any Christian authority.

But if it be objected, That though the generality of the bishops and priests of the church of Rome, during the apostasy, were wicked men; yet Protestants affirm, and thou thyself seemest to acknowledge, that there were some good men among them, whom the Lord regarded, and who

were true members of the catholic church of Christ; might not they then have transmitted this authority?

I answer; This saith nothing, in respect Protestants do not at all lay claim to their ministry as transmitted to them by a direct line of good men; which they can never show, nor yet pretend to: but generally place this succession as inherent in the whole pastors of the apostate church. Neither do they plead their call to be good, because they can derive it through a line of good men, observably distinguishable from the rest of the bishops and clergy of the Romish church; but they derive it as an authority residing in the whole.

Moreover, this pretended succession is contrary to Scripture definitions, and the nature of the church of Christ, and of the true members. For, first, The church is the House of God, the pillar and ground of truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15. But according to this doctrine, the house of God is a polluted nest of all sorts of wickedness, made up of the most defiled and perverse stones that are in the earth. For so our opponents confess, and history informs, the church of Rome to have been; and if that be truly the house of God, what may we call the house of Satan? Or may we call it therefore the house of God, notwithstanding all this impiety, because they have a bare form, and that vitiated many ways also; and because they pretended to the name of Christianity, though they were antichristian in their general conduct and spirit, and also in many of their principles?

Secondly, The church is defined to be the kingdom of the dear Son of God, into which the saints are translated, being delivered from the power of darkness. It is called the body of Christ, which, from him by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God, Coll. ii. 19. But can such

members, such a gathering as we have demonstrated that church to be, among whom they allege their pretended authority to have been preserved, and through which they derive their call; can such, I say, be the body of Christ, or members thereof?

§. XII. Some unwise and unwary Protestants do sometimes object to us, That if we have such an immediate call as we lay claim to, we ought to confirm it by miracles.

But this being an objection once and again urged against the primitive Protestants by the Papists, we need but in short return the answer to it that they did to the Papists, to wit, That we need not miracles, because we preach no new gospel, but that which is already confirmed by all the miracles of Christ and his apostles; and that we offer nothing but that which we are ready and able to confirm by the testimony of the Scriptures, which both already acknowledge to be true.

§. XIV. From all this then we do firmly conclude, that not only in a general apostasy it is needful men be extraordinarily called, and raised up by the Spirit of God, but that even when several churches are gathered by the power of God, not only into the belief of the principles of truth, so as to deny errors and heresies, but also into the life, spirit, and power of Christianity, so as to be the body of Christ indeed, and a fit spouse for him, that he who gathers them doth also, for the preserving them in a lively and powerful condition, raise up among them, by the inward immediate operation of his own Spirit, ministers and teachers, to instruct and watch over them, who being thus called, are manifest in the hearts of their brethren, and their call is thus verified in them, who by the feeling of that life and power that passeth through them, being inwardly builded up by them daily in the most holy faith, become the seals of their apostleship. And this is answerable to another

saying of the same apostle Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 3. "Since ye seek a proof of Christ's speaking in me, which to you-wards is not weak, but is mighty in you." So this is that which gives a true substantial call and title to a minister, whereby he is a real successor of the virtue and power that was in the apostles, and not of the bare name: and to such ministers we think the outward ceremony of ordination or laying on of hands not necessary, neither can we see the use of it, seeing our opponents who use it acknowledge that the virtue of communicating the Holy Ghost by it is ceased among them.

§. XV. As I have placed the true call of a minister in the motion of this Holy Spirit, so is the power, life, and virtue thereof, and the pure grace of God that comes therefrom, the most necessary qualification, without which he can no ways perform his duty, neither acceptably to God nor beneficially to men. Our opponents in this case affirm, that three things go to the making up of a minister, viz. 1. Natural parts, that he be not a fool. 2. Acquired parts, that he be learned in the languages, in philosophy and school divinity. 3. The grace of God.

The two first they reckon necessary to the being of a minister, so as a man cannot be one without them; the third they say goeth to the well-being of one, but not to the being; so that a man may truly be a lawful minister without it, and ought to be heard and received as such. But we, supposing a natural capacity, that one be not an ideot, judge the grace of God indispensably necessary to the very being of a minister, as that without which none can either be a true, or lawful, or good minister.

If the grace of God be a necessary qualification to make one a true Christian, it must be a qualification much more necessary to constitute a true minister of Christianity. That grace is necessary to make one a true Christian, I

think will not be questioned, since it is by grace we are saved, Eph. ii. 8. It is the grace of God that teaches us to deny ungodliness, and the lusts of this world, and to live godlily and righteously, Tit. ii. 11. Yea, Christ saith expressly, That without him we can do nothing, John xv. 5. and the way whereby Christ helpeth and worketh with us is by his grace: hence he saith to Paul, "my grace is sufficient for thee."

Secondly, No man can be a minister of the church of Christ, which is his body, unless he be a member of the body, and receive of the virtue and life of the head:

But he that hath not true grace can neither be a member of the body, neither receive of that life and nourishment which comes from the head:

Therefore far less can he be a minister to edify the body.

§. XVI. Thirdly, That this grace and gift is a necessary qualification to a minister, is clear from that of the apostle Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever, Amen." From which it appears, that those that minister must minister according to the gift and grace received. Secondly, As good stewards of the manifold grace of God: but how can a man be a good steward of that which he hath not? And therefore he makes an exclusive limitation of such as are not thus furnished, saying, If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; and if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability that God giveth: which is as much as if he had said, they that cannot thus speak, and

thus minister, ought not to do it: for this *if* denotes a necessary condition. Now what this ability is, is manifest by the former words, to wit, the gift received, and the grace whereof they are stewards, as by the immediate context doth appear. Neither can it be understood of a mere natural ability, because man in this condition is said not to know the things of God, and so he cannot minister them to others. And the following words shew this also, in that he immediately subjoineth, that God in all things may be glorified; but surely God is not glorified, but greatly dishonoured, when natural men, from their mere natural ability, meddle in spiritual things, which they neither know nor understand.

Fourthly, That grace is a most necessary qualification for a minister, appears by those qualifications which the apostle expressly requires, 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. &c. where he saith, "A bishop must be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, apt to teach, patient, a lover of good men, just, holy, temperate, as the steward of God, holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught." Upon the other hand, "He must neither be given to wine, nor a striker, nor covetous, nor proud, nor self-willed, nor soon angry." Now I ask if it be not impossible that a man can have all these virtues, and be free of all these evils, without the grace of God? If then these virtues, for the producing of which in a man grace is absolutely necessary, be necessary to make a true minister of the church of Christ, according to the apostle's judgment, this grace must be necessary also.

§. XVII. Against this absolute necessity of grace they object, That if all ministers had the saving grace of God, then all ministers should be saved, seeing none can fall away from or lose saving grace.

But this objection is built upon a false hypothesis, clearly denied by us, as we have in the former proposition concerning perseverance already refuted it.

Secondly, It may be objected to us, That since we affirm that every man hath a measure of true and saving grace, there needs no singular qualification either to a Christian or minister; for seeing every man hath this grace, then no man needs forbear to be a minister for want of grace.

I answer, We have above shewn that there is necessary to the making a minister a special and particular call from the Spirit of God, which is something besides the universal dispensation of grace to all, according to that of the apostle, "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." Moreover, we understand by grace as a qualification to a minister, not the mere measure of light, as it is given to reprove and call him to righteousness; but we understand grace as it hath converted the soul, and operateth powerfully in it. So we understand not men simply as having grace in them as a seed; which we indeed affirm all have in a measure; but we understand men that are gracious, leavened by it into the nature thereof, so as thereby to bring forth those good fruits of a blameless conversation, and of justice, holiness, patience, and temperance, which the apostle requires as necessary in a true Christian bishop and minister.

§. XVIII. Though we make not human learning necessary; yet we are far from excluding true learning; to wit, that learning which proceedeth from the inward teachings of the Spirit, whereby the soul learneth the secret ways of the Lord; becomes acquainted with many inward travails and exercises of the mind; and learneth, by a living experience, how to overcome evil and the temptations of it, by following the Lord and walking in his light, and waiting

daily for wisdom and knowledge immediately from the revelation thereof. This is that good learning which we think necessary to a true minister, by and through which learning a man can well instruct and admonish in due season, and testify for God from a certain experience; as did David, Solomon, and the holy prophets of old, and the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who testified of what they had seen, heard, felt, and handled of the word of life, 1 John i. 1. "Ministering the gift according as they received the same, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God."

§. XIX. But let us examine this literature, which they make so necessary to the being of a minister; as, for instance, the knowledge of the tongues, at least of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The reason of this is, 'That they may read the Scripture, which is their only rule, in the original languages, and thereby be the more capable to comment upon it, and interpret it, &c. That also which made this knowledge be the more prized by the primitive Protestants, was indeed the dark barbarity that was over the world in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation. I shall not at all discommend the zeal that the first reformers had against this darkness, nor their pious endeavours to translate the holy Scriptures: I do truly believe that they did it candidly according to their knowledge: and therefore to answer the just desires of those that desire to read them: and for other very good reasons, as maintaining a commerce and understanding among divers nations by these common languages, and others of that kind, we judge it necessary and commendable that there be public schools for the teaching such youth, as are inclinable thereunto, in the languages. And although that papal ignorance deserved justly to be abhorred, we see nevertheless, that the true reformation con-

sists not in that knowledge; because although since that time the Papists, stirred up through emulation of the Protestants, have more applied themselves to literature, and it now more flourishes in their universities and cloisters, than before, they are as far now as ever from a true reformation, and more hardened in their pernicious doctrines. But all this will not make it a necessary qualification to a minister, far less a more necessary qualification than the grace of God and his Spirit; because the Spirit and grace of God can make up this want in the most rustic and ignorant; but this knowledge can no ways make up the want of the Spirit in the most learned and eloquent.

§. XXIII. If in any age since the apostles' days, God hath purposed to shew his power by weak instruments, for the battering down of that carnal and heathenish wisdom, [in the form of logic and school divinity, of which the author had been treating in the original,] and restoring again the ancient simplicity of truth, this is it*. For in our day, God hath raised up witnesses for himself, as he did fishermen of old; most of whom are labouring and mechanic men, who, altogether without that learning, have, by the power and Spirit of God, struck at the very root and ground of Babylon; and in the strength of this power, have gathered thousands, by reaching their consciences, into the same power and life, who, as to the outward part, have been far more knowing than they, yet not able to resist the virtue that proceeded from them. Of which I myself am a true witness; and can declare from certain experience, because my heart hath been often greatly tendered by that virtuous life that proceeded from the powerful

* The time will come when a few words, spoken with meekness, humility, and love, shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies, which commonly destroy charity, which is the very best part of the true religion.—HOOKER.

ministry of those illiterate men: so that by their very countenance, as well as words, I have felt the evil in me often chained down, and the good reached to and raised.

§. XXIV. Having thus spoken of the call and qualifications of a gospel-minister, that which comes next to be considered is, What his proper work is, how, and by what rule, he is to be ordered? Our opponents do all along go upon externals, and therefore have certain prescribed rules contrived according to their human wisdom: we, on the contrary, walk still upon the same foundation, and lean always upon the immediate assistance and influence of that Holy Spirit, which God hath given his children, to teach them all things, and lead them in all things: which Spirit, being the Spirit of order, and not of confusion, leads us, and as many as follow it, into such a comely order as becometh the church of God. For in a true church of Christ, gathered together by God, not only into the belief of the principles of truth, but also into the power, life, and Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of God is the ruler and governor; as in each particular, so in the general. And when they assemble together to wait upon God, and to worship him; then such as the Spirit sets apart for the ministry, by its divine influence opening their mouths, and giving them to exhort, reprove, and instruct with virtue and power, these are thus ordained of God and admitted into the ministry, and their brethren cannot but hear them, receive them, and also honour them for their work's sake. And so this is not monopolized by a certain kind of men, as the clergy, and the rest to be excluded as laicks; but it is left to the free gift of God to choose any whom he seeth meet, whether rich or poor, servant or master, young or old, yea, male or female.

§. XXV. But if it be objected here, That I seem hereby to make no distinction at all betwixt ministers and

others; which is contrary to the apostle's saying, 1 Cor. xii. 29. "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers?" &c. From whence they insinuate, that all are not such, and that I also contradict his comparison in that chapter, of the church of Christ with a human body; as where he saith, verse 17. "If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling," &c. Also the apostle not only distinguisheth the ministers of the church in general from the rest of the members, but also from themselves; as naming them distinctly and separately, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, &c.

As to the last part of this objection, to which I shall first answer; it is apparent, that this diversity of names is not to distinguish separate offices, but to denote the different and various operations of the Spirit; a manner of speech frequent with the apostle Paul, wherein he sometimes expatiates to the illustrating of the glory and praise of God's grace: as in particular, Rom. xii. 6. "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation." Now none will say from all this, that these are distinct offices, or do not or may not coincide in one person, as may all those other things mentioned by him in the subsequent verses, viz. Of loving, being kindly affectioned, fervency of spirit, hospitality, diligence, blessing, rejoicing, &c. which he yet numbers forth as different gifts of the Spirit, and according to this objection might be placed as distinct offices, which were most absurd.

Secondly, In these very places it is clear that it is no real distinction of separate offices; because all acknowledge, that pastors and teachers, (which the apostle there no less

distinguisheth, than pastors and prophets, or apostles,) are one and the same, and coincide in the same office and person; and therefore may be said so of the rest. For *prophecy*, as it signifies the foretelling of things to come, is indeed a distinct gift, but no distinct office; and therefore our opponents do not place it among their several orders: neither will they deny, but that it both may be and hath been given of God not only to some, who have been pastors and teachers, and that there it hath coincided in one person with these other offices, but also to some of the laicks: and so it hath been found, according to their own confession, without the limits of their clergy. Prophecy in the other sense, to wit, as it signifies a speaking from the Spirit of truth, is not peculiar to pastors and teachers, who ought so to prophesy; but is a common privilege to the saints. For though to instruct and exhort, be proper to such as are more particularly called to the work of the ministry; yet it is not so proper to them, as not to be (when the saints are met together, as any of them are moved by the Spirit) common to others. Thus to see and hear are proper acts of a man; seeing it may be properly predicated of him, that he heareth and seeth: yet are they common to other creatures also. So to prophesy in this sense, is indeed proper to ministers and teachers; yet not so, but that it is common and lawful to other saints, when moved thereunto. Now that prophesying, in this sense, may be common to all saints, appears by 1 Cor. xiv. 39. where speaking to *all* in general, he saith, "Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy;" and verse 1. he exhorts them, saying, "Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy."

Lastly, An apostle, if we look to the etymology of the word, signifies one that is sent; and in respect every true minister is sent of God, in so far he is an apostle;

though the twelve, because of their being specially sent of Christ, were therefore called apostles by way of excellency. And yet that there was no limitation to such a number, appears, because after that number was filled up, the apostle Paul was afterwards so called; therefore we judge that these are no distinct separate offices, but only names used upon occasion to express the more eminent shining forth of God's grace. As if any minister of Christ should now proselyte a whole nation to the Christian faith, though he had no distinct office, yet I doubt not but that both Papists and Protestants would judge it tolerable to call such an one an apostle, or an evangelist. So that to conclude that ministers, pastors, or teachers, do comprehend *all*, and that the office is but one, and therefore in that respect we judge there ought to be no precedency among them.

§. XXVI. As to the first part of the objection, viz. That I seem to make no distinction betwixt the minister and people, I answer, If it be understood of a liberty to speak or prophesy by the Spirit, I say all may do that, when moved thereunto; but we do believe that some are more particularly called to the work of the ministry, and therefore are fitted of the Lord for that purpose; whose work is more constantly and particularly to instruct, exhort, and watch over their brethren; and that as there is something more incumbent upon them in that respect than upon every common believer, so also, as in that relation, there is due to them from the flock such obedience as is mentioned in these testimonies of the Scripture, Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. 1 Tim. v. 17. 1 Pet. v. 5. Also besides these who are thus particularly called to the ministry, and constant labour in the word and doctrine, there are also the elders, who though they be not moved to a frequent testimony by way of declaration in words, yet

as such are grown up in the experience of the blessed work of truth in their hearts, they watch over and privately admonish the young, take care for the widows, the poor, and fatherless, and look that nothing be wanting, but that peace, love, and soundness be preserved in the church of Christ; and this answers to the deacons mentioned Acts vi.

That which we oppose, is the distinction of laity and clergy, which in the Scripture is not to be found, whereby none are admitted unto the work of the ministry but such as are educated at schools on purpose.

§. XXVII. From this distinction of laity and clergy this abuse also follows, that good, honest, and mechanic men, and others who have not learned the art of preaching, and so are not privileged according to these rules they prescribe unto themselves; such, I say, being possessed with a false opinion that it is not lawful for them to meddle with the ministry, nor that they are any ways fit for it, because of the defect of that literature, do thereby neglect the gift in themselves, and quench many times the pure breathings of the Spirit of God in their hearts; which, if given way to, might prove much more for the edification of the church than many of the studied sermons of the learned.

By this it may appear, that as in calling and qualifying, so in preaching and praying, and the other particular steps of the ministry, every true minister is to know the Spirit of God by its virtue and life to accompany and assist him.

Before I proceed I judge it fit to speak something concerning the preaching of women, and to declare briefly what we hold in that matter.

Seeing male and female are one in Christ Jesus, and that he gives his Spirit no less to one than to the other,

we judge it no ways unlawful for a woman to preach in the assemblies of God's people. Neither think we that of Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. to reprove the inconsiderate and talkative women among the Corinthians, who troubled the church of Christ with their unprofitable questions, or that, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. that women ought to learn in silence, not usurping authority over the man, any ways repugnant to this doctrine; because it is clear that women have prophesied and preached in the church, else had that saying of Joel been ill applied by Peter, Acts ii. 17. And seeing Paul himself, in the same epistle to the Corinthians, giveth rules how women should behave themselves in their public preaching and praying, it would be a manifest contradiction if that other place were taken in a larger sense. And the same Paul speaks of a woman * that laboured with him in the work of the gospel: and it is written that Philip had four daughters that prophesied. And Lastly, It hath been observed, that God hath effectually in this day converted many souls by the ministry of women; and by them also frequently comforted the souls of his children; which manifest experience puts the thing beyond all controversy. But now I shall proceed to speak of the maintenance of ministers.

§. XXVIII. We freely acknowledge, as the proposition holds forth, that there is an obligation upon such to whom God sends, or among whom he raiseth up a minister, that, if need be, they minister to his necessities. Secondly, That it is lawful for him to receive what is necessary and convenient. To prove this I need not insist, for our opponents will readily grant it to us; for the thing we affirm is, that this is all that these Scripture testimonies relating to this thing do grant, Gal. vi. 6. 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 Tim. v. 16. That which we then oppose in this matter

* Read, *women*.

is, First, That it should be constrained and limited. Secondly, That it should be superfluous and sumptuous. And Thirdly, The manifest abuse thereof.

As to the First, our opponents are forced to recur to the example of the law; a refuge they use in defending most of their errors and superstitions, which are contrary to the nature and purity of the gospel.

They say, God appointed the Levites the tithes, therefore they belong also to such as minister in holy things under the gospel.

I answer, All that can be gathered from this is, that as the priests had a maintenance allowed them under the law, so also the ministers and preachers under the gospel, which is not denied; but the comparison will not hold that they should have the very same; since, First, There is no express gospel command for it, neither by Christ nor his apostles. Secondly, The parity doth no ways hold betwixt the Levites under the law, and the preachers under the gospel; because the Levites were one of the tribes of Israel, and so had a right to a part of the inheritance of the land as well as the rest of their brethren; and having none, had this allotted to them in lieu of it. Next, the tenth of the tithes was only allowed to the priests that served at the altar, the rest being for the Levites, and also to be put up in store-houses, for entertaining widows and strangers. But these preachers, notwithstanding they inherit what they have by their parents as well as other men, yet claim the whole tithes, allowing nothing either to widow or stranger. But as to the tithes I shall not insist, because divers others have clearly and learnedly treated of them apart, and also divers Protestants do confess them not to be *jure divino*; and the parity as to the quota doth not hold, but only in general as to the obligation of a maintenance; which main-

tenance, though the hearers be obliged to give, and fail of their duty if they do not, yet that it ought neither to be stinted, nor yet forced, I prove; because Christ, when he sent forth his apostles, said, "Freely ye have received, freely give," Mat. x. 8. and yet they had liberty to receive meat and drink from such as offered them, to supply their need.

§. XXIX. Secondly, The Scripture testimonies that urge this are in the same nature as those that press charity and liberality towards the poor, and command hospitality, &c. but these are not nor can be stinted to a certain quantity, because they are deeds merely voluntary, where the obedience to the command lieth in the good will of the giver, and not in the matter of the thing given, as Christ sheweth in the example of the widow's mite. So that though there be an obligation upon Christians to minister of outward things to their ministers, yet there can be no definition of the quantity but by the giver's own consent, and a little from one may more truly fulfil the obligation than a great deal from another. And therefore as acts of charity and hospitality can neither be limited nor forced, so neither can this.

If it be objected, That ministers may and ought to exhort, persuade, yea, and earnestly press Christians, if they find them defective therein, to acts of charity and hospitality, and so may they do also to the giving of maintenance;

I answer, All this saith nothing for a stinted and forced maintenance, for which there cannot one solid argument be brought from Scripture. I confess ministers may use exhortation in this as much as in any other case, even as the apostle did to the Corinthians, shewing them their duty; but it were fit for ministers that so do (that their testimony might have the more weight, and be the freer

of all suspicion of covetousness) that they might be able to say truly in the sight of God, that which the same apostle subjoins upon the same occasion, 1 Cor. ix. 15, 16, 17, 18. "But I have used none of these things; neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void. For though I preach the gospel I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel. For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward; but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me, what is my reward then? Verily that when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel."

Thirdly, As there is neither precept nor example for this forced and stinted maintenance in the Scripture, so the apostle, in his solemn farewell to the pastors and elders of the church of Ephesus, guards them against it, Acts xx. 33, 34, 35. But if the thing had been either lawful or practised, he would rather have exhorted them to be content with their stinted hire, and not to covet more; whereas, he sheweth them, first, by his own example, that they were not to covet or expect any man's silver or gold; secondly, that they ought to work with their hands for an honest livelihood, as he had done; and lastly, he exhorts them so to do from the words of Christ, because it is a more blessed thing to give than to receive; shewing that it is so far from a thing that a true minister ought to aim at, or expect, that it is rather a burden to a true minister, to be reduced to the necessity of wanting it.

§. XXX. Fourthly, If a forced and stinted maintenance were to be supposed, it would make the ministers of Christ just one with those hirelings whom the prophets cried out against.

Next, That a superfluous maintenance, that is, more than in reason is needful, ought not to be received by Christian ministers, will not need much proof, seeing the more moderate, both among Papists and Protestants, readily confess it, who with one voice exclaim against the excessive revenues of the clergy; and that it may not want a proof from Scripture, what can be more plain than that of the apostle to Timothy? 1 Tim. vi. 7, 8, 9, 10. where he both shews wherewith we ought to be content, and also the hazard of such as look after more; and indeed, since that very obligation of giving maintenance to ministers is founded upon their need, and such as have opportunity to work are commended rather in not receiving than in receiving, it can no ways be supposed lawful for them to receive more than is sufficient. And indeed, were they truly pious, though necessitous, they would rather incline to take too little, than be coveting too much.

§. XXXI. Now that there is great excess and abuse hereof among Christians, the vast revenues which the bishops and priests have, both Papists and Protestants, do declare; since I judge it may be said without any exaggeration, that some particular persons have more paid them yearly, than Christ and his apostles made use of in their whole life-time.

But it is usually objected, That Christians are become so hard-hearted, and generally so little heed spiritual things, that if ministers had not a settled and stinted maintenance secured to them by law, they and their families might starve for want of bread.

I answer, This objection might have some weight as to a carnal ministry, made up of natural men, who have no life, power, nor virtue with them, and so may insinuate the need of such a maintenance for such a ministry; but it saith nothing as to such as are called and sent of God,

who sends no man a wayfaring upon his own charges; and so go forth in the power of God, to turn people from darkness to light; for such can trust to him that sendeth them, and do believe that he will provide for them, knowing that he requireth nothing of any but what he giveth them power to perform; and so when they return, can say they wanted nothing. And such also when they stay in a place, being immediately furnished by God, and not needing to borrow what they preach from books, and take up their time that way, fall a working at their lawful employments, and labour with their hands, as Paul did when he gathered the church at Corinth.

But thou wilt say, I have laboured and preached to them, and they are hard-hearted still, and will not give me any thing:

Then surely thou hast either not been sent to them of God, and so thy ministry hath not been among them in the power, virtue, and life of Christ; and so thou deservest nothing; or else they have rejected thy testimony; and so are not worthy, and from such thou oughtest not to expect, nor yet receive, any thing, if they would give thee; but thou oughtest to shake off the dust from thy feet, and leave them. And how frivolous this objection is, appears, in that in the darkest and most superstitious times, the priests' revenues increased most, and they were most richly rewarded, though they deserved least. So that he that is truly sent of God, as he needs not, so neither will he be afraid of want, so long as he serves so good a master; neither will he ever forbear to do his work for that cause.

§. XXXII. But lastly, As to the abuses of this kind of maintenance, indeed he that would go through them all, though he did it passingly, might make of it alone a huge volume. For this abuse, as others, crept in with the apostasy, there being nothing of this in the primitive times:

then the ministers claimed no tithes, neither sought they a forced maintenance; but such as wanted had their necessity supplied by the church, and others wrought with their hands. It is also to be regretted how soon this mischief crept in among Protestants, who had scarce well appeared when the clergy among them began to speak at the old rate, and shew that though they had forsaken the bishop of Rome, they were not resolved to part with their old benefices; and therefore so soon as any princes or states shook off the Pope's authority, and so demolished the abbey, nunneries, and other monuments of superstition, the reformed clergy began presently to cry out to the magistrates to beware of meddling with the church's patrimony, severely exclaiming against making a lawful use of those vast revenues that had been superstitiously bestowed upon the church, so called, to the good and benefit of the commonwealth, as no less than sacrilege.

The only way then soundly to reform all these abuses, and take away the occasion of them, is, to take away all stinted and forced maintenance and stipend; and seeing those things were anciently given by the people, that they return again into the public treasure, and thereby the people may be greatly benefited by them, for that they may supply for these public taxations and impositions, that are put upon them, and may ease themselves of them. And whoever appoint teachers to themselves, let them accordingly entertain them: and for such as are called and moved to the ministry by the Spirit of God, those that receive them, and taste of the good of their ministry, will no doubt provide things needful for them, and there will be no need of a law to force a hire for them: for he that sends them will take care for them; and they also, having food and raiment, will therewith be content.

PROPOSITION XI.

Concerning Worship.

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons. For though we are to worship him always, and continually to fear before him; yet as to the outward signification thereof, in prayers, praises, or preachings, we ought not to do it in our own will, where and when we will; but where and when we are moved thereunto by the stirring and secret inspirations of the Spirit of God in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is; of which he himself is the alone proper judge. All other worship then, both praises, prayers, or preachings, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself seeth meet, whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, &c. or prayers conceived extempore by the natural strength and faculty of the mind, they are all but superstition and will-worship, which are now to be denied and rejected, and separated from, in this day of his spiritual arising: however it might have pleased him (who winked at the times of ignorance, with a respect to the simplicity and integrity of some, and of his own innocent seed, which lay as it were buried in the hearts of men under that mass of superstition) to blow upon the dead and dry bones, and to raise some breath-

ings of his own, and answer them; and that until the day should more clearly dawn and break forth.

§. I. **T**HE duty of man towards God lieth chiefly in these two generals. 1. In an holy conformity to the pure law and light of God, so as both to forsake the evil, and be found in the practice of the perpetual and moral precepts of righteousness and equity. And 2. In rendering that reverence, honour, and adoration to God, that he requires of us; which is comprehended under worship. Of the former we have already spoken, as also of the different relations of Christians, as they are distinguished by the several measures of grace received, and given to every one; and in that respect have their several offices in the body of Christ, which is the church. Now I come to speak of worship, or of those acts, whether private or public, general or particular, whereby man renders to God that part of his duty which relates immediately to him: and as obedience is better than sacrifice, so neither is any sacrifice acceptable, but that which is done according to the will of him to whom it is offered. But men, finding it easier to sacrifice in their own wills, than obey God's will, have heaped up sacrifices without obedience; and thinking to deceive God, as they do one another, give him a shew of reverence, while they are both inwardly estranged from his holy and righteous life, and wholly strangers to the pure breathings of his Spirit, in which only the acceptable worship is offered up. Hence it is, that there is not any thing relating to man's duty towards God, which among all sorts of people hath been more vitiated: and as among many others, so among those called Christians, nothing hath been more out of order, and more corrupted. As I freely approve whatsoever the Protestants

have reformed from Papists in this respect; so it concerns the former narrowly to consider, whether herein they have made a clear and perfect reformation; as to which stands the controversy betwixt them and us. For we find many of the branches lopped off by them, but the root yet remaining: to wit, a worship acted in and from man's will and spirit, and not by and from the Spirit of God: for the true Christian and spiritual worship of God had been so early lost, and man's wisdom and will hath so quickly and thoroughly mixed itself herein, that both the apostasy in this respect hath been greatest, and the reformation herefrom, as to the evil root, most difficult. Therefore let not the reader suddenly stumble at our proposition in this matter, but patiently hear us explain ourselves, and I hope (by the assistance of God) to make it appear, that though our manner of speaking and doctrine seem most singular and different from all other sorts of Christians; yet it is most according to the pure Christian religion, and indeed most needful to be observed and followed.

§. II. First, let it be considered, that what is here affirmed, is spoken of the worship of God in these gospel-times, and not of the worship that was under or before the law: for the particular commands of God to men then, are not sufficient to authorize us now to do the same things; else we might be supposed at present acceptably to offer sacrifice as they did, which all acknowledge to be ceased. So that what might have been both commendable and acceptable under the law, may justly now be charged with superstition and idolatry. And though a spiritual worship might have been, and no doubt was practised by many under the law in great simplicity; yet will it not follow, that it were no superstition to use all those ceremonies, which were by God dispensed to the Jews, not as being essential to true worship, or necessary

as of themselves for transmitting and entertaining a holy fellowship betwixt him and his people; but in condescension to them, who were inclinable to idolatry.

§. III. Secondly; Albeit I say, that this worship is neither limited to times, places, nor persons; yet I would not be understood, as if I intended the putting away of all set times and places to worship. We are none of those that forsake the assembling of ourselves together; but have certain times and places, in which we carefully meet together to wait upon God, and worship him. To meet together we think necessary for the people of God; because, so long as we are clothed with this outward tabernacle, there is a necessity to the entertaining of a joint and visible fellowship, and bearing of an outward testimony for God, and seeing of the faces one of another, that we concur with our persons as well as spirits: to be accompanied with that inward love and unity of spirit, doth greatly tend to encourage and refresh the saints.

But the limitation we condemn is, that whereas the Spirit of God should be the immediate persuader and influencer of man in the particular acts of worship, when the saints are met together, this Spirit is limited in its operations, by setting up a particular man or men to preach or pray in man's will; and all the rest are excluded from so much as believing that they are to wait for God's Spirit to move them in such things: and so they neglecting that in themselves which should quicken them, and not waiting to feel the pure breathings of God's Spirit, so as to obey them, are led merely to depend upon the preacher, and hear what he will say.

Secondly; In that these peculiar men come not thither to meet with the Lord, and to wait for the inward motions and operations of his Spirit; and so to pray as they feel the Spirit to breathe through them, and in them; and

to preach, as they find themselves actuated by God's Spirit, and as he gives utterance, so as to speak a word in season to refresh weary souls, and as the present condition and state of the people's hearts require. It appears then, that we are not against set times for worship; only these times being appointed for outward conveniency, we may not think with the Papists, that these days are holy, and lead people into a superstitious observation of them; being persuaded that *all days are alike holy in the sight of God.*

§. IV. Not seeing any ground in Scripture for it, we cannot be so superstitious as to believe, that either the Jewish sabbath now continues, or that the first day of the week is the anti-type thereof, or the true Christian sabbath; which we believe to have a more spiritual sense: and therefore we know no moral obligation by the fourth command, or elsewhere, to keep the first day of the week more than any other, or any holiness inherent in it. But first, for as much as it is necessary that there be some time set apart for the saints to meet together to wait upon God; and that secondly, it is fit at some times they be freed from their other outward affairs; and that thirdly, reason and equity doth allow that servants and beasts have some time allowed them to be eased from their continual labour; and that fourthly, it appears that the apostles and primitive Christians did use the first day of the week for these purposes; we find ourselves sufficiently moved for these causes to do so also, without superstitiously straining the Scriptures for another reason; yet doth not that hinder us from having meetings also for worship at other times.

§. V. Thirdly; Though according to the knowledge of God, revealed unto us by the Spirit, through that more full dispensation of light which we believe the Lord hath

brought about in this day, we judge it our duty to hold forth that pure and spiritual worship which is acceptable to God, and answerable to the testimony of Christ and his apostles, and likewise to testify against and deny not only manifest superstition but also formal will-worship, which stands not in the power of God; yet, I say, we do not deny the whole worship of all those that have borne the name of Christians even in the apostasy, as if God had never heard their prayers, nor accepted any of them: God forbid we should be so void of charity!

§. VI. Fourthly; To come then to the state of the controversy, as to the public worship, we judge it the duty of all to be diligent in the assembling of themselves together, (and what we have been, and are, in this matter, our enemies, who have used all means to hinder our assembling together to worship God, may bear witness,) and when assembled, the great work of one and all ought to be to wait upon God; and excluding their own thoughts and imaginations, to feel the Lord's presence, and know a gathering into his name indeed, where he is in the midst, according to his promise. And as every one is thus gathered, and so met together inwardly in their spirits, as well as outwardly in their persons, there the secret power and virtue of life is known to refresh the soul, and the pure motions and breathings of God's Spirit are felt to arise; from which, as words of declaration, prayers, or praises arise, the acceptable worship is known, which edifies the church, and is well-pleasing to God. And though there be not a word spoken, yet is the true spiritual worship performed, and the body of Christ edified.

§. VII. As there can be nothing more opposite to the natural will and wisdom of man than this silent waiting upon God, so neither can it be obtained, nor rightly com-

prehended by man, but as he layeth down his own wisdom and will, so as to be content to be thoroughly subject to God. And therefore it hath not been attained to, nor can be so practised, but by such as find no outward ceremony, no observations, no words, not the best and purest words, even the words of Scripture, able to satisfy their weary and afflicted souls: because where all these may be, the life, power, and virtue, which make such things effectual, may be wanting. Such, I say, were necessitated to cease from all externals, and to be silent before the Lord; and being directed to that inward principle of life and light in themselves, as the most excellent teacher, which can never be removed into a corner, came thereby to be taught to wait upon God in the measure of life and grace received from him, and to cease from their own forward words and actings, and feel after this inward seed of life, that, as it moveth, they may be actuated by its power, and influenced, whether to pray, preach, or sing. And so from this principle of man's being silent, and not acting in the things of God of himself, until thus actuated by God's light and grace in the heart, did naturally spring that manner of sitting silent and waiting together upon the Lord. For many thus principled, meeting together in the pure fear of the Lord, did not apply themselves forthwith to speak, pray, or sing, &c. being afraid to be found acting forwardly in their own wills, but each made it their work to retire inwardly to the measure of grace in themselves, not being only silent as to words, but even abstaining from all their own imaginations and desires; so watching in an holy dependence upon the Lord, and meeting together not only outwardly in one place, but thus inwardly in one spirit, and in one name of Jesus, which is his power and virtue, they come thereby to enjoy and feel the arisings of this life, which, as it prevails in

each individual, becomes as a flood of refreshment, and overspreads the whole meeting. And when any are, through the breaking forth of this power, constrained to utter a sentence of exhortation or praise, or to breathe to the Lord in prayer, then all are sensible of it; for the same life in them answers to it, as in water face answereth to face. This is that divine and spiritual worship, which the world neither knoweth nor understandeth; and the form of this worship is so void of all outward splendour, that all occasion for man's wisdom to be exercised hath no lodging here; and so there being also an inward quietness and retiredness of mind, the witness of God ariseth in the heart, and the light of Christ shineth, whereby the soul cometh to see its own condition. Not a few have come to be convinced of the truth after this manner, of which I myself, in part, am a true witness, who not by strength of arguments, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and convincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this life; for when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them, which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up, and so I became thus united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed. After this manner we desire therefore all that come among us to be proselyted, knowing that though thousands should be convinced in their understanding of all the truths we maintain, yet if they were not sensible of this inward life, and their souls not changed from unrighteousness to righteousness, they could add nothing to us. For this is that cement whereby we are joined, as to the Lord so one to another, and without this none can worship with us. If

such should come among us, and from that understanding and convincement they have of the truth, speak ever so true things, and utter them with ever so much excellency of speech, if this life were wanting, it would not edify us at all, but be as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal, 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

§. VIII. And as every one is thus stated, he comes to find the good arise over the evil, and the pure over the impure, in which God reveals himself, and draweth near to every individual, and so he is in the midst in the general, whereby each not only partakes of the particular refreshment and strength, which comes from the good in himself, but is a sharer in the whole body, as being a living member of the body, having a joint fellowship and communion with all.

§. IX. Many are the blessed experiences which I could relate of this silence and manner of worship; yet I do not so much commend and speak of silence as if we had bound ourselves by any law to exclude praying or preaching: not at all: for as our worship consisteth not in words, so neither in silence, as silence; but in an holy dependance of the mind upon God: from which dependance silence necessarily follows in the first place, until words can be brought forth, which are from God's Spirit. For when many are met together in this one life and name, it doth most naturally and frequently excite them to pray to and praise God, and stir up one another by mutual exhortation; yet we judge it needful that there be in the first place some time of silence, during which every one may be gathered inward to the word and gift of grace, from which he that ministereth may receive strength to bring forth what he ministereth; and that they that hear may have a sense to discern betwixt the precious and the vile. And we doubt not, but assuredly know, that

the meeting may be good and refreshing, though from the sitting down to the rising up thereof there hath not been a word outwardly spoken, and yet life may have been known to abound in each particular, and an inward growing up therein and thereby, so as words might have been spoken acceptably, and from the life: yet there being no absolute necessity laid upon any so to do, all might have chosen rather quietly and silently to enjoy the Lord in themselves, which is very sweet and comfortable to the soul that hath thus learned to be gathered out of all its own thoughts, to feel the Lord to bring forth both the will and the deed, which many can declare by a blessed experience: though indeed it cannot but be hard for the natural man to receive or believe this doctrine, and therefore it must be rather by a sensible experience, and by coming to make proof of it, than by arguments, that such can be convinced of this thing, seeing it is not enough to believe it, if they come not also to enjoy it; yet for the sake of such as may be the more willing to apply themselves to the practice and experience hereof, if they found their understandings convinced of it, and that it is founded upon Scripture and reason, I find a freedom of mind to add some few considerations of this kind, for the confirmation hereof, besides what is before mentioned of our experience.

§. X. That to wait upon God, and to watch before him, is a duty incumbent upon all, I suppose none will deny; and that this also is a part of worship will not be called in question, since there is scarce any other so frequently commanded in the Holy Scriptures, as may appear from Psalm xxvii. 14. and xxxvii. 7, 34. Prov. xx. 22. Isai. xxx. 18. Hosea xii. 6. Zech. iii. 8. Mat. xxiv. 42. and xxv. 13. and xxvi. 41. Mark xiii. 33, 35, 37. Luke xxi. 36. Acts i. 4. and xx. 31. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Col. iv. 2. 1 Thess. v. 6. 2 Tim. iv. 5. 1 Pet. iv. 7. Also this duty is often recom-

mended with very great and precious promises, as Psalm xxv. 3. and xxxvii. 9. and lxix. 6. Isai. xl. 23. Lam. iii. 25, 26. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength," &c. Isai. xl. 31. Now how is this waiting upon God, or watching before him, but by this silence of which we have spoken? which as it is in itself a great and principal duty, so it necessarily in order both of nature and time precedeth all other. But that it may be the better and more perfectly understood, as it is not only an outward silence of the body, but an inward silence* of the mind from all its own imaginations, let it be considered according to truth, and to the principles and doctrines heretofore affirmed and proved, that man is to be considered in a two-fold respect, to wit, in his natural, unregenerate, and fallen state, and in his spiritual and renewed condition; from whence ariseth that distinction of the natural and spiritual man so much used by the apostle.

Wherefore the time appointed of God being come, wherein by Jesus Christ he hath been pleased to restore the true spiritual worship, and the outward form of worship, which was appointed by God to the Jews, and whereof the manner and time of its performance was particularly determined by God himself, being come to an end, we find that Jesus Christ, the author of the Christian religion, prescribes no set form of worship to his children, under the more pure administration of the new covenant, save that he only tells them, That the worship now to be performed is spiritual, and in the Spirit. And it is especially to be observed, that in the whole New Testament there is no command given in this thing, but to follow the revelation of the Spirit, save only that general one of meeting together; a thing diligently practised by us. True it is, men-

* More properly *abstraction*.

tion is made of the duties of praying, preaching, and singing; but what order or method should be kept in so doing, or that forthwith they should be set about so soon as the saints are gathered, there is not one word to be found: these duties are always annexed to the assistance and motions of God's Spirit. Since then man in his natural state is thus excluded from acting or moving in things spiritual, how or what way shall he exercise this first and previous duty of waiting upon God but by silence, and by bringing the natural part to silence? Since then we are commanded to wait upon God diligently, and in so doing it is promised that our strength shall be renewed, this waiting cannot be performed without silence or cessation of the natural part on our side, since God manifests himself not to the outward man or senses, but to the inward, to wit, to the soul and spirit.

§. XIII. The excellency of this worship doth appear in that it can neither be stopped nor interrupted by the malice of men or devils, as all others can. Now interruptions of worship may be understood in a two-fold respect, either as we are hindered from meeting, being outwardly by violence separated one from another; or when permitted to meet together, we are interrupted by the noise and confusion which such as are malicious may use to molest or distract us. Now in both these respects, this worship doth greatly surpass all others: for how far soever people be separate or hindered from coming together, yet as every one is inwardly gathered to the measure of life in himself, there is a secret unity and fellowship enjoyed, which the devil and all his instruments can never break or hinder. But, secondly, It doth well appear in those molestations which occur, when we are met together, what advantage this true and spiritual worship gives us beyond all others; seeing in despite of a thousand interruptions and abuses, one

of which were sufficient to have stopped the worship of others, we have been able, through the nature of this worship, to keep it uninterrupted as to God, and also at the same time to shew forth an example of our Christian patience towards all, even oftentimes to the convincing of our opponents.

§. XV. Next, as for a reason of this worship, we need not give any other, and indeed none can give a better than that which Christ giveth, which I think should be sufficient to satisfy every Christian, to wit, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." As this ought to be received because it is the words of Christ, so also it is founded upon so clear a demonstration of reason, as sufficiently evinceth its verity.

Christ excellently argues from the analogy that ought to be betwixt the object, and the worship directed thereunto:

God is a Spirit;

Therefore, he must be worshipped in Spirit.

This is so certain, that it is incontrovertible; and this analogy is so necessary to be minded, that under the law, when God instituted that ceremonial worship to the Jews, because that worship was outward, that there might be an analogy, he saw it necessary to condescend to them as in a special manner, to dwell betwixt the Cherubim within the tabernacle, and afterwards to make the temple of Jerusalem in a sort his habitation, and cause something of an outward glory and majesty to appear, by causing fire from heaven to consume the sacrifices, and filling the temple with a cloud: by which mediums, visible to the outward eye, he manifested himself proportionally to that outward worship which he had commanded them to perform. So now under the new covenant, he seeing meet in his heavenly wisdom to lead his children in a path more heavenly and

spiritual, and in a way more easy and familiar, and also purposing to disappoint carnal and outward observations, that his children may have an eye more to an inward glory and kingdom than to an outward, he hath given us for an example hereof the appearance of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath delivered his own, and doth deliver them, by suffering, and dying by the hands of his enemies; thereby triumphing over the devil, and his and our inward enemies, and delivering us therefrom. He hath also instituted an inward and spiritual worship. So that God now limiteth not his people to the temple of Jerusalem, nor yet unto outward ceremonies and observations; but taketh the heart of every Christian for a temple to dwell in, and there immediately appeareth and giveth him directions how to serve him in any outward acts. And before God is worshipped in the inward temple of the heart, it must be purged of its own filth, and all its own imaginations, that so it may be fit to receive the Spirit of God, and to be actuated by it. And doth not this directly lead us to that inward silence of which we have spoken and exactly pointed out? This worship must be in truth; intimating that this spiritual worship, thus performed, is only and properly a true worship: as being that which cannot be counterfeited by the enemy, nor yet performed by the hypocrite. But against this worship they object.

§. XVII. First, It seems to be an unprofitable exercise for a man to be doing or thinking nothing; and that one might be much better employed, either in meditating upon some good subject, or otherwise praying to or praising God.

I answer; That is not unprofitable, which is of absolute necessity before any other duty can be acceptably performed, as we have shewn this waiting to be. Moreover, those have but a gross apprehension of God, and of the

things of his kingdom, who imagine that men please him by their own actings; whereas, the first step for a man to fear God, is to cease from his own thoughts and imaginations, and suffer God's Spirit to work in him. For we must cease to do evil ere we learn to do well; and this meddling in things spiritual by man's own natural understanding, is one of the most dangerous evils that man is incident to; being that which occasioned our first parents' fall, to wit, a forwardness to desire to know and do things, both without and contrary to the Lord's command.

Secondly; Some object, If your worship merely consist in inwardly retiring to the Lord, and feeling his Spirit arise in you, and then to do outward acts as ye are led by it, what need ye have public meetings at set times and places, since every one may enjoy this at home? Or should not every one stay at home, until they be particularly moved to go to such a place at such a time; since to meet at set times and places seems to be an outward observation and ceremony, contrary to what ye at other times assert?

I answer; First, To meet at set times and places is not any religious act, or part of worship in itself; but only an outward conveniency: and therefore our meeting at set times and places is not a part of our worship, but a preparatory accommodation of our outward man, in order to a public visible worship; since we set not about the visible acts of worship when we meet together, until we be led thereunto by the Spirit of God. Secondly, God hath seen meet, so long as his children are in this world, to make use of the outward senses, not only as a means to convey spiritual life, as by speaking, praying, praising, &c. which cannot be done to mutual edification, but when we hear and see one another; but also to maintain an outward, visible testimony for his name in the world: he causeth

the inward life (which is also many times not conveyed by the outward senses) the more to abound, when his children assemble themselves diligently together to wait upon him; so that as iron sharpeneth iron, the seeing of the faces one of another, when both are inwardly gathered unto the life, giveth occasion for the life secretly to rise, and pass from vessel to vessel. And therefore Christ hath particularly promised a blessing to such as assemble together in his name, saying he will be in the midst of them; Mat. xviii. 20. And the author to the Hebrews doth precisely prohibit the neglect of this duty, Heb. x. 24. "And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works; not forsaking the assembling ourselves together, as the manner of some is." And therefore the Lord hath shewn that he hath a particular respect to such as thus assemble themselves together, because that thereby a public testimony for him is upheld in the earth, and his name is thereby glorified; and therefore such as are right in their spirits, are naturally drawn to keep the meetings of God's people, and never want a spiritual influence to lead them thereunto: and if any do it in a mere customary way, they will no doubt suffer condemnation for it.

Lastly, Some object, That this manner of worship in silence is not to be found in all the Scripture:

I answer; We make not silence to be the sole matter of our worship; since there are many meetings, which are seldom altogether silent; some or other are frequently moved either to preach, pray, or praise: and so our meetings are like the meetings of the primitive churches, since our opponents confess that they did preach and pray by the Spirit. And then what absurdity is it to suppose, that at some time the Spirit did not move them to these outward acts, and that then they were silent? Since we may well conclude they did not speak until they were moved;

and so no doubt had sometimes silence. Acts ii. 1. before the Spirit came upon them, it is said, "They were all with one accord in one place;" and then it is said, "The Spirit suddenly came upon them;" but no mention is made of any one speaking at that time; and I would willingly know what absurdity our opponents can infer, should we conclude they were awhile silent?

But if it be urged, That a whole silent meeting cannot be found in Scripture;

I answer; Supposing such a thing were not recorded, it will not therefore follow that it is not lawful; since it naturally followeth from other Scripture precepts, as we have proved this doth. For seeing the Scripture commands to meet together, and when met, the Scripture prohibits prayers or preachings, but as the Spirit moveth thereunto; if people meet together, and the Spirit move not to such acts, it will necessarily follow that they must be silent. Thus having shewn the excellency of this worship, proving it from Scripture and reason, and answering the objections which are commonly made against it, which, though it may suffice to the explanation and proof of our proposition, yet I shall add something more particularly of preaching, praying, and singing.

§. XVIII. Christ, in sending forth his disciples, expressly mentioneth that they are not to speak *of* or *from* themselves, or to forecast beforehand, but that which the Spirit in the same hour shall teach them, as is particularly mentioned in the three evangelists, Mat. x. 20. Mark xiii. 11. Luke xii. 12. Now if Christ gave this order to his disciples before he departed from them, as that which they were to practise during his abode outwardly with them, much more were they to do it after his departure, since then they were more especially to receive the Spirit, to

lead them in all things, and to bring all things to their remembrance, John xiv. 26. And if they were to do so when they appeared before the magistrates and princes of the earth, much more in the worship of God, when they stand specially before him, seeing his worship is to be performed in spirit; and therefore after their receiving of the Holy Ghost, it is said, Acts ii. 4. "They spake as the Spirit gave them utterance;" not what they had gathered from books in their closets in a premeditated way.

§. XXI. Our opponents, as they can preach, so can they pray, when they please, and therefore have their set particular prayers, all agreeing in this, That the motions and influence of the Spirit of God are not necessary to be previous thereunto; and therefore they have set times in their public worship, as before and after preaching, and in their private devotion, as morning and evening, and before and after meat, and other such occasions, at which they precisely set about the performing of their prayers, by speaking words to God, whether they feel any motion or influence of the Spirit or not. We freely confess that prayer is both very profitable, and a necessary duty commanded, and fit to be practised frequently by all Christians; but as we can do nothing without Christ, so neither can we pray without the assistance of his Spirit. But that the state of the controversy may be better understood, let it be considered, first, that prayer is two-fold, inward and outward. Inward prayer is that secret turning of the mind towards God, whereby, being secretly touched and awakened by the light of Christ in the conscience, and so bowed down under the sense of its iniquities, unworthiness, and misery, it looks up to God, and, joining with the secret sighings of the seed of God, it breathes towards him, and is constantly breathing forth some secret desires and aspirations towards him. It is in this sense that we are so

frequently in Scripture commanded to pray continually, Luke xviii. 1. 1 Thess. v. 17. Eph. vi. 18. Luke xxi. 36. which cannot be understood of outward prayer, because it were impossible that men should be always upon their knees, expressing words of prayer; and this would hinder them from the exercise of those duties no less positively commanded. Outward prayer is, when the spirit, being thus in the exercise of inward retirement, and feeling the breathing of the Spirit of God to arise powerfully in the soul, receives strength and liberty, by a superadded influence of the Spirit, to bring forth either audible sighs, groans, or words, and that either in public assemblies, or in private, or at meat, &c.

As then inward prayer is necessary at all times, so no man, whilst the day of his visitation lasteth, wants some influence, less or more, for the practice of it; because he no sooner retires in his mind, and considers himself in God's presence, but he finds himself in the practice of it.

The outward exercise of prayer, as needing a greater and superadded influence of the Spirit, as it cannot be continually practised, so neither can it be so readily, so as to be effectually performed, until his mind be some time acquainted with the inward; therefore such as are watchful in their minds, and much retired in the exercise of this inward prayer, are more capable to be frequent in the use of the outward. But because this outward prayer depends upon the inward, as that which must follow it, and cannot be acceptably performed but as attended with a superadded influence of the Spirit, therefore cannot we fix set times to pray outwardly, so as to lay a necessity to speak words at such and such times, whether we feel this heavenly influence and assistance or not; for that we judge were a tempting of God, and a coming before him without due preparation. We think it fit for us to present ourselves

before him by this inward retirement of the mind, and so to proceed further, as his Spirit shall help us and draw us thereunto; and we find that the Lord accepts of this, and seeth meet sometimes to exercise us in this silent place for the trial of our patience, without allowing us to speak further, that he may teach us not to rely upon outward performances, or satisfy ourselves, as too many do, with the saying of our prayers; and that our dependance upon him may be the more firm and constant, to wait for the holding out of his sceptre, and for his allowance to draw near unto him, with greater freedom and enlargement of spirit upon our hearts towards him. Nevertheless we do not deny but God sometimes very suddenly, yea, upon the very first turning in of the mind, may give power and liberty to bring forth words or acts of outward prayer, so as the soul can scarce discern any previous motion, but the bringing forth thereof may be as it were all at once. Though we affirm that none ought to go about prayer without this motion, yet we do not deny but such sin as neglect prayer; but their sin is in that they come not to that place where they may feel that which would lead them thereunto. And therefore we question not but many, through neglect of this inward watchfulness and retiredness of mind, miss many precious opportunities to pray, and thereby are guilty in the sight of God; yet would they sin if they should set about the act until they first felt the influence.

§. XXII. That there is a necessity of this inward retirement of the mind previous to prayer, that the Spirit may be felt to draw thereunto, appears, for that in most of those places where prayer is commanded, watching is prefixed thereunto, as Mat. xxiv. 42. Mark xiii. 33. and xiv. 38. Luke xxi, 36. from which it is evident that this watching was to go before prayer. Now to what end is this watching, or what is it, but a waiting to feel God's

Spirit to draw unto prayer, that so it may be done acceptably? For since we are to pray always in the Spirit, and cannot pray of ourselves without it acceptably, this watching must be for this end recommended to us, as preceding prayer, that we may watch and wait for the seasonable time to pray, which is when the Spirit moves thereunto.

Secondly, This necessity of the Spirit's moving appears abundantly from that of the apostle Paul, Rom. viii. 26, 27. "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." Which first holds forth the incapacity of men of themselves to pray or call upon God in their own wills, even such as have received the faith of Christ, and are in measure sanctified by it, as was the church of Rome, to which the apostle then wrote. Secondly, It holds forth that which can only help men to pray, to wit, the Spirit, as that without which they cannot do it acceptably to God, nor beneficially to their own souls. Thirdly, the manner and way of the Spirit's intercession, with sighs and groans which are unutterable. And Fourthly, That God receiveth graciously the prayers of such as are presented unto himself by the Spirit, knowing it to be according to his will. Now it cannot be conceived but this order of prayer thus asserted by the apostle is most consistent with those other testimonies of Scripture, recommending to us the use of prayer. From which I thus argue,

If any man know not how to pray, neither can do it without the help of the Spirit, then it is to no purpose for him, but altogether unprofitable, to pray without it.

Thirdly, This necessity of the Spirit to true prayer, appears from. Eph. vi. 18. and Jude 20. where the apostle commands to pray always in the Spirit, and watching thereunto; which is as much as if he had said, that we were never to pray without the Spirit, or watching thereunto. And Jude sheweth that such prayers as are in the Holy Ghost only, tend to the building up of ourselves in our most holy faith.

Fourthly, The apostle Paul saith expressly, 1 Cor. xii. 3. That "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost:" if then Jesus cannot be thus rightly named but by the Holy Ghost, far less can he be acceptably called upon. Hence the same apostle declares, 1 Cor. xiv. 15. that he "will pray with the Spirit." A clear evidence that it was not his method to pray without it.

§. XXIV. I shall now proceed to answer their objections, when I have said something concerning joining in prayer with others. Those that pray together with one accord, use not only to concur in their spirits, but also in the gesture of their body, which we also willingly approve of; for it becometh men who approach before God to pray, that they do it with bowed knees, and with their heads uncovered, which is our practice.

But here ariseth a controversy, Whether it be lawful to join with others by those external signs of reverence, albeit not in heart, who pray formally, not waiting for the motion of the Spirit, nor judging it necessary.

We answer, Not at all; and for our testimony in this thing, we have suffered not a little. Since our principle and doctrine oblige us to believe that the prayers of those who themselves confess they are not actuated by the Spirit are abominations, how can we with a safe conscience join with them?

If they urge, That this is the height of uncharitableness

and arrogancy, 'as if we judged ourselves always to pray by the Spirit's motion, but they never; as if we were never deceived by praying without the motions of the Spirit, and that they were never actuated by it, seeing albeit they judge not the motion of the Spirit always necessary, they confess nevertheless that it is very profitable and comfortable, and they feel it often influencing them; which that it sometimes falls out we cannot deny;

To all which I answer distinctly, If it were their known and avowed doctrine not to pray without the motion of the Spirit, and that, seriously holding thereunto, they did not bind themselves to pray at certain prescribed times precisely, at which times they determined to pray, though without the Spirit, then indeed we might be accused of uncharitableness and pride, if we never joined with them; and if they so taught and practised, I doubt not but it would be lawful for us so to do, unless there should appear some manifest hypocrisy and delusion. That God sometimes condescends to them, we do not deny; although now, when the spiritual worship is openly proclaimed, and all are invited unto it, the case is otherwise than in those old times of apostasy and darkness; and therefore, albeit any should begin to pray in our presence, not expecting the motion of the Spirit; yet if it manifestly appear that God in condescension did concur with such a one, then according to God's will we should not refuse to join also.

But now I hasten to the objections of our opponents against this method of praying.

§. XXV. First; They object, That if such particular influences were needful to outward acts of worship, then they should also be needful to inward acts, to wit, desire and love to God. But this is absurd; Therefore also that from whence it follows.

I answer; As to those general duties, there never wants

an influence, so long as the day of a man's visitation lasteth; during which time God is always near to him, and wrestling with him by his Spirit, to turn him to himself; so that if he do but stand still, and cease from his evil thoughts, the Lord is near to help him, &c. But as to the outward acts of prayer, they need a more special influence.

Secondly; They object, That it might be also alleged, that men ought not to do moral duties, as children to honour their parents, men to do right to their neighbours, except the Spirit move them to it.

I answer; There is a great difference betwixt these general duties betwixt man and man, and the particular express acts of worship towards God: the one is merely spiritual, and commanded by God to be performed by his Spirit; the other answer their end, as to them whom they are immediately directed to and concern, though done from a mere natural principle of self-love; even as beasts have natural affections one to another, and therefore may be thus performed. Though I shall not deny, but that they are not works accepted of God, or beneficial to the soul, but as they are done in the fear of God, and in his blessing, in which his children do all things; and therefore are accepted and blessed in whatsoever they do.

Thirdly; They object, That if a wicked man ought not to pray without a motion of the Spirit, because his prayer would be sinful; neither ought he to plough by the same reason, because the ploughing of the wicked, as well as his praying, is sin.

This objection is of the same nature with the former, and therefore may be answered the same way; seeing there is a great difference betwixt natural acts, such as eating, drinking, sleeping, and seeking sustenance for the body (which things man hath common with beasts) and spiritual acts. And it doth not follow, because man ought

not to go about spiritual acts without the Spirit, that therefore he may not go about natural acts without it. The analogy holds better thus, and that for the proof of our affirmation, That as man for the going about natural acts needs his natural spirit; so to perform spiritual acts he needs the Spirit of God.

Fourthly; They object, That wicked men may, according to this doctrine, forbear to pray for years together, alleging, they want a motion to it.

I answer; The false pretences of wicked men do nothing invalidate the truth of this doctrine; for at that rate there is no doctrine of Christ, which men might not set aside. That they ought not to pray without the Spirit, is granted; but then they ought to come to that place of watching, where they may be capable to feel the Spirit's motion. They sin indeed in not praying; but the cause of this sin is their not watching: so their neglect proceeds not from this doctrine, but from their disobedience to it; seeing if they did pray without this, it would be a double sin, and no fulfilling of the command to pray: nor yet would their prayer, without the Spirit, be useful unto them. And this our opponents are forced to acknowledge in another case: for they say, It is a duty incumbent on Christians to frequent the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as they call it; yet they say, No man ought to take it unworthily: yea, they plead, that such as find themselves unprepared, must abstain; and therefore do usually exclude them from the table. Now, though according to them it be necessary to partake of this sacrament; yet it is also necessary that those that do it, do first examine themselves, lest they eat and drink their own condemnation: and though they reckon it sinful for them to forbear, yet they account it more sinful for them to do it without this examination.

Fifthly; They object, Acts viii. 22. where Peter com-

manded Simon Magus, that wicked sorcerer, to pray; from thence inferring, That wicked men may and ought to pray.

I answer; That in the citing of this place they omit the first and chiefest part of the verse, which is thus, Acts viii. ver. 22. "Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God; if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee:" so here he bids him first repent. Now the least measure of true repentance cannot be without somewhat of that inward retirement of the mind which we speak of: and indeed where true repentance goeth first, we do not doubt but the Spirit of God will be near to concur with, and influence such to pray.

§. XXVI. As to the singing of psalms, there will not be need of any long discourse; for that the case is just the same as in the two former of preaching and prayer. We confess this to be a part of God's worship, and very sweet and refreshing, when it proceeds from a true sense of God's love in the heart, and arises from the divine influence of the Spirit, which leads souls to breathe forth either a sweet harmony, or words suitable to the present condition; whether they be words formerly used by the saints, and recorded in scripture, such as the Psalms of David, or other words; as were the hymns and songs of Zacharias, Simeon, and the blessed Virgin Mary. But as for the formal customary way of singing, it hath no foundation in Scripture, nor any ground in true Christianity.

That singing then that pleaseth him must proceed from that which is PURE in the heart, (even from the Word of Life therein,) in and by which, richly dwelling in us, spiritual songs and hymns are returned to the Lord, according to that of the apostle, Col. iii. 16.

But as to their artificial music, either by organs, or

other instruments, we have neither example nor precept for it in the New Testament*.

PROPOSITION XII.

Concerning Baptism.

As there is one Lord, and one faith, so there is one baptism; which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and Fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life: of which the baptism of John was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture.

§. I. I DID sufficiently demonstrate, in the explanation and proof of the former proposition, how greatly the professors of Christianity, as well Protestants as Papists, were

* All the pomp and parade, all the activity, bustle, and sound, so generally prevalent in ancient times, and not a little so in our own times, in the celebration of divine worship, genuine Christianity has reduced to the secret, simple, mental contemplation, and thankful adoration of the Great Benefactor of the human race, the inexhaustible source of goodness and love, through the mediation of the appointed Saviour.

degenerated in the matter of worship, and how much strangers to that true and acceptable worship that is performed in spirit and in truth.

§. II. That which comes first under observation, is the name *sacrament*, which it is strange that Christians should stick to and contend so much for, since it is not to be found in all the Scripture.

But if it be said, That it is not the name, but the thing they contend for;

I answer; Let the name then, as not being Scriptural, be laid aside, and we shall see how much benefit will redound by laying aside this traditional term, and betaking us to plainness of Scripture-language.

If it be said, That this controversy arises from the definition of the thing, as well as from the name;

It will be found otherwise: for whatever way we take their definition of a sacrament, whether as an outward visible sign, whereby inward grace is conferred, or only signified, this definition will agree to many things, which neither Papists nor Protestants will acknowledge to be sacraments. If they be expressed under the name of sealing ordinances, as by some they are, I could never see, either by reason or Scripture, how this title could be appropriate to them, more than to any other Christian, religious performance: for that must needs properly be a sealing ordinance, which makes the persons receiving it infallibly certain of the promise or thing sealed to them.

If it be said, It is so to them that are faithful;

I answer; So is praying and preaching, and doing of every good work; and what peculiarly then belongs to these sacraments, seeing the partaking or performing of them gives not to any one a more certain title to heaven, and, in some respect, not so much.

Besides, we find not any thing called the seal and pledge

of our inheritance, but the Spirit of God. It is by that we are said to be sealed, Eph. i. 14. and iv. 30. which is also termed the earnest of our inheritance, 2 Cor. i. 22. and not by outward water, or eating and drinking; which as the wickedest of men may partake of, so many that do, do go to perdition. For it is not outward washing with water that maketh the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven: and as that which goeth into the mouth doth not defile a man, because it is put forth again, and so goeth to the dunghill; neither doth any thing which man eateth purify him, or fit him for heaven. Of these sacraments (so called) baptism is always first numbered, in the explanation of which I shall first demonstrate our judgment, and then answer the objections, and refute the sentiments of our opposers.

§. III. First, There is but one baptism, as well as but one Lord, one faith, &c.

Secondly, That this one baptism, which is the baptism of Christ, is not a washing with, or dipping in water, but a being baptized by the Spirit.

Thirdly, That the baptism of John was but a figure of this; and therefore, as the figure, to give place to the substance; which though it be to continue, yet the other ceaseth.

As for the first, viz. That there is but one baptism, there needs no other proof than the words of the text, Eph. iv. 5. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism:" where the apostle positively and plainly affirms, that as there is but one body, one Spirit, one faith, one God, &c. so there is but one baptism.

As to what is commonly alleged by way of explanation upon the text, That the baptism of water and of the Spirit make up this one baptism, by virtue of the sacramental union;

I answer; This exposition hath taken place, not because grounded upon the testimony of the Scripture, but because it wrests the Scripture to make it suit to their principle of water-baptism.

But secondly, if it be said, The baptism is but one, whereof water is the one part; to wit, the sign; and the Spirit, the thing signified, the other;

I answer; This yet more confirmeth our doctrine: for if water be only the sign, it is not the matter of the one baptism; and we are to take the one baptism for the matter of it, not for the sign, or figure and type that went before. If any should be so absurd as to affirm, That this one baptism here was the baptism of water, and not of the Spirit; that were foolishly to contradict the positive testimony of the Scripture, which saith the contrary.

Secondly, That this one baptism, which is the baptism of Christ, is not a washing with water, appears first, from the testimony of John, the peculiar administrator of water-baptism; Mat. iii. 11. "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Here John mentions two manners of baptizing, and two different baptisms; the one with water, and the other with the Spirit; the one whereof he was the minister; the other whereof Christ was the minister: and such as were baptized with the first, were not therefore baptized with the second: I indeed baptize you, but he shall baptize you. From all which I thus argue:

If those that were baptized with the baptism of water, were not therefore baptized with the baptism of Christ; then the baptism of water is not the baptism of Christ.

And again,

If he, that truly and really administered the baptism of

water, did notwithstanding declare, that he neither could, nor did, baptize with the baptism of Christ; then the baptism of water is not the baptism of Christ.

If it be urged, That baptism with water was the one part, and that with the Spirit the other part, or effect only of the former;

I answer; This exposition contradicts the plain words of the text. For he saith not, I baptize you with water, and he that cometh after me shall produce the effects of this my baptism in you by the Spirit, &c. or he shall accomplish this baptism in you; but, He shall baptize you. So then, if we understand the words properly, when he saith, "I baptize you," as consenting that thereby is really signified that he did baptize with the baptism of water; we must needs, unless we offer violence to the text, understand the other part of the sentence the same way; viz. where he adds presently, "But he shall baptize you," &c. that he understood it of their being truly to be baptized with another baptism, than what he did baptize with.

Secondly, This is further confirmed by the saying of Christ himself, Acts i. 4, 5. "But wait for the promise of the Father, which," saith he, "ye have heard of me: for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." There can scarce two places of Scripture run more parallel than this doth with the former. For Christ here grants fully that John completed his baptism, as to the matter and substance of it: John, saith he, truly baptized with water; which is as much as if he had said, John did truly and fully administer the baptism of water; But ye shall be baptized with, &c. This sheweth that they were to be baptized with some other baptism than the baptism of water; and that although they were formerly baptized

with the baptism of water, yet not with that of Christ, which they were to be baptized with.

Thirdly, Peter observes the same distinction, Acts xi. 16. "Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." The apostle makes this application upon the Holy Ghost's falling upon them; whence he infers, that they were then baptized with the baptism of the Spirit. From all which three sentences, relative one to another, first of John, secondly of Christ, and thirdly of Peter, it doth evidently follow, that such as were really baptized with the baptism of water, were notwithstanding not baptized with the baptism of the Spirit, which is that of Christ; and such as really did administer the baptism of water, did, in so doing, not administer the baptism of Christ. So that if there be now but one baptism, as we have already proved, we may safely conclude that it is that of the Spirit, and not of water; else it would follow, that the one baptism, which now continues, were the baptism of water, i. e. John's baptism, and not the baptism of the Spirit, i. e. Christ's; which were most absurd.

If it be said further, That though the baptism of John, before Christ's was administered, was different from it, as being the figure only; yet now, that both it as the figure, and that of the Spirit as the substance, is necessary to make up the one baptism;

I answer; This urgeth nothing, unless it be granted also that both of them belong to the essence of baptism; so that baptism is not to be accounted as truly administered, where both are not; which none of our opponents will acknowledge. The controversy stands betwixt us and our opposers, in that they oftentimes prefer the form and shadow to the power and substance; by denominating

persons as possessors of the thing, from their having the form and shadow, though really wanting the power and substance; and not admitting those to be so denominated, who have the power and substance, if they want the form and shadow. This appears evidently, in that they account those truly baptized with the one baptism of Christ, who are not baptized with the Spirit (which in Scripture is particularly called the baptism of Christ) if they be only baptized with water, which themselves yet confess to be but the shadow. And moreover, in that they account not those who are surely baptized with the baptism of the Spirit baptized, neither will they have them so denominated, unless they be also sprinkled with, or dipped in water.

§. IV. Fourthly, That the one baptism of Christ is not a washing with water, appears from 1 Pet. iii. 21. "The like figure* whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us: not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Scarcely so plain a definition of baptism is found in all the Bible; and therefore, it may well be preferred to all the definitions of the schoolmen. The apostle tells us first negatively what it is not, viz. Not a putting away of the filth of the flesh: then surely it is not a washing with water, since that is so. Secondly, he tells us affirmatively what it is, viz. The answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ; where he affirmatively defines it to be the answer (or confession, as the Syriac version hath it) of a good conscience. Now this answer cannot be but where the Spirit of God hath purified the soul, and the fire of his judgments hath burned up the unrighteous nature;

* Or, *Whose model baptism does also now save us.*

and those in whom this work is wrought may be truly said to be baptized with the baptism of Christ, i. e. of the Spirit and of fire. Whatever way then we take this definition of the apostle concerning Christ's baptism, it confirmeth our sentence: for if we take the first or negative part, viz. That it is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh, then it will follow that water-baptism is not it, because that is a putting away of the filth of the flesh. If we take the second and affirmative definition, to wit, That it is the answer or confession of a good conscience, &c. then water-baptism is not it; since, as our opponents will not deny, water-baptism doth not always imply it, neither is it any necessary consequence thereof. Moreover, the apostle in this place doth seem especially to guard against those that might esteem water-baptism the true baptism of Christ; because (lest by the comparison induced by him in the preceding verse, betwixt the souls that were saved in Noah's ark, and us that are now saved by baptism; lest, I say, any should have thence hastily concluded, that because the former were saved by water, this place must needs be taken to speak of water-baptism) to prevent such a mistake, he plainly affirms, that it is not that, but another thing. He saith not that it is the water, or the putting away of the filth of the flesh, as accompanied with the answer of a good conscience, whereof the one, viz. water, is the sacramental element, administered by the minister; and the other, the grace or thing signified, conferred by Christ; but plainly, That it is not the putting away, &c. than which there can be nothing more manifest to men unprejudiced and judicious. Moreover Peter calls this which saves the anti-type*, or the thing figured; whereas it is usually translated, as if the like figure did

* *αντίτυπον*.

now save us; thereby insinuating that as they were saved by water in the ark, so are we now by water-baptism. But this interpretation perverteth his sense, he presently after declaring the contrary, as hath above been observed; and likewise it would contradict the opinion of all our opposers. For Protestants deny it to be absolutely necessary to salvation; and though Papists say, none are saved without it, yet in this they admit an exception, as of martyrs, &c. and they will not say that all that have it are saved by water-baptism; which they ought to say, if they will understand by baptism (by which the apostle saith we are saved) water-baptism. For seeing we are saved by this baptism, as all those that were in the ark were saved by water, it would then follow, that all those that have this baptism are saved by it. Now this consequence would be false, if it were understood of water-baptism; because many, by the confession of all, are baptized with water that are not saved; but this consequence holds most true, if it be understood, as we do, of the baptism of the Spirit; since none can have this answer of a good conscience, and, abiding in it, not be saved by it.

Fifthly, That the one baptism of Christ is not a washing with water, as it hath been proved by the definition of the one baptism, so it is also manifest from the necessary effects of it, which are three times particularly expressed by the apostle Paul; as first, Rom. vi. 3, 4. where he saith, "That so many of them as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death, buried with him by baptism into death, that they should walk in newness of life." Secondly, to the Galatians, iii. 27. he saith positively, "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ." And thirdly, to the Colossians, ii. 12. he saith, That they were buried with him in baptism, and risen with him through the faith of the ope-

ration of God. It is to be observed here, that the apostle speaks generally, without any exclusive term, but comprehensive of all. He saith not, some of you that were baptized into Christ have put on Christ, but as many of you; which is as much as if he had said, Every one of you that hath been baptized into Christ, hath put on Christ. Whereby it is evident that this is not meant of water-baptism, but of the baptism of the Spirit; because else it would follow, that whosoever had been baptized with water-baptism had put on Christ, and were risen with him, which all acknowledge to be most absurd. From all which I thus argue:

If the baptism with water were the one baptism, i. e. the baptism of Christ, as many as were baptized with water would have put on Christ:

But as many as are baptized into Christ, i. e. with the one baptism, which is the baptism of Christ, have put on Christ, therefore water-baptism is not the one baptism, viz. the baptism of Christ.

§. V. Thirdly, Since John's baptism was a figure, and seeing the figure gives way to the substance, although the thing figured remain, to wit, the one baptism of Christ, yet the other ceaseth, which was the baptism of John.

That John's baptism was a figure of Christ's baptism, I judge will not readily be denied; but in case it should, it can easily be proved from the nature of it. John's baptism was a being baptized with water, but Christ's is a being baptized with the Spirit; but if water-baptism be the figure of the baptism of the Spirit, then John's baptism was the figure of Christ's. But further, that water-baptism was John's baptism, will not be denied: that water-baptism is not Christ's baptism, is already proved. From which doth arise the confirmation of our proposition thus:

There is no baptism to continue now, but the one baptism of Christ.

Therefore water-baptism is not to continue now, because it is not the one baptism of Christ.

That John's baptism is ceased, many of our opponents confess; but if any should allege it is otherwise, it may be easily proved by the express words of John, not only as being insinuated there, where he contradistinguisheth his baptism from that of Christ, but particularly where he saith, John iii. 30. "He [Christ] must increase, but I [John] must decrease." From whence it clearly follows, that the increasing or taking place of Christ's baptism is the decreasing or abolishing of John's baptism: so that if water-baptism was a particular part of John's ministry, and is no part of Christ's baptism, as we have already proved, it will necessarily follow that it is not to continue.

If water-baptism had been to continue a perpetual ordinance of Christ in his church, he would either have practised it himself, or commanded his apostles so to do.

But that he practised it not, the Scripture plainly affirms, John, iv. 2. And that he commanded his disciples to baptize with water, I could never yet read. As for what is alleged, that, Mat. xxviii. 19, &c. where he bids them baptize, is to be understood of water-baptism, that is but to beg the question, and the grounds for that shall be hereafter examined.

Therefore to baptize with water is no perpetual ordinance of Christ to his church.

This hath had the more weight with me, because I find not any standing ordinance or appointment of Christ necessary to Christians, for which we have not either Christ's own practice or command; as to obey all the commandments, which comprehend both our duty towards God and man, &c. and where the gospel requires more than the

law, which is abundantly signified in the 5th and 6th chapters of Matthew, and elsewhere. Besides, as to the duties of worship, he exhorts us to meet, promising his presence; commands to pray, preach, watch, &c. and gives precepts concerning some temporary things, as the washing of one another's feet, the breaking of bread; only for this one thing of baptizing with water, though so earnestly contended for, we find not any precept of Christ.

§. VI. But to make water-baptism a necessary institution of the Christian religion, which is pure and spiritual, and not carnal and ceremonial, is to derogate from the new covenant dispensation, and set up the legal rites and ceremonies, of which this of baptism, or washing with water, was one, as appears from Heb. ix. 10. where the apostle speaking thereof saith, that it stood only in meats and drinks, and divers baptisms, and carnal ordinances, imposed until the time of reformation. If then the time of reformation, or the dispensation of the gospel, which puts an end to the shadows, be come, then such baptisms and carnal ordinances are no more to be imposed. For how baptism with water comes now to be a spiritual ordinance, more than before in the time of the law, doth not appear, seeing it is but water still, and a washing of the outward man, and a putting away of the filth of the flesh still: and, as before, those that were so washed, were not thereby made perfect, as pertaining to the conscience, neither are they at this day, as our opponents must needs acknowledge, and experience abundantly sheweth. So that the matter of it, which is a washing with water, and the effect of it, which is only an outward cleansing, being still the same, how comes water-baptism to be less a carnal ordinance now than before?

If it be said, That God confers inward grace upon some that are now baptized;

So no doubt he did also upon some that used those baptisms among the Jews.

Or, if it be said, Because it is commanded by Christ, now, under the new covenant;

I answer; First, That is to beg the question.

But Secondly, We find that where the matter of ordinances is the same, and the end the same, they are never accounted more or less spiritual, because of their different times. Now was not God the author of the purifications and baptisms under the law? Was not water the matter of them, which is so now? Was not the end of them to signify an inward purifying by an outward washing? And is not that alleged to be the end still? And are the necessary effects of it any better now than before, since men are now by the virtue of water-baptism, as a necessary consequence of it, no more than before made inwardly clean? And if some by God's grace that are baptized with water are inwardly purified, so were some also under the law; so that this is not any necessary consequence, neither of this nor that baptism. It is then plainly repugnant to right reason, as well as to the Scripture testimony, to affirm that to be a spiritual ordinance now, which was a carnal ordinance before, if it be still the same, both as to its author, matter, and end, however made to vary in some small circumstances. The spirituality of the new covenant, and of its worship established by Christ, consisted not in such superficial alterations of circumstances. Therefore let our opponents shew us, if they can, without begging the question, and building upon some one or other of their own principles denied by us, where Christ ever appointed any institution or observation under the new covenant, as belonging to the nature of it, or such a necessary part of its worship, as is perpetually to continue; which being one in substance and effects (I speak

of necessary, not accidental effects) yet, because of some small difference in form or circumstance, was before carnal, notwithstanding it was commanded by God under the law, but now is become spiritual, because commanded by Christ under the gospel? And if they cannot do this, then if water-baptism was once a carnal ordinance, as the apostle positively affirms it to have been, it remains a carnal ordinance still; and if a carnal ordinance, then no necessary part of the gospel or new covenant dispensation; and if no necessary part of it, then not needful to continue, nor to be practised by such as live under this dispensation.

§. VII. But again, If water-baptism had been an ordinance of the gospel, then the apostle Paul would have been sent to administer it; but he declares positively, 1 Cor. i. 17. "That Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." The reason of that consequence is undeniable, because the apostle Paul's commission was as large as that of any of them; and he being in special manner the apostle of Christ to the Gentiles, if water-baptism, as our opponents contend, be to be accounted the badge of Christianity, he had more need than any of the rest to be sent to baptize with water, that he might mark the Gentiles converted by him with that Christian sign. But indeed the reason holds better thus, that since Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles, and that in his ministry he doth through all (as by his epistles appears) labour to withdraw them from the Jewish ceremonies and observations (though in so doing he was sometimes undeservedly judged by others of his brethren, who were unwilling to lay aside those ceremonies) therefore his commission, though as full, as to the preaching of the gospel and new covenant dispensation, as that of the other apostles, did not require of him that he should lead those converts into such Jewish observations and baptisms, however that

practice was indulged in and practised by the other apostles among their Jewish proselytes, for which cause he thanks God that he had baptized so few: intimating that what he did therein he did not by virtue of his apostolic commission, but rather in condescension to their weakness, even as at another time he circumcised Timothy.

Our opponents, to evade the truth of this testimony, usually allege, That by this is only to be understood, that he was not sent principally to baptize, not that he was not sent at all.

But this exposition, since it contradicts the positive words of the text, and has no better foundation than the affirmation of its asserters, is justly rejected as spurious, until they bring some better proof for it. He saith not, I was not sent *principally* to baptize, but I was not sent to baptize.

If it be said, That the abuse of this baptism among the Corinthians, in dividing themselves according to the persons by whom they were baptized, made the apostle speak so; but that the abuse of a thing doth not abolish it;

I answer, it is true, it doth not, provided the thing be lawful and necessary, and that no doubt the abuse above-said gave the apostle occasion so to write. But let it from this be considered how the apostle excludes baptizing, not preaching, though the abuse [mark] proceeded from that, no less than from the other. For these Corinthians did denominate themselves from those different persons by whose preaching (as well as from those by whom they were baptized) they were converted, as by the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of chap. iii. may appear: and yet to remove that abuse the apostle doth not say he was not sent to preach, nor yet doth he rejoice that he had only preached to a few; because preaching, being a standing ordinance in the church, is not, because of any abuse that the devil may tempt any to make of it, to be forborne by

such as are called to perform it by the Spirit of God : wherefore the apostle accordingly, chap. iii. 8, 9. informs them, as to that, how to remove that abuse. But as to water-baptism, for that it was no standing ordinance of Christ, but only practised in condescension to the Jews, and by some apostles to some Gentiles also, therefore, so soon as the apostle perceived the abuse of it, he let the Corinthians understand how little stress was to be laid upon it, by shewing them that he was glad that he had administered this ceremony to so few of them ; and by telling them plainly that it was no part of his commission, neither that which he was sent to administer.

Some ask us, How we know that baptizing here is meant of water, and not of the Spirit ; which if it be, then it will exclude the baptism of the Spirit, as well as of water.

I answer, Such as ask the question, I suppose, speak it not as doubting that this was said of water-baptism, which is more than manifest. For since the apostle Paul's message was, to turn people from darkness to light, and convert them to God ; and that as many as are thus turned and converted (so as to have the answer of a good conscience toward God, and to have put on Christ, and be risen with him in newness of life) are baptized with the baptism of the Spirit, but who will say that only those few mentioned there to be baptized by Paul were come to this ? or that to turn or bring them to this condition was not, even admitting our opponents' interpretation, as principal a part of Paul's ministry as any other ? since then our opponents do take this place for water-baptism, as indeed it is, we may lawfully, taking it so also, urge it upon them.

§. VIII. First, Some object, That Christ, who had the Spirit above measure, was notwithstanding baptized with water.

I answer, So was he also circumcised; it will not follow from thence that circumcision is to continue: for it behoved Christ to fulfil all righteousness, not only the ministry of John, but the law also, therefore did he observe the Jewish feasts and rites, and keep the passover. It will not thence follow that Christians ought to do so now; and therefore Christ, Mat. iii. 15. gives John this reason of his being baptized, desiring him to "suffer it to be so now;" whereby he sufficiently intimates that he intended not thereby to perpetuate it as an ordinance to his disciples.

Secondly, They object, Mat. xxviii. 19. "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

This is the great objection, and upon which they build the whole superstructure; whereunto the first general and sound answer is, by granting the whole; but putting them to prove that water is here meant, since the text is silent about it. And though in reason it be sufficient upon our part that we concede the whole expressed in the place, but deny that it is by water, which is an addition to the text, yet I shall premise some reasons why we do so, and then consider the reasons alleged by those that will have water to be here understood.

The first is a maxim yielded to by all, That we ought not to go from the literal signification of the text, except some urgent necessity force us thereunto.

Secondly, That baptism which Christ commanded his apostles was the one baptism, *id est*, his own baptism.

Thirdly, That baptism which Christ commanded his apostles was such, that as many as were therewith baptized did put on Christ.

Fourthly, The baptism commanded by Christ to his apostles was not John's baptism.

But First, They allege, That Christ's baptism, though a

baptism with water, did differ from John's, because John only baptized with water unto repentance, but Christ commands his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; reckoning that in this form there lieth a great difference betwixt the baptism of John and that of Christ.

I answer, In that John's baptism was unto repentance, the difference lieth not there, because so is Christ's also; our opponents will not deny but that adult persons that are to be baptized ought, ere they are admitted to water-baptism, to repent, and confess their sins: and that infants also, with a respect to, and consideration of their baptism, ought to repent and confess; so that the difference lieth not here, since this of repentance and confession agrees as well to Christ's as to John's baptism.

Secondly, As to what Christ saith, in commanding them to baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit, I confess that states the difference, and it is great; but that it lies only in administering water-baptism in this different form, by a bare expressing of these words, as the text says no such thing, so neither do I see how it can be inferred from it. For the Greek is, *into the name**; now the name of the Lord is often taken in Scripture for something else than a bare sound of words, or literal expression, even for his virtue and power, as may appear from Psal. liv. 3. Cant. i. 3. Prov. xviii. 10. and in many more. Now that the apostles were by their ministry to baptize the nations into this name, virtue, and power, and that they did so, is evident by these testimonies of Paul above-mentioned, where he saith, 'That as many of them as were baptized into Christ, have put on Christ; this must have been a baptizing into the name, *i. e.* power and virtue, and not a mere

* *eis to onoma.*

formal expression of words connected with water-baptism. I would have those who desire to have their faith built upon no other foundation than the testimony of God's Spirit, and the Scriptures of truth, thoroughly to consider whether there can be any thing further alleged for this interpretation than what the prejudice of education and influence of tradition hath imposed.

Besides the reason taken from the signification of *the name* as being the virtue and power above expressed, let it be considered, that if it had been a form prescribed by Christ to his apostles, then surely they would have made use of that form in the administering of water-baptism to such as they baptized with water; but though particular mention be made, in divers places of the Acts, who were baptized, and how; and though it be particularly expressed that they baptized such and such, as Acts ii. 41. and viii. 12, 13, 38. and ix. 18. and x. 48. and xvi. 15. and xviii. 8. yet there is not a word of this form. And in two places, Acts viii. 16. and xix. 5. it is said of some that they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus; by which it yet more appears, that either the author of this history hath been very defective, who having so often occasion to mention this, yet omitteth so substantial a part of baptism (which were to accuse the Holy Ghost, by whose guidance Luke wrote it) or else that the apostles did no ways understand that Christ by his commission, Mat. xxviii. did enjoin them such a form of water-baptism, seeing they did not use it. And therefore it is safer to conclude, that what they did in administering water-baptism, they did not by virtue of that commission, else they would have so used it; for our opponents I suppose would judge it a great heresy to administer water-baptism without that, or only in the name of Jesus, without mention of Father or Spirit, as it is expressly said they did, in the two places above-cited.

Secondly, They say, If this were not understood of water-baptism, it would be a tautology, and all one with teaching.

I say, Nay: Baptizing with the Spirit is somewhat further than teaching, or informing the understanding; for it imports a reaching to, and melting the heart, whereby it is turned, as well as the understanding informed.

Thirdly, They say, Baptism in this place must be understood with water, because it is the action of the apostles; and so cannot be the baptism of the Spirit, which is the work of Christ, and his grace; not of man, &c.

I answer; Baptism with the Spirit, though not wrought without Christ and his grace, is instrumentally done by men fitted of God for that purpose; and therefore no absurdity follows, that baptism with the Spirit should be expressed as the action of the apostles. For though it be Christ by his grace that gives spiritual gifts, yet the apostle, Rom. i. 11. speaks of HIS imparting to them spiritual gifts; and he tells the Corinthians, that HE had begotten them through the gospel, 1 Cor. iv. 15. And yet to beget people to the faith, is the work of Christ and his grace, not of men. To convert the heart, is properly the work of Christ; and yet the Scripture oftentimes ascribes it to men, as being the instruments: and since Paul's commission was, To turn people from darkness to light, (though that be not done without Christ co-operating by his grace,) so may also baptizing with the Spirit be expressed, as performable by man as the instrument, though the work of Christ's grace be needful to concur thereunto. So that it is no absurdity to say, that the apostles did administer the baptism of the Spirit.

Lastly, They say, That since Christ saith here, that he will be with his disciples to the end of the world, therefore water-baptism must continue so long.

If he had been speaking here of water-baptism, then that might have been urged; but seeing that is denied, and proved to be false, nothing from thence can be gathered; he speaking of the baptism of the Spirit, which we freely confess doth remain to the end of the world: yea, so long as Christ's presence abideth with his children.

§. IX. Thirdly, They object the constant practice of the apostles in the primitive church, who, they say, did always administer water-baptism to such as they converted to the faith of Christ; and hence also they further urge that of Mat. xxviii. to have been meant of water; or else the apostles did not understand it because in baptizing they used water; or that in so doing they walked without a commission.

I answer; That it was the constant practice of the apostles is denied; for we have shewn, in the example of Paul, that it was not so; since it were most absurd to judge that he converted only those few, even of the church of Corinth, whom he saith he baptized; nor were it less absurd to think that that was a constant apostolic practice, which he, who was not inferior to the chiefest of the apostles, and who declares that he laboured as much as they all, rejoiceth he was so little in. But further; the conclusion inferred from the apostles' practice of baptizing with water, to evince that they understood Mat. xxviii. of water-baptism, doth not hold: for though they baptized with water, it will not follow that either they did it by virtue of that commission, or that they mistook that place; nor can there be any medium brought, that will infer such a conclusion. As to the other insinuated absurdity, That they did it without a commission; it is none at all: for they may have done it by a permission, as being in use before Christ's death; and because the people, nursed up with outward ceremonies, could not be weaned

wholly from them. And thus they used other things, as circumcision and legal purifications, which yet they had no commission from Christ to do.

But if from the sameness of the word, because Christ bids them baptize, and they afterwards in the use of water are said to baptize, it be judged probable that they did understand that commission, Mat. xxviii. to authorize them to baptize with water, and accordingly practised it; although it should be granted, that for a season they did so far mistake it, as to judge that water belonged to that baptism, (which, however, I find no necessity of granting,) yet I see not any great absurdity would thence follow. For it is plain they did mistake that commission, as to a main part of it, for a season; as where he bids them "Go, teach all nations;" since some time after they judged it unlawful to teach the Gentiles; Peter himself scrupled it, until by a vision constrained thereunto; for which, after he had done it, he was for a season (until they were better informed) judged by the rest of his brethren. Now, if the education of the apostles as Jews, and their propensity to adhere to the Jewish religion, did so far influence them, that even after Christ's resurrection, and the pouring forth of the Spirit, they could not receive nor admit of the teaching of the Gentiles, though Christ, in his commission to them, commanded them to preach to them; what further absurdity were it to suppose, that, through the like mistake, the chiefest of them having been the disciples of John, and his baptism being so much prized there among the Jews, they also took Christ's baptism, intended by him of the Spirit, to be that of water, which was John's, and accordingly practised it for a season? It suffices us, that if they were so mistaken, (though I say not that they were so,) they did not always remain under that mistake: else Peter would not have said of the baptism which now saves,

that it is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh, which certainly water-baptism is.

But further, They urge much Peter's baptizing Cornelius; in which they press two things, First, That water-baptism is used, even to those that had received the Spirit. Secondly, That it is said positively, he commanded them to be baptized, Acts x. 47, 48.

But neither of these doth necessarily infer water-baptism to belong to the new covenant dispensation, nor yet to be a perpetual standing ordinance in the church. For first, all that this will amount to, was, that Peter at that time baptized these men; but that he did it by virtue of that commission, Mat. xxviii. remains yet to be proved. And how doth the baptizing with water, after the receiving of the Holy Ghost, prove the case, more than the use of circumcision, and other legal rites, acknowledged to have been performed by him afterwards? Also, it is no wonder if Peter, who thought it so strange, (notwithstanding all that had been professed before, and spoken by Christ,) that the Gentiles should be made partakers of the gospel, and with great difficulty, not without an extraordinary impulse thereunto, was brought to come to them, and eat with them, was apt to put this ceremony upon them; which being, as it were, the particular dispensation of John, the forerunner of Christ, seemed to have greater affinity with the gospel, than the other Jewish ceremonies then used by the church; but that will no ways infer our opponents' conclusion. Secondly, As to these words, "And he commanded them to be baptized;" it declareth matter of fact, not of right, and amounteth to no more, than that Peter did at that time command those persons to be baptized with water, which is not denied: but it saith nothing that Peter commanded water-baptism to be a standing and per-

petual ordinance to the church ; neither can any man of sound reason say, that a command in matter of fact to particular persons, doth infer the thing commanded to be of general obligation to all, if it be not otherwise bottomed upon some positive precept. Why doth Peter's commanding Cornelius and his household to be baptized at that time, infer water-baptism to continue, more than his constraining (which is more than commanding) the Gentiles in general to be circumcised, and observe the law? We find at that time, when Peter baptized Cornelius, it was not yet determined whether the Gentiles should not be circumcised ; but on the contrary, it was the most general sense of the church that they should: and therefore no wonder if they thought it needful at that time that they should be baptized; which had more affinity with the gospel, and was a burden less grievous.

§. X. Fourthly, They object from the signification of the word *baptize*, which is as much as to *dip* and *wash* with water; alleging thence, that the very word imports a being baptized with water.

This objection is very weak. For since baptizing with water was a rite among the Jews, even before the coming of John ; and that the ceremony received that name from the nature of the practice, as used both by the Jews and by John, yet we find that Christ and his apostles frequently make use of these terms to a more spiritual signification. Circumcision was only used and understood among the Jews to be that of the flesh ; but the apostle tells us of the "circumcision of the heart and spirit made without hands." So that though baptism was used among the Jews only to signify a washing with water, yet both John, Christ, and his apostles, speak of being baptized with the Spirit and with fire; which they make the peculiar baptism of Christ, as contra-distinguished from that of water, which

was John's. So that though baptism among the Jews was only understood of water, yet among Christians it is very well understood of the Spirit without water: as we see Christ and his apostles spiritually to understand things, under the terms of what had been shadows before. Thus Christ, speaking of his body, (though the Jews mistook him,) said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." But if the etymology of the word should be tenaciously adhered to, it would militate against most of our opponents, as well as against us: for the Greek* signifies to plunge and dip in; and that was the proper use of water-baptism among the Jews, and also by John, and the primitive Christians who used it; whereas our opponents, for the most part, only sprinkle a little water upon the forehead, which doth not at all answer to the word *baptism*. Those of old among Christians that used water-baptism, thought this dipping or plunging so needful, that they thus dipped children: and forasmuch as it was judged that it might prove hurtful to some weak constitutions, sprinkling, to prevent that hurt, was introduced; yet then it was likewise appointed, that such as were only sprinkled, and not dipped, should not be admitted to have any office in the church, as not being sufficiently baptized. So that if our opponents will stick to the word, they must alter their method of sprinkling.

Fifthly, They object, John iii. 5. "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit," &c. hence inferring the necessity of water-baptism, as well as of the Spirit.

But if this prove any thing, it will prove water-baptism to be of absolute necessity; and therefore Protestants rightly affirm, when this is urged upon them by Papists, to

* Βαπτίζω, immergo.

evinced the absolute necessity of water-baptism, that *water* is not here understood of outward water; but mystically, of an inward cleansing and washing. Even as where Christ speaks of being baptized with fire, it is not to be understood of outward material fire, but only of purifying, because to purify is a proper effect of fire, as to wash and make clean is of water; where it can as little be so understood, as where we are said to be “saved by the washing of regeneration,” Tit. iii. 5.

Sixthly and lastly; They object, That the baptism of water is a visible sign or badge to distinguish Christians from Infidels, even as circumcision did the Jews.

I answer; This saith nothing at all, unless it be proved to be a necessary precept, or part of the new covenant dispensation; it not being lawful for us to impose outward ceremonies, and say, they will distinguish us from infidels. Circumcision was positively commanded, and said to be a “seal of the first covenant;” but as we have already proved that there is no such command for baptism, so there is not any word in all the New Testament, calling it a badge of Christianity, or seal of the new covenant: and therefore to conclude it is so, because circumcision was so, (unless some better proof be alleged for it,) is miserably to beg the question.

As for the latter part of the thesis, denying the use of infant-baptism, it necessarily follows from what is above said. For if water-baptism be ceased, then surely baptizing of infants is not warrantable. But those that take upon them to oppose us in this matter, will have more to do as to this latter part: for after they have done what they can to prove water-baptism, it remains for them to prove that infants ought to be baptized. On the other hand, he that proves water-baptism ceased, proves that

infant-baptism is vain: but he that should prove that water-baptism continues, has not thence proved that infant-baptism is necessary*.

PROPOSITION XIII.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells. Of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which even they who had received the substance used in the church for a time, for the sake of the weak; even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the washing one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil: all which

* Sprinkling of infants, or Infant-Baptism, *as it is called*, was first introduced into the Western Church by Augustine, about the year 420, that is to say, in the fifth century of the Christian æra, accompanied with an order of a Synod held at Mela, in Africa, or at the Isle of Malta, (for at which is doubtful,) enjoining the belief of *original sin*, of which infant-baptism is obviously the natural appendage.

See Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.

The practice of this ceremony, according to Robinson, in his History of Baptism, article *Aspersio*, page 450, was introduced into this kingdom in the time of Oliver Cromwell, chiefly by the zeal of Dr. Lightfoot, who, in an Assembly of Divines, (as it is termed,) obtained a majority of 25 to 24 votes in favour of Sprinkling, instead of Dipping, as previously practised.—*Edit.*

are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former ; yet seeing they are but shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance.

§. I. **T**HE communion of the body and blood of Christ is a mystery hid from all natural men, in their fallen and degenerate state, which they cannot understand, nor comprehend, as they there abide ; neither can they be partakers of it, nor yet are they able to discern the Lord's body. And forasmuch as the Christian world (so called) for the most part hath been still conceiving and imagining, in their own natural understandings, about the things of God and religion ; therefore hath this mystery been much hid from them, while they have been contending one with another about the mere form, but strangers to the life and virtue.

§. II. The body then of Christ, which believers partake of, is spiritual, and not carnal ; and his blood, which they drink of, is pure and heavenly, and not human or elementary.

If it be asked then, What that body, what that flesh and blood is ?

I answer ; This is that spiritual body of Christ, whereby he communicateth life to men, and salvation to as many as believe in him, and receive him ; and whereby also man comes to have communion with God. This is proved from the 6th of John, from verse 32, to the end, where Christ speaks more at large of this matter, than in any other place : and it is observable, that though this beloved disciple speaks nothing of the ceremony used by Christ, of breaking bread with his disciples, neither in his evangelical account of Christ's life and sufferings, nor in his epistles ; yet he is more large in this account of the participation of

the body, flesh, and blood of Christ, than any of them all. For Christ, in this chapter, perceiving that the Jews did follow him for love of the loaves, desires them (ver. 27.) to labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth for ever: but forasmuch as they, being carnal in their apprehensions, and not understanding the spiritual language and doctrine of Christ, did judge the manna, which Moses gave their fathers, to be the most excellent bread, as coming from heaven; Christ, to rectify that mistake, affirmeth, First, that it is not Moses, but his Father, that giveth the true bread from heaven, ver. 32 and 48. Secondly, This bread he calls himself, ver. 35. "I am the bread of life:" and ver. 51. "I am the living bread, which came down from heaven." Thirdly, He declares that this bread is his flesh, ver. 51. "The bread that I will give, is my flesh; and ver. 55. "For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." Fourthly, The necessity of partaking thereof, ver. 53. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And Lastly, The blessed fruits and necessary effects of this communion of the body and blood of Christ. Ver. 33. "This bread giveth life to the world." Ver. 50. "He that eateth thereof, dieth not." Ver. 58. "He that eateth of this bread, shall live for ever." Ver. 54. "Whoso eateth this flesh, and drinketh this blood, shall live for ever." Ver. 56. "And he dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him." Ver. 57. "And shall live by Christ." From this large description of the origin, nature, and effects of this body, flesh, and blood of Christ, it is apparent that it is spiritual, and to be understood of a spiritual body, and not of that body of Jesus Christ, which was born of the virgin Mary, and in which he walked, lived, and suffered in the land of Judea; because it is said, that it is he that came down from heaven. Now

all Christians at present generally acknowledge, that the outward body of Christ came not down from heaven; neither was it that part of Christ which came down from heaven. And to put the matter out of doubt, when the carnal Jews would have been so understanding it, he tells them plainly, ver. 63. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing." This is also founded upon most sound reason; because it is the soul, not the body, that is to be nourished by this flesh and blood. Now outward flesh cannot nourish nor feed the soul: there is no analogy betwixt them; neither is the communion of the saints with God, by a conjunction and mutual participation of flesh, but of the Spirit: He that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit, not one flesh. For the flesh (I mean the outward flesh, even such as was that wherein Christ lived and walked when upon earth; and not flesh, when transformed by a metaphor, to be understood spiritually) can only partake of flesh, as spirit of spirit: as the body cannot feed upon spirit, neither can the spirit feed upon flesh. And that the flesh here spoken of is spiritually to be understood, appears further, inasmuch as that which feedeth upon it shall never die: but the bodies of all men once die; yea, it was necessary that the body of Christ himself should die. That this body, and spiritual flesh and blood of Christ, is to be understood of that divine and heavenly seed, before spoken of by us, appears both by the nature and fruits of it. First it is said, It is that which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world: now this answers to that light and seed, which is testified of, John i. to be the light of the world, and the life of men. For that spiritual light and seed, as it receives place in men's hearts, and room to spring up there, is as bread to the hungry and fainting soul, that is (as it were) buried and dead in the lusts of the world;

which receives life again, and revives, as it partaketh of this heavenly bread; and they that partake of it are said to come to Christ; neither can they have it, but by coming to him, and believing in the appearance of his light in their hearts; by receiving which, and believing in it, the participation of this body and bread is known. And that Christ understands the same thing here by his body, flesh, and blood, which is understood, John i. by the light enlightening every man, and the life, &c. appears; for the light and life, spoken of John i. is said to be Christ; He is the true light: and the bread and flesh, &c. spoken of in John vi. is called Christ; "I am the bread of life," saith he. Again, They that receive that light and life, John i. 12. obtained power to become the sons of God, by believing in his name: so also here, John vi. 35. He that cometh unto this bread of life shall not hunger; and he that believes in him, who is this bread, shall never thirst. So then, as there was the outward visible body of Jesus Christ, which took its origin from the virgin Mary; there is also the spiritual body of Christ, by and through which he that was the Word in the beginning with God, and was and is GOD, did reveal himself to the sons of men in all ages, and whereby men in all ages come to be made partakers of eternal life, and to have communion with God and Christ. Of which body of Christ, and flesh and blood, if both Adam, and Seth, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and David, and all the prophets and holy men of God, had not eaten, they had not had life in them; nor could their inward man have been nourished. Now as the outward body was called Christ, so was also his spiritual body, no less properly, and that long before that outward body was in being. Hence the apostle saith, 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. that the Fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spi-

ritual drink: (for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.) This cannot be understood otherwise than of this spiritual body of Christ; which spiritual body of Christ, though it was the saving food of the righteous both before the law and under the law; yet under the law it was veiled, and covered under divers types and observations; and not only so, but it was veiled, in some respect, under the outward body of Christ; so that the Jews could not understand Christ's preaching about it while on earth: and not the Jews only, but many of his disciples, judging it an hard saying, murmured at it; and many from that time went back from him, and walked no more with him. I doubt not but that there are many also at this day, professing to be the disciples of Christ, that do as little understand this matter as those did, and are as apt to be offended at it, while they are following after the outward body, and look not to that by which the saints are daily nourished. For as Jesus Christ, in obedience to the will of the Father, did by the eternal Spirit offer up that body for a propitiation for the remission of sins, and finished his testimony upon earth thereby, in a most perfect example of patience, resignation, and holiness, that all might be made partakers of the fruit of that sacrifice; so hath he likewise poured forth into the hearts of all men a measure of that divine light and seed wherewith he is clothed; that thereby, reaching unto the consciences of all, he may raise them up out of death and darkness by his life and light, and they thereby may be made partakers of his body, and come to have fellowship with the Father and with the Son.

§. III. If it be asked, How and after what manner man comes to partake of it, and to be fed by it?

I answer in the plain and express words of Christ, "I am the bread of life," saith he; "he that cometh to me shall

never hunger; he that believeth in me shall never thirst." And again, "For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." So whosoever thou art that askest this question, or readest these lines, whether thou accountest thyself a believer, or really feelest, by a certain and sad experience, that thou art yet in the unbelief, and findest that the outward body and flesh of Christ is so far from thee, that thou canst not reach it, nor feed upon it; I say, if for all this thou findest thy soul yet barren, hungry, and ready to starve, for want of something thou longest for; know that that light that discovers thy iniquity to thee, that shews thee thy barrenness, thy nakedness, is that body which thou must partake of, and feed upon: but that till by forsaking iniquity thou turnest to it, receivest it, though thou mayst hunger after it, thou canst not be satisfied with it; for as without outward food the natural body hath not life, so also saith Christ, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" and as the outward body, eating outward food, lives thereby, so Christ saith, he that eateth him shall live by him. So it is this inward participation of this inward man, of this spiritual body, by which man is united to God, and has communion with him. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood," saith Christ, "dwelleth in me and I him." This cannot be understood of eating of outward bread; and as by this the soul must have fellowship with God, so also, so far as all the saints are partakers of this one body and one blood, they come also to have a joint communion. Hence the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 17. in this respect saith, that they being many are one bread and one body; and to the wise among the Corinthians he saith, "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ." This is the true and spiritual supper of the Lord, which men come to partake

of, by hearing the voice of Christ, and opening the door of their hearts, and so letting him in; according to the plain words of the Scripture, Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." So that the supper of the Lord, and the supping with the Lord and partaking of his flesh and blood, are no ways limited to the ceremony of breaking bread and drinking wine at particular times, but is truly enjoyed, as often as the soul retires into the light of the Lord, and feels and partakes of that heavenly life, by which the inward man is nourished; which is often known, and enjoyed by the faithful at all times, though more particularly when they are assembled together to wait upon the Lord.

§. IV. But what confusion the professors of Christianity have run into concerning this matter, is obvious; who, for want of a true spiritual understanding, have sought to tie this supper of the Lord to that ceremony used by Christ before his death, of breaking bread and drinking wine with his disciples. And though they for the most part agree generally in this, yet how do they contend and debate one against another! How strangely are they straitened to make the spiritual mystery agree to that ceremony! And what wild opinions have they invented, to enclose or affix the body of Christ to their bread and wine! From which opinion not only the greatest and most hurtful contests, both among the professors of Christianity in general, and among Protestants in particular, have arisen; but also such absurdities and irrational consequences have ensued, as make the Christian religion odious to Jews, Turks, and Heathens. The professors of Christianity do chiefly divide in this matter into three opinions.

The first is of those that say, The substance of the

bread is transubstantiated into the very substance of that same body, flesh, and blood of Christ, which was born of the virgin Mary, and crucified by the Jews; so that after the words of consecration, as they call them, it is no more bread, but the body of Christ.

The second is of such who say, The substance of the bread remains, but that also that body is in, and with, and under the bread; so that both the substance of bread, and of the body, flesh, and blood of Christ is there also.

The third is of those, that denying both these, do affirm, That the body of Christ is not there corporally or substantially, but yet that it is really and sacramentally received by the faithful in the use of bread and wine; but how or what way it is there, they know not, nor can they tell, only we must believe it is there, yet so that it is only properly in heaven. It is not my design to enter into a refutation of these several opinions; for each of their authors and assertors have sufficiently refuted one another, and are all of them no less strong both from Scripture and reason in refuting each their contrary parties' opinion, than they are weak in establishing their own. But because it hath been generally supposed that the communion of the body and blood of Christ had some special relation to the ceremony of breaking bread, I shall first refute that opinion, and then proceed to consider the nature and use of that ceremony, and whether it be now necessary to continue.

§. V. First, It must be understood that I speak of a necessary and peculiar relation otherwise than in a general respect: for inasmuch as our communion with Christ is and ought to be our greatest and chiefest work, we ought to do all other things with a respect to God, and our fellowship with him; but a special and necessary respect or relation is such as where the two things are so tied and

united together, either of their own nature, or by the command of God, that the one cannot be enjoyed, or at least is not, except very extraordinarily, without the other. Thus salvation hath a necessary respect to holiness, because without holiness no man shall see God; and the eating of the flesh and blood of Christ hath a necessary respect to our having life, because if we eat not his flesh, and drink not his blood, we cannot have life; and our feeling of God's presence hath a necessary respect to our meeting in his name by divine precept, because he has promised, where two or three are met together in his name, he will be in the midst of them. In like manner our receiving benefits and blessings from God has a necessary respect to our prayer, because if we ask, he hath promised we shall receive. Now the participation of the flesh and blood of Christ hath no such necessary relation to breaking of bread and drinking of wine; for if it had any such necessary relation, it would either be from the nature of the thing, or from some divine precept; but we shall shew it is from neither.

First, It is not from the nature of it; because to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ is a spiritual exercise, and all confess that it is by the soul and spirit that we become real partakers of it, as it is the soul, and not the body, that is nourished by it. But to eat bread and drink wine is a natural act, which in itself adds nothing to the soul, neither has any thing that is spiritual in it; because the most carnal man that is, can as fully and as wholly eat bread and drink wine as the most spiritual. Secondly, Their relation is not by nature, else they would infer one another; but all acknowledge that many eat of the bread and drink of the wine, even that which they say is consecrate and transubstantiate into the very body of Christ, who notwithstanding have not life eternal, have not Christ

dwelling in them, nor do live by him, as all do who truly partake of the flesh and blood of Christ without the use of this ceremony; as all the patriarchs and prophets did before this ordinance, as they account it, was instituted. Neither was there any thing under the law that had any direct or necessary relation hereunto; though to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ in all ages was indispensably necessary to salvation. For as for the paschal lamb, the whole end of it is signified particularly, *Exod. xiii. 8, 9*, to wit, That the Jews might thereby be kept in remembrance of their deliverance out of Egypt.

Secondly, It hath not relation by divine precept; for if it had, it would be mentioned in that which our opponents account the institution of it, or else in the practice of it by the saints recorded in the Scripture; but so it is not. For as to the institution, or rather narration, of Christ's practice in this matter, we have it recorded by the evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In the first two there is only an account of the matter of fact, to wit, That Christ brake bread, and gave it to his disciples to eat, saying, This is my body; and blessing the cup, he gave it them to drink, saying, This is my blood; but nothing of any desire to them to do it. In the last, after the bread (but before the blessing, or giving them the wine) he bids them do it in remembrance of him. But what necessary relation hath all this to the believers partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ? The end of this for which they were to do it, if at all, is to remember Christ; which the apostle yet more particularly expresses, *1 Cor. xi. 26*. to shew forth the Lord's death; but to remember the Lord, or declare his death, which are the particular ends annexed to the use of this ceremony, is not at all to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ; neither have they any more necessary relation to it than any other two different spiritual

duties. For though they that partake of the flesh and blood of Christ cannot but remember him, yet the Lord and his death may be remembered, as none can deny, where his flesh and blood is not truly partaken of. So that since the express end of this ceremony may be witnessed, to wit, the remembrance of the Lord's death, and yet the flesh and blood of Christ not partaken of, it cannot have had any necessary relation to it, else the partaking thereof would have been the end of it, and could not have been attained without this participation.

But if it be said, That Jesus Christ calls the bread here his body, and the wine his blood, therefore he seems to have had a special relation to his disciples partaking of his flesh and blood in the use of this thing;

I answer, His calling the bread his body, and the wine his blood, would yet infer no such thing; though it is not denied but that Jesus Christ, in all things he did, and from the use of all natural things, took occasion to raise the minds of his disciples and hearers to spirituals. Hence from the woman of Samaria her drawing water, he took occasion to tell her of that living water, which whoso drinketh of shall never thirst; which indeed is all one with his blood here spoken of; yet it will not follow that that well or water had any necessary relation to the living water, or the living water to it, &c. So Christ takes occasion, from the Jews following him for the loaves, to tell them of this spiritual bread and flesh of his body, which was more necessary for them to feed upon; it will not therefore follow that their following him for the loaves had any necessary relation thereunto. So also Christ here, being at supper with his disciples, takes occasion, from the bread and wine which was before them, to signify, That as that bread which he brake unto them, and that wine which he blessed and gave unto them, did contribute to the nou-

rishing of their bodies, so was he also to give his body and shed his blood for the salvation of their souls. And therefore the very end proposed in this ceremony to those that observe it is, to be a memorial of his death.

But if it be said, That the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 16. calls the bread which he brake the communion of the body of Christ, and the cup the communion of his blood;

I most willingly subscribe unto it; but do deny that this is understood of the outward bread, neither can it be evinced, but the contrary is manifest from the context: for the apostle in this chapter speaks not one word of that ceremony; for having in the beginning of it shewn them how the Jews of old were made partakers of the spiritual food and water, which was Christ, and how several of them, through disobedience and idolatry, fell from that good condition, he exhorts them, by the example of those Jews whom God destroyed of old, to flee those evils; shewing them that they, to wit, the Corinthians, are likewise partakers of the body and blood of Christ; of which communion they would rob themselves if they did evil, because they could not drink of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, and partake of the Lord's table and the tables of devils, ver. 21, which shews that he understands not here the using of outward bread and wine; because those that do drink the cup of devils, and eat of the table of devils, yea, the wickedest of men, may partake of the outward bread and outward wine. For there the apostle calls the bread one, ver. 17. and he saith, "We being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." Now if the bread be one, it cannot be the outward, or the inward would be excluded; whereas it cannot be denied but that it is the partaking of the inward bread, and not the outward, that makes the saints truly one body and one bread. And whereas they say,

that the one bread here comprehendeth both the outward and inward, by virtue of the sacramental union; that indeed is to affirm, but not to prove.

But that which they most of all cry out for in this matter, and are always urging, is from 1 Cor. xi. where the apostle is particularly treating of this matter, and therefore from some words here, they have the greatest appearance of truth for their assertion, as ver. 27. where he calls the cup the cup of the Lord; and saith, That they who eat of it and drink it unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord; and ver. 29. Eat and drink their own damnation; intimating hence, that this hath an immediate or necessary relation to the body, flesh, and blood of Christ.

Though this at first view may catch the unwary reader, yet being well considered, it doth no ways evince the matter in controversy. As for the Corinthians being in the use of this ceremony, why they were so, and how that obliges not Christians now to the same, shall be spoken of hereafter: it suffices at this time to consider that they were in the use of it. Secondly, That in the use of it they were guilty of and committed divers abuses. Thirdly, That the apostle here is giving them directions how they may do it aright, in shewing them the right and proper use and end of it.

These things being premised, let it be observed, that the very express use of it, according to the apostle, is to shew forth the Lord's death, &c. But to shew forth the Lord's death, and partake of the flesh and blood of Christ, are different things. He saith not, As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye partake of the body and blood of Christ; but, ye shew forth the Lord's death. So I acknowledge that this ceremony, by those that practise it, hath an immediate relation to the outward body

and death of Christ upon the cross, as being properly a memorial of it; but it doth not thence follow that it hath any inward or immediate relation to believers communicating or partaking of the spiritual body and blood of Christ, or that spiritual supper spoken of, Rev. iii. 20. For though, in a general way, as every religious action in some respect hath a common relation to the spiritual communion of the saints with God, so we shall not deny but this hath a relation as others. Now for his calling the cup the cup of the Lord, and saying, They are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, and eat their own damnation in not discerning the Lord's body, &c. I answer, That this infers no more necessary relation than any other religious act, and amounts to no more than this, That since the Corinthians were in the use of this ceremony, and so performed it as a religious act, they ought to do it worthily, or else they should bring condemnation upon themselves. Now this will not more infer the thing so practised by them to be a necessary religious act obligatory upon others, than when the apostle saith, Rom. xiv. 6. "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord," it can be thence inferred that the days that some observed did lay an obligation upon others to do the same. But yet, as he that esteemed a day, and placed conscience in keeping it, was to regard it to the Lord, and so it was to him, in so far as he dedicated it unto the Lord, the Lord's day, he was to do it worthily; and if he did it unworthily, he would be guilty of the Lord's day, and so keep it to his own condemnation; so also such as observe this ceremony of bread and wine, it is to them the bread of the Lord, and the cup of the Lord, because they use it as a religious act; and forasmuch as their end therein is to shew forth the Lord's death, and remember his body that was crucified for them, and his blood that

was shed for them; if notwithstanding, because they believe it is their duty to do it, and make it a matter of conscience to do it, or think they sin in not doing it, they do it without that due preparation and examination which every religious act ought to be performed in; then, instead of truly remembering the Lord's death, and his body and his blood, they render themselves guilty of it; as being in one spirit with those that crucified him, and shed his blood, though pretending with thanksgiving and joy to remember it. Thus the Scribes and Pharisees of old, though, in memory of the prophets, they garnished their sepulchres, yet are said by Christ to be guilty of their blood. And that no more can be hence inferred, appears from another saying of the same apostle, Rom. xiv. 23. "He that doubteth is damned if he eat," &c. where he, speaking of those that judged it unlawful to eat flesh, &c. saith, If they eat doubting, they eat their own damnation. Now it is manifest from all this, that either the doing or forbearing of this was to another, that placed no conscience in it, of no moment. So I say, he that eateth that which in his conscience he is persuaded it is not lawful for him to eat, doth eat his own damnation; so he also that placeth conscience in eating bread and wine as a religious act, if he do it unprepared, and without that due respect wherein such acts should be gone about, he eateth and drinketh his own condemnation, not discerning the Lord's body, i. e. not minding what he doeth, to wit, with a special respect to the Lord, and by way of special commemoration of the death of Christ.

§. VI. Having now sufficiently shewn what the true communion of the body and blood of Christ is, how it is partaken of, and how it has no necessary relation to that ceremony of bread and wine used by Christ with his disciples; it is fit to consider the nature and constitution of

that ceremony, whether it be a standing ordinance in the church of Christ obligatory upon all, or indeed whether it be any necessary part of the worship of the new covenant dispensation, or hath any better foundation than several other ceremonies practised about the same time, which the most of our opposers acknowledge to be ceased, and now no ways binding upon Christians. We find this ceremony only mentioned in Scripture in four places, to wit, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and by Paul to the Corinthians. If any would infer any thing from the frequency of the mentioning of it, that will add nothing; for it being a matter of fact, is therefore mentioned by the evangelists; and there are other things less memorable, as often, yea, oftener mentioned. Matthew and Mark give only an account of the matter of fact, without any precept to do so afterwards; simply declaring, that Jesus at that time did desire them to eat of the bread, and drink of the cup; to which Luke adds these words, "This do in remembrance of me." If we consider this action of Christ with his apostles, there will appear nothing singular in it for a foundation to such a strange superstructure as many have sought to build upon it; for both Matthew and Mark express it as an act done by him as he was eating. Matthew saith, "And as they were eating;" and Mark, "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread," &c. Now this act was no singular thing, neither any solemn institution of a gospel ordinance; because it was a constant custom among the Jews, that when they did eat the passover, the master of the family did take bread, and bless it, and breaking it, gave of it to the rest; and likewise taking wine, did the same; so that there can nothing further appear in this, than that Jesus Christ, who fulfilled all righteousness, and also observed the Jewish feasts and customs, used this also among his disciples only, that as in most other things

he laboured to draw their minds to higher things, so in the use of this he takes occasion to put them in mind of his death and sufferings, which were shortly to be; which he did the oftener inculcate unto them, for that they were averse from believing it. And as for that expression of Luke, "Do this in remembrance of me," it will amount to no more than this, that being the last time that Christ did eat with his disciples, he desired them, that in their eating and drinking they might have regard to him, and by the remembering of that opportunity, be the more stirred up to follow him diligently through sufferings and death, &c. But what man of reason, laying aside the prejudice of education, and the influence of tradition, will say, that this account of the matter of fact given by Matthew and Mark, or this expression of Luke, to do that in remembrance of him, will amount to these consequences, which the generality of Christians have sought to draw from it; as calling it, the principal seal of the covenant of grace, by which all the benefits of Christ's death are sealed to believers*? But to give a further evidence, how these consequences have not any bottom from the practice of that ceremony, nor from the words following, "Do this," &c. let us consider another of the like nature, as it is at length expressed by John, chap. xiii. 3, 4, 8, 13, 14, 15. "Jesus riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself: after that, he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet; and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded: Peter said unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet; Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. So after he had

* Also, Augustissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum; venerabile altaris Sacramentum.

washed their feet,—he said, Know ye what I have done to you? If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." If we regard the narration of this, and the circumstances attending it, it was done with far more solemnity, and prescribed far more particularly than the former. It is said only, As he was eating, he took bread; so that this would seem to be but an occasional business: but here he rose up, he laid by his garments, he girded himself, he poured out the water, he washed their feet, he wiped them with a towel: he did this to all of them; which are circumstances surely far more observable than those noted in the other. The former was a practice common among the Jews, used by all masters of families upon that occasion; but this, as to the manner, and person acting it, to wit, for the master to rise up, and wash the feet of his servants and disciples, was more singular and observable. In the breaking of bread, and giving of wine, it is not pleaded by our opponents, nor yet mentioned in the text, that he particularly put them into the hands of all; but breaking it, and blessing it, gave it the nearest, and so they from hand to hand: but here it is mentioned, that he washed not the feet of one or two, but of many. He saith not in the former, that if they do not eat of that bread, and drink of that wine, they should be prejudiced by it; but here he saith expressly to Peter, that if he wash him not, he hath no part with him; which being spoken upon Peter's refusing to let him wash his feet, would seem to import no less, than not the continuance only, but even the necessity of this ceremony. In the former he saith, as it were passingly, "Do this in remembrance of me;" but here he sitteth down again, he desires them to consider what he hath done, tells them

positively, that as he hath done to them, so ought they to do one to another: and yet again he redoubles that precept, by telling them, he has given them an example, that they should do so likewise. If we respect the nature of the thing, it hath as much in it as either baptism or the breaking of bread; seeing it hath an outward element of a cleansing nature, applied to the outward man, by the command and example of Christ, to signify an inward purifying. I would willingly propose this seriously to men, who will be pleased to make use of that reason and understanding that God hath given them, and not be imposed upon, nor abused by the custom or tradition of others; Whether this ceremony, if we respect either the time that it was appointed in, or the circumstances where-with it was performed, or the command enjoining the use of it, hath not as much to recommend it for a standing ordinance of the gospel, as either water-baptism, or bread and wine, or any other of that kind?

But if they say, That it is used among them, in that the Pope, and some other persons among them, used to do it once a year to some poor people;

I would willingly know what reason they have why this should not be extended to all, as well as that of the eucharist (as they term it) or whence it appears from the text that, *Do this in remembrance of me*, should be interpreted that the bread and wine were every day to be taken by all priests, or the bread every day, or every week, by the people; and that that other command of Christ, "Ye ought to do as I have done to you," &c. is only to be understood of the Pope, or some other persons, to be done only to a few, and that once a year? If we look into the plain Scripture, what can be thence inferred to urge the one, which may not be likewise pleaded for the other; or for laying aside the one, which may not be

likewise said against the continuance of the other? If they say, That the former, of washing the feet, was only a ceremony; what have they, whence they can shew, that this breaking of bread is more? If they say, That the former was only a sign of humility and purifying; what have they to prove that this was more? If they say, That one was only for a time, and was no evangelical ordinance; what hath this to make it such, that the other wanted? But since the former, to wit, the washing of one another's feet, is justly laid aside, as not binding upon Christians; so ought also the breaking of bread for the same reason.

§. VII. But it is strange that those who are so clamorous for this ceremony, and stick so much to it, take liberty to dispense with the manner or method that Christ did it in. Christ did it at supper, while they were eating; but the generality of Protestants do it in the morning only by itself. If it be said, These are but circumstances, and not the matter; and if the matter be kept to, the alteration of circumstances is but of small moment: What if it should be said the whole is but a circumstance, which fell out at that time, when Christ eat the passover? For if we have regard to that which alone can be pleaded for an institution, viz. these words: "Do this in remembrance of me;" it doth as properly relate to the manner as matter. For what may or can they evince in reason, that these words, Do this, only signify eat bread and drink wine, but it is no matter when ye eat, nor how ye eat it; and not as ye have seen me eat it at supper with you, who take bread, and break it and give it you; and take the cup, and bless it and give it you; so do ye likewise? And seeing Christ makes no distinction in those words, Do this, it cannot be judged in reason but to relate to the whole; which if it do, all those that at present use this ceremony among Christians, have not yet obeyed this precept, nor fulfilled

this institution. If it be said, That the time and manner of doing it by Christ was but accidentally, as being after the Jewish passover, which was at supper ;

Besides that it may be answered, and easily proved, that the whole was accidental, as being the practice of a Jewish ceremony; may it not the same way be urged, that the drinking of wine is accidental, as being the natural product of that country; and so be pleaded, that in those countries where wine doth not grow, as in our nation of Scotland, we may make use of beer or ale in the use of this ceremony; or bread made of other grain than that which Christ used? And yet would not our opponents judge this an abuse, and not right performing of this sacrament? Have not scruples of this kind occasioned no little contention among the professors of Christianity?

§. VIII. Now as the early Christians began by degrees to depart from that primitive purity and simplicity, so did they also to accumulate superstitious traditions, and vitiate the innocent practices of their predecessors, by the inter-mixing either of Jewish or Heathenish rites; and likewise in the use of this, abuses began very early to creep in among Christians, so that it was needful for the apostle Paul to reform them, and reprove them for it, as he doth at large, 1 Cor. xi. from ver. 17. to the end: which place we shall particularly examine, because our opponents lay the chief stress of their matter upon it; and we shall see whether it will infer any more than we have above granted. First, Because they were apt to use that practice in a superstitious mind beyond the true use of it, so as to make of it some mystical supper of the Lord; he tells them, ver. 20. That their “coming together into one place, is not to eat the Lord’s supper;” he saith not, ‘This is not the *right manner* to eat; but, ‘This is not to eat the Lord’s supper: because the supper of the Lord is spiritual, and a

mystery. Secondly, He blames them, in that they came together for the worse, and not for the better; the reason he gives of this is, ver. 21. "For in eating every one hath taken before his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken." Here it is plain that the apostle condemns them in that (because this custom of supping in general was used among Christians to increase their love, and as a memorial of Christ's supping with his disciples) they had so vitiated it, as to eat it apart, and to come full, who had abundance; and hungry, who had little at home; whereby the very use and end of this practice was lost and perverted: and therefore he blames them, that they did not either eat this in common at home, or reserve their eating till they came all together to the public assembly. This appears plainly by the following, ver. 22. "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not?" Having thus observed what the apostle said above, because this custom of eating and drinking together some time had its rise from Christ's act with the apostles the night he was betrayed; therefore the apostle proceeds, ver. 23. to give them an account of that: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread," &c. Those that understand the difference betwixt a narration of a thing, and a command, cannot but see, if they will, that there is no command in this place, but only an account of matter of fact: he saith not, I received of the Lord, that as he took bread, so I should command it to you to do so likewise; there is nothing like this in the place: on the contrary, ver 25. where he repeats Christ's imperative words to his apostles, he placeth them so as they import no command; "This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me:" and then he adds: "For as often as

ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come: but these words, *as often*, import no more a command, than to say, As often as thou goest to Rome, see the Capitol, will infer a command for men to go thither.

But whereas they urge the last words, "Ye shew forth the Lord's death till he come;" insinuating, That this imports a necessary continuance of that ceremony, until Christ come at the end of the world to judgment.

I answer; They take two of the chief parts of the controversy here for granted, without proof. First, that *as often* imports a command. Secondly, That this coming is to be understood of Christ's last outward coming, and not of his inward and spiritual, that remains to be proved: whereas the apostle might well understand it of his inward coming and appearance, which perhaps some of those carnal Corinthians, that used to come drunken together, had not yet known; and others, being weak among them, and inclinable to dote upon externals, this might have been indulged to them for a season, and even used by those who knew Christ's appearance in Spirit, especially by the apostle, who became weak to the weak, and all to all, that he might save some. Now those weak and carnal Corinthians might be permitted the use of this, to shew forth, or remember Christ's death, till he came to arise in them; for though such need those outward things to put them in mind of Christ's death, yet those who are dead with Christ, and not only dead with Christ, but buried, and also arisen with him, need not such signs to remember him: and to such therefore the apostle saith, Col. iii. 1. "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God:" but bread and wine are not those things that are above, but are things of the earth. But that this whole matter was a mere act of condescension of the

apostle Paul to the weak and carnal Corinthians, appears yet more by the Syriac copy*, which, ver. 17. in his entering upon this matter hath it thus: "In that concerning which I am about to command you, (or instruct you,) I commend you not, because ye have not gone forward, but are descended unto that which is less, or of less consequence:" clearly importing that the apostle was grieved that such was their condition, that he was forced to give them instructions concerning those outward things; and doting upon which, they shewed they were not gone forward in the life of Christianity, but rather sticking in beggarly elements. And therefore, ver. 20. the same version hath it thus, "When then ye meet together, ye do not do it, as it is just ye should do in the day of the Lord, ye eat and drink it:" thereby shewing to them, that to meet together to eat and drink outward bread and wine, was not the labour and work of that day of the Lord.

§. IX. But since we find that several testimonies of Scripture do sufficiently shew, that such external rites are no necessary part of the new covenant dispensation, therefore not needful now to continue, however they were for a season practised of old, I shall instance some few of them, whereby from the nature of the thing, as well as those testimonies, it may appear, that the ceremony of bread and wine is ceased, as well as those other things confessed by our opponents to be so. The first is Rom. xiv. 17. "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:" here the apostle evidently shews, that the kingdom of God, or gospel of Christ, stands not in meats and drinks, and such like things, but in righteousness, &c. as by the context

* And likewise the other *Oriental Versions*, as the *Arabic* and *Æthiopic*, have it the same way.

doth appear, where he is speaking of the guilt and hazard of judging one another about meats and drinks. So then, if the kingdom of God stand not in them, nor the gospel, nor work of Christ, then the eating of outward bread and wine can be no necessary part of the gospel-worship, nor any perpetual ordinance of it. Another testimony of the same apostle is yet more plain, Col. ii. 16. the apostle throughout this whole second chapter doth clearly plead for us, and against our opposers: for in the beginning he holds forth the great privileges, which Christians have by Christ, who are indeed come to the life of Christianity; and therefore he desires them, ver. 6. "As they have received Christ, so to walk in him; and to beware, lest they be spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments or elements of the world; because that in Christ, whom they have received, is all fulness: and that they are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, (which he calls the circumcision of Christ,) and being buried with him by baptism, are also arisen with him through the faith of the operation of God." Here also they did partake of the true baptism of Christ; and being such as are arisen with him, let us see whether he thinks it needful they should make use of such meat and drink as bread and wine, to put them in remembrance of Christ's death; or whether they ought to be judged, that they did it not; ver. 16. "Let no man therefore judge you in meat and drink." Are not bread and wine meat and drink? But why? "Which are a shadow of good things to come: but the body is of Christ." Then since our opponents confess, that their bread and wine is a sign or shadow; therefore, according to the apostle's doctrine, we ought not to be judged in the non-observation of it. But is it fit for those that are dead with Christ to be subject to such ordinances? See what he saith, ver. 20. "Wherefore, if ye

be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances? (Touch not, taste not, handle not: which all are to perish with the using,) after the commandments and doctrines of men." What can be more plain? If this serve not to take away the absolute necessity of the use of bread and wine, what can serve to take it away? Sure I am, the reason here given is applicable to them, "which all do perish with the using;" since bread and wine perish with the using, as much as other things. But further, if the use of water, and bread and wine, were that wherein the very seals of the new covenant stood, and did pertain to the chief sacraments of the gospel (so called) and evangelical ordinances, then would not the gospel differ from the law, or be preferable to it. Whereas the apostle shews the difference, Heb. ix. 10. in that such kind of observations of the Jews were as a sign of the gospel, for that they stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings. But if the gospel-worship and service stand in the same, where is the difference?

If it be said, These under the gospel have a spiritual signification.

So had those under the law; God was the author of those, as well as Christ is said to be the author of these. But doth not this contending for the use of water, bread, and wine, as necessary parts of the gospel-worship, destroy the nature of it, as if the gospel were a dispensation of shadows, and not of the substance? Whereas the apostle argues against the use of these things, as needful to those that are dead and arisen with Christ, because they are but shadows. And since, through the whole epistle to the Hebrews, he argues with the Jews, to wean them from their old worship, for this reason, because it was typical and figurative, is it agreeable to right reason to bring

them to another of the same nature? What ground from Scripture or reason can our opponents bring us, to evince that one shadow or figure should point to another shadow or figure, and not to the substance?

§. X. But supposing the use of water-baptism and bread and wine to have been in the primitive church, as was also that of abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the use of legal purification, Acts xxi. 23, 24, 25, and anointing of the sick with oil; yet it remains for our opponents to shew us how they come by authority to administer those things. It cannot be from the letter of the Scripture, else they ought also to do those other things, which, as the letter declares, the ancient Christians did, and which in the letter have as much foundation. Then their power must be derived from the apostles, either mediately or immediately; but we have shewn before, in the tenth proposition, that they have no mediate power, because of the interruption made by the apostasy; and for an immediate power or command by the Spirit of God to administer these things, none of our opponents pretend to it.

§. XI. Lastly, If any now at this day, from a true tenderness of spirit, and with real conscience towards God, do practise this ceremony in the same way and manner as did the primitive Christians recorded in Scripture, I should not doubt to affirm but they might be indulged in it, and the Lord might regard them, and for a season appear to them in the use of these things, as many of us have known him to do to us in the time of our ignorance; provided they did not seek to obtrude them upon others, nor judge such as found themselves delivered from them, or that they do not pertinaciously adhere to them. For we certainly know that the day is dawned, in which God hath arisen, and hath dismissed all those ceremonies and rites,

and is only to be worshipped in spirit, and that he appears to them who wait upon him; and that to seek God in these things is, with Mary at the sepulchre, to seek the living among the dead; for we know that he is risen, and revealed in Spirit, leading his children out of these rudiments, that they may walk with him in his light; to whom be glory for ever, Amen.

PROPOSITION XIV.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters purely Religious, and pertaining to the Conscience.

Since God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whomsoever, by virtue of any authority they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others; and therefore all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning, and other such things which are inflicted upon men for the exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, are contrary to the truth; providing always, that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in his life or estate, or do any thing destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice

is to be administered upon all, without respect of persons*.

§. I. **LIBERTY** of conscience from the power of the civil magistrate hath been of late years so largely handled, that I shall need to be but brief in it; yet it is to be lamented that few have walked answerably to this principle, pleading for it for themselves, but scarcely allowing it to others.

* Many authorities, from the writings or sayings of men of distinguished character, in the civil and religious classes of the community, might be adduced, tending to shew that the power of the civil magistrate in matters of faith and doctrine, is now rejected by all parties; little, therefore, of what our Author has written under this head, by way of exposition, in reference to an exploded doctrine, seems necessary to be inserted in an abridgment; and yet it may not be improper for the reader to know, that the avowed sentiments of our Author and his fellow-professors, are corroborated by the opinions of enlightened men, as quoted below.—*Editor.*

“ There is this supremacy vested in every Christian, in his own behalf, that he has a right to judge for himself in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation; a right not to be prejudiced by the claims of power and authority, in any men upon earth.”

HOADLY, Bishop of Bangor.

Common Rights of Subjects defended, p. 125.

“ Another thing to be considered by all Christians is, that the religion delivered by Christ can be justly supported only by Christ’s methods. All the laws and Acts of Parliament in the world, can only support an outward profession of something, which, as far as it is received from men, and practised as the will of men, or the law of men, is so far different from the religion of Christ. They may keep up an human constitution; and either allure men by temporal rewards to adhere to the outward form of it; or terrify men by temporal inconveniences from departing from it; or indispose men by both, from examining at all, what it is for their ease and their interest to take as it is offered to them. But the religion delivered by Christ, as such, is not concerned in such laws. It subsisted, the sincere profession of it subsisted, not only without, but often against human laws; which is a demonstration, that whatever it is

By conscience, as in the explanation of the fifth and sixth propositions I have observed, is to be understood that persuasion of the mind which arises from the understanding's being possessed with the belief of the truth or falsity of any thing; which though it may be false or evil upon the matter, yet if a man should go against his persuasion or conscience, he would commit a sin; because what a man doth contrary to his faith, though his faith be wrong, is no ways acceptable to God. Hence the apostle saith, "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin; and he that

that such laws are necessary to preserve, it is not the religion delivered by Christ: nor ought the people to be so imposed upon, as to be made to believe this."

HODLY, Bishop of Bangor.

Common Rights of Subjects defended, p. 170.

"No man, or number of men, may presume to set up their own judgment, or their own will, for a law of Christ: or add a single article, as a necessary one, to that rule of faith and practice, which was once delivered unto the saints."

ARCHBISHOP SECKER.

Works, Vol. II. p. 505.

"The Toleration Act renders that which was illegal before, now legal; the Dissenters' way of worship is permitted and allowed by this Act: it is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful, it is established: it is put under the protection, and is not merely under the connivance, of the law.—It cannot be shewn from the principles of natural or revealed religion, that, independent of positive law, temporal punishments ought to be inflicted for mere opinions with respect to particular modes of worship."

"Conscience is not controllable by human laws, nor amenable to human tribunals. Persecution, or attempts to force conscience, will never produce conviction, and are only calculated to make hypocrites or—martyrs."

CHIEF JUSTICE MANSFIELD.

In the House of Lords, in the case of the Chamberlain of London against Allan Evans, Esq. 4th of 2nd Mo. (February,) 1767.

doubteth is damned if he eat ;” though the thing might have been lawful to another.

Though we would not have men hurt in their temporals, nor robbed of their privileges as men and members of the commonwealth, because of their inward persuasion; yet we are far from judging that in the church of God there should not be censures exercised against such as fall into error, as well as such as commit open evils; and therefore we believe it may be very lawful for a Christian church, if she find any of her members fall into error, after due admonitions and instructions according to gospel order, if she find them pertinacious, to cut them off from her fellowship, and deprive them of those privileges which they had as fellow-members. But not to cut them off from the world by the temporal sword, or rob them of their common privileges as men, seeing they enjoy not these as Christians, or under such a fellowship, but as men, and members of the creation.

PROPOSITION XV.

Concerning Salutations and Recreations, &c.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem men from the spirit and vain conversation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God, before whom if we fear always we are accounted happy; therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forsaken by those who come to this fear; such as uncovering the head, the

bowings of the body, and other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them; all which man hath invented in his degenerate state, to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world: as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings, and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart, and from the living sense of his fear, and from that evangelical Spirit wherewith Christians ought to be leavened, and which leads into sobriety, gravity, and godly fear; in which as we abide, the blessing of the Lord is felt to attend us in those actions in which we are necessarily engaged, in order to the taking care for the sustenance of the outward man.

§. I. **H**AVING hitherto treated of the principles of religion, both relating to doctrine and worship, I am now to speak of some practices which have been the effect of these principles, in those witnesses whom God hath raised up in this day to testify for his truth. It will not a little commend them, I suppose, in the judgment of sober and judicious men, that taking them generally, even by the confession of their adversaries, they are found to be free of those abominations which abound among other professors, such as are swearing, drunkenness, whoredom, riotousness, &c. and that generally the very coming among this people doth naturally work such a change, that many vicious persons have been known, by coming to this truth, to become sober and virtuous; and many vain and wanton ones to become grave and serious.

§. II. But there are some singular things, which most of all our opponents plead for the lawfulness of, and allow themselves in, as no ways inconsistent with the Christian religion, which we have found to be no ways lawful unto

us; though the doing thereof hath occasioned no small sufferings, and hath procured us much hatred from the world. And because the nature of these things is such, that they do upon the very sight distinguish us, and make us known, so that we cannot hide ourselves from any, without proving unfaithful to our testimony; our trials and exercises have proved the more numerous and difficult. These I have laboured briefly to comprehend in this proposition; but they may more largely be exhibited in these six following propositions.

I. That it is not lawful to give to men such flattering titles, as Your Holiness, Your Majesty, Your Eminency, Your Excellency, Your Grace, Your Lordship, Your Honour, &c. nor use those flattering words, commonly called COMPLIMENTS.

II. That it is not lawful for Christians to kneel, or prostrate themselves to men, or to bow the body, or to uncover the head to them.

III. That it is not lawful for Christians to use such superfluities in apparel, as are of no use, save for ornament and vanity.

IV. That it is not lawful to use games, sports, plays, nor comedies, under the notion of recreations, which do not agree with Christian silence, gravity, and sobriety: for sporting, gaming, mocking, vain talking, &c. is not Christian liberty, nor harmless mirth.

V. That it is not lawful for Christians to swear at all under the gospel, not only not vainly, and in their common discourse, which was also forbidden under the Mosaical law, but even not in judgment before the magistrate.

VI. That it is not lawful for Christians to resist evil, or to war or fight in any case.

Before I enter upon a particular disquisition of these things, I shall premise some general considerations, to prevent all mistakes; and next add such as equally respect all of them. I would not have any judge, that hereby we intend to destroy the mutual relation that is betwixt prince and people, master and servants, parents and children; not at all: our principle in these things hath no such tendency, but these natural relations are rather better established than any ways hurt by it. Next, let not any judge, that from our opinion of these things, any necessity of levelling will follow, or that all men must have things in common. Our principle leaves every man to enjoy that peaceably, which is his own, derived either from his own industry, or that of his predecessors; only he is thereby instructed to use it aright, both for his own good, and that of his brethren; and all to the glory of God: in which also his acts are to be voluntary, and no ways constrained. And further, we say not hereby, that no man may use the creation more or less than another: for we know, that as it hath pleased God to dispense it diversly, giving to some more, and some less, so they may use it accordingly. The several conditions, under which men are diversly stated, together with their educations answering thereunto, do sufficiently shew this: the servant is not the same way educated as the master; nor the tenant as the landlord; nor the rich as the poor; nor the prince as the peasant. Now, though it be not lawful for any, however great abundance they may have, or whatever their education may be, to use that which is merely superfluous; yet seeing their education has accustomed them thereunto, and their condition enables them so to do, without being extravagant, they may use things better in their kind, than such whose education hath neither accustomed them to such things, nor their condition will enable to compass them.

For it is beyond question, that whatever thing the creation affords is for the use of man, and the moderate use thereof is lawful; yet they may be unlawful to some, and not to others. As for instance, he that by reason of his estate and education hath been used to eat flesh and drink wine, and to be clothed with the finest wool, if his estate will bear it, and he use it neither in superfluity, nor immoderately, he may do it; and perhaps, if he should apply himself to feed, or be clothed as are the peasants, it might prejudice the health of his body, and nothing advance his soul. But if a man, whose estate and education had accustomed him to both coarser food and raiment, should stretch himself beyond what he had, or were used to, to the manifest prejudice of his family, no doubt it would be unlawful to him even so to eat or be clothed as another, in whom it is lawful; for that the other may be as much mortified, and have denied himself as much in coming down to that, which this aspires to, as he; in willing to be like him, aspires beyond what he either is able, or hath been accustomed to do. The safe place then is, for such as have fullness, to watch over themselves, that they use it moderately, and rescind all superfluities; being willing, as far as they can, to help the need of those to whom Providence hath allotted a smaller allowance. Let the brother of high degree rejoice, in that he is abased; and such as God calls in a low degree, be content with their condition, not envying those brethren who have greater abundance, knowing they have received abundance, as to the inward man; which is chiefly to be regarded. And therefore beware of such a temptation, as to use their holy calling as an engine to be richer, knowing, they have this advantage beyond the rich and noble that are called, that the truth doth not any ways abase them in the esteem of the world; but that they are rather exalted thereby, in that as to the inward and

spiritual fellowship of the saints, they become the brethren and companions of the greatest and richest; and in this respect, let him of low degree rejoice that he is exalted.

These things premised, I would seriously propose unto all such, as choose to be Christians indeed, and that in nature, and not in name only, whether it were not desirable, and would not greatly contribute to the commendation of Christianity, and to the increase of the life and virtue of Christ, if all superfluous titles of honour, profuseness and prodigality in meat and apparel, gaming, and playing, were laid aside. And whether such as lay these things aside, in so doing, walk not more like the disciples of Christ and his apostles, and are therein nearer their example, than such as use them?

§. III. As to the first we affirm expressly, That it is not lawful for Christians either to give or receive these titles of honour, as, Your Holiness, Your Majesty, Your Excellency, Your Eminency, &c.

First, Because these titles are no part of that obedience which is due to magistrates or superiors; neither doth the giving them add to that subjection we owe to them, which consists in obeying their just and lawful commands, not in titles and designations.

Secondly, We find not that in the Scripture any such titles are used, either under the law or the gospel: but that in the speaking to kings, princes, or nobles, they used only a simple compellation, as, O King! and that without any further designation, save perhaps the name of the person, as, O King Agrippa, &c.

Thirdly, It lays a necessity upon Christians frequently to lie; because the persons obtaining these titles, either by election or hereditarily, may frequently be found to have nothing really in them deserving such titles, or answering to them: as some, to whom it is said, Your

Excellency, having nothing of excellency in them; and he who is called, Your Grace, is perhaps an enemy to grace; and he who is called, Your Honour, is perhaps base and ignoble.

If it be said, We ought in charity to suppose that they have these virtues, because the king has bestowed those titles upon them, or that they are descended of such as deserved them;

I answer, Charity destroys not knowledge: I am not obliged by charity, either to believe or speak a lie. Now it is apparent, and cannot be denied by any, that those virtues are not in many of the persons expressed by the titles they bear; neither will they allow to speak so to such, in whom these virtues are, unless they be so dignified by outward princes. So that such as are truly virtuous, must not be styled by their virtues, because not privileged by the princes of this world; and such as have them not must be so called, because they have obtained a patent so to be: and all this is done by those, who pretend to be his followers, that commanded his disciples, Not to be called of men, Master; and told them, such could not believe, as received honour one from another, and sought not the honour which cometh from God only.

Fourthly, As to those titles of Holiness, Eminency, and Excellency, used among the Papists to the Pope and cardinals, &c. and Grace, Lordship, and Worship, used to their clergy among the Protestants, it is a blasphemous usurpation. For if they use Holiness and Grace, because these things ought to be in a Pope, or in a bishop, how come they to usurp that peculiarly to themselves? Ought not holiness and grace to be in every Christian? And so every Christian should say, Your Holiness, and Your Grace, one to another. Next, how can they in reason claim any more titles, than were practised and received by

the apostles and primitive Christians, whose successors they pretend to be, and as whose successors (and no otherwise) themselves, I judge, will confess any honour they seek is due to them? Now if they neither sought, received, nor admitted such honour or titles, how came these by them? If they say they did, let them prove it if they can; we find no such thing in the Scripture. The Christians speak of the apostles without any such denomination; and that not only in the Scripture, but for some hundreds of years after. But if these titles arise either from the office or worth of the persons, it will not be denied, but the apostles deserved them better than any now that call for them.

Fifthly, As to that title of Majesty, usually ascribed to princes, we do not find it given to any such in the holy Scripture; but that it is peculiarly ascribed unto God, as 1 Chron. xxix. 11. Job xxxvii. 22. Psal. xxi. 5. and xxix. 4. and xlv. 3. and cxiii. 1. and cxvi. 6. Isa. ii. 10. and xxiv. 14. and xxvi. 10. Heb. i. 3. 2 Pet. i. 16. and many more places. Hence saith Jude, ver. 25. "To the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty," &c. not to men.

Lastly, All these titles of honour are to be rejected by Christians, because they are to seek the honour that comes from above, and not the honour that is from below. Is it the meek and innocent Spirit of Christ that covets that honour? Is it that Spirit that must be of no reputation in this world, that has its conversation in heaven, that comes to have fellowship with the sons of God? If we respect the cause that most frequently procures to men these titles of honour, there is not one of a thousand that shall be found to be, on account of any Christian virtue; but rather of things to be discommended among Christians: as by the favour of princes, procured by flattering, and often by worse means. The most frequent,

and accounted among men most honourable, is fighting, or some great martial exploit, which can add nothing to a Christian's worth: since, sure it is, it were desirable there were no fightings among Christians at all; and in so far as there are, it shews they are not right Christians. And James tells us, that fighting proceeds from the lusts. So that it were fitter for Christians, by the sword of God's Spirit, to fight against their lusts, than by the prevalency of their lusts to destroy one another. Whatever honour any might have attained of old under the Law this way, we find under the Gospel Christians commended for suffering, not for fighting; neither did any of Christ's disciples offer outward violence by the sword, save one, in cutting off Malchus's ear; for which he received no title of honour, but a just reproof. Finally, if we look either to the nature of this honour, the cause of it, the ways it is conveyed, the terms in which it is delivered, it cannot be used by such as desire to be Christians in good earnest.

§. IV. Now besides these general titles of honour, what gross abuses are crept in among such as are called Christians in the use of compliments, wherein not servants to masters, or others, with respect to any such kind of relations, do say and write to one another, Your humble servant, Your most obedient servant, &c. Such customs have, to the great prejudice of souls, accustomed Christians to lie; and to use lying is now come to be accounted civility. For it is notorious, that these compliments import not any design of service, neither are any such fools as to think so.

§. V. It will not be unfit in this place to say something concerning the using of the singular number to one person; of this there is no controversy in the Latin. For when we speak to one, we always use the pronoun *TU*,

and he that would do otherwise, would break the rules of grammar. For what boy, learning his rudiments, is ignorant, that it is incongruous to say *you lovest, you readest**, speaking to one? But the pride of man, that hath corrupted many things, refuses also to use this simplicity of speaking in the vulgar languages. For being puffed up with a vain opinion of themselves, as if the singular number were not sufficient for them, they will have others to speak to them in the plural.

This form of speaking then, and these profane titles, derive their origin from the base flattery of these last ages, and from the delicate haughtiness of worldly men, that thereby they might honour one another, under I know not what pretence of civility and respect.

§. VI. Next unto this of titles, the other part of honour used among Christians is the kneeling, bowing, and uncovering of the head one to another. I know nothing our opponents have to plead for them in this matter, save some few instances of the Old Testament, and the custom of the country.

The first are, such as Abraham's bowing himself to the children of Heth, and Lot to the two angels, &c.

But the practices of these patriarchs, related as matter of fact, are not to be a rule to Christians now; neither are we to imitate them in every practice, which has not a particular reproof added to it. Let it be observed then, whether our reasons for laying aside these things be not weighty enough to uphold us in so doing.

First, We say, That God, who is the Creator of man, and he to whom he oweth the dedication both of soul and body, is over all to be worshipped and adored, and that not only by the spirit, but also with the prostration

* Vos amas, vos legis.

of body. Now kneeling, bowing, and uncovering of the head, are the only outward marks of our adoration towards God, and therefore it is not lawful to use them unto man. He that boweth and uncovereth his head to the creature, what hath he reserved to the Creator? The apostle shews us, that the uncovering of the head is that which God requires of us in our worshipping of him, 1 Cor. xi. 14. But if we make our address to men in the same manner, where lieth the difference?

Secondly, Men being alike by creation (though their being placed under their several relations requires from them mutual services according to those respective relations) owe not worship one to another, but all equally are to return it to God: because it is to him, and his name alone, that every knee must bow. Therefore for men to take this one from another, is to rob God of his glory: since all the duties of relation may be performed one to another without this kind of bowings, which therefore are no essential part of our duty to man.

And forasmuch as we are accused herein of rudeness and pride, though the testimony of our consciences in the sight of God sufficiently repels such calumnies, yet there are of us known to be men of such education, as forbear not these things for want of that they call good breeding; and we should be very void of reason, to purchase that pride at so dear a rate, as many have done the exercise of their conscience in this matter. Now suppose it were our weakness, and we really under a mistake in this thing, since it is not alleged to be the breach of any Christian precept, are we not to be indulged, as the apostle commanded should be done to such as scruple to eat flesh? This I can say boldly, in the sight of God, from my own experience, and that of many thousands more, that however small or foolish this may seem, yet we behaved to

choose death rather than do it, and that for conscience' sake: and that in its being so contrary to our natural spirits, there are many of us, to whom the forsaking of these bowings and ceremonies was as death itself; which we could never have left, if we could have enjoyed our peace with God in the use of them. Though it be far from us to judge all those to whom God hath not shewn the evil of them, under the like hazard; yet nevertheless we doubt not but to such as would prove faithful witnesses to Christ's divine light in their consciences, God will also shew the evil of these things.

§. VII. The third thing to be treated of, is the superfluity of apparel. In which, first, two things are to be considered, the condition of the person, and the country he lives in. We shall not say that all persons are to be clothed alike, because it will perhaps neither suit their bodies nor their estates. And if a man be clothed soberly, and without superfluity, though finer than that which his servant is clothed with, we shall not blame him for it: the abstaining from superfluities, which his condition and education have accustomed him to, may be in him a greater act of mortification than the abstaining from finer clothes in the servant, who never was accustomed to them. As to the country, what it naturally produces may be no vanity to the inhabitants to use, or what is commonly imparted to them by way of exchange, seeing it is without doubt that the creation is for the use of man. The iniquity lies here, First, when from a lust of vanity, and a desire to adorn themselves, men and women, not content with what their condition can bear, or their country easily affords, do stretch to have things, that from their rarity, and the price that is put upon them, seem to be precious, and so feed their lust the more.

Secondly, when men are not content to make a true use

of the creation, whether the things be fine or coarse, and do not satisfy themselves with what need and conveniency call for; but add thereunto things merely superfluous. And though sober men will say, that it were better these things were not, yet will they not reckon them unlawful, and therefore do admit the use of them among their church-members: but we do account them altogether unlawful, and unsuitable to Christians.

The Scripture severely reproveth such practices, both commending and commanding the contrary; as Isa. iii. how severely doth the prophet reprove the daughters of Israel for their tinkling ornaments, their cauls, and their round tires, their chains and bracelets, &c. and yet is it not strange to see Christians allow themselves in these things, from whom a more strict and exemplary conversation is required? Christ desires us not to be anxious about our clothing, Mat. vi. 25. and to shew the vanity of such as glory in the splendour of their clothing, tells them, That even Solomon, in all his glory, was not to be compared to the lily of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven. But surely they make small reckoning of Christ's word and doctrine, that are so curious in their clothing, and so earnest to justify it. The apostle Paul is very positive in this respect, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. "I will therefore in like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, and not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works." To the same purpose saith Peter, 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit."

§. VIII. Fourthly, Let us consider the use of games, sports, comedies, and other such things, commonly used by all the several sorts of Christians, under the notion of divertisement and recreation, and see whether these things can consist with the gravity, and godly fear, which the gospel calls for. Let us but view the notions of them that call themselves Christians, whether Papists or Protestants, and see if generally there be any difference, save in mere name and profession, from the heathen? Doth not the same folly, the same vanity, the same abuse of precious and irrevocable time abound? The same gaming, sporting, and from thence quarrelling, fighting, swearing, reveling? Now how can these things be remedied, so long as the preachers and professors, and those who are the leaders of the people, do allow these things, and account them not inconsistent with the profession of Christianity? The apostle commands us, That whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we do it all to the glory of God. But I judge none will affirm, That in the use of these sports and games God is glorified: if any should so say, they would declare they neither knew God, nor his glory. And experience abundantly proves, that in the practice of these things men mind nothing less than the glory of God, and nothing more than the satisfaction of their own carnal wills and appetites.

§. IX. But they object, That men's spirits could not subsist, if they were always intent upon serious and spiritual matters, and that therefore there is need of some divertisement to recreate the mind a little, whereby it being refreshed, is able with greater vigour to apply itself to those things.

I answer; Though all this were granted, it would no ways militate against us, neither vindicate the use of these things, which we would have wholly laid aside. For

that men should be always in the same intentiveness of mind, we do not plead, knowing how impossible it is, so long as we are clothed with this tabernacle of clay. But this will not allow us at any time so to recede from the remembrance of God, and of our souls' chief concern, as not still to retain a certain sense of his fear; which cannot be so much as rationally supposed to be in the use of these things which we condemn. Now the necessary occasions in which all are involved, in order to the care of the outward man, are a relaxation of the mind from the more serious duties; and those are performed in the blessing, as the mind is so leavened with the love of God, and the sense of his presence, that even in doing these things the soul carrieth with it that divine influence and spiritual habit, whereby though these acts, as of eating, drinking, sleeping, working, be upon the matter one with what the wicked do, yet they are done in another Spirit; and in doing of them we please the Lord, serve him, and answer our own end in the creation, and so feel his blessing. Now if any will plead, that for relaxation of mind there may be a liberty allowed beyond these things, which are of absolute need to the sustenance of the outward man, I shall not contend against it; provided these things be not such as are wholly superfluous, or in their proper nature and tendency lead the mind into vanity and wantonness, as being chiefly contrived for that end, or generally experienced to produce these effects, or being the common engines of such as are so minded to feed one another therein, and to propagate their wickedness to the impoisoning of others, seeing there are other innocent divertisements which may sufficiently serve for relaxation of the mind.

§. X. Fifthly, The use of swearing is to be considered, which is so frequently practised almost among all Christians; not only profane oaths among the profane, in their

common discourses, whereby the most holy name of God is in a horrible manner daily blasphemed; but also solemn oaths, with those that have some shew of piety, whereof the most part do defend swearing before the magistrate, with great zeal.

But considering these clear words of our Saviour, Mat. v. 33, 34. "Again ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you, SWEAR NOT AT ALL, neither by heaven," &c. "But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil." As also the words of the apostle James, v. 12. "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest ye fall into condemnation." I say, considering these clear words, it is admirable how any one that professeth the name of Christ can pronounce any oath with a quiet conscience, far less persecute other Christians, that dare not swear, because of their master Christ's authority. For did any one purpose seriously, and in the most rigid manner, to forbid any thing comprehended under any general, can he use a more full and general prohibition, and that without any exception? I think not. For Christ, First, proposeth it to us negatively, Swear not at all, neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by Jerusalem, nor by thy head, &c. And again, Swear not by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath. Secondly, he presseth it affirmatively, "But let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." And, saith James, "Lest ye fall into condemnation."

Which words, both all and every one of them, do make such a full prohibition, and so free of all exception, that

it is strange how men that boast the Scripture is the rule of their faith and life, can devise any exception! Certainly reason ought to teach every one, that it is not lawful to make void a general prohibition coming from God by such opposition, unless the exception be as clearly expressed as the prohibition: neither is it enough to endeavour to confirm it by consequences and probabilities, which are obscure and uncertain, and not sufficient to bring quiet to the conscience. Moreover, if Christ would have excepted oaths made before magistrates, certainly he had then expressed, adding, Except in judgment, before the magistrate, or the like; as he did in that of divorcement by these words, "Saving for the cause of fornication:" which being so, it is not lawful for us to except or distinguish, or, which is all one, make void this general prohibition of Christ; it would be far less agreeable to Christian holiness to bring upon our heads the crimes of so many oaths, which by reason of this corruption and exception are so frequent among Christians.

Neither is it to be omitted that without doubt the most learned doctors of each sect know, that these forementioned words were understood by the ancient fathers of the first three hundred years after Christ, to be a prohibition of all sorts of oaths. Moreover, because not only Papists, but also Lutherans and Calvinists, and some others, do restrict the words of Christ and James, I think it needful to make manifest the vain foundation upon which that presumption in this matter is built.

§. XI. They object, That Christ only forbids these oaths that are made by creatures, and things created; and they prove it thence, because he numbers some of these things.

Secondly, all rash and vain oaths in familiar discourses;

because he saith, "Let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay."

To which I answer, First, That the law did forbid all oaths made by the creatures, as also all vain and rash oaths in our common discourses, commanding, That men should only swear by the name of God, and that neither falsely nor rashly; for that is to take his name in vain.

Secondly, It is most evident that Christ forbids somewhat that was permitted under the law, to wit, to swear by the name of God, because it was not lawful for any man to swear but by God himself. And because he saith, "Neither by heaven, because it is the throne of God;" therefore he excludes all other oaths, even those which are made by God; for he saith, chap. xxiii. 22. "He that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon:" which is also to be understood of the rest.

Lastly, That he might put the matter beyond all controversy, he adds, "Neither by any other oath:" therefore seeing to swear before the magistrate by God is an oath, it is here without doubt forbidden.

§. XII. They object, But the apostle Paul approves oaths used among men, when he writes, Heb. vi. 16. "For men verily swear by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife." But there are as many contests, fallacies, and diffidences at this time as there ever were; therefore the necessity of oaths doth yet remain.

I answer; The apostle tells indeed in this place what men at that time did, who lived in controversies and incredulity; not what they ought to have done, nor what the saints did, who were redeemed from strife and incredulity, and had come to Christ, the Truth and Amen of God. Moreover, he only alludes to a certain custom usual among

men, that he might express the firmness of the divine promise, in order to excite in the saints so much the more confidence in God promising to them; not that he might instigate them to swear contrary to the law of God, or confirm them in that; not at all: for neither doth 1 Cor. ix. 24. teach Christians the vain races, whereby men oftentimes, even to the destruction of their bodies, are wearied to obtain a corruptible prize; so neither doth Christ, who is the Prince of Peace, teach his disciples to fight, albeit he takes notice, Luke xiv. 31. what it behoved such kings to do who are accustomed to fight, as prudent warriors therein. Secondly, as to what pertains to contests, perfidies, and diffidences among men, which our opponents affirm to have grown to such an height, that swearing is at present as necessary as ever, that we deny not at all: for we see, and daily experience teacheth us, that all manner of deceit and malice doth increase among worldly men and false Christians; but not among true Christians. But because men cannot trust one another, and therefore require oaths one of another, it will not therefore follow that true Christians ought to do so, whom Christ has brought to faithfulness and honesty, as well towards God as one towards another, and therefore has delivered them from contests, perfidies, and consequently from oaths.

They object, We grant, that among true Christians there is not need of oaths; but by what means shall we infallibly know them? It will follow then that oaths are at present needful, and that it is lawful for Christians to swear; to wit, that such may be satisfied who will not acknowledge this and the other man to be a Christian.

I answer, It is no ways lawful for a Christian to swear, whom Christ has called to his essential truth, which was before all oaths, forbidding him to swear; and on the contrary, commanding him to speak the truth in all things, to the

honour of Christ who called him; that it may appear that the words of his disciples may be as truly believed as the oaths of all worldly men. Neither is it lawful for them to be unfaithful in this, that they may please others, or that they may avoid their hurt: for thus the primitive Christians for some ages remained faithful, who, being required to swear, did unanimously answer, "I am a Christian, I do not swear."

Who then needs further to doubt, but that since Christ would have his disciples attain the highest pitch of perfection, he abrogated oaths, as a rudiment of infirmity, and in place thereof established the use of truth? Who can now any more think that the holy martyrs and ancient fathers of the first three hundred years, and many others since that time, have so opposed themselves to oaths, that they might only rebuke vain and rash oaths by the creatures, or heathen idols, which were also prohibited under the Mosaical law.

Lastly, They object, This will bring in fraud and confusion; for impostors will counterfeit probity, and under the benefit of this dispensation will lie without fear of punishment.

I answer, There are two things which oblige a man to speak the truth; First, Either the fear of God in his heart, and love of truth; for where this is, there is no need of oaths to speak the truth; or, Secondly, The fear of punishment. Therefore let there be the same, or rather greater punishment appointed to those who pretend so great truth in words, and so great simplicity in heart that they cannot lie, and so great reverence towards the law of Christ, that for conscience' sake they deny to swear in any wise, if they fail; and so there shall be the same good order, yea, greater security against deceivers, than if oaths were continued; and that, by the more severe punishment,

to which these false dissemblers shall be liable. Hence wicked men shall be more terrified, and good men delivered from all oppression, both in their liberty and goods: for which respect to tender consciences, God hath often a regard to magistrates and their state, as a thing most acceptable to him.

§. XIII. Sixthly, The last thing to be considered, is revenge and war, an evil as contrary to the Spirit and doctrine of Christ as light to darkness. For, as through contempt of Christ's law the whole world is filled with various oaths, cursings, blasphemous profanations, and horrid perjuries; so likewise, through contempt of the same law, the world is filled with violence, murders, depredations, burnings, devastations, and all manner of lasciviousness, and cruelty: so that it is strange that men, made after the image of God, should have so much degenerated, that they rather bear the image and nature of lions, tigers, wolves, and boars, than of rational creatures endued with reason. And is it not yet much more admirable, that this horrid monster should find place, and be fomented, among those men that profess themselves disciples of our peaceable Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who emphatically is called the Prince of Peace, and hath expressly prohibited his children all violence; and on the contrary, commanded them, that, according to his example, they should follow patience, charity, and other virtues worthy of a Christian*?

Hear then what this great prophet saith, whom every soul is commanded to hear, under the pain of being cut off: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for

* On this subject the testimony of an eminent heathen is remarkable, "*Cum vel iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello anteferrem.*—Cic. Epist. ad Famil.vi. 6.

"War in all cases is accompanied with dreadful evils; of which we are apt to consider the heavy expence, as if it were the only one, and forget

an eye, and a tooth for a tooth : But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil ; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee ; and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away. Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy : but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye ? Do not even the Publicans the same ? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do you more than others ? Do not even the Publicans so ? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

These words, with respect to revenge, as the former in the case of swearing, do forbid some things, which in time

the sufferings and miserable deaths of such multitudes of human creatures, though EVERY ONE of them is a MURDER, committed by the authors of this calamity."

ARCHBISHOP SECKER.—*Works*, Vol. III. p. 376.

" If men be subjects of Christ's law, they can never go to war with each other."

BISHOP TAYLOR.

To do evil that good may ensue, is utterly irreconcilable with sound morality ; but the prosecution of all wars is connected with the principle of doing evil that good may ensue ; therefore all wars are immoral : much more are they antichristian.—EDIT.

past were lawful to the Jews, considering their condition and dispensation; and command unto such as will be the disciples of Christ, a more perfect and full signification of charity, as also patience and suffering, than was required of them in that time, state, and dispensation, by the law of Moses. This is not only the judgment of most, if not all, the ancient fathers, so called, of the first three hundred years after Christ, but also of many others, and in general of all those, who have rightly understood and propagated the law of Christ concerning swearing.

From hence it appears, that there is so great a connexion betwixt these two precepts of Christ, that as they were uttered and commanded by him at one and the same time, so the same way they were received by men of all ages, not only in the first promulgation by the little number of the disciples, but also after the Christians increased in the first three hundred years. Even so in the apostasy, the one was not left and rejected without the other; and now again in the restitution, and renewed preaching of the eternal gospel, they are acknowledged as eternal and unchangeable laws, properly belonging to the evangelical state and perfection thereof; from which if any withdraw, he falls short of the perfection of a Christian man.

And truly the words are so clear in themselves, that, in my judgment, they need no illustration to explain their sense: for it is as easy to reconcile the greatest contradictions, as these laws of our Lord Jesus Christ with the wicked practices of wars; for they are plainly inconsistent. Whosoever can reconcile this, Resist not evil, with resist violence by force: again, Give also thy other cheek, with strike again; also, Love thine enemies, with spoil them, make a prey of them, pursue them with fire and sword; or, Pray for those that persecute you, and those that calumniate you, with persecute them by fines, imprison-

ments, and death itself; and not only such as do not persecute you, but who heartily seek and desire your eternal and temporal welfare: whoever, I say, can find a mean to reconcile these things, may be supposed also to have found a way to reconcile God with the devil, Christ with anti-christ, light with darkness, and good with evil.

§. XIV. Nevertheless because some, perhaps through inadvertency, and by the force of custom and tradition, do transgress this command of Christ, I shall briefly show how much war doth contradict this precept, and how much they are inconsistent with one another; and consequently, that war is no ways lawful to such as will be the disciples of Christ. For,

First, Christ commands, That we should love our enemies; but war, on the contrary, teaches us to hate and destroy them.

Secondly, The apostle saith, That we war not after the flesh, and that we fight not with flesh and blood; but outward war is according to the flesh, and against flesh and blood; for the shedding of the one, and destroying of the other.

Thirdly, The apostle saith, That the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual; but the weapons of outward warfare are carnal, such as cannon, muskets, spears, swords, &c. of which there is no mention in the armour described by Paul.

Fourthly, Because James testifies, That wars and strifes come from the lusts, which war in the members of carnal men; but Christians, that is, those that are truly saints, have crucified the flesh, with its affections and lusts; therefore they cannot indulge them by waging war.

Fifthly, Because the prophets Isaiah and Micah have prophesied, That in the mountain of the house of the

Lord, Christ shall judge the nations, and then they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, &c.

Sixthly, Because the prophet foretold, That there should none hurt nor kill in all the holy mountain of the Lord; but outward war is appointed for killing and destroying.

Seventhly, Because Christ said, That his kingdom is not of this world, and therefore that his servants shall not fight; therefore those that fight are not his disciples nor servants.

Eighthly, Because he reproved Peter for the use of the sword, saying, Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.

Ninthly, Because the apostle admonisheth Christians, That they defend not themselves, neither revenge by rendering evil for evil; but give place unto wrath, because vengeance is the Lord's. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. But war throughout teacheth the quite contrary.

Tenthly, Because Christ calls his children to bear his cross, not to crucify or kill others; to patience, not to revenge; to truth and simplicity, not to fraudulent stratagems of war; to flee the glory of this world, not to acquire it by warlike endeavours; therefore war is altogether contrary unto the law and Spirit of Christ.

§. XV. But they object, That it is lawful to war, because Abraham did war before the giving of the law, and the Israelites after the giving of the law.

I answer as before, 1. That Abraham offered sacrifices at that time, and circumcised the males; which nevertheless are not lawful for us under the gospel.

2. That neither defensive nor offensive war was lawful

to the Israelites of their own will, or by their own counsel or conduct; but they were obliged at all times, if they would be successful, first to enquire of the oracle of God.

3. That their wars against the wicked nations were a figure of the inward war of the true Christians against their spiritual enemies, in which we overcome the devil, the world, and the flesh.

4. Something is expressly forbidden by Christ, Mat. v. 38, &c. which was granted to the Jews in their time, because of their hardness; and on the contrary, we are commanded that singular patience and exercise of love which Moses commanded not to his disciples.

They object, That defence is of natural right, and that religion destroys not nature.

I answer, be it so; but to obey God, and commend ourselves to him in faith and patience, is not to destroy nature, but to exalt and perfect it; to wit, to elevate it from the natural to the supernatural life, by Christ living therein, and comforting it, that it may do all things, and be rendered more than conqueror.

They object, That John did not abrogate or condemn war, when the soldiers came unto him.

I answer, What then? The question is not concerning John's doctrine, but Christ's, whose disciples we are, not John's: for Christ, and not John, is that prophet whom we ought all to hear. And although Christ said, That a greater than John the Baptist was not among men born of women, yet he adds, That the least in the kingdom of God is greater than he. But what was John's answer, that we may see if it can justify the soldiers of this time? For if it be narrowly observed, it will appear, that what he proposeth to soldiers doth manifestly forbid them that employment; for he commands them not to do violence to any

man, nor to defraud any man; but that they be content with their wages. Consider then what he forbiddeth to soldiers, *viz.* To use violence or deceit against any; which being removed, let any tell how soldiers can war? For are not craft, violence, and injustice, three properties of war, and the natural consequences of battles?

It is well known that almost all the modern sects live in the neglect of this law of Christ, and likewise oppress others, who in this agree not with them for conscience' sake towards God. By which forcing of the conscience, they would have constrained our brethren, living in divers kingdoms at war together, to have implored our God for contrary and contradictory things, and consequently impossible; for it is impossible that two parties fighting together, should both obtain the victory. And because we cannot concur with them in this confusion, therefore we are subject to persecution.

They object, That the Scriptures did only prohibit private revenge, not the use of arms for the defence of our country, body, wives, children, and goods, when the magistrate commands it, seeing the magistrate ought to be obeyed; therefore although it be not lawful for private men to do it of themselves, nevertheless they are bound to do it by the command of the magistrate.

I answer, If the magistrate be truly a Christian, or desires to be so, he ought himself, in the first place, to obey the command of his master, saying, "Love your enemies," &c. and then he could not command us to kill them; but if he be not a true Christian, then ought we to obey our Lord and King, Jesus Christ, whom he ought also to obey: for in the kingdom of Christ all ought to submit to his laws, from the highest to the lowest, that is, from the king to the beggar. But alas! where shall we find such an obedience?

Lastly, as to what relates to this thing, since nothing seems more contrary to man's nature, and seeing of all things the defence of one's self seems most tolerable, as it is most hard to men to relinquish, so it is the most perfect part of the Christian religion, as that wherein the denial of self and entire confidence in God doth most appear; and therefore Christ and his apostles left us hereof a most perfect example.

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