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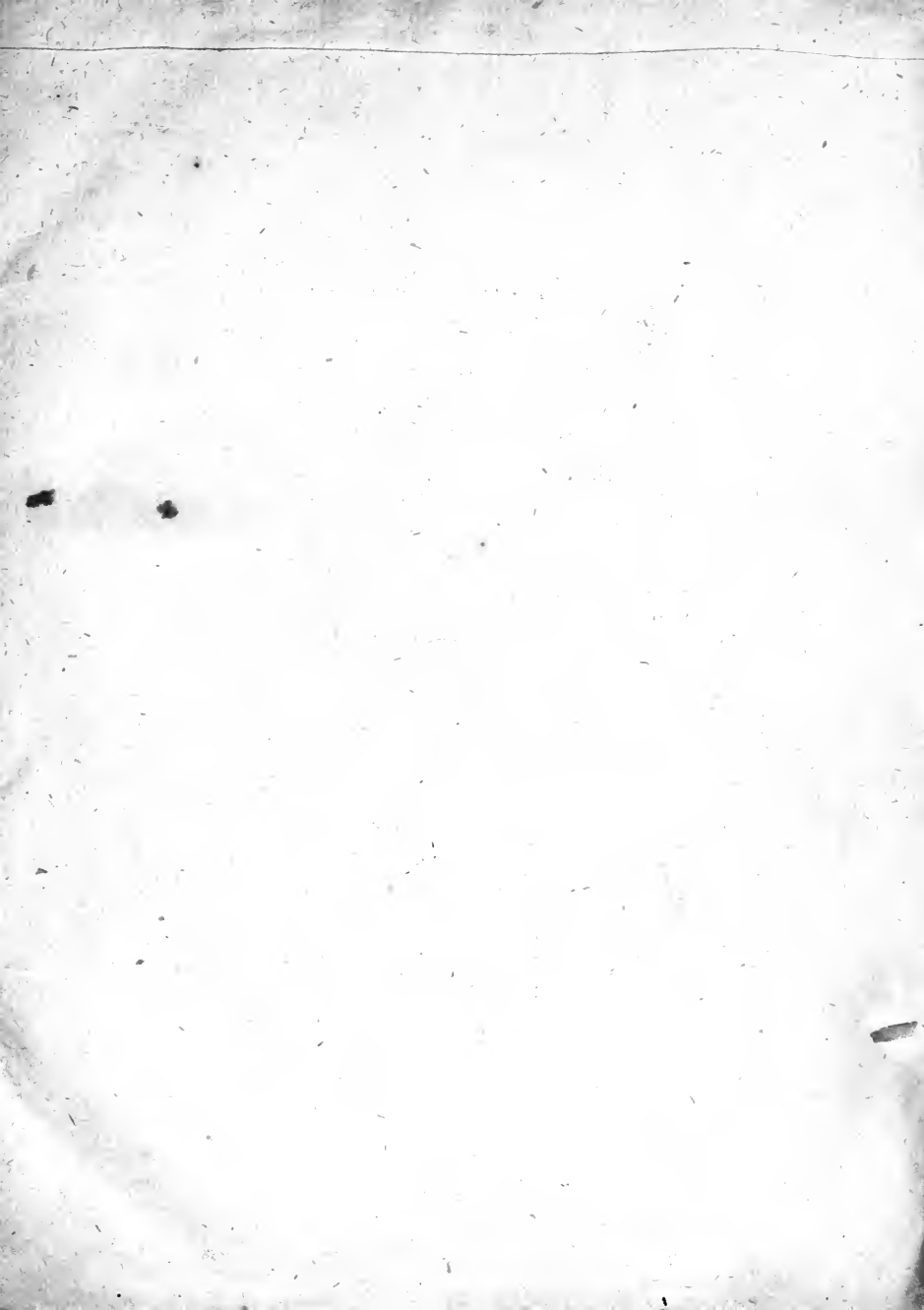
219

TREASURE ROOM

No G-355-15.



WILLIAMS, ROGER. The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody: By Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe; Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his Servants; and of the blood of Millions spilt in former and later Wars for Conscience sake, That Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty, etc. By R. Williams of Providence in New-England. Small 4to, calf, red edges. London, 1652.





01

For ye hon^{ble} Colonnell Rich a
most eminent Favourer to
South Liberie in causes
(merely) Spirituall

George De Hornoy ~~_____~~
His Books — 1705

THE
BLOODY TENENT

Y E T
More Bloody:

B Y

Mr *Cottons* endeavour to wash it white in the
B L O O D of the *L A M B E*;

Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the
Blood of his Servants; and

Of the blood of Millions spilt in former and
later Wars for Conscience sake,

T H A T

Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of
Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more
apparently and more notoriously guilty.

In this Rejoynder to Mr *Cotton*, are principally

- I. *The Nature of Persecution,*
II. *The Power of the Civill Sword* } Examined;
in Spirituals
III. *The Parliaments permission of* } Justified.
Dissenting Consciences

Also (as a Testimony to Mr *Clarks* Narrative) is added
a Letter to Mr *Endicot* Governor of the *Massachusetts* in *N. E.*

By R. WILLIAMS of *Providence* in *New-England*.

London, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, and are to be sold at
the black-spread-Eagle at the West-end of *Pauls*, 1652.

have reprint

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Mar. 5, 1890.

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TO THE
MOST HONORABLE
THE PARLIAMENT OF THE
Common-wealth of ENGLAND.

Most Noble Senators,



ONE of the greatest *Spirits*, and as active as later times have yeelded, *Charles* the fifth, tired out with *Affairs* of *State*, resigns up all, and sits down to end his dayes in quiet *Contem-
plation*. I doubt not but many of your Honorable *Heads* have felt the thorny *Crown* (of these late *years* troubles) so *sharp*, so *weighty*, that your *tired* *Spirits* would joyfully embrace, if not (with *Charles* the fifth) a totall *Cessation*, yet like some faithfull tired *Judge*, (after so long and troublesome a *Term*) at least some breathing short *Va-
cation*.

*The Parliaments
Labours and
Labyriuths,*

Although I dare not (as to *Englands* peace and safety) admit desires of your *Totall Cessation*, or long *vacation*: yet common *Gratitude* for such incomparable

To the High Court of Parliament.

rable labours, expences, hazards, &c. from whence the God of heaven hath vouchsafed such rare and incomparable preservacions, deliverances, enjoyments, &c. I say common gratitude cannot onely wish you heartily & pray for earnestly your eternal *Rest*, and most joyfull *Harvest* in the Heavens, but also, all the possible breathing hours, and cool retired *shades* of Contemplation and self-enjoyment amidst the scorching *Travels* of so many vexing and tedious *Actions*. You cannot (ever renowned Patriots) but like some grave Commanders of *Fleets* and *Armies*, who have brought their *Ships* and *followers* through tempestuous *storms* and bloody *fightes*, to joyful *Rest* and *Harbours*! You cannot but look back with Admirings, with Praising, with Resolvings to cast you Crowns, and Heads, and Hearts, and Hands, (for the remaining *Minutes* of the short Candle of your life) at his *Feet*, in whose most High and most gracious Hands have all your *Breaths* and *wayes* been.

In the review of the multitude of your *Actings* and *Sufferings*, your *Battells* and *Victories*, *Dangers* and *Deliverances*, you cannot, (no man can) but observe and see an (naked) Arm from Heaven fighting for you, but most especially since the times and houres you gratified the most *High Eternall King of Kings* (now more then ever *Englands King*) with these two famous *Subsidies* (if I may in humble Reverence so call them.)

The first, of *Mercy* and *Moderation* to the
poor

Two Subsidies
granted by the
Parliament to
the King of
Kings.

The first Sub-
sidy.

To the High Court of Parliament.

poor oppressed Consciences of the *English Nation*, amidst the throng of which he graciously will, yea he hath acknowledged, that *some* of his own dear *Children* (the *Sonnes* and *Daughters* of the God of Heaven) have been relieved and succoured by you.

The second your high and impartial drawing of the Sword of *Justice* upon the great and *highest* offenders: Since which two wonderfull *Subsidies*, the most wilfully blind must be forced to see the glorious *Goings* of the God of Heaven with your *Councels* and *Armies*, and the discharge of his holy promise in honouring you, who have so highly, (in so rare and unparalleled *Travels* and *Hazards*) honored him.

Concerning the first of these *Subsidies*, I was humbly bold some few yeares since, to present you with a Conference between *Peace* and *Truth*, touching a most bloody Murtherous *Malefactor*, the bloody *Tenant* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*: (a notorious and common *Pyrate*, that *takes* and *robbes*, that *fires* and *sinks* the (*Spiritual Shipps* and *Vessels*) the *Consciences* of all men, of all sorts, of all *Religions* and *Persecutions* whatsoever.

It hath pleased Master *Cotton*, (a Man incomparably too worthy for such a service) to attempt the washing of this bloody *Tenant*; (as hee speakes) in the blood of the Lamb *CHRIST JESUS* (though one part of the

The second Subsidy.

The Bloody Tenant a common Pyrat.

Mr. Cottons Reply.

Confes-

To the High Court of Parliament.

*Gods wonderful
goings in Hol-
land from
Stafore, undone
by Pride and
Unthankfulness,*

of the God of Heaven between three of their most eminent Towns or Cities, First *Stafore* was the wondrous Wealthy *City*, their *golden Citie*, til a proud wealthy, *Merchants widow*, caused a whole ships loading of wheat (which her ship brought home and she despised) to be thrown over into the Harbour, which (with other Accidents of water and weather, Gods most righteous providences) so choak'd up the *Haven*, that Vessels of Burthen durst never frequent that *Citie* (by this occasion) most wondrously impoverish'd) since.

*To Enchuyfin,
undone by the
blood, Tenent of
Persecution:*

From *Stafore* God carries all the *Shipping* and *wealth* to *Enchuyfin*, whole *Zealous*, over-zealous and furious *Clergie* provoke the *Civil Magistrates* to persecute *dissenting, non conforming consciences*: Amongst the rest 'tis rare (if ever) that the most glorious *Son of God* himself escapes.

*From Enchuy-
fin to Amster-
dam, raised to
its present height
and glory, by
mercy to the per-
secuted.*

From *Enchuyfin* therefore (a Den of persecuting *Lions*, and mountain of *Leopards*) the *persecuted* fled to *Amsterdam*, a poor fishing Town, yet harborous and favourable to the *flying*, though dissenting *consciences*: This confluence of the persecuted, by Gods most gracious coming with them, drew *Boats*, drew *Trade*, drew *Shipping*, and that so mightily in so short a time, that *Shipping, Trading, wealth, Greatnesse, Honour* (almost to astonishment in the Eyes of all *Europe*, and the *world*) have appeared to fall as out of Heaven in a Crown or Garland upon the head of that poor Fisher-Town.

O ye the prime of English men and English *worshies*, whose *sences* have so oft perceived the everlasting Arms of the Invincible and Eternal King, when
your

To the High Court of Parliament.

your Ships *Hold* hath been full with water, yea with *Blood*, when storms without, fires and mutinies within, when she hath beaten upon some Rocky *Hearts* and *passages*, as if she would have staved and split into a thousand pieces; yet this so neer stav'd, so neer fired, so neer split, foundred, sinking Nation, hath the *God* of *Heaven* (by your most valiant and carefull hands) brought safe to *Peace* her *Harbour*! Why now should any duty possible be impossible? yea, why not impossibilities possible? Why should your *English* Seas contend with a neighbour *Dutchman* for the motion of a piece of *Silk*, &c. and not ten thousand fold much more your *English* Spirits with theirs for the Crown of that State-piety and Wisdome which may make your faces more to *shine*, not only with a common lustre after a *Dutch* Prefident, but (if it be the holy will of God, and I humbly hope it may be) with a *glory* far transcending all your fairest neighbours Copies.

England's Ship
got into Har-
bour.

Striking of
Colours.

The States of *Holland* having smarted deeply, and paid so dearly for the purchase of their freedoms, reach to the neighbour Nations and the world, a *tast* of such their dainties. And yet (with due reverence to so wise a *State*, and with due thankfulnesse for mercy and relief to many poor oppressed Consciences) I say their Piety nor Policie could ever yet reach so far, nor could they in all their School of Warre (as their Countries have been call'd) learn that one poor *Lesson* of setting absolutely the consciences of all men free.

The States of
Holland yet to
seek in the mat-
ters of liberty
of Conscience.

'Tis true, they vouchsafed to the Papists and Arminians the *liberty* (as I may so speak) of the prison,
B and

To the High Court of Parliament.

true (in the matters of Religion and Consciences of men, especially:) the *violent* motion must break.

But *Light* from the *Father of Lights* hath shined on your eyes: Mercy from the *Father of Mercies* hath softned your breasts, to be tender of the tenderest part of Man, his Conscience: for indeed there is no true Reason of *Policy or Piety* (as this Discourse discovereth) why that man that will subscribe (and give assurance for honest meaning) to that most prudent Act of Civill Engagement, (what ever his Conscience be) should be depriv'd and rob'd of the liberty of it, in *Spirituall and Religious* matters.

I have (I fear) been long in my first Petition, my second shall be brief, is this.

I most humbly and earnestly beseech your *Honours* in all the straits and difficulties which yet you are to passe (concerning this great point of mens *Consciences*, or other high affairs) steere carefully off from one sunk *Rock*, on which so many gallant Vessels have miscarried. This *Rock* lies deeper then others, and seldom hath appeared but at some *Deadlow* water, when the most high *Judge* of the whole world reckons with Men or States, in low conditions and debasements.

I humbly beg from *God* the gracious continuance of his mighty *Angels guard* about your sitting, to preserve your Honours from the flames of *Wars* abroad, and from such flames at home: from *Risings*, from *Tumults*, from *Mutinies*, from *Pistols*, from *Stabs*, from *Powder-plots*, from *Poyson*, &c. but above all, from your own *Wisdoms* and *Policies* in straits and difficulties.

The

The Act for
Civill Engage-
ment of great
necessity.

The second
Petition

Worldly wisdom
in straits a most
dangerous rock.

To the High Court of Parliament.

The holy History tells, that on this *Rock* (in a State strait) strook the great Statist *Feroboam*, to the ruine of himself and his posterity.

On this *Rock* split that famous and zealous Reformer *Jehu*.

This pluckt the Crown from *Sauls* high head, when his own wisdome in straits made him presumptuous about the worship of God.

This pluckt off the Crown, and pluck out the eyes of *Zedekiah*, when in a strait he trusted not in God, as *Solomon* speaks, but leaned to his own understanding for his safety.

To which purpose my third Petition is, that in the midst of so many great *Negotiations* of *Justice*, of *Mercy* to the Bodies and Estates, or Spirits & Conscienc

The third Petition.

ces of so many thousands and ten thousand, you forget not to deal *justly*, & to shew *mercy* to your selves: Oh how lamentable and dreadful wil it prove, if after all your high *Employments* (as the *State-Agents* & *Factors* for the *Commonweal!*) if in the midst of all your cares and fears, and tossings about the *Souls* and *Consciencs* and *salvations* of others, your own most dear and pretious selves make an *eternal shipwrack*?

Soul shipwrack.

Your *Honors* know, that although men have chosen and cull'd you out as *wise* and *noble*, yet *God* hath not chosen (if *Paul* say true) many *wise* and *noble* to eternall *life* and *blessednesse*.

Who can love and honor you, and not cry to the *God* of *Heaven* for you, and to your selves for your selves: Be not so busie about the *Earthly* estate, no nor the *Heavenly* estate of others, as to forget to make sure your own *vocation* and *election*, & to work out your own *salvation* with *fear* and *trembling*.

Oh

To the High Court of Parliament.

Dangers of Par-
liament men.

Oh let not this bold cry offend, and though offend,
yet let it throughly awake your noble spirits to know
your dangers & hindrances (more then other mens)
from a world of *distractions* from without, from *pride*
& *self-confidence* from within, from the flatteries of
such who (hoping for rewards & morsels from you)
proclaim abroad (that you may hear it) O blessed
*Christian Magistrates, Christian Kings & Queens, Christi-
an States, Christian Parliaments, Christian Armies*, so lul-
ling your pretious souls into an *eternall sleep*.

Wonderfull Con-
fessions of two
mighty Kings.

I need not remember your *Honours* of that most
wonderful *summa totalis* of all the castings up of *Solo-
mons* choice particulars (his *wisdom, works, riches, peace*
and *pleasures*,) *Vanity* and *vexation of spirit*. I need not
remember you of that wonderfull *Confession* of *Phi-
lip* the 2nd of *Spain* (near his last) to his successor and
son *Philip* the 3rd, to this effect: I have had and ex-
pended (about the time of these 30 years) 594. mil-
lions of *Treasure*, and yet gained nothing for my self
but *heart sorrow*, and *vexation of Spirit*. Your own
observant *eyes and ears* (in the late most wonderfull
changes and tossings of all affairs and things) cannot
but read a thousand *Lectures* to your most serious
midnight and morning *Thoughts* of the most *certain*
uncertainties of *Friends, Treasures, Revenues, Ar-
mies, Forts, Magazines, Castles, Ships and Navies,*
Crowns and Lives.

True Heavenly
wisdom.

Why then should your renowned *wisdom & pru-
dence* excel the folly of others as much as *light* excel-
leth *darkness*, in searching of the root and causes of
matters, in fore-seeing *Events and Consequences*, in
raising *Monies and Armies*, in choosing *Agents*, in
framing *Laws*, in managing great affairs at home &
abroad, in discovering *plots*, in preventing *dangers*, &
finall

To the High Court of Parliament.

finall overthrow by sure retreats, &c. If yet, alas, that wisdom make not out a saving discovery of the most holy and only wise, the *Alpha & Omega*, the first of *causes* and last of *Ends* (in whose hand is all your *breath* and *ways*;) in raising *spiritual supplies* against your spiritually devouring *adversaries*, in discovering their *methods*, *designes*, *deceits*, in preventing that (that) fatall overthrow, and eternall defeat (*remediless*, *hopeless*) where the *worm* never dies, and the *fire* never goes out?

O why should your renowned *valors* so glory in the conquest of *Cities*, *Castles*, *Ships* & *Armies*, if your selves are led captive in the spiritual chains of *lusts* & *passions*, a more lamentable, and more to be deplored object, then the poorest *slaves* in the *Spanish* and *Turkish Gallies*.

The onely
valour or
courage.

What shall avail your admired *diligence* and *activity* in managing & quick dispatching so many and so high *affairs*, by day and night, catching hold of all occasions, redeeming all opportunities, improving all advantages, if you lose the fair *Gales*, and ore sleep and sleep away the pretious and inestimable seasons and calls, and knocks and offers of your own eternal *Mercies*?

True and
best dili-
gence.

What boots your exemplary and impartiall *justice* on so many and so high *Delinquents*, if your own bosomes are found traitorous to the State of *Heaven*, rebellious to the *King*, to the *God* of *spirits*, and if in that most high Court of *Justice* from Gods most dreadful *tribunal* you hear that thunder (which oh that you may never hear) *Go ye cursed*, &c.

True Ju-
stice and
Righte-
ousnesse.

'Tis true your *mercies* have been eminent to the poor, to the oppressed, to the captive, to the maimed, to the wounded, to the fatherless, widows, &c. But will you now be cruel to your selves, incompassionate to your own bowels, insensible of your own wounds & miseries? O search and see, and be perswaded or
your

Heavenly
mercy.

To the High Court of Parliament.

your infinite want of *Crummes* falling from your *Table of Mercy*! of the infinite *price* and *value* of the *wine & oyl* of the mercifull (though despised Samaritan) to ease and supple, to cleanse and heale your broken Hearts and wounded Spirits.

Late zealous Reformati-
ons.

The flames of your *Zeal* for the *God of Israel* (as that famous *Iehu* said) have been so bright, and mounted so high against two mighty *Factions* of the *Kings* and *Queens* (the *Prelats* & the *Popes*) that those *flames* have not only dazled and amazed all *British* eyes (the *English* & the *Scotch*) but o're the *Seas*, and o're the *Alps*, and o're the *Pirenean mountains*, and *Romes* own 7 hills have flown & fild all *Protestant* and *Popish* ears, and hearts, and tongues, with either admiration & exulting, or furious rage and indignation! Yet what avails these glorious *flames*, and furious whirling of your zealous *Chariots*, if yet they are but *Iehus*? If *Sathan* the *God* of this world possesse the *Throne of Pride* and *Ostentation* in your bosoms (Come see my zeal which I have for the *God of Israel*) yea though you should go on where *Iehu* left, and shoot home where he fell short, yet what avails it that the *God of Israel* be in *Iehus* mouth, when *God-selfe*, *God-honour*, &c. fill his breast & heart? What gains he by the slaughter of *Princes*, *Priests* and *Gods*, when *Israel* it self is but an *Apostate* state from the true worship of the *God of Israel*, and *Iehu* himself (according to the purity of *Gods word* and *ordinances* at *Ierusalem*) reformed not so much as his own *privat heart* & *conscience*?

Iehu his
zeal and
reward.

Alas, what solid joy (most zealous *Worthies*) shall a *Crown of leaves* (a temporal reward, *Iehus* wages) bring to your Noble *Heads* & *Breasts*, if you heare not at last that saving *Call* to all humble and selfe-denying *Followers* of *Iesus*, *Come ye blessed of my Father*, inherit the *Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*.

Your

To the High Court of Parliament.

Your admired publick patience so wonderfully assaulted, so wonderfully loaden with such mightie *Trials* from *Mans*, from *Gods* hand, with such mighty *Losses*, mighty *Defeats*, mighty *Labours* & *Hazards*, mighty *Reproaches*, &c. I say your unwearied Patience hath stood (like some mighty *Rock*, or *Anvill*) invincible: Yet who can stile this *Patience*, or State-policie! if your private *Houfes* and *Breasts* swell and swarm with rebellious *Passions*, *Impatiences*, *Revenge*s! If in the furnaces of your own private afflictions, and in the powrings out and changes of the most *High* upon you, your *Drosse* and *Lees* of unmortified, un sanctified *Spirits* remain uncleansed! if you most humbly kisse not the *Rods* of the most *High* chastising you by *sicknesses*, by *lesses*, and other *trials*, humbly thankfull, and longing to declare the the *Spirits* of true *Children*, truly desiring more and more to partake of his *Divine Nature* and *Holineffe*?

The Parliaments patience.

Yea, what avails the *Crown* of your enduring *Constancy*, that have rid out so long a *storm*, held out so long a *siege*, not fainted in such tedious *Travels*, *Labours*, *Oppositions*, *Treacheries*, *Discouragements*, but gloriously cast *Anchor* in the *Port* of *Patience*; if yet your personall *Righteousness* passe away as the morning dew melted with the warme beams of victorious and prosperous *Success*? If your own professions of *Christ Jesus* prove but a fading colour, and not died in the right *Grain* of the pretious *blood* of the *Son* of *God*?

Of the Crown of true Constancy.

Your Honours well remember, that the main point of *Luthers Reformation*, (and before him of the

To the High Court of Parliament.

Hussites in Germany and Bohemia, and before them of the Wicklevists in England, and before them of the Waldenses in France, consisted chiefly about Repentance and Faith in the blood of Christ: That the main Contentions of Calvin, and since him of the most Reformers, have turn'd upon the hinge of the Form of the Church, and the Administrations thereof, the lamentable though pretious Fuel of those fires of strife among the wisest, holiest, and learnedst of the Followers of Christ Jesus in these times. You know the Lord Jesus prophesied, That many false Christs should arise, and the Scriptures more then once give the title of Christ to the Church; whence it is evident, That every severall Modell, Platform, and profession of a Church, is the profession of a various and different Christ. Your Honours also know he spake most true (being Truth it Selfe) that said, That which is most highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God, Luke 16. Hence, such may the glorious profession of Christs or Churches be, as may ravish the eyes and hearts of men, and from which the jealous eyes of the true Lord Jesus turn away as from the false and counterfeit with indignation. Beside the Counterfeit in holy Scripture, how famous was the Pageant of that counterfeit King of England, which so haunted with long vexations one of the wisest of Englands Kings (Henry the seventh?) How wonderfully (even to astonishment) did the imposture of Richard Duke of York (proclaiming Henry an usurper and false.) I say, how wonderfully did that monstrous imposture take, that not only

The Controversies of late years about Religion.

So many opposite Churches, so many opposite Christs to the onely true.

The Pageant of Perken Warbeck in K. H. 7. his dayes, a picture of false Christs, or Churches.

To the High Court of Parliament.

onely Foraigners where that Counterfeit most kept (the Arch-Duke, the King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, the King of *Romanes*, the *Irish Nation*, &c.) were deceived with that feigned King, but also so many gallant men of our own *Nation*, even to the wisest and highest (as that famous *Stanley Lord Chamberlain*, the *Preserver* and *Raiser* of King *Henry* himselfe) lamentably lost their *Heads* and *Lives* about that pretended King? Now counterfeit *Spiritual delusions* of false and counterfeit *Christs*, as they are deeper and stronger, so they find more easie possession of the *Ears* and *Souls* of men, so wofully prepared by naturall *self-deceivings*.

On six principall Pillars or * Foundations (saith the holy Spirit, *Heb. 6. 6.*) is built the fabrick of of true Christianity: On *Repentance*, on *Faith*, on *Baptismes*, on *laying on of Hands*, on the *Resurrection*, and the *Eternall Judgement*.

* θεμελιον.
The six fundamentals of Christian Religion.
Heb. 6.

Concerning the two middle ones of these there are and have been mighty and lamentable differences among the Scholars of *Jesus*, who yet agree in the other foure, of *Repentance* and *Faith*, the *Resurrection* and *Eternall Judgement*.

Whatsoever your Honours apprehensions are of the foure last, I beseech you (as you love your lives to *Eternity*) make sure of the two first, and ply (with *Sails* and *Oars*) day and nights, and give not rest to your souls till you have anchored in some blessed assurance, that although you find not satisfaction in the many frames of *Churches* pretending; yet that you have saved (as once you know a wise and honorable personage said) the *Bird* in your *Bosome*: and

with or without the first two, salvation or no salvation.

To the High Court of Parliament.

that those your very eyes which have seen so much of Christ Jesus, and so many wonderfull changes, and have been rotten awhile in their holes (in *Death*) shall joyfully possesse, and fill their holes again, and be gloriously blessed with the sight of a *Redeemer*, when these *Heavens* and this *Earth* shall passe away. For which humbly and uncessantly prays

*Your Honours most unworthy,
yet unfainedly devoted,*

Roger Williams.

Your Honours (wanting time to read much) may please to view in a few minutes the *Portraicture* and *Map* of the whole *Bloody Tenent* in the latter end of the last Chapt. Chap. 79.



To the several Respective General Courts,
especially that of the Massachusetts in
N. ENGLAND.

Honored and beloved Friends and Countrymen,



Hile You sit drie on your safe *American* *W, England*
Schoars (by Gods most gracious *Priviledge.* *Providence*)
and have beheld the dolefull *tossings* of so
many of *Europs Nations*, yea of our dearest
Mother, aged *England*, in a *Sea of Tears*
and *Bloud*, I am humbly bold to present
your *Eyes* and *Hearts* with this (not unseasonable) discourse
of *Bloud*, of the *Bloudy Tenents* of *Persecution*, *Oppression*,
and *Violence*, in the Cause and matters of *Conscience* and
Religion.

It is a *Second Conference of Peace and Truth*, an Exa-
mination of the worthily honoured and beloved Mr. *Cottons* *Whole Nation*
Reply to a former *Conference* and *Treatise* of this Subject. *of Lyons or Per-*
And although it concern^s all Nations, which have persecuted *secutors.*
and shed the *Bloud of Iesus*, the *Bloudie Roman Empire*,
with all the *Savage Lyons* thereof, *Emperours* and *Popes*,
the *bloudie Monarchies* of *Spain* and *France*, and the rest
of *Europs Kingdoms* and *States* (which under their several
Vizards and *Pretencss* of *Service to God*, have in so many
thousands of his *Servants*, *Murthered* so many thousand
times over, his dear *Son*) yea although it concern that *Blou-*
die Turkeish Monarchy, and all the *Nations* of the *World* who
practise *violence to the Conscience* of any *Christian*, or *Anti-*
christians,

To the General Courts of New England.

The Bloody Tenent more especially concerns N. E.

christians, Jews or Pagans; yet it concerns your selves (with all due respect otherwise be it spoken) in some more eminent degrees: Partly, as so many of yours of chief note (beside Mr. Cotton) are engaged in it; partly as N. England (in respect of *Spiritual* and *Civil State*) professeth to draw nearer to *Christ Jesus* then other States and Churches, and partly as N. England is believed to hold and practise such a *Bloudie Doctrine*, notwithstanding Mr. Cottons *Vails* and *Pretextes* of not persecuting men for conscience, but punishing them only for sinning against conscience! and of but so and so, not persecuting, but punishing *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolators*, *Seducers*, &c.

The occasion of the present controversy.

It is Mr. Cottons great mistake and forgetfulness, to charge me with a publick examination of his privat Letter to me; whereas in Truth, there never passed such Letters between himself and me about this Subject; as he ailedgeth: But the *Prisoners Arguments* against *Persecution*, with Mr. Cottons *Answer* thereunto (which I examined) I say these were unexpectedly, and solemnly sent to me, as no privat thing, with earnest desire of my consideration or *Animadversions* on them.

These *Agitations* between Mr. Cotton and others, so sent unto me, as also the *Model* of *Church* and *Civil Power* by *Gods Providence* coming to hand, I say they seem'd to me to be of too too *Publick* a nature: And in which my soul not only heard the dolefull cry of the souls under the *Altar* to the *Lord* for *Vengeance*, but their earnest *solicitations*, yea and the command of the *Lord Jesus* for *Vindication* of their *blouds* and *lives* spilt and destroyed, by this *Bloudie Tenent*, though under never so *Fair* and *Glorious Shewes* and *Colours*.

This Contestation is not with persons, but against their bloudy Doctrines and Tenents.

The most holy and allseeing knowes how bitterly I resent the least difference with Mr. Cotton, yea with the least of the followers of *Jesus*, of what conscience or worship soever: How mournfully I remember this stroak (as I believe) on Mr. Cottons eye, and the eyes of so many of *Gods* precious children and servants, in these and other parts; that those eyes so piercing

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peircing and heavenly (in other holy and precious Truths of God) should yet be so over-clouded and *bloudshotten* in this: I grieve I must *contest*, and maintain this *contestation* with (in other respects) so dearly beloved and so worthy *Adversaries*.

And yet why mention I or respect I man that is but *Grass*, and the children of men that must *die*, whose *Brains*, *Eyes* and *Tongues* (even the *holiest* and the *highest*) must *shertly sink* and rot in their *skuls* and *holes*.

Without remembering therefore who my *Adversarie* is, nor all the *Wormwood* and the *Gall* so frequently in Mr. Cottons Reply against me; I fully and only level with an upright and *single eye* (the Lord *Jesus* graciously assisting) against that fowle and monstrous *bloudie Tenent* and *Doctrin*, which hath so slyly (like the old *Serpent* the *Author* of it) crept under the shade and shelter of Mr. Cottons *Patronage* and *Protection*.

My end is to discover and proclaim the crying and horrible guilt of the *bloudie Doctrin*, as one of the most *Seditious*, *Destructive*, *Blasphemous*, and *Bloudiest* in any or in all the *Nations* of the *World*, notwithstanding the many fine *Vails*, *Pretences* and *Colours* of not persecuting *Christ Jesus*, but *Heneticks*, not *Gods Truth* or *Servants*, but *Blasphemers*, *Seducens*: not *Persecuting* men for their *Conscience*, but for sinning against their *Conscience*, &c.

The end of this Treatise.

My end is to perswade *Gods Judah* (especially) to wash their hands from *Bloud*, to cleanse their hearts and wayes from such *Unchristian practices*, toward all that is *man*, capable of a *Religion* and a *Conscience*, but most of all toward *Christ Jesus*, who cries out (as he did to *Saul*) in the sufferings of the least of his *Servants*: *Old England*, *Old Englands*, *New England*, *New England*, *King*, *King*, *Parliaments*, *Parliaments*, *General Courts*, *General Courts*, *Presbyterians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Independents*, &c. Why persecute you me? It is hard for you to kick against the *Pricks*.

The cry of the Lord Jesus.

My end is to prepare the *Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*
(what

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(what Truth soever of his they testifie) for that great and general and most dreadfull slaughter of the witnesses, which I cannot but humbly fear, and almost believe, is near approaching, and will be ushered in, provoked and hastned by the proud security, worldly pomp, fleshy confidence, and bloody violences of Gods own children, wofully exercised each against other, and so rendred wofully ripe for such an Universal and dreadfull Storm and Tempest!

A Bar against
Persecution.

My end and scope is to put a Christian barr, and just and merciful Spoaks in the wheels of such zealous reforming Jehues, who (under the Vizard and Name of Baals Priests) may possibly be induced to account it good service unto God, to kill and burn his precious Servants.

Or a Testimony
against it, espe-
cially in the Pa-
pists.

My end is, that the greatest Sons of Bloud (the Papists) may know, when ever (as the Saints in Queen Maries days confessed) when ever it shall please the jealous God for the sins of his Saints to turn the Wheels of his most deep and holy Providences, and to give the Power to the Paw of the Beast, against his Saints and Truths, for their last dreadfull slaughter (as Daniel and John do clearly seem to tell us) I say those Sons of Bloud, the blondie Papists, may know, that their bloody Doctrin of persecution, was disclaimed by some, whom they call Sectaries: That squall and impartiall favour was pleaded to the Catholicks, as well as to their own or other mens Souls and Consciences: And that if that great Whore shall yet proceed not only to drink the wine of their carnal Jollitie, in the Bowles of the holy Ordnances of Christs Temple and Sanctuary; but also to drink more drunk in the bloud of his Saints and witnesses! This Testimony may stand as a Character of Bloud, fixed by the hand of Gods eternal Truth and Peace, upon the Gates of their bloudie Courts, and upon the forehead of their bloudie Judges, who (under what pretence soever) hunt and persecute the Souls and Consciences of any Child of God or Man.

A double prison,
of prejudice and
Conscience.

My truly honoured and beloved Countrimen, vouchsafe me I beseech you that humane and Christian Libertie to say, that I fear your Spirits are lock'd up in a double prison from any serious

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serious *Audience* to ought of mine presented to you. The first of *Prejudice* against *such* and *such* a person. The second of *Conscience*, against *such* and *such* a matter; and that while my *Conscience* or another mans faith, Let me be *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, with *Christ Jesus*, with his *Apostles*, *Saints* and *Witnesses*: Let me (for his sake) bear *Frowns*, *Censures*, and *Persecutions*, from men so dear, so excellent, so holy! Your *Consciences* plead for equall *Libertie* of opposing in your way, all such erroneous or wandring *Consciences*.

For answer, It is but *Humanity*, it is but *Christianity* to exercise *meekenesse* and *moderation* to all men: It is humane and *Christian Wisdom* to listen to a serious *Alarm* against a *Common Enemy*: Prove the *Alarm* false, it may be but troublesome: Prove it true, it may be *Destruction* to have despised it.

As the wounds of a *Lover* are better then the *Kisses* of an *Enemy*: So saith the same *Spirit*, an open *Rebuke* is better then secret *Love*.

But yet your *Consciences* (as all mens) must be satisfied, I have therefore in all these *Agitations* humbly presented (amongst others) two *Foundamental Hints* or *Considerations*.

2 Foundamen-
tall Hints a-
gainst Persecu-
tion.

First that the *People* (the *Original* of all free *Power* and *Government*) are not invested with *Power* from *Christ Jesus*, to rule his *Wife* or *Church*, to keep it *pure*, to punish *Opposites* by force of *Armes*, &c.

Secondly, that the *Pattern* of the *National Church* of *Israel*, was a *None-such*, unimitable by any *Civil State*, in all or any of the *Nations* of the *World* beside: In this latter hint I insisted more largely in my former *Considerations* upon *Church* and *Civil Power* in *N. E.* unto which *Mr. Cotton* replied not (and of any other *Replies* of any (to whom *Mr. Cotton* refers it) do I yet not know of.)

I Add, it is a glorious *Character* of every true *Disciple* or *Scholler* of *Christ Jesus*, to be never too old to learn.

It is the *Command* of *Christ Jesus* to his *Schollars*, to try all

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all things: And *Libertie* of trying what a *Friend*, yea what an (esteemed) *Enemie* presents, hath ever (in point of *Christiannity*) proved one especiall means of attaining to the *truth* of *Christ*.

Libertie of trying forbidden Books, &c.

For I dare confidently appeal to the consciences of Gods most knowing servants, if that observation be not true, to wit, that it hath been the common way of the Father of Lights, to inclose the Light of his holy Truths, in dark and obscure, yea and ordinarily in forbidden Books, persons and Meetings, by Sathan stiled Conventicles.

New Englands Lessons.

New English Voyages, have taught most of our *Old English spirits*, how to put due prices upon the most common and ordinary undervalued mercies; how precious with some hath been a little water? how dainty with others a piece of bread: How welcome to some the poorest housing? Yea the very Land and Earth, after long and tedious passages?

There is one *commoditie* for the sake of which most of Gods children in *N. England* have run their mighty hazards; a *commoditie* marvellously scarce in former times (though in some late years by Gods most gracious and mighty hand more plentifull) in our native Country: It is a *Libertie* of searching after Gods most holy mind and pleasure.

Liberty of searching out Truth, hardly got, and as hardly kept.

Jan le petit.

Out of this most precious and invaluable Jewel, if you suffer Sathan (that grand thief and cheater to bereave you, and that it shall be a crime, humbly and peaceably to question even *Laws* and *Statutes*, or what ever is even publickly taught and delivered, you will most certainly find your selves after all your long Run (like that little *Frenchman* who kill'd the *Duke of Guise*, and was taken next morning neare the place from whence he had fled upon a swift horse all night) I say you will most certainly find your selves, but where you were, *enslav'd* and *captivated* in the Chains of those *Popish Darkneses*, [to wit, *Ignorance* is the mother of *Devotion*, and we must believe as the *Church* believes, &c.]

Remember therefore (O ye the *Cream* and *Flower* of *English Plantations* in *America*) what a black and direfull a *vote* it was with which it pleased the Spirit of God in *Habacuck*,

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cuck, to brand the *Affirian* Monarchie, to wit [a *Bitter* and *hastie Nation*] but in the *spirit* of *meeknesse*, in the *meeknesse* of *wisdom*, be pleased to remember that possible it is for *Gods* *visible*, only people in the *world* to have very foul and blou-
 die hands, full of *Bloud* (*Isa. 1.*) ! To build up *Zion* and *Je-
 rusalem* (that is, to erect the *Visible Church* and *Kingdom* of
God) with *Bloud* (*Mis. 3.*) and with *Iniquitie* : That the
Heads and *Judges* of *Gods* *People*, may judge for a *reward*
 (and the *deceitfull* heart of man graspeth at *rewards* more
 then of one sort) that the *Priests* and *Prophets* thereof may
teach and *Prophecie* (and it may be frequently and excellent-
 ly, but yet for) an *hire* and for *money* ; And that yet their
consciencess may lean upon *Jehovah*, and they may say with
confidence, is not the *Lord* amongst us? None evil shall come
 unto us; &c. O remember that your *Gifts* are rare, your
Professions of *Religion* (in such way) rare, your *Persecuti-
 ons* and *hidings* from the *storms* abroad, rare and *wonderfull*:
 So in proportion your *Transgressions*, *estate* and *publick-
 sins* cannot but be of a rare and extraordinary *Guilt* : Nor
 will *New England's* *sorrowes* (when *sins* are *ripe* and *full*)
 be other then the *Dregs* of *Germanie's*, of *Ireland's*, of *Eng-
 land's*, and of *Scotland's* *Tears* and *Calamities*.

The wonderfull
deceitfulness of
the hearts of
Gods only peo-
ple.

Mic. 3.

N. England must
be singular, as in
Mercies, so in
Judgments.

Amongst the crying *sins* of our own or other *sinfull* *Nations* : those two are ever amongst the *lowdest*, to wit, *In-
 vented Devotions* to the *God* of *Heaven*. Secondly, *Violence*
 and *Oppression* on the *Sons* of men (especially (if his *sons*) for
dissenting, and against both these, and that the *impartial* and
dreadfull hand of the most holy and *jealous* *God* (a *consuming*
fire) tear and burn not up at last the *Roots* of these
Plantations, but graciously discovering the *Plants* which are
 not his, he may graciously fructifie and cause to flourish
 what his *Right hand* will own : I say this is the humble and
 unfeigned desire and cry (at the *Throne* of *Grace*) of your
 so long despised *Out-cast* :

2 of the lowdest
State. crying
sins.

ROGER WILLIAMS.



To the Merciful and Compassionate R E A D E R.

*Soul wounds,
the deepest.*



Hile the unmercifull *Priests* and *Levits* turn away their cruel *Eyes* and *Feet* from their poor wounded *neighbours* (the oppressed for matters of *Religion* and *Worship*) it will be no ingratefull act to present thy tender *heart* and *Ear* (*Compassionate Samaritane*) with

the dolefull cry of the *Souls* under the *Altar* [How long *Lord* before thou avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the *Earth*] and to pray thy mournfull view of the *Akelde-mae's* and *fields* of *Blood*, where thousands and ten thousand timesten thousands of the pretious *Saints* (*Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*) lie slaughtered in their bloudie *Gore*, in all *Ages* and in all *Nations*, where the *Trumpet* of the *Son* of *God* hath sounded :

Here and there among these slaughtered heaps of *Saints* lie (thin and rare) the slaughtered *Carkasses* of some poor *Arrians* or *Papists*, or other poor *deluding* and *deluded* *souls*: This seeming colour of *Impartiall Justice* serves (woefully) that *murtherous enemy* of all *Mankind* for a *Stale* or *Covert* under which his *bloudie Game* goes on, of persecuting (or hunting) the harmless *Deer*, the children of the living *God*.

The Akeldamaes, or fields of Blood, caused by the Bloody Tement of Persecution.

For the sake then of the dear *Saints* and *Followers* of *Jesus*, for his holy sake and *Truth*, for the holy name and *Truth* of the most holy *Father* of *Lights*, the *God* of it, thy compassionate eye is here presented with a *Second Conference* and

view

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view of Mr. Cottons Reply, and artificial bloudie washing of the *Bloudie Tenent*.

The *Battel* about any *Truth* of *God* in *Christ*, is fought and managed by that most high and glorious *Michael* the *Arch-Angel* and *Son* of *God*, attended with all his *Holy Angels*, the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of his *Truth* on the one side: On the other side by that great red *Dragon*, whose bloudie *Follower*s, *Devils* and men of all sorts and *Nations*, but especially the *Roman* bloudie *Emperor*, and *Roman Popes* (with *Lyon-like Furie*, and *Fox-like craft*) have suck'd the *Bloud* and broke the *Bones*, and devoured the *Flesh* of so many hundred thousand, thousands of the *King* of *Kings* his spiritual *Hinds* and *Roes* in this their bloudie hunting: So that aptly (I had almost said *Prophetically*) wrote one of their own *Roman Poets* of the lamentable condition of the *harmlesse Deer* above other *Creatures*: *Dente tuetur Aper, defendunt, Cornua Taurum, Imbelles Dama quid nisi Prada sumus?*

Michael, the son of God, and Satan the red Dragon, the two great Generals.

'Tis a lamentable and cruel sight to see the sons of one poor man and woman, (all the *Globe* of the world over (like *Babels* builders) so vastly disagreeing about a *God* and his *Worship*.

'Tis lamentable to see these one *Mans* sons *Murthered* and *Massacred* (in mutual slaughters) as for other pretended *Causes*: So this especially of *Conscience* and *Religion*:

'Tis yet more lamentable and never enough to be lamented, that while the *Sons* of *Men* do but their *kind*! the *Sons* of *God*, the *sons* of the *God* of *Peace*, the *Lillies*, *Doves* and *Spouses* of *Jesus* should thus discord and jarr about this *Christ* their *hope*! that (like the very *Turks* and *Persians* contending about their *Mahomet* his *Successors*) the *Children* of *God* should tear out each others *Throats* about the last *Will* and *Testament* of the *Son* of *God* their elder brother: That *Ephraim* should be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah*; yet all sons of one, and professors of one *God* of *Israel*:

Lamentable discords about Religion, even among the servants of the true and living God.

But oh the low and shallow comprehensions of the sons of men, who as a *Rotten thing* (saith *Job*) consumeth: Oh the depths

The Israelites divided.

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depths of the *Councels* and *workings* of the most *Holy*, most *Holy*, and only *wise*, outshooting all the *Generations* of men, who hear and know no more then *Jonathans* Lad, Is not the *Arrow* beyond thee? &c.

His holy *Wisdom* hath an heavenly *Reason* (to touch a little upon this *sorrowfull* *string*) of that *bloudie* *Device* and *Sale* of innocent *Joseph* by his own *Brethren*, the sons of one *Israel* and *God*.

Joseph sold by his
brethren.

Israel force
Aaron to make
them *Gods*.

He knowes why so holy a *Leader* of such a *miraculous* *People* (as I may truly call them) why *Aaron* (I say) was so left to the horrible, ungratefull, and outrageous importunities of this (then the only) *People* of *God*, as to frame a *Beastly* *worship*, and to turn the most glorious and dreadfull *Godhead* into the similitude of a *Beast* that eateth grasse.

Israels *murmuring*.

He knowes why the *Israel* of *God* *Rebels*, as *Moses* passionately called them) should so often grieve the holy *Spirit* of *God* with their *murmurings*, and be so near to dash out the brains of their most faithfull *Leaders*.

Aaron and *Miriam*
against
Moses.

He knowes why two *Parts* or *Angles* of that *Heavenly* *Triangle* (*Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* so neer in *Earthly* and *Heavenly* *Relations*) I say why that rare *Pair*, *Aaron* and *Miriam* should yet envie and mutiny against their so dear a *Brother*, and so meek and heavenly a *Ruler*, *Moses*.

An *Armie* of
32000 *Israels*
shrank into
300.

His heavenly wisdom hath a reason of that wonderfull *Shrinking* of an *Army* of 32 thousand *Israelits*, into one poor 300 left behind, and found only fit for *Gods* *battels* against the *Midianits*.

Samson and *Da-*
uid discoura-
ged by their
own *brethren*.
Benjamin almost
destroyed by the
11 *Tribes*.

A reason why those two famous *Champions*, *Samson* and *David* should find so great discouragement to their fighting of *Gods* *Battels*, the men of *Judah* basely binding *Samson*, and the chief of *Dauids* own *Brethren* flying in his face with open *Railings*.

Israels rejecting
of *Samuel* & the
Lord himself.

A reason of that all most utter consumption of one whole *Tribe* of *Israels* 12, by the furious flames of the *Zeal* and *Indignation* of the eleven.

These things happened not by *chance*, but as the *Apostle* speaks in *Types* (in curious and wonderfull *figures*) so that
his

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his holy wisdom knowes: why *Israel* must be so weary of *Samuel* and himself, and (like the *Nations* of the *World*) must have a *King* to be their *Champion* and fight their *Battels*:

Why *Saul* this desired *King*, the *King* of *Gods* own choice and *Israels*, why yet he must hunt an innocent *David*, as a *Flea* in the bosom, or a *Partridg* on the mountains, until he hath slain himself to set the *Crown* on *David*s head.

Saul persecuting David.

A reason of that long continued *Faction* of so many *Tribes* against this *David*s *Crown*, and that *Israel* (so importunate, so impatient for a *King*) should now powre out each others blood about a *Successor*, whether a *David*, or (the son of *Persecution*, *Saul*) *Ishboseth*.

Ishboseth and Israel against David and Judah.

A reason (when *David* wears both *Crowns* in one, and hath all that a most *gracious* *God* could espie out fit for *David* to receive, that yet he wants a wife that had so many, and rather then a *David*s sinfull *Desires* and *Whordomes* shall want a *Covering*, the blood of *Uriah* (that is *fire* or *zeal* of *God*) shall die and make up one to cover them.

David stabbing Uriah with his Pen.

O the *Depths* of the *Councils* of the holy one of *Israel* why (there being but 12 *Tribes* in all) 10 *Tribes* of his own people should tear away from 2, and after many *Captivities* of the one and the other, both the one and the other now are scattered from each other upon the face of the *Earth*, and as yet no certain *Tidings* what's befall to the 10 *Tribes* of the *Israel* of *God*.

The divisions & dispersions of the Tribes.

He knowes why to leave an upright perfect *Asa*'s heart to such *folly* and *wrath*, as to lay a *Faithfull* *Prophet* (admonishing him from *God*) by the heels.

Asa imprisoning the Prophet.

Yea, why the *Followers* of the meek *Lamb* of *God*, should burn in such *Unchristian* *Flames*, as to call for fire from *Heaven* to consume the *contemners* and *despisers* of their *Lord* and *Master*, who quenqueth the fire of their rash *zeal* with this mild *Check*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of.

Christs Disciples destrous of fire from heaven, &c

Why such *misgic* (*Bitternesse* as the *Word* is) should rise between two *Turtle Doves*, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and that about their most laborious and most dangerous *Ministeries*:

Bitterness between Saul and Barnabas.

Why one cries *Paul*, another *Apollo*, another *Cephas*, another

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ther *Christ*, even in the first established *Churches*.

Gods mercy
drawes out ma-
ny sweet fruits
from the bitter
contentions of
his servants.

This holy *Plot*, this heavenly *designe* of the most holy and only wise *God*, thus to permit the *contentions* and *divisions* of his own *Servants*, as it displaies *Himself* only *Perfect* and *Excellent*, and all (the best of) men in all *Ages*, but *farthing-candles*, yea *smoking Firebrands*: As it brightly proves the admirable consent and *Angelical Harmony* of the holy *Scripture*, relating *Histories*, and in those *Histories* infolding *Prophecies*, fulfill'd before mens daily view thousands of years after: As it makes us see our *spiritual Povertie* and *Beggary*, and infinit need of *Mercy* and *Grace*, and *Peace* from *Heaven*, and drives us to continual *Prayers* and *cries*, for mercifull supplies from thence! As it disrelissheth this present sweetest life, yea the very life of *Spiritual Love*, in the *Communion* of the *Saints of God* themselves, if compared with the most pure and *spiritual* and *absolute Joyes* and *Life* approaching.

So doth this heavenly *Council* of the most *High*, abundantly stop the mouths of all *malicious*, who (although they delight to scratch their *Athenian Itch* of hearing *Novelties*, *new things*, *News*, yet) stumble they at this stumbling-block of *Novelties*, *new Churches*, *new Ministers*, *new Discipline*, *new Baptism*, *new Light*: The ancient of days (say they) the *God of Peace* and *Love* cannot be in such *Divisions*: The old *Bishops* were better, the old *Popes* themselves more tolerable:

But this is but the barking of *malice* against *Gods* holyness which his true servants desire to partake of! Against *Gods Truth*, which his servants must contend for, (yea though it be one against another) against *Gods Councils* who hath so laid his holy *project*, that what he now sets out in a clear *Light* and fairer *Print*, is the very same (had we inlightned eyes to see it (with the old *edition* of former times, more dark and rude in *Ceremonies*, *Types*, and *figures*).

Various affecti-
ons of Readers
expected.

I cannot but foresee *variety* of divers *Passions* and *Affecti-
ons*, in a *Variety* of *Beholders* of this present *Controversie*:
Some will please themselves and their *curiosities* in the *No-
veltie*

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veltie of such discourses: some will rejoyce to see the light appear, and yet mourn in the lamentable differences of such who profess the same *God* and *Christ* about it: Some will be angry and cry out of *Blasphemy* against their *Gods*, their *Bellies*, and their *Titles*, &c. Some will fear disturbances of the *Civil*, and some of the *Spiritual peace* and *Christianity*: Yet some will truly desire to search and know the will of *God*, humbly desirous to do it on earth, as the *Angels* doe it in heaven.

The *Courteous Reader* may please to see, that in the first Conference of Peace and Truth, there was Discusst, a Modell of *New English Church* and *Civill Power*, which *Mr. Cotton* in his Reply waved and referred to others of the *New English Elders* to Reply unto, which whether they have so done as yet I have not heard:

*The Modell of
N. English
Church and Ci-
vil Power.*

Together with *Mr. Cottons Reply* to the *Bloudy Tenent*, there was also added a Reply of *Mr. Cotton* to an Answer of his Letter: The Examination of this Reply I desired; and intended should have been here presented; But the streights of time (being constantly drunk up by necessary Labours for bread for many depending on me, the discharge of Engagements, and wanting helps of transcribing) I say the streights of time were such, that the Examination of that Reply could not together with this, be fitted for Publick view, though with the Lords assistance will not delay to follow.

*Of Mr. Cottons
Reply to the An-
swer to his Let-
ter.*

Touching *Mr. Cotton* I present two words: First for his Person, Secondly for his Work.

For his Person, although I rejoyce that since it pleased *God* to lay a *Command* on my *Conscience* to come in as his poor *Witnesse* in this great Cause: I say I rejoyce it hath pleased him to appoint so able, and excellent, and *Conscionable* an Instrument to bolt out the Truth to the bran: So I can humbly say in his holy presence, it is my constant heaviness and souls grief as to differ from any fearing *God*; so much more ten thousand times from *Mr. Cotton*, whom I have ever desired and still desire highly to

*Gods wisdom
adored in the
Discussine of the
Bloudie Tenent.*

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esteem, and dearly to respect, for so great a portion of mercy and grace vouchsafed unto him, and so many Truths of *Christ Iesus* maintained by him. And therefore (notwithstanding that some (of no common Judgement and respect to him, have said, that he wrote his washing of the *Blondie Tendent* in *Bloud* against *Christ Iesus*, and *Gall* against me, yet) if upon so slippery and narrow a passage I have spilt (notwithstanding my constant resolution to the contrary) into any *Term* or *Expression* unbecoming his Person, or the Matter (the cause of the most high in hand considered) I humbly crave pardon of *God*, and *Mr. Cotton* also.

A memorable
Speech touching
Mr. Cotton.

Secondly concerning his Work, I call to mind a speech of one of eminent Note in *N. England* (observing a disposition in men for one man to deifie another, and that some of no small note had said they could hardly believe that *God* would suffer *Mr. Cotton* to err) the Speech was this [I fear that *God* may leave *Mr. Cotton* to some great error, that men may see he is a man] &c.

But concerning his Work, the observant Reader will soon discover, that whatever *Mr. Cottons* Stand is, yet he most weakly provides himself of very strange Reserves, and Retreats: to point with the finger at 2 or 3 most frequent and remarkable.

The strange retreats
Mr. Cotton makes in this
controversie.

First when he seems to be overwhelmed with the lamentable and doleful cries of the Souls under the *Altar*, crying out for *Vengeance* on their *Persecutors* that dwell upon the Earth! He often retreats, and professeth to hold no such Doctrin of persecuting the *Saints*, no nor of any for cause of Conscience, nor that the Magistrate should draw forth his Sword in matters of Religion.

The railing of
Lyon-like persecution, pag.

When it is urged that through this whole Book he Persecutes or Hunts (by name) the *Idolater*, the *Blasphemer*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer*, and that to Death or Banishment: and amongst other Expressions useth this for one [if there be stones in the streets, the Magistrate need not run for a Sword to the Smiths shop, nor to the Ropier for an Halter to punish *Hereticks*, &c.] *Mr. Cotton* retreats into
Land

To the Reader.

the Land of *Israel*, and calls up *Moses* and his Laws against *Idolaters, Blasphemers, Seducers, &c.*

When he is Challenged (and that by his own frequent confession in his Book) for producing the Pattern of a *National Church* when he stands only for a Congregationall! for producing that national church of *Israel*, so miraculous, so typical, as a Copie or Samplar for the Nations and Peoples of the World (who have no such miraculous and Typical respect upon them) *Mr. Cotton* retreats to *Moral Equity*, that the *Seducer* and he that kills a Soul should die.

When it is urged that *Christ Jesus* at his so long typed out coming, abolished those *National shadowes*, and erected his *Spiritual Kingdom* of *Israel*, appointed *Spiritual Officers, Punishments, &c.* and that those Scriptures, *Tit. 3.* against the *Hereticks*; and *Rev. 2.* against *Baalam* and *Iezabel* prove only a spiritual death and cutting off from *Christ Jesus* his holy land of life and peace, his church & kingdom.

Mr. Cotton retreats and confesseth *Christ's Kingdom* is spiritual, not national, but congregational, and that those Scriptures hold forth a spiritual cutting off, and he so produceth them to prove the *heretick* so to be cut off, alledging that the question was put in general terms, that he knew not what Persecution should be intended, and that an unjust excommunication is as fore a persecution as an unjust banishment. When he is urged with the nature of the consciences (even of all men to God or Gods in their worships, he professeth that he is wronged, & that he doth not hold that any man should be persecuted for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience. When all the consciences in the world cry out against him for setting up the *civil power & officers*, and *Courts of civil Justice*, to judge of the conviction of mens *souls and consciences*! *Mr. Cotton* retreats to his last refuge, and saith that although this be the duty of all the Magistrates in the world, yet not any of them must meddle to punish in *Religion*, untill they be informed which is (upon the point) untill he is sure they will draw their swords for his Conscience, Church, &c. against all other as heretical, blasphemous.

The strange reluctancies of the Lamb like spirit of Mr. Cotton forced to against the Persecuting Lyon.

To the Reader.

Monstrous partiality, as touching the Magistracy.

The monstrous *Partiality* of such *suspending*, &c. of *hanging up* all the *Magistrates* in the world, (except a few of his own *perswasen*) and that from so *principall* and *main* a part of their *Office*, and that so many *thousands* in the *Nations* of the world all the world over, and that *constantly* and *perpetually* all their *dayes*. If it please the most *jealous* and *righteous* God to hide it (I say the *monstrousnesse* of such a *Suspension*) from Mr. *Cottons* eyes, yet *thousand* and *ten thousand* will behold and wonder at it.

But (fearing to exceed in discourse at *dore*) let every mercifull and compassionate *Reader* freely enter in, and search the inmost *Rooms* and *Closets*.

The slaughter of the Witnesses, Revel. 2. 10.

If thou truly love the *Truth* and *Peace*, thou art too nger of kin to the *Prince of Peace* and *Truth* it self, long to escape the *Hunters*. If the *fourty two moneths* of the *Beasts* reign, and the *two hundred and threescore dayes* of the *propheste* of the *Witnesses* of *Iesus* in *Sackcloth* be expired: yet I fear the *three dayes* and a halfe of the greatest *slaughter* of the *Witnesses* is not over: Yet fear not what must be suffered, although the *Devill* cast (not onely some, but) all *Christs* *Witnesses*, into *Prison*: yea, although he murder and fling out the *Karkasses* of the *Saints* to *shame* and *injury*, yet the mighty *Spirit* of *God* will raise them on their feet again, and into heavenly *glory*, out of this *shame* shall they ascend in the sight of their bloody enemies.

How many and how various are the *Disputings*, &c. about what should be this *three dayes* and a halfe *calamity*? How many hope this storm is over? how many fear it is now a breeding? Yet why should we fear so short a draught (though) of a bitter *Cup*, when tempered by the gracious hand of an *Heavenly Father*, begun by so dear an *Elder Brother*, so sweet a *Saviour*? The *Revelations* of *John*, and the *Revelations* of *Gods* wonderfull *Providences*, seem to proclaim wonderfull and dreadfull *Discoveries* of the *Son of God* approaching. And it is as sure

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as that there is a Lord *Jesus Christ*, that God will subdue all his enemies, that he will shortly break (and make all his *followers* tread on) the proudest *Necks* born up this day in the world, even the grandest *Seignories* of the *Turkish* and *Papish* Empires, the two so mighty opposers of the Son of God. And it is not improbable, both their *ruines* and *downfall* must be from some *top* and *pinacle* of glorious *prosperity* and furious outrage against their (*Antichristian* and *Christian*) enemies.

Christ Jesus
shortly ruining
the two dread-
full Empires of
the bloody Turk
and Pope.

The chiefest *European* enemies of the All devou-
ring *Turk* (though all that bear the name of *Christ*
are his enemies) are more especially the *Pope*, the
Empireur, the King of *Spain* and the *Venetians*, by
whom *Christ Jesus* (probably) will dash that migh-
ty *Empire* into pieces, as he seems to have prophe-
sied of old by his servant *Daniel*: yet probably, as
I said before, this *downfall* must be from some more
eminent height of *Turkish* bloody *pride* and *glory*,
which that blasphemous and bloody *Monarchy*
shall immediatly before attain unto.

The *Turks* so-
rest enemies in
Europe.

The forest enemies of the *Rotten* *Popes*, are the
witnesses of the *Truths* of *Jesus*, whom he hath not
left himself without, during the 42 *months* of the
reign of this mighty and dreadful *Beast*. Against
these blessed *followers* of the *Lamb* must (probably)
the rage of this bloody *Beast* rise high in that his
great *slaughter* of them and *triumph* three days and
an half over them, (*Rev. II.*) and this not long be-
fore his own *eternall downfall*.

The *Popes* so-
rest enemies.

Many have been the *Interpretations* of that pro-
phesie, and some late *Applications* of the *witnesses*
and *Time* to particular *persons* and *Times* of late.

But

To the Reader.

But (with all due respect to the *Apprehensions* of any studious of the truth of *Jesus*) I conceive the matter is of a more *generall consideration*.

For in all that *world* over that wondred after the *Beast*, hath *Christ Jesus* raised up a *Generation* or kind of *Witnesses* bearing *testimony* against him. This *witnesse* (more or lesse) to the severall *Truths* of *Jesus*, he hath been pleased to maintain, before and since *Luthers* time, especially: The *finishing* of the *Testimony* must (probably) be *generall*, not only in *England*, but in the rest of the *Protestant Nations*; which *finishing* of the *witnesse* (probably) wil consist in the matters of the *purity* of his *worship*, and the *Government* of the *Lord Jesus* in his own holy *Appointments* and *Institutions*. The *slaughter* of these *witnesses* must also (probably) be *generall*, and in the three *dayes* and half *triumph* over them *generall*: upon which follows that most glorious and *generall* rising of the *witnesses* unto their *glory* promised, *Rev. II.*

Freedom of
Conscience in
worship due
evan to the Pa-
pists themselves.
See Chap.

I confesse in this plea for *freedom* to all *Consciences* in *matters* (meerly) of *worship*, I have impartially pleaded for the *freedom* of the *consciences* of the *Papists* themselves, the greatest *enemies* and *persecutors* (in *Europe*) of the *Saints* and *Truths* of *Jesus*: Yet I have pleaded for no more then is their *due* and *right*, and (what ever else shall be the *Consequent*) it shall stand for a *monument* and *testimony* against them, and be an *aggravation* of their former, present, or future *cruelties* against *Christ Jesus* the *Head*, and all that uprightly love him, his true *Disciples* and *Followers*.

It is true, I have not *satisfaction* in the clear discovery

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covery of those holy *Prophecies & Periods* set down and prefixed by the holy *Spirit* in *Daniel, Fohn, &c.* concerning the *Kingdom of Christ Jesus*: Yet two things I professe in the holy presence of *God, Angels and Men.*

First, my humble *Desires and Resolution* (the *Lord* assisting) to contend for the true and *visible worship* of the true and living *God*, according to the *Institution and Appointment* of the last will and *Testament of Christ Jesus.*

2. I beleeve and profess, that such *persons, such Churches* are got neereſt to *Christ Jesus*, on whose forehead are written these blessed characters of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*; First, content with a poor and low condition in worldly things. 2. An holy *cleansing* from the *filthines of false worships and worldly conversations.* 3. An humble and constant *endeavour* to attain (in their *simplicity & purity*) to the *Ordinances and appointments of Christ Iesus.* 4. Are so far from smiting, killing, and wounding the *Opposites* of their *profession and worship*, that they resolve themselves patiently to bear and carry the *Cross and Gallows* of their *Lord and Master*, and patiently to suffer with him. In the number of such his poor servants who as unfeignedly desire (notwithstanding my plea against *Persecutors and Persecution*) I say as unfeignedly desire to suffer as *cheerfully with Christ Iesus*, as *gloriously to reign* with him, desires to be,

*Thine unfeigned, though unworthiest
of all the Followers of J E S U S.*

Roger Williams.

SECRET

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The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody,
 By Master Cottons attempting to wash
 it with the Blood of the Lambe.

Examination of CHAP. I.

Truth.

Left be the *God* of *truth* and *peace* (*sweet* *peacè*) that once againe, we finde a *corner* and a few *hours* to entertaine our sweet *embraces* and *discourses* about that *Bloody Tenent* of *Persecution* for cause of *conscience*.

Peace.

It is indeed *Jehovah's* work, and it is marvellous in our eyes, that 'midst this worlds *combustions*, such a *corner* and such *hours* are found.

Truth. Dear *friends*, the longer absent, meet the *sweeter*; and have cause to spend each minute to his praise, who wonders works, and this not the least, that we *two* see each others face at all in these tempestuous dayes and *vale* of *tears*.

Truth & peace rarely meet in this vale of tears.

The bloody Tenent yet more bloody.

How harshly were our last *conferrings* entertained by some? How were our selves suspected, and traduced for *counterfeits*; and our pious and peaceable *Meditations*, cruelly condemned to the devouring *flames*?

Truth. That ever was our *portion*, ever since the *earthen pots* arose against their glorious *Potter*; and no better *lot* we must expect, while the *time* doth last that is determined.

Peace. Mean while tis yet our *lamentation*, that so many of our *darlings*, whom we have tendred as our *eyes*, have both in *Print* and *Pulpit*, cried out against us; and amongst the rest, one of thy dearest eldest *children*, (too too worthy to be) the *defender* of the *Bloody Tenent* of Persecution.

Truth. Our *love* shall cover his shame and *nakedness*; and our *wisdoms* pity his heavy labour, *Blackamore-washings*, and so great expence of precious *time* and *spirit*, in labouring to wash this so deeply bloody, and *Blackamore-Tenent*, in the blood of the *Lamb of God*.

Peace. So *parents* and true friends love and pity theirs, though sick, though froward and distracted; and let our *Bowels* yearne over him, who teares out *ours*: who knows but once before he sleep his last, in the pit of rotnennels, he may awake and give *glory* to the *God* of *peace* and *truth*, of *patience* and *long suffering*; whose *thoughts*, whose *wayes*, whose *love*, whose *pity* hath no *bounds*, nor *limits*, toward them whom he hath loved before the *worlds foundation*.

O let these blessed *buds*, of *hope* and sweet *desires* (dear *Truth*) put forth in pious fruits of renewed endeavors, and let me once againe prefer my suit for your impartial weighing of what *replies*, *objections*, *pleadings*, he hath brought against us.

Truth. For the *God* of *Peace*, for the *Prince* of *Peace* his sake, yea for his *servants* sake, for *Zions* sake, I will not be silent, and know (at last) I shall prevaile to scatter and dispell the *mists* and *fogs*, that for a while arise to cloud and choak us.

Peace. First, then, what cause should move this so able a *defendant* to leap over all our first *addresses* both to the high Court of *Parliament*, and to every *Reader*? and what may be conjectured, why himself directs a word to neither in this *controversie*?

Truth. I desire my *Rejoynder* may be as full of *love* as *truth*; yet

Many dear
Saints of God
plead for per-
secution: Oh
how righteous
is it with God
to send them
persecution!

Quere why
Master Cotton
leaps over the
Epistles to the
Parliament and
Reader.

yet some say Master Cotton is wise and knows in what door the wind blows of late; he is not ignorant what sad complaints in letters, printings conferences, so many of Gods people (and of his own conscience and judgement of Independency) have poured forth against New Englands persecuting &c. He knows what Bars New Englands bloody Tenent and practice may put to his brethrens just desires and suits for moderation and toleration, to non-conforming consciences.

Tis true, his conscience, and the credit of his way, compels his reply, but the times advise him, with as little noise as may be, and it seems with no great willingness, that that high and searching house of Englands Parliament should search and scan his Meditations.

Peace. Well, if the name of God were truly called upon them and (as his title intimateth) the great controversies of these present times are herein handled; If all that is here presented be truly practised; and he desire to buy and sell by one measure and to be no otherwaies measured unto, then he measureth unto others: why should not that renowned Court be more particularly and expressly attended with so high and needful examinations? But now enough of that, I long to see that weighed, which is presented, take up those holy weights of thine, which may faithfully discover how light or ponderous each parcel is in Gods most holy presence. Master Cotton first complaines against the publishing of his private letter, with an Answer thereunto: he faulteth the discussor for punishing his conscience, against the discussors own Tenent of liberty of conscience, for breach of rule, in first publishing to the world before private admonition, and telling the Church.

Truth. How justly may I begin with the defenders own conclusion of this first Chapter! He that setteth forth of his way in the first entrance of his journey, no marvel if he wander all the day after. For,

First, the discussor never wrote any such letter to Master Cotton, as Master Cotton so often affirms, and mentioneth throughout his Book.

The like mistake he falls into, in some other passages, which shall be gently toucht at, and passed by, as the failing of memory.

Peace. It is often seen, that small matters in the first steps and

N. E. Persecution guilt, of the persecutor in old, especially (since this Rejoynder) by their Law for Baniſhing such as hold no childrens Baptisme, and their late fourscore and ten bloody lashes to the body of the Lord Jesus in the sufferings of his faithful witness, Obadiah Holmes at Boston, meerly about that point of Baptisme.

entrance of a *business*, prove *ominous*; and although *love* bids us lay the *blame* on *memory*: yet since *Nil sine providentia & Deus est maximus in minimis*, and not a *Sparow* nor a *Haire* falls without him; methinks such a *stumble* in the *threshold* should have one sad *consideration* in *Master Cottons* brest, so long as he resides in the *chamber* of this *discourse*.

The occasion of publishing the bloody Tenent.

Truth. To my *knowledge* there was no such letter or *intercourse* passed between *Master Cotton* and the *discusser*; but what I have heard, is this: One *Master Hall* of *Roxbury*, presented the prisoners *Arguments* against *persecution* to *Master Cotton*, who gave this present controverted *Answer*; with the which *Master Hall* not being satisfied, he sends them unto the *discusser*, who never saw the said *Hall*, nor those *Arguments* in writing; (though he well remember that he saw them in print some yeers since) and apprehending no other, but that *Master Cottons Answer* was as public, as *Master Cottons profession* and *practice* of the same *Tenent* was and is, what *breach* of rule can *Master Cotton* say it was, to answer that in the *street* which *Master Cotton* proclaimeth on the *House top*?

Master Cotton blames the discusser for not walking in contradictions.

Peace. But grant it had been a *private letter*, and the *discourse* and the *opinion* private: yet why doth he charge the *discusser* with *breach of rule*, in not using orderly wayes of *Admonition*, and telling the *Church*, when *Master Cotton* himself in this *Book* blames the *discusser* for disclaiming *Communion* with their *Church*, and they also (after he was driven by *banishment* from *civil habitation* amongst them) had sent forth a bull of *excommunication* against him in his absence.

Unchristian partiality.

Such *practise* the *Lord Jesus* and his first *Apostles* or *Messengers* never taught, nor any that are truly their *successors* ever will. But to end this Chapter, in the last place, why doth *Master Cotton* complaine of the *loss* of the *liberty* of his *conscience*, and of the *punishing* of his *conscience*, by the publishing of his *letter*; aggravating it, because the *discusser* pleads for *liberty* of *conscience*? Is he indeed on the *Lord Jesus* mind for the sparing mens *bodies*, and present *life*, for their *souls* and eternal *lives* sake? Doth he indeed plead for *liberty of conscience*? Let the following *discourse*, and this present *passage* manifest how tender he is of his own *conscience*, and of the *liberty* of it; But how *cen-*
rious

rious and senseless of the pangs and agonies of other mens conscience and spirits, and sorrows? As if his alone were the Apple of his eye, but Theirs like the brawny hoofs of the roaring Bulls of *Bassan*.

Peace. Complaines Master Cotton of persecution for such dealing against him? I never heard that *disputing, discoursing* and *examining* mens Tenents or Doctrines by the word of God, was (in proper English acceptation of the word) persecution for conscience: well had it been for New England, that no servant of God, nor witness of Christ Jesus, could justly take up no other complaint against New England for other kinds of persecution: surely the voice of Christ Jesus to Paul; Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? was for another kind of persecution.

Master Cotton complaining of being persecuted by the discussor.

Truth. Deare Peace, if the Bishops of Old England or new had never stirred up the Civil Magistrate to any other suppressing of mens consciences, nor no other persecuting, then discussing, disputing &c. they should never have needed to have been charged to publikely in the face of the world, with the bloody Tenent of persecution for cause of conscience.

Examination of CHAP. II.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton much complaines, that he is charged in the Title to maintaine persecution for cause of conscience, and professeth, That he would have none be punished for conscience, unless his errour be fundamental, or seditiously; or turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of conscience, and that it may appear he is not punished for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience.

Truth. Persecution for conscience, is in plaine English, hunting for conscience; and Master Cotton being a son of wine (as the Jews speak in their Proverb) is loth to be counted a son of vinegar, and therefore would avoid the word persecuting or hunting (as something too wilde and fierce an expression, more furable to the bloody sons of vinegar and gall the Roman Emperors, Popes and Bishops) and he much desires to have the word persecuting

Persecution in plaine English is hunting.

Master Cottons curing changed for the word *punishing*, a term more proper to tender conscience, can hardly be a persecutor, but a punisher.

But is not this the *guise* and *profession* of all that ever persecuted or hunted men for their *Religion* and *conscience*? are not all *histories* and *experiences* full of the *pathetical* speeches of persecutors to this purpose? You will say you are persecuted for your *conscience*, you plead *conscience*; Thou art a *heretick* the *devil* hath deceived thee, thy *conscience* is deluded. &c. And

2. Whether such *punishing* as Master Cotton assigneth to that threefold degree of *heretical* wickedness, *chap. 5.* to wit, To hold a *fundamental error*, To *persist* therein after *conviction*, and lastly, To *seduce* others thereunto. Or these five summed up (*page 186* of his book) *subverters* of the *Christian Faith*. *persisters* therein after *conviction*, *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*; I say, such a *punishing* which he affirms to be *death* and *killing*, will not amount to make up a *persecution* for *cause of conscience* let the *Spanish Inquisitions* be an instance, who when they torture and rack, and kill and burn for such *crimes*, yet varnish they and guild all over with the painted *Title of Gods Glory*, holy *zeal*, just *punishment* of *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. But Master Cotton blameth, that he should be charged with the *Doctrine* of *persecution* by *consequence*.

Truth. Let his whole *book*, and the *prosecuting* of this *controversie* be *judge*, whether it be only drawn from *consequences*, and not express *Terms*. And for the washing of this *bloody Tenent* in the *blood* of the *Lambe*, *Time* hath and will discover that such a *Blackamore* cannot be washed in the *blood* of *Christ* himself, without *Repentance*; for they that washed their *robes* in the *blood* of the *Lamb* (*Revelations the 7.*) were true *penitents*: untill therefore that *persecutors* repent of this *bloody Doctrine* and *practice*, they must hear (as the men of *Judah* did) the prophet *Isaiahs* thunder, *Isa. 1.* *Your hands are defiled with blood; wash you, make you clean.* &c.

Examination of CHAP. III.

Peace.

BUt what *knot* in a *Bulrush* is that, which Master Cotton observes the *discusser* findes in his first *distinction* of *persecution* for *cause of conscience*?

Truth. For the matter upon the point, they both agree, as Master Cotton hath penned himself, that *persecution* for *cause of conscience*, is not onely when a man is punished for *professing* such *Doctrines* and *Worships*, as he believes to be of *God*, but also when he is punished for *renewing* such *Doctrine*, and not *practising* such *Worships*, which he believes are not of *God*, &c.

All the *difference* is this, that the *discusser* saith, This should have been expressed in the *distinction*; Master Cotton saith, it was implied, and therefore the observing of the not expressing of it, was but a *knot* in a *Bulrush*.

Peace. Tis wofully true, that the *peace* of the *Saints*, and the *peace* of the *world*, hath been lamentably, broake and distracted, in *punishing* or *persecuting* of men, but especially the *Saints*, upon both these grounds: but yet the *records* of *time* and *experience* will tell us, that since the *Apostasie* from the *truth* of *Jesus*, the rising of *Antichrist*, and the setting up of many *State-Religions*, the forest and frequentest *punishing* or *hunting* of the children of *God* hath been (as in the case of *Nebuchadnezzars Image*) for not bowing down to the *State-Images*, for not coming to *Church*, for not obeying the *Laws*, for withstanding the *Kings*, or *Queens*, or *Parliaments proceedings*.

Truth. Your *observation* is most *serious* and *seasonable*, and your *complaint* as *true* as *lamentable*: for since all *States* and *Governments* of the world (which lies in wickedness) set up their *State* or *Commonweal-Religions*, *Nebuchadnezzars golden Images*, and *Jeroboams golden Calves* (the *types* of the *State-Worships* of after *Ages*) whereby others are made to sin and bow down to their seeming glorious *worships*; and since the *dissenters*, *refusers*, *non-conformers*, *non-covenanters* (the *witnesses* of *God* against such *abominations*) are but few; and what *positive worship* they hold

Gods children
commonly per-
secuted for not
yeelding to
State-worships.

hold or practice (commonly) is most retired, and flying into private corners, by reason of the violence of the persecution; they are hence, soonest in all places of their abode, and more speedily and immediately called for and sought out, in the several Parish-towns where they live to bow down to the common-Image, the beastly and Calvinish inventions of the Ieroboams of this perishing world; and for refusing to subscribe, to conforme, to come to Church, to do as their neighbours, for being wiser then their Teachers, their Fathers, their Magistrates, the Country, the Parliament, the Kingdome (and sometimes the whole world, in their Oecumenical, or worldly Councils) they are thus punished and hunted for their conscience, for Gods, for Jesus sake; which is a point Master Cotton will say (if the blood of his dear Redeemer spilt in the blood of his servants, kindly affect him) of greater weight then knots in bulrushes.

Examination of CHAP. IV.

Peace.

IN the second distinction (to wit, of fundamentals, without right belief whereof, a man cannot be saved) Master Cotton upon the point confesseth it was a just reproof, and faith, that he meant only of the first sort of foundations, that concern salvation, and not of those that concerne the foundation of the Church, and Christian Religion.

Truth. It is strange that Master Cotton should so distinguish of foundations, when the holy Scripture attributes salvation to those foundations of the Church, and the order of it: The Lord added to the Church such as should be saved, and the like figure whereunto Baptisme now saveth us; and concerning the resurrection that we are saved by hope, Rom. 8.

Besides, are not those first foundations, which he saith concerne salvation, foundations also of the Christian Religion? If not of the Christian, then I demand of what Religion are they foundations?

Peace. It cannot therefore be denied, but that his distinction of fundamentals, was most dangerous, tending directly to condemn

denneth the *generation* of the *righteous*, who have been generally for many *generations* ignorant of the *Christian* way of *worship*. But what say you to this *reply*, touching how far the *New English* (implicite) *Parishes* compare and partake with those of *old*?

Truth. How far those *Churches* cannot be cleared from not *comming out* from the *Parish-worship*, from being themselves (implicite) *Parish-Churches* (notwithstanding their *Fig-leaves*, &c.) and from being *persecutors* of such as endeavour to cover their *nakedness* with better clothing, will appear, with *Christs* assistance, in the *examination* of his *reply* to the *Answer* of his *Letter*.

Examination of CHAP. V.

Peace.

THe discourse of this *chapter* is *larger* and more *controversial*, and therefore (*dear Truth*) requires your most *serious* and deeper *examination* of it. Master *Coston* here distinguisheth *worship* into *true* and *false*, and infers, that if *true worship, fellowship* with *God* is held; but if *false, fellowship* with *God* is lost. And whereas he was thereupon minded by the *discusser* to have lived in a *false Ministry* in *England*, and to have practised the *false worship* of the *Common Prayer*, he labours to clear both, and in particular he saith, It is not truly said, that the *Spirit of God* maketh the *Ministry* one of the *foundations* of the *Christian religion*, (*Heb. 6.*) For it is (saith he) only a *foundation* of *Christian order*, not of *faith* or *religion*: and he adds, The *Apostle* puts an express *difference* between *faith* and *order*, *Col. 2. 5*. What can be said thereunto?

Truth. I. Alas, what buildings can weak souls expect from such Master-builders, when Master *Coston* is so confounded about the very *foundations*? In the former *Chapter*, he distinguisheth between *foundations* that concern *salvation*, and those that concern the the *Church* and *Christian religion*: here he distinguisheth between those of *Christian order*, and those of *Faith*, or *Christian religion*. In the former, he opposeth *faith* against *religion* and
C
order;

The bloody Tenent yet more bloody.

order; here he opposeth *faith* and *religion* to *order*. Grant his *memory* (in so short a turn) failed him, yet doubtless his *mistakes* about the *foundation* of *Christian religion*, are most gross and inexcusable.

Truth. 2. I finde no such *distinction* in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, between the *Christian order*, and the *Christian religion*; as if the *order* of the *Church of God* (I might say, the *Church* it self, and the *Ministry* of it) were no part of the *Christian religion*.

It is true, *Coloss.* 2. speaks of *faith* and *order*, but yet denies not the *Christian Church*, and the *order* of it, to be any part of the *Christian religion*. It is true, that sometimes *faith* implies the particular *grace* of *believing*, and yet sometimes it is put for the whole *Christian religion* (as *Jude* 1. contend for the *faith* once delivered) so that if *Master Cotton* confesseth the *Ministry* of the *Word* (*Heb.* 6.) to be a *foundation* of *Christian* or *Church-order*, he cannot deny it to be a *foundation* of the *Christian religion* or *worship* reduced to those two, of *Faith* and *Order*.

Peace. What answer you to his saying, It is not a true and a safe speech, to call the *fellowship* and *blessing* of *God* vouchsafed to corrupt *Churches* or *Ministers*, or *ministrations* unpromised, or beyond a word of *promise*, of *God*? Against which he alleadgeth (*Ier.* 13.) That *God* will be *merciful* to his peoples iniquities, and *2 Chron.* 30. *Gods* mercy to every one that prepareth his *heart*, &c. although he be not cleansed after the *preparation*, &c.

Truth. The *promises* hold forth no *blessing* or *fellowship* of *God* to *false worships*; against which all the holy *Scripture* denounceth *curfings*, both in the old and new *Testament*; nor in particular doth that of *Jeremy* promise any *pardon* of sin, but to the *repentant*, though most true also is that *distinction* of *particular* repentance for known sins, and *general* for sins unknown. Such was the sin (it may be) of the *Israclites*, *2 Chron.* 30. in their want of such their legal cleansing.

But I add, how can that one act of covering or conniving at *ceremoniall* uncleanness (about a true *worship*) be brought to prove a promise of *Gods* blessing and fellowship, to a constant course of a *false* and invented way of prayer by the *Latine* or *English Masse-book*, as some have rightly called it?

Peace. Con-

Peace. Concerning *Ordination*, Master Cotton saith, that it is no *essential* part of a call to the *Ministry*; no more then *Coronation* is *essential* to the Office of a *King*: And *Jehoshua* the *high priest* did not lose *fellowship* with *God*, though he was clothed with *filthy garments*, *Zeck. 3.*

Truth. I answer, *Ordination* or laying on of hands, comprizeth the whole *Ministry*. *Heb. 6.* wherein if *Election* or *Ordination* be false, I see not how the *Ministry* is true, any more then a *marriage* can be true, where either *consent* or *solemnity* by a true power is wanting: or a *King* rightly instituted in his *Kingly* office, when either *election* or *coronation* is given or made by a false power.

2. But further, *Ordination* is not well represented by a *Kings coronation* (to say nothing of the stateliness of the simile) for a *King* may administer by *successive election* and *consent* (in some States) before *coronation*, and *coronation* is but for publicke *state* and *ceremony*; but a *Minister* cannot administer before *ordination* (no more then a *husband* enjoy his *spouse* before marriage) which is the putting of him into, and the investing of him with his Authority, as we see both in the *priests* of the *law*, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*.

Ordination of Christs Ministry und fitly compared to the coronation of Kings.

Concerning *Jehoshua* his garments; This kind of *confession* is not after the *patterne* of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *David*, *Daniel* &c. but with mincing and excusing. Moreover, in this place of *Zecharry*, *God* only comforts his people with the promise of *better times*, and more new and costly garments: for the *High priest* now returning from *captivity*, his garments were torne, foule and filthy.

Lastly, These were the *garments* of the *Lords* appointing, though in a poor and afflicted condition: what is this to a *fools cap* or *coate* (the *cap* or *surplice*) what is this to the office of *Ieroboams priests*, which never were of *God*, though happily some of them might studiously give themselves to attaine and teach the knowledge of *God*, and might (in a kind) separate from the false, *2 Chron. 13.* and some good thing might be found in some, as in *Ieroboams* child, and happily many others as in these our times?

Peace. Concerning *common prayer*, he pleades the time of their *ignorance*; as also that the *high places* were removed, *2 Chron.*

Master Cotton pleads for common prayer.

14. and knows not of any such faithful *admonition* as was mentioned.

Truth. God winketh at some *ignorance*, but is not blind to pass by all: The *high places* were an high sin, and in Gods time discovered, repented of, and removed; but ever by God disclaimed, &c. And although the *discusser* acknowledgeth himself unworthy to speak for God to Master Cotton or any, yet possibly Master Cotton may call to minde, that the *discusser* (riding with himself and one other of precious memorie (Master Hooker) to and from *Sempringham*) presented his *Arguments* from *Scripture*, why he durst not joyn with them in their use of *Common prayer*; and all the *Answer* that yet can be remembered the *discusser* received from Master Cotton, was, that he selected the good and best prayers in his use of that *Book*, as the *Author* of the *Council of Trent* was used to do, in his using of the *Masse-book*.

Examination
of Num. 6. 20.

Peace. Yea but further (saith Master Cotton) *Numbers 20.* *Moses* used an unwarrantable way of *prophesying*, and yet God gave water; therefore set *formes* of *prayer* may bring a blessing down.

Truth. *Moses* his calling was true in a true *Church*; his failing was in point of *passion* and *unbeliefe*. What is this to the *Common prayer*, where all were *Idols*, both the *society* or *communion*; in which the *priest* himself, and the *worship* were but inventions? &c.

Peace. But, saith he, *Common prayer* is not such a *fundamental error*.

Acts 6.

Truth. The *word* and *prayer* are those two great *services* of God, which even the *Apostles* themselves gave themselves unto: And if Master Cotton intend not that his *Argument* shall stand good against Master Ball, to prove the falseness of such a maine *worship* of God, let him shew what that *worship* of God is, which he intendeth, when he so distinguisheth of some *false worship* wherein *fellowship* with God is lost.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Master Cotton, to clear himself from *partiality*, and that he never useth to *measure* that to any, which he would not have measured to himself, He proposeth a threefold *wickedness*, which he saith God never left him to fall into.

First, Any *fundamental error*. Secondly, persisting therein after *admonition* and *conviction*. Thirdly, *seducing* of others. And lastly, he professeth, that if he should so fall, it were better for him to be cut off by *death* or *banishment*, then the *flocke* of *Christ* to be *seduced* by his *heretical* wickedness.

Truth. I here first observe (as also in other places) Master Cottons acknowledgement and *profession* of what a man may be punished for: to wit, a *fundamental error*, *persisting* in it, and *seducing* others; all which are *spiritual* matters, of *religion* and *worship*, for which he decrees from the *Magistrate*, *death* or *banishment*; and yet elsewhere in many other passages, he professeth against all *persecution* for *conscience*.

Three causes for which Master-Cotton main-taines persecution.

Secondly, If Master Cotton should so fall, and be so dealt withall by the *civil state*.

First, would not Master Cotton conscientiously be perswaded of the *Truth* of what he held, though accounted by others *fundamental error*, *obstinacy*, *heresie*? &c.

Secondly, Will Master Cotton think that *death* or *banishment* would be wholesome and *Christian* meanes and *remedies* to change and heal his *conscience*?

Thirdly, He (to prevent the *infection* of others) granting the *civil Magistrate* must punish him with *death* or *banishment*, doth he not make the *Magistrate*, yea the *Civil State* (what State soever he live in) the *judge* of his *conscience* and *errors*?

Fourthly, Confessing it now, that to worship *God* with a *Common prayer*, was his sin, and yet it was his *conscience*, that he might so do: If the *Magistrate* had judged it to be a *fundamental error*, he grants he might then have put him to *death* or *banishment*, if persisting, &c. though yet he hath a *proviso*, and a *retreat* against this *assault*, professing, that if the *Magistrate* be not rightly informed, he must stay his *proceedings*: of which afterward.

Peace. What is this, but, in plaine *English*, to profess that all the *Magistrates* and *Civil powers*, throughout the whole world, although they have command and power from *Christ Jesus*, to judge in matters of *conscience*, *religion*, and *worship*, and live in daily sin, that they do not cut off the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, &c. yet except they be of Master Cottons minde and *conscience*, to

account and judge to be, they must *suspend* their *duty* and *office* in this case, until they be better informed, that is, until they be of his mind?

Examination of CHAP. V I.

Peace.

BUt to proceed to the sixth Chapter, in which is handled that which more especially concerns *my self*. It is too lamentably known, how the furious *troopes* of *persecutors* in all *States*, *Cities*, *Towns*, &c. have ever marched under my name, the white colours of *peace*, *civil peace*, *publike peace*.

Truth. Yet Master *Cotton* confesseth, that the *Cities* peace is an *humane* and *civil peace*, as was further explained in many *instances* from *Babylon*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, &c. against which Master *Cotton* excepts not.

Peace. The difference or controverſie in this Chapter lies in two things. First In the *similitudes* used from *companies* and *societies*, voluntarily entering into *combinations*, which are distinct from the *City*.

2. In the nature of the *Church*, which he maintaines to be a *society*, whose *order* the *City* is bound to preserve, as well as any of their *civil orders* or *societies*.

Truth. To begin with the first, Master *Cotton* replies, "That although such *societies* be not of the *essence* of the *City*, yet they are of the *integral* and *conservant* causes of the *City*, and so the *disturbance* of any of those *orders* or *societies* in the *City*, disturbs the *City* it self.

But I answer, The *similitude* was used more especially from a college of *Physicians*, or a *society* of *Merchants*, *Turkish*, *East-Endies*, &c. and consequently any other of that kinde, voluntarily combining together for the better enriching of themselves in the improvement of their *faculties* for *publike good* (at least so pretended.) It was never intended, that if such necessary *Trades*, *Callings* &c. as he mentioneth, be dissolved and ruined, that there would be no *disturbance* of the *peace* of the *City*: But that if such or such a way and *order* of men of those *faculties* I mentioned, voluntarily

Christ's Church
may be gathered
and dissolved
without disturbance
of civil Peace.

voluntarily *combine*, and voluntarily, alio *dissolve*; yet all this may may be, without any breach of *civil* and *publike* peace.

Peace. If so, much more the *church* of *Christ*, which is a *spiritual* society voluntarily uniting, may dissolve; I say, much more, without the breach of the *peace* of the *city*, which is of a *civil* and humane nature, as is confessed, and was urged in the instances of *Ephesus*. &c.

Truth. 2. We are wont when we speak of keeping or breaking the *Peace*, to speak of *Words* or *Actions* of *Violence*, *Sedition*, *Uproare*, &c. for, *Actions* of the *Cases*, *Pleas*, and *Traverses* may be, and yet no peace broken, when men submit to the *Rule* of *State*, for the composing of such *differences*, &c. Therefore it is that I affirm, that if any of *Christs Church* have difference with any other man in *civill* and *humane* things, he ought to be judged by the *Law*: But if the *Church* have *spiritual* controversies among themselves or with any other, or if *God* take away the *Candlestick* as he threatned the *Church* in *Ephesus*, all this may be, and yet no civil peace broken: Yea, amongst those that profess the same *God* and *Christ*, as the *Papists* and *Protestants*, or the same *Mahomet*, as the *Turks* and *Persians*, there would no civil *Peace* be broken, notwithstanding their *differences* in *Religion*, were it not for the bloody *Doctrin* of *Persecution*, which alone breaks the bounds of *civil* peace, and makes *Spiritual* causes the causes of their bloodie *dissentions*.

The doctrine and practise of Persecution, breaks the peace wherever it comes.

I observe therefore, a twofold *Fallacie* in *Master Cottons* reply. First, he fallaciously mingles *Peace* and *Prosperity* together: for though it be true, that under the terime *Peace* all good things are sometimes concluded, yet when we speak of *Hereticks* or *Schismatics* breaking the *civil* peace, or strowing *Doctrines* tending to break the *civill* peace, we must understand some such words or acts of *violence*, wherein the *bounds* and *orders* of the *City*, *Laws*, and *Courts* are violated; taking it for granted (for this is the *Supposition*) that the *Laws* of the *City* be meerly *civil* and humane. Hence then I affirm, that there is no *Doctrin*, no *Tenent* so directly tending to break the *Cities* peace, as this *Doctrin* of *persecuting* or *punishing* each other for the cause of *conscience* or *Religion*.

The civil peace of a place or people is one thing, and the welfare or prosperity in health wealth, &c. another.

Again, it is a second *Fallacie* to urge your order of the *Church*, and

The Cities of the world enjoy peace and prosperity, where Christ is not heard of.

and the *Excellency* thereof, and that therefore it is a Breach of the *civil peace*, when the *Order* of the *church* is not preserved: For although it is most true, that sooner or later the *God* of heaven punisheth the *nations* of the world, for their *Idolatries*, *Superstitions*, &c. yet Master *Cotton* himself acknowledgeth (as was affirmed) that many glorious flourishing *cities* there are all the world over, wherein no *church* of *Christ* is extant: Yea, that the *Commonweale* of *Rome* flourished five hundred years together, before ever the name of *Christ* was heard in it; which so great a *Glory* of so great a *continuance*, mightily evinceth the distinction of the *civil peace* of a *State* from that which is *Christian Religion*.

It is true (as Master *Cotton* tells us) that the *Turks* have plagued the *Antichristian* world, for their *Idolatries*: Yet *History* tells us, that one of their *Emperours* (*Mahomet*) was the man that first broke up and desolated two most glorious ancient *cities*, *Constantinople* (which had flourished 1120 yeares (since its first building by *Constantine*) and *Athens*, which from *Solons* giving of it *Laws*, had flourished two thousand yeares, notwithstanding their *Idolatries*, &c.

Christianity lost most under such Emperours as claimed Christs power to reform the Church, &c.

Truth. It is apparent that then the *Christian Religion* gloriously flourished (contrary to Master *Cottons* observation) when the *Roman Emperours* took not power to themselves to reform the *abuses* in the *Christian Church*, but persecuted it; and then the *church* was ruined and overwhelmed with *Apostacy* and *Antichristianism*, when the *Emperours* took that power unto themselves: And then it was (as Master *Cotton* elsewhere confesseth) that *Christianitie* lost more, even in *Constantines* time, then under bloody *Nero*, *Domitian*, &c.

Peace. It cannot be denied (dear *Truth*) but that the *Peace* of a *civil State* (of all States, excepting that of typical *Israel*) was and is meerly and essentially *civil*. But Master *Cotton* saith further, Although the *Inward Peace* of a *church* is *Spiritual*, yet the *outward Peace* of it, *Magistrates* must keep in a way of *Godliness* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2.1.

Truth. The *Peace* of a *church* of *Christ* (the onely true *Christian State*, *Nation*, *Kingdom*, or *city*) is *Spiritual*, whether *internal* in the *Soul*, or *external* in the *administration* of it; as the *peace* of a *civil State* is *civil*, *internal* in the *mindes* of men, and
external

external in the administration and conversation of it; and for that place of *Timothy*, it hath been fully spoken to in this *discourse*, and the Discusser hath as yet seen no *exception* against what hath been spoken.

Peace. But further, saith Master *Cotton*, although the *peace* of a Country be *civil*, yet it is distracted by disturbing the peace of the *Church* for God cut short the Coasts of the *civil State* when *Jehu* shortned his *Reformation*, 2 King. 10. 31, 32.

Truth. Master *Cotton* denies not (but confessed in his discourse concerning *Baptism*) that *Canaan* was *Typical*, and to be cast out of that *Land*, was to be cast out of *Gods* sight: which proves thus much, That the *church* of *Christ*, the *Israel* now, neglecting to reform, *God* will cut this *Israel* short. But what is this to a merely *civil State*, which may flourish many hundreds, yea some thousands of yeers together (as I before instanced) when the Name of the true Lord *Jesus Christ* is not so much as heard of within it?

Peace. Lastly, (saith he) the *church* is a *Society*, as well as the *Societies* of *Merchants*, *Drapers*, &c. and it is just to preserve the *Society* of the *church*, as well as any other *Society*.

Truth. When we speak of the *balances* of *Justice*, we must distinguish between the *Balances* of the *Sanctuary*. and the *Balances* of the *World* or *civil States*. It is *spiritual justice* to preserve *spiritual right*; and for that end, the *spiritual King* thereof hath taken care. It is *civil justice* to preserve the *civil rights*; and the *Rights* of a *civil society* ought justly to be preserved by a *civil State*: (and yet if a *company* of men combine themselves into a *civil society* by voluntary agreement, and voluntarily dissolve it, it is not *justice* to force them to continue together.)

Peace. The *church* can least of all be forced: for as it is a *spiritual society*, and not subject to any *civil Judicature*; (though some say that a *church* in *New England* was cited to appear before a *civil Court*;) so is the *combination* of it *voluntary*, and the *dissolution* of it in part or whole is *voluntary*, and endures no *Civil violence*, but as a *virgin* (in point of *marriage*) *nec cogit, nec cogitur*, she forceth not, nor can be forced by any *civil power*.

Truth. But lastly, if it be *justice* to preserve the *Society* of the *church*, is it not partiality in a meer *civil State* to preserve one

The Societies or Churches of the Saints are merely voluntary in combining or dissolving.

Christ's Church
is called out of
the world.

only *society*, and not the persons of other Religious societies and *consciences* also? But the Truth is, this mingling of the *church* and the *world* together, and their *orders* and *societies* together, doth plainly discover, that such *churches* were never called out from the *world*, and that this is only a secret *policy* of *flesh* and *blood*, to get *protection* from the *world*, and so to keep (with some little stilling of *conscience*) from the *Cross* or *Gallowes* of *Jesus Christ*.

Truth. Yea, but hear (saith Master Cotton) those *excellent penmen* of the *Spirit* (both the *Father* and the *Son*) *David* and *Solomon*. First *David* (*Psalm* 122) They shall prosper that love the peace of *Jerusalem*: and *Solomon*, Where the *righteous* rejoyce, there is great *glory*, *Prov.* 28. Now (saith he) what is the *church* but a *congregation* of *righteous* men? If the *rejoycing* of the *Church* be the *glory* of a *Nation*, surely the *disturbing*, and *destroying*, and *dissolving* the *church* is the *shame* and *confusion* of a *Nation*.

The flourishing
of civil states.

Truth. The outward *prosperity* of a *Nation*, was a typical figurative *blessing*, of that *national* and figurative *church* of *Israel* in *Canaan*. It is now made good spiritually to them that love the *spiritual Jerusalem*: for though *godliness* hath a promise of things of this life convenient; yet *persecution* is the common and ordinary portion of the *Saints* under the *Gospel*, though that *cup* be infinitely sweetned also to them that drink of it with *Christ Jesus*, by the measure and increase of a hundred fold for one, even with *persecution* in this life.

2. It is true, the *rejoycing* of a *Church* of *Christ*, is the *glory* of any *Nation*, and the contrary a *shame*: yet this proveth not that *God* vouchsafeth to no *state*, *civil peace*, and *temporal glory*, except it establish and keep up a *Church* of *Christ* by force of *armes*; for the contrary we have mentioned, and Master Cotton confesseth the *flourishing* of *States* ignorant of *Christ*, from *Age* to *Age*, yea, and as I have mentioned, even to two thousand yeers in *Athens*; six *generations* before it heard of *Christ*, and fourteen *generations* since, with the sprinkling (for some time) of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus* in it.

Peace. 2. But consider (saith Master Cotton) the *excellency* and *preheminnence* of the *church*, that the *world* is for it, and would not subsist but for it, &c. *Truth*

Truth. Tis true, *glorious* things are spoken of the *City of God*, &c. yet for many *Ages* together *Master Cotton* confesseth the *Nations* of the *world* may subsist & flourish without it; and though it be the *duty* of the *Nations* of the *world* to countenance and cherish the *church* of *Christ*; yet where is there any *commission*, either in the *New* or *Old Testament*, that the *Nations* of the *world* should be the *judges*, *governors*, and *defenders* of *Christ* *Iesus* his *spiritual kingdome*, and so bound to take up *Armes* and smite with the *civil sword* (among so many pretenders) for that which they believe to be the *church* of *Christ*?

No civil state can either by *Christ's* Testimony, or true reason, be judge of the Ecclesiastical and spiritual.

Peace. 3. (saith he) It is matter of just displeasure to *God*, and sad grief of *heart* to the *church*, when *civil states* looke at the *state* of the *church*, as of little or no concernment to themselves. *Zech. I. 19. Lam. I. 13.*

Truth. Grant this, and that the most jealous *God* will awake in his season, for these *sins*, and for the *persecutions*, *idolatries*, and *blasphemies*; which the *Nations* live in: yet what is this for warrant to the *Nations* (as before) to judge and rule the *church* of *Christ*, yea, and under the colour of defending *Christ's* faith, and preserving *Christ's* *church* pure, to tear *Christ* out of *heaven*, by *persecuting* of his *Saints* on *earth*; and to fire the *world* with devouring *flames* of bloody *wars*, and this onely for the *sweet sake* of the *prince* of *peace*?

Peace. Dear *Truth*, we are now upon an high point, and that which neerly concerns my self, the *peace* of the *world*, and the *Nations* of it. *Master Cotton* saith further, *God* winketh at the *Nations* in the time of their *ignorance*, and suffers the *Nation* to flourish many hundred yeers together, as did the *Empire* of *Rome*; yet when the *church* of *Christ* comes to be planted amongst them, then, as he brought the *Turkes* upon the *Romans*, for their *persecuting* the *church*, and not preserving it in *purity*; so consequently will he do unto the *Nations* of the *world*.

Truth. I answer, the most righteous *Judge* of the whole world hath plagued the *Nations* of the *world*, both before *Christ's* coming, and since, for their *pride* and *cruelty* against his people, for their *idolatries*, *blasphemies*, &c. Yet *Master Cotton* acknowledgeth that many *states* have flourished many hundred yeers together, when no true *church* of *Christ* hath been found in them:

and Master Cotton will never prove, that God ever commanded the Nations and governments of the world, to gather or constitute his churches, and to preserve them in purity: For God gave his ordinances, both before and since Christ, to his people onely, whom he chuseth and calleth out of the World, and the Nations of it: and he hath punished and dissolved them, for their obstinate neglect thereof. And for the Roman Empire, and the Emperors thereof, the Christian Religion, and the purity thereof, never lost so much, as when the Emperors were perswaded of Master Cottons bloody Tenent, as Master Cotton and all men seen in History and Christianity must confess.

Peace. But further, although (saith Master Cotton) the peace of the church be a spiritual inward peace, yet there is an outward peace of the church due to them from Princes and Magistrates, in a way of godliness and honesty, 1 Tim. 2. But in a way of ungodliness and idolatry, it is an wholesome faithfulness to the church, if Princes trouble the outward peace of the church, that so the church finding themselves wounded, and pricked in the house of their friends, they may repent, and return to their first husband, Zech. 13. Hof. 2.

Truth. The peace of the Church is not only inward, between God and themselves; but as the Argument importeth, to which Master Cotton answereth, the peace of the Church external and outward, is spiritual, essentially differing from the peace of the civil state, which is meerly civil and humane. When the peace of the churches, Antioch, Corinth, Galatia, was disturbed by spiritual oppositions, the Lord never sent his Saints for civil help to maintaine their spirituall peace, though the Lord did send Paul to the higher-civil powers, to preserve his civil peace, when he was molested and oppressed by the Jews and Romans.

2. For that place of Timothy, though I have fully spoken to it in this discourse elsewhere, yet this now: It proves not, because the church must pray for civil Rulers, that so they may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, that therefore civil rulers are supreme rulers and judges Ecclesiastical, next unto Christ Jesus, of what is godliness, holiness &c. since God hath chosen few wise or noble, to know godliness: And although it is true that Gods end of vouchsafing peace and quietness, is, that his

Difference of
spiritual and ci-
vil peace.

his Churches might walk in his fear, and in the wayes of godliness; yet it doth not hence follow, that *Magistrates* were the causes of the Churches walking in the fear of God, and being edified, but only of enjoying Rest from Persecution, *Act. 9.*

3. Although Gods chastisement call to repentance, and although the false Prophet in the church of Israel was to be wounded and slaine (as they are now to be cut off spiritually from the church of spiritual Israel) yet was it so in all the other Nations of the world? Or did Christ Iesus appoint it to be so in all the Nations of the world, since his coming, which is the great question in difference?

4. And indeed, what is this, but to add coals to coals and wood to fire, to teach the Nations of the world, to be briars and thorns, butchers and tormentors to the Lilies and Lambes of the most holy and innocent Lamb of God Christ Iesus?

Peace. But God (saith Master Cotton) cut Israel short in their civil state or Nation, when they cut short their reformation, *1 King. 10.*

Truth. Master Cotton elsewhere denying a National church, which is bounded with natural and earthly limits, it is a wonder how he can apply that instance of National Israel, to the now spiritual Nation and Israel of God? May he not as well promise earthly peace and prosperity then most to abound to Gods people, when they most prosper and flourish in holiness, zeal &c. The contrary whereof, to wit persecution, is most evident in all the New Testament, and all mens new and fresh experience.

When Gods people flourish most in godliness then most persecuted.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Master Cotton affirms, that civil peace (to speak properly) is not only a peace in civil things for the object, but the peace of all the persons in the City for the subject. The church is one society in the City, as well as the society of Merchants, Drapers &c. And if it be civil justice to protect one, then the other also.

Truth. Civil peace will never be proved to be the peace of all the subjects or Citizens of a City in spiritual Things: The civil state may bring into order, make orders, preserve in civil order all her members: But who ordained, that either the spiritual estate should bring in and force the civil state to keep civil order, or that the civil state should sit, judge, and

and force any of her *subjects* to keep *spiritual order*?

The true and *living God*, is the *God of order, spiritual, civil and natural*: *Natural* is the same ever and perpetual: *civil* alters according to the *constitutions* of *peoples and nations*: *spiritual* he hath changed from the *national* in one figurative land of *Canaan*, to *particular and congregational churches* all the world over; which *order spiritual, natural or civil*, to confound and abrogate, is to exalt *mans folly* against the most holy and incomprehensible *wisdome of God, &c.*

Examination of CHAP. VII.

Peace.

IN his description of *Arrogancy and impetuonsnesf*, Master Cotton tells us, that he that refuseth to subject his *Spirit* to the *Spirit* of the *prophets*, that shall oppose such as dissent with *clubs swords* and *ensorious reproaches*, or reject *communion* with the *church, &c.* his practise tends to the disturbing of *civil or church-peace*, or both.

A monstrous mingling of spiritual and civil resistance or disturbance.

Truth. It is a fallacious mingling of *clubs, swords, reproaches, &c.* with refusing to submit to the *Spirit of prophecie* in the *Prophets*, and rejecting of *communion, &c.* For a man may out of true and upright *conscience to God* (as Master Cotton will not deny) refuse to submit to a whole true *church*, having the *Truth of God* on his side; and may withdraw from *communion* with a *church* *obstinate* in sin, and this without *breach of civil peace*; and therefore the mingling or confounding of these *spiritual resistances or disturbances* with *guns, swords, &c.* is a mingling and confounding of *heaven and earth* together.

2. In that he saith, these wayes tend to the disturbance of either *civil or church-peace*, or both; he speakes too like the doubtful *oracles of Apollo*, which will be true however the event fall out; but yet he toucheth not the *Truth* of the *question*, which concernes *civil peace* only; against the *disturbers* of which, I grant the *civil powers* to be armed with a *civil sword*, not in vaine, and concerning which divers cases were propounded of seeming *Arrogance and impetuonsnesf* in *Gods servants*, and yet they fell not justly under any censure of *breach of civil peace.*

Peace.

Peace. Tis true (saith Master Cotton) becauſe they were not wayes of *Arrogance* nor *Impetuouſneſs*.

Truth. But will Master Cotton give way that any *conſcience* but his own may freely *preach* and *diſpute* againſt the *ſtate-religion*, freely reprove the *high-eſt*, in ſharpeſt language, for matter of *religion*, reſuſe *conformity* to the *common eſtabliſhed religion* and *worſhip*, diſclaime ſubjection to the *civil powers*, in *ſpiritual caſes*, preach againſt the *common policy* and ſeeming *wiſdome* of the *State*, even to a ſeeming *hazarding* of all, and laſtly occasion great *tumults* and *uproars* (which were the ſix caſes alledg'd?) If Master Cotton granteth this *freedom* to other *conſciences* beſide his own, why preacheth he *perſecution* againſt ſuch a *liberty*, which other *conſciences* beſide his own, believe they juſtly challenge? If to no other *conſcience* then his own, it is not his ſaying ten thouſand times, that his *conſcience* is true, and others falſe, nor any other *diſtinction* in the world, can clear him from moſt unrighteous and unchristian *partiality*.

Six inſtances of holy zeal in Scripture, far from arrogance or impetuouſneſs. Theſe were alledg'd from Scripture in the bloody Tenent and acknowledged by Maſter Cotton.

Examination of CHAP. VIII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter (dear Truth) lies a charge concerning thy ſelf. For whereas thou anſwereſt an objection, that this diſtinction concerns not *Truth* or *error*, but the *manner* of holding or divulging, Master Cotton affirms the *diſtinction* to ſpeak expreſſly of things *unlawfull* and *erroneous*, and therefore that it cannot be ſaid with *Truth*, that the *diſtinction* concerns not *truth* and *error*.

Truth. The truth is this, the former *diſtinction* ſpeakes of *matter*, and this *diſtinction* ſeems wholly to intend the *manner* of holding forth. The words were theſe: [Again, in points of *Doctrine* and *Worſhip* leſs principal, either they are held forth in a meek and *peaceable* way (though the things be *erroneous* and *unlawful*) or they are held forth with ſuch *Arrogance* and *Impetuouſneſs* as tendeth to the diſturbance of *civil peace*.] In which although things *erroneous* and *unlawful* are mentioned; yet who ſees

fees not but that those words are brought in by the way of *Parenthesis*, which may or may not be left out, and the *distinction* be whole and intire? And therefore Master Cotton doth not well to spend precious *time* and *life* upon seeming *advantages*.

Peace. Yea, but (saith he) why is this *distinction* blamed, when the discusser himself acknowledgeth, that there may be a way and manner of holding forth, which may tend to break the *civil peace*.

Truth. That which was excepted most against in the *distinction*, was the persecuting *language* of [*arrogance, impetuouſness, boisterousness,*] without declaring what that was: to which Master Cotton answers, that the discusser's request, was not that he should compile a *discourse*, but return an *answer* to the *letter* of his *friend*; as also that he charged none of *Gods children* with such things.

I reply (as formerly) Master Cotton's memory (though otherwise excellent) herein faileth; for, such a *request* the discusser never made unto him, by letter or otherwise. 2. Although he charged not *Gods people* with *arrogance* and *impetuouſness*, yet mostly and commonly *Gods children* (though meek and peaceable) are accused to be *arrogant, impetuous &c.* and 'tis the common notorious *language* of *persecutors* against them.

Peace. Concerning those six *instances* wherein *Gods children* were occasion of great *opposition* and *spiritual hostility*, yea and of breach of *civil peace*, notwithstanding the *matter* delivered was holy, and the *manner* peaceable, Master Cotton answers, they nothing concern the *distinction* which speaks of holding forth things *erroneous* and *unlawful* for the *matter*, and for the *manner* in a way of *arrogance* and *impetuouſness*, to the *disturbance* of *civil peace*.

Truth. I reply, first, it speaks not only of *erroneous* and *unlawful* things (though *erroneous* and *unlawful* things be admitted in way of *Parenthesis*, as before.) 2. He describes not what this *arrogance* and *impetuouſness* is, but wraps up all in one general dark cloud, wherein the best and most *zealous* of *Gods Prophets* and servants are easily wrapt up as proud, arrogant, and impetuous.

Examination of CHAP. IX.

Peace.

IN this Chapter I remember you affirmed, that one cause of civil *dissention* and uproar, was the lying of a *State* under *false worship*, whence it endures not the preaching of *light* and *truth*, &c. Master Cotton answers, This is not to the purpose, because this is by *accident*.

Truth. It is as much to the purpose to declare (in the examination of the breach of *civil peace* about matters of *Religion*) I say, to declare the true cause of such *troubles* and *uproares*, as it is in the search after the *leaks* of a *ship*, to declare where the *leake* is indeed, when many are said to be where they are not.

2. Whereas he confesseth that *vigilant* and *faithful* ones are not so troubled at the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentils*, as not to tolerate them amongst them in a civil body, he alleadgeth for *instance*, that the *Indians* subjected to their government, are not compelled to the *confession* or *acknowledgement* of their *Religion*: I reply, first, who sees not herein unchristian *partiality*, that *Pagans*, *Barbarians* (who happily might more easily be brought from their *natural Religion* to a new forme, then any other) I say, that they should be tolerated in their hideous *worships* of *creatures* and *devils*, while *civil people* (his *countrymen* yea it may be the precious *sons* and *daughters* of the most *high God*) shall be *condemned*, *whipt*, *banished* &c. for the matters of their *conscience* and *worship* to the true and living *God*?

The Indians professing subjection to the English in New England permitted in their devilish worships, when English fearing God, persecuted.

2. Is not this passage *contradictory* to all Master Cottons whole discourse in this book, which pleades for the *purity* of *Religion* to be maintained by all *Magistrates* and *civil governments* within their *jurisdictions*, and the suppressing of the contrary, under the penalty of the *destruction* of their *lands* and *countries*, and accordingly hath not the practice of *New England* answered such a *doctrine*? and yet, saith he, we tolerate the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

Peace. Possibly (Dear Truth) the *distinction* between *Jew*, *Pagan*, and *Christian*, may satisfie (for the present) Master Cottons conscience so to write and practise: for thus he addeth, But

if *Christians* shall *apostate*, or if *Jews* and *Pagans* be blasphemous and seducing, *thea. &c.*

Truth. Who knows not but that the very *Religion* of *Jew* or *Pagan* is a blaspheming of the true *Religion*? *Revel. 2.* I know the blasphemy of them that say they are *Jews*, and are not, but are the *Synagogue* or *church* of *Sathan*.

Unchristian
conclusions.

And whereas Master *Cotton* alleadged for proof of this, *Pauls* blaming of false *teachers*, for being *troublers* to the *churches* of *Galatia*, *Gal. 5.* and *Acts 15 &c.* Who, that puts this *inference* into *Christs* balance, but will see the lightness of it, thus? The *churches* of *Christ* are to draw forth the *sword* and *power* of *Christ*, and are not to suffer such as with false *doctrine* trouble their *peace*, *Ergo*: Therefore the *civil state* must not permit such persons to live in the *world*, &c.

Jonahs casting
over-board, a
ground of per-
secution, &c. ex-
amined.

Peace. The second cause I remember, you alleadged of *civil disturbances* and *hubbubs* about *Religion*, was the *praposterous* way of healing of *corruptions* in *Religion*, as by *whips*, *stocks*, *imprisonment*, &c. unto this Master *Cotton* answers, Then the *Mariners* casting *Jonah* over-board, for his sin was the *cause* of the *storme*.

Truth. I answer, if that *extraordinary* and *miraculous instance*, be sufficient ground for *Magistrates* casting over-board whomsoever they judge *Hereticks*, then all *civil states* and *ships* must so practise in *stormes* and troubles on *sea* or *shore*, to wit, throw over-board, put to death, not only *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers* &c. but the best of *Gods Prophets* or *servants*, for neglect of their *duty*, *Ministry*, &c. which was *Jonahs* case.

And if so, doth not this set up (and all the world over) by *land* or *sea*, all *Kings* and *Magistrates*, all *Masters* of *ships* and *captaines*, to be the *spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical Judges* of the *religion* and *spiritual* neglects of all their *subjects* or *Passengers*? Such *doctrine* I cannot imagine would have relished with Master *Cotton* in his passage to *New England*; and I humbly desire of *God*, that he may never tast the bitter fruit of this *Tree*, of which yet so many thousands of *Gods servants* have fed, and himself not a little (to the *Lords* praise and his own) in former times.

Peace.

Peace. Whereas you argued it to be *light* alone, that was able to dispell and scatter the *mists* and *fogs* of *darkness* in the souls and *consciencs* of men, Master *Cotton* answers, The judgements of God are as *light* that goeth forth, *Hof. 6. 3. Isa. 26. 9.* and the false *Prophet* repenting will acknowledge this *Zech. 13. 6.* Thus was I wounded in the house of my friends.

Truth. But doth Master *Cotton* indeed believe that not only publike *Magistrates*, but also each private *father* and *mother* (as that place of *Zechary*, literately, taken carries it) must now in the dayes of the *Gospel* wound and pierce; yea run through and kill their *Son* the false *Prophet*? would he justify a parent so practising though it were in the neglect of the publike *Magistrate*, who happily may be of the same *Religion* with the false prophet? Will not this doctrine reach & extend to the pulling down *deposing* and *killing* of all such *governors* and *governments*, which God in his gracious *providence* hath set up amongst all peoples in all parts and *dominions* of the world, yea and harden the heart of *Pharoah*, the very *Pope* himself, in his *King-killing* and *State-killing* doctrine?

The killing of the false Prophet.
Zech. 13. 6. examined.

Peace. If ever Master *Cotton* wake in this point, he will tell all the world, that it is more *Gospel-like* that *Parents*, *Brethren*, *Fathers*, *Friends*, impartially fulfill this of *Zechary 13.* and *Deut. 13.* spiritually, in the friendly wounding, yea and zealous slaying by the two-edged sword of the *Spirit* of God, which is the word of God coming forth of the mouth of *Christ Jesus*, *Ephes. 5. Revel. 1.*

Truth. And it is most true (as Master *Cotton* saith) that the judgements of God, legally executed, or more terribly poured forth in the vials of *sword*, *plague*, and *famine*, they are as heavenly lights shining out from the *Father* of lights, teaching the inhabitants of the world *righteousness*.

Esa. 26. & Hof. 6. 2. examined.

Yea the *creation* it self, or each *creature*, are as *candles* and *glasses* to light and shew us the *invisible* God and *creator*: but yet these are not the *ordinances* of *Christ Jesus* given to his church. These are not the *Preachings* of the word, and the opening of the *mysteries* of salvation, which give *light* and understanding to the simple, and convert the soul: These are not that marvailous *light* unto which the call of *Christ Jesus*, in the

2 Cor. 10.

preaching of the word, had brought the *Saints* unto whom *Peter* writes: The weapons of *Pauls* fighting, whereby to batter down the high *thoughts* and *imaginations* of the sons of men against the *sons of God*, were of another nature, 3 *Cor.* 10. and his *directions* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, how to deal with *Hereticks* and *Gainfayers* were never heard of to be such, till the *son of man*, and *son of perdition*, brought forth such bloody *weapons* and bloody *doctrines* in the affaires of *Christ Jesus*.

Examination of CHAP. X.

Peace.

IN this passage *Master Cotton* will subscribe to the whole matter, saying, This Chapter may stand for us without impeachment, and yet in this Chapter is reported the *persecution*, which both *rightly informed* and *erroneous consciences* suffer, and the blind estate of such blinde *guides* and blinded *consciences* who to *preach* and *practice*.

Truth. These first words [*We approve no persecution for conscience*] fight against his whole endeavour in this book, which is to set up the *civil throne* and *judgement-seat* over the *consciences* and *soules* of men, under the pretence of preserving the *church of Christ* pure, and punishing the evil of *heresie*, *blasphemy* &c.

2. They fight against their *fellows*, which follow, thus [unless the *conscience* be convinced of the *error* and *perniciousness* thereof] which is all one, as to say, We hold no man is to be *persecuted* for his *conscience*, unless it be for a *conscience* which we judge dangerous to our *Religion*. No man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*, unless we judge that we have *convinced* or *conquered* his *conscience*.

Tis true, all *error* is pernicious many wayes to *Gods glory*, to a mans owne *soul*, to other mens *souls* and *consciences*: yet I understand *Master Cotton* to say, Except we judge the *error* to be so and so mischievous. Tis true, there is a *self-conviction* which some *consciences* smite and wound themselves with? But to sub-

conviction of
conscience.

mit these consciences to the tribunal of the civil Magistrate, and Powers of the World, how can Master Cotton do this, and yet say no man is to be persecuted for his conscience?

Peace. Alas, how many thousands and millions of consciences have been persecuted in all Ages and Times in a judicial way, and how have their Judges pretended victory and triumph, crying out, We have convinced (or conquered) them, and yet are they obstinate.

Truth. Hence came that hellish Proverb, That nothing was more obstinate then a Christian: under which cloud of reproach hath been overwhelmed the most faithful, zealous, and constant witnesses of Jesus Christ.

Peace. But saith Master Cotton, Some blinded consciences are so judicially punished by God, as his in Ireland that burnt his child in imitation of Abraham.

Truth. In such cases it may be truly said, the Magistrate beares not the sword in vaine, either for the punishing or preventing of such sins, whether uncleanness, theft, cruelty, or persecution.

And therefore such consciences as are so hardened by Gods judgements, as to smite their fellow-servants, under the pretence of zeale and conscience (as in the instance of Saul his zeal for the children of Israel against the Gibeonites) they ought to be suppressed and punished, to be restrained and prevented.

The violation of civil peace though out of conscience, to be punished.

And hence is reasonable the saying of King James, that he desired to be secured of the Papists concerning civil obedience, which security, by wholesome Lawes, and other wayes: according to the wisdom of each state, each state is to provide for it self even against the delusions of hardened consciences, in any attempt which meerly concernes the civil state and Commonwealth.

Examination of CHAP. XI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton takes himself wronged, that he should be thought to lay this down, as a *conclusion*, viz. that it is not lawful to persecute *Iesus Christ*.

Truth. What difference is there in saying, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience rightly* informed; and to say, It is not lawful to persecute *Christ Iesus*; was it not all one in effect for *Christ* to say, Take up thy *bed* and walk, as to say, Thy sins are *forgiven* thee?

Peace. He adds, It is no matter of wonder to lay down the *principles of Religion* for a *proof*, as *Gamaliel* did.

Truth. Who sees not a vast difference between Master Cottons and *Gamaliels* speech? *Gamaliel* speaks of that particular *controversie* concerning *Christs person and profession*, which the *Jews* so gainstayed and persecuted. *Gamaliel* fitly aggravateth their *opposition* by the danger of their *course*, if possibly it might prove to be the *Truth*, which they persecuted. Master Cotton is to lay down not a *particular answer*, but *general conclusions*; and notwithstanding that in the *course* of his *Book* he maintaines such and such *persecution*, yet he layes this down as his first *conclusion*: "It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Iesus* in his *Truths* and *Servants*; and that, I say never *persecutor* professed to do without a *Misake* or covering.

Peace. What of that saith Master Cotton, for although they do not *persecute Christ* as *Christ*, yet they do it, and it is no matter of *wonder* to tell them as *Christ* tells *Paul*, It is not lawful for them so to do.

Truth. Doubtless whatever *persecutors* profess, and what *Apologies* soever they make in all the particular cases for which *Gods servants* are persecuted; yet the *Saints of God* have dealt faithfully to tell *Persecutors* that they persecute *Christ* himself, and to breath out the *fire of Gods judgements* against them, even out of their own *mouth*.

But what is this to a *conclusion* laid down? for so *Christ* laid not

An over-ruling
finger of God,
ordering Ma-
ster Cotton to
allege *Gama-
liel*, sure he had
forgotten Ma-
ster *John Good-
wins* excellent
labour in his
Θεομαχία
or fighting a-
gainst God.

not down his *expostulation* with *Paul* as a *conclusion*, as *Master Cotton* doth by way of *teaching*, but as a *conviction*, by way of *reprooffe*.

Peace. Yet *persecutors* (saith he) have persecuted *Christ* as *Christ*; for the *Scribes* and *Pharises* said, This is the *heir*, come, let us kill him: and *Iulian* persecuted *Iesus* as *Iesus*: And if a *Christian* in *Turkie* shall seek to gaine a *Turke* to *Christianity*, they will persecute such a *Christian*, and in him *Iesus* as *Iesus*.

Truth. It is said *Acts* 3. that the *Jews* persecuted *Christ* out of *ignorance*; for though they had sufficient *knowledge* to convince them, yet did they not persecute *Christ* out of a clearly *convinced conscience*, for then it could not be out of *ignorance*. And yet it was sufficient, that so great a power of *Gods Spirit* appeared in the *evidence* of *Christs works*, as to make their *sin* to be against the *Spirit of God*: yet had they their *mask* and *covering* (as is evident:) For, this is not the true *Christ* or *Messiah*, say they, but a *deceiver*, a *witch*, working by the power of the *devil*, a *blasphemer*, a *seducer*, a *Traitor*, &c.

Christ Iesus never persecuted as Christ but as a deceiver, blasphemer, seduced.

Againe, although wretched *Iulian* persecuted the very name of *Christ* and *Iesus* (whom formerly he had acknowledged and professed) Yet was it still under a *mask* or *covering*, to wit, that he was not the true *Son of God*, nor his *worship* the *Truth*, but his *Roman gods* were true &c. And the same say the *Turkes* in persecuting *Christians*, and in them *Christ Iesus* as a *Prophet* inferiour to their onely great and true *Prophet Mahomet*.

And lastly, neither *Scribes*, nor *Pharisees*, nor *Iulian*, nor *Turkes*, did or do persecute *Christ Iesus* otherwise then as they were and are bound so to do by *Master Cottons doctrine*, as shall further appear, notwithstanding his *plea*, that such *Magistrates* must forbear to punish untill they be better informed.

Peace. But let *tyrants* and *persecutors* profess what they will (saith *Master Cotton*.) yet this varieth not the *truth*, nor impeacheth the *wisdom*e of the *conclusion*.

Truth. Sweet *peace*, how can I here chuse, but in the first place observe that great *mystery* of the *waking sleep* of the most precious servants of the most *high God*, in the affaires of his *worship*, and the *Kingdome* of his dear *Son*? Awake; for what fiery *cenfurers*

Cant. 5. I sleep yet my heart waketh.

cenſures juſtly poureth forth this our excellent Adverſarie againſt the oppreſſours of *conſcience*, entituling them with the names of *tyrants* and *perſecutors*, notwithstanding their vaine *profeſſions*, *pretences*, *apologies* and *pleas* for their *tyranny* and *Bloodſhed*? Againe, how ſaſt aſleep, in his ſo zealous pleading for the greateſt *tyranny* in the *world* (throughout his whole book) though *painted* and *washed* over with faire *pretences* &c?

2. He granteth upon the point the *truth*, which was affirmed, and he denied, to wit. that no *perſecutor* of *Chriſt* ever perſecuted him as the *Son of God*. as *Ieſus*. but under ſome *mask* or covering, as thouſands of black and bloody *clouds* of *perſecuting* *witneſſes* in this caſe moſt lamentably make it evident and apparent.

Peace. Maſter *Cottons* next *charge* is very heavy againſt the *diſcuſſer*, for exalting himſelf above *God* in the diſcerning of Maſter *Cottons* fellowſhip with *perſecutors*, notwithstanding his *profeſſion* againſt ſuch *perſecution*.

Truth. The Lord *Ieſus* ſaw in the *Jews* ſuch a *contrariety* between their *profeſſions* and *practiſes* (even in this caſe of *perſecution*) Mat. 23.

2. Himſelf in effect, but even now, ſaid the ſame of all *perſecutors*: | What ever pretences they make, ſaith he | and they will pretend great things of *love* to *Chriſt*, and kiſs him ten thouſand times, when *treasons* and *ſlaughters* are in their courſes. And will Maſter *Cotton* ſay that *Chriſt: Ieſus* exalted himſelf above *God*. in ſpying out ſo great a *mystery*? It is no new thing, that Maſter *Cotton* ſhould be apt to ſay with *David*. That man that hath done this thing ſhall die, not duely conſidering and pondering that our ſelves are *ſons of blood*, and children of *death*, condemned by our own *mouth*, if the righteous *Iudge* of the whole world ſhould deal ſeverely with us.

Peace. But Maſter *Cotton* (for a cloſe of this Chapter) complaines of his own ſuffering of bitter *perſecution*, and the *Lord Ieſus* in him, being unjuſtly ſlandered, except the diſcuſſer can prove, that any *doctrine* of his tendeth to perſecute any of the *ſervants* of *Chriſt*.

Truth. Let a mans *doctrine* and *practiſe* be his *witneſſes*, and let every ſoul judge in the feare of *God*, whether the *doctrine* of
this

A deep mystery
in perſecution.

this *Book* maintaining such and such a *persecution* to be an holy *truth wash'd white* in the *blood* of the *Lamb*, agree not lamentably with all their *imprisonings, banishings* &c. inflicted upon so many several sorts of their own *countrymen, friends, and brethren* in the *wilderness*, for matter of *Religion* and *conscience*; amongst which the *Lord Jesus* will be heard at last to have said, Why persecutest thou *me*? why banishest and whippest thou *me*? &c?

2. Will not all persecuting prelates, *Popes* &c. take heart from hence (according to their several *religions* and *consciences*) to persecute the *heretick, blasphemers, seducer,* &c. although they all will say with *Master Cotton*, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Jesus* in his *truths* or *servants*?

Peace. But the discussor (saith *Master Cotton*) is a bitter persecutor, in slandering him, and *Christ Jesus* in him, for a persecutor.

Truth. I see not but *Master Cotton* (though of *Dauids spirit*) may be guilty of *Sauls* lamentable complaint, that *David* persecuted him, and that he could finde none to pity him? Who knows not that all and our own *Popish Bishops* in *Queen Maries*, yea and of late times our *Protestant Bishops* against the *non-conformists* have been wont to cry out, what bitter *persecution* themselves have suffered from the *slandrous censures* and *reproaches* of the *servants* of *Christ Jesus* against them? Who yet have shot no other *arrowes* at them but the faithful *declarations* and *discoveries* of *Gods* holy truth, and the evil of the *opposing* and *persecuting* of it, and the *professors* of it? And how neer will *Master Cotton* be found to close with that late bloody *Woolfe* (so far as his *chaine* reached) *Bishop Land*, who being an *instrument* of the bloody hunting and *worrying* of those three famous *witnesses* of *Christ*, *Master Prin*, *Master Bastwick*, and *Master Burton*; yet at their publike sentence in the *Star-chamber*, he lamentably complained that those poor *Lambs* did bark and bite him with unjust *reproaches, slanders,* &c.

wolves complaining that the sheep persecute them.

Examination of CHAP. XII.

Peace.

MAfter Cotton here first complaineth that his words are *misreported* concerning the *punishment* of the *heretick* after once or twice *admonition*. Tit. 3. 10.

Truth. I desire that others may judge in three *particulars*.

First, whether the *summ* and *pith* of the words are not rendered.

2. Whether this *Titus* 3. was brought by Master Cotton to prove (as is now pretended) that an *Heretick* might be persecuted with an *excommunication* after once or twice *admonition*: or whether the *question* be not of another kind of *persecution*.

3. Whether that *Tit. 3. 11.* do hold forth, That although a man be a *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, he may be punished with a *Civil* or *corporeal punishment*, yea though he sin against his own *conscience*.

I add a fourth, whether indeed (as Master Cotton intimates) the *discusser* makes this *Tit. 3.* a *refuge* for *hereticks*. Great *sound* and *noise* makes this word *heretick*, *heretick*. I dare appeal to Master Cottons *conscience* and *memory*, whether the reading of *histories*, and the *experience* of time will not evince and prove, that *hereticks* and *Christians*, *hereticks* and *Martyrs* (or witnesses of *Christ*) have not been the same *men* and *women*: I say againe, that such as have been *ordinarily* and *commonly* accounted and persecuted for *hereticks*, have been the servants of the most *high God*, and the *followers* and *witnesses* of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

Peace. You know (*dear truth*) the *catalogues* of *heresies* and *hereticks*, extant &c.

Truth. Grant it (*sweet peace*) that some in all times have suffered for *erroneous conscience*. Yet I dare challenge the father of *lies* himself to disprove this assertion, That the most of such (beyond all comparison) that have ever suffered in this *world* for *hereticks*, have been the disciples and followers of *Christ Jesus*. And oh that not only the *Lions*, *Leopards*, the *Bears*, *Woolves*, and *Ty-*

The blood of the
souls under the
Altar is a seal-
ed mystery,
Rev. 6.

A challenge to
the devil him-
self.

gers (the bloody *Pharaohs, Sauls, Herods, Neroes, Popes, Prelates &c.*) should fetch from hence, their persecuting *arrows and commissions*, but that even the *Dauids*, the men after *Gods own heart*, the *Asa's* (whose *hearts* are *perfect* with *God*) that such as are the *sheep and lambs of Christ*, should be so monstrously changed and transformed into *lyons, beares, &c.* yea and should flie to this holy Scripture of *Tit. 3.* for this their *unnatural* and monstrous change and *transformation*.

All Antichristian hunters or persecutors make Tit. 3. their den and Fortrefs.

Examination of CHAP. XIII.

Peace.

IN this 13 Chapter, dear truth, you argue the great mistake of the world in their common clamour, an *heretick*, an *heretick*, a person *obstinate* in *fundamentals*; and you prove that this word *heretick* intends no more then a person *obstinate* against the *admonitions* of the Lord, although in *lesser matters*: upon this Master Cotton concludes in this 13 Chapter, that the discusser gives a larger *allowance* for proceeding against *erroneous* persons then himself did.

Tit. 3. Discussed.

Truth. I must deny that the discusser gives a larger *allowance* then Master Cotton, or any at all, that the *hereticks* or *obstinate person* should be dealt withall by the *Civil Magistrates of Crete*, but onely by the *spiritual power* of the *Lord Jesus*.

1. For first, What though I granted that an *obstinate person*, contending about *Genealogies*, ought not to be suffered, but after once or twice *admonition* ought to be *rejected*? And,

2. What though I grant that after such faithful *admonitions* once or twice, he cannot but be condemned of himself? yet according to his third answer, how will it appear that I grant, that an *heretick* is rightly defined to be one *obstinate* in *fundamentals*, when I maintaine, and Master Cotton seemeth to grant, that the *heretick* may be such an one as is *obstinate* in *lesser points* and *practises*?

3. Further, let the word *εσσεργησαι* imply an overturning, yet will it not follow, that therefore an *heretick* is he, who is wil-

fully obstinate, in holding forth such errors as subvert the foundation of the Christian religion: For however that Master Cotton saith, That such disputes may tend to overthrow Christianity, yet that is but in remote possibility, as the prick of a finger may kill the heart, if it ranckle and fester, and so go on from member to member without means applyed: yet this cannot be said to be a mortal wound at first. So is it in the body of Christ.

Peace. The Apottle discouraging of meats and drinks, of eating and drinking with offence, calls an offensive eating a destruction of the soul for which Christ died: and yet I suppose he will not say that that difference was a fundamental difference.

The horrible abusing and profaning of that word Heretick. Great sins of Gods own children.

Truth. It hath been a gross and barbarous mistake of the monopolizers of learning, both divine and humane, The Clergy both of Popish and Protestant factions and worships: And how many are the thousands of millions of abuses, prophanations and blasphemies against the God of heaven in all (the Antichristian) Christendome, in all preachings, writings, proceedings, and processees, touchin^g this name heretick, heresie, &c? By the impartial censure of the Lord, he is an heretick, who wilfully persists in any sinful doctrine against the due admonitions of the Lord; for every bit and parcell of leaven is to be purged out of the house of God, as well as the greater and fundamentall lumps.

Examination of CHAP. XIV.

Peace.

IT is a falshood (saith Master Cotton) that I call the slight listnings of Gods people to the checks of their consciences, their sinning against their conscience: for I speak not (saith he) of the sinning of Gods people against conscience, but of an heretick subverted, much less do I call their slight listening to conscience an heretical sinning against conscience, least of all do I say, that for slight listening to the checks of conscience, he may lawfully be persecuted as for sinning against his conscience. And he adds this gall to the former vinegar, Thus men that have time and leasure at will, set up images of clouts, and then shoot at them.

Truth.

Truth. Master Cotton, elsewhere, granteth that *Gods children* may (through passion &c.) be carried on to despise *admonition*, and may be *excommunicated*, and if so, how can they refusing of *Christs admonition* in the church, be excused from sinning against the self-condemning of themselves? For if a *child of God* may possibly be *excommunicated* for *obstinacy* in some *passion, temptations* &c. then may he be this *heretick* or *wilfull* man in this *Tit. 3.*

Tis true, that in an hour of great *temptations*, *Gods people* may sin against clear *light* of *conviction*, and *sentence* of *conscience*, as *David* and *Peter* &c. But (as I conceive) the holy Spirit of God in this 3 of *Titns* intends not such a *clearness* of *self-condemning*, but either that the *admonitions* of the *Lord* are so evident and clear, that either if he in his own *conscience* before *God* improved them seriously and duely, they would clear up the *truth* of *God* unto him: or else the *checks* of *conscience* are such as are recorded to have been (*Cant. 5.*) in the *members* of *Christ*, in the *Church* of the *Jews*; and Master Cotton cannot render a sufficient reason, why they may not also be found in the *members* of the *churches* of the *Christians*.

Peace. I perceive indeed (dear truth) the wonderful effects of a *strange tongue*, in the *church* of *Christ*: The noise and found of a *Greek* word *heretick*, in poor *English* eares, hath begot a *conclusion* that a person refusing once or twice *admonition* for some point of *Doctrin*e, is such an *heretick* or *monster*, that he cannot possibly be a *child of God*; whereas Master Cotton granting that a *child of God* may possibly refuse once and twice *admonition*, and so come to be *excommunicated*; What doth he then in plaine *English*, but say, that a *child of God* may be obstinate to *excommunication* or *rejection* (that is in *Greek*) be an *heretick*? And what is this but contrary to his former *Assertion*, that a *childe of God* cannot be heretically obstinate to *rejection*, &c.

Truth. Questionless no *child of God*, but in temptation, may sin *heretically*, that is, *obstinately* upon once or twice *admonition*, against the checks and whisperings of his own *conscience*, and against that evidence of *light*, which (afterward) he wondreth how he could despise: and this rejecting or casting forth of the visible *society* of *Christ Jesus* and his servants, is not for *destructi-*

on but *humiliation* and *salvation*, in the day of the Lord *Jesus*.

Peace. I judge, that no son of *peace*, in a sober and peaceable minde, can judge, as Master *Cotton* here doth, this to be an *image* of clouts.

Truth. Nor can I learn, that the *discusser* so abounded in time and *leasure*, as to make such *images* (as Master *Cotton* insinuates.) It is not unknown to many witnesses in *Plymouth*, *Salens*, and *Providence*, that the *discussers* time hath not been spent (though as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labours, and publike *exercise* of the *word*, but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the *How*, at the *Oare*, for bread; yea and I can tell, that when these *discussions* were prepared for publike in *London*, his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the *Parliament* and *City*, for the supply of the poor of the *City* with *wood* (during the stop of coale from *Newcastle*, and the mutinies of the poor for firing.) Tis true, he might have run the rode of *preferment*, as well in *Old* as *New England*, and have had the *leasure* and time of such *who eat and drink with the drunken*, and smite with the fist of *wickedness* their fellow servants; But *God* is a most holy witness, that these *meditations* were fitted for publike view in change of *roomes* and *corners*, yea sometimes (upon occasion of travel in the *country*, concentering that business of *fuell*) in variety of strange *houses*, sometimes in the *fields*, in the midst of *travel*; where he hath been forced to gather and scatter his loose *thoughts* and *papers*.

For which service through the hurry of the times, and the necessity of his departure, he lost his recompence to this day. The straightness of the *discussers* time in composing of the *Bloody Tenent*.

Peace. Well (notwithstanding Master *Cottons* bitter censure) some persons of no contemptible *note* nor *intelligence*, have by letters from *England*, informed the *discusser*, that these *Images of clouts* it hath pleased *God* to make use of to stop no small *leakes* of *persecution*, that lately began to flow in upon dissenting *consciencs*,* and (amongst others) to Master *Cottons* own, and to the *peace* and *quietness* of the *Independants*, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed.

* I prejudice not the free and comfortable supplies of temporals, which the *Saints* ought to make for their *Teachers* in

Truth. I will end this Chapter, with that famous *distinction* of the Lord *Jesus*; * *Digging*, *Begging*, *Stealing*, are the three wayes by the which all that pretend to be *Christis Stewards* are maintained. They that cannot *digg* can *begg* the glittering pre-
 spiritualls; only I affirme, that such as will not teach without money, they must and do beg or steal.
 fer-

gements of this present civil world, and the wages of *Balaams*. They that cannot *dig*, can *steal*, in the wayes of *fraud*, *oppression*, *extortion*, &c. But by the mercy of the most *high*, the *discusser* hath been inabled to get his bread by as hard *digging*, as most *diggers* in *New* or old *England* have been put to: and let all men judge, whether such as can *beg* or *steal* and cannot *dig*, or such as chuse neither to *beg* nor *steal*, but *dig*, have most time and leasure to make such *images* of clouts, &c.

Christ Jesus his distinction of Diggers, Beggers, Stealers.

Examination of CHAP. XV.

Peace.

IN this passage (Dear Truth) we hear a sound of *Agreement*; Master *Cotton* consenteth, that this third of *Titus* evinceth no *civil rejection*, but *excommunication* out of the *Church* of *Christ*; and he saith, That no sillable of his *conclusion* lookes at more.

And whereas it might be objected, That *excommunication* cannot fitly be called *persecution*: he answers yes, and quotes *Luk. 21.12. John 16. 2.*

Truth. Were it not for the fierce hands of angry *Esaus*, this shril sweet voice might pass for *Jacobs*. What ever Master *Cottons* ends and intentions were (of which I cannot but judge charitably) the eye of *God* alone discerneth, but for Master *Cottons* words, sillables and *arguings*, let all impartial *readers* and *consciencences* judge of these four *considerations*.

First, Whether the word *persecution*, do not in all proper and ordinary speech signifie *penal* and *corporal* punishment and affliction.

2. Whether the point in question agitated between the *prisoner* and Master *Cotton* throughout the book, concern not only *penal* and *corporal* affliction: and whether it can be imagined, that the *prisoner*, or the *discusser*, or any that plead for the *purity* of *Christs* *ordinances*, could ever plead against *excommunicating* an *heretick* or wilful offender out of the *Church* of *Christ*: And although the Scriptures by Master *Cotton* quoted, do mention *ex-*

Persecution, not properly, nor usually taken for any spiritual punishment.

commu-

communication, as an unjust oppression; yet they speak also of *corporal afflictions, imprisonments*, bringing before *judgement-seats*, and killing also.

3. It could be told in what *countrey*, at a publike sentence of *banishment* of a certaine person, a text of Scripture, *Rom. 16. 17.* (parrallel with this of *Tit. 3.*) was alleadged by the chief *judge* in *court* for a ground (not of *spiritual excommunication*, but) of *civil*, out of the *Commonweal*.

4. Were it not more for the name of *God*, for the honour of his *truth*, and the comfort of *Master Cotton*, plainly and ingenuously to acknowledge his misapplying of this holy *Scripture* of *Tit. 3.* then to cover it by so thin and poor a plea, *viz.* that he intends by *persecution, excommunication* out of the *Church* of *Christ*?

Examination of CHAP. XVI.

Peace.

MAfter *Cotton* here grants a *toleration* to *Jews, Turkes, Pagans*, yea and *Antichristians*, with one exception, to wit, so that they continue not to seduce, &c.

Truth. But it must be remembred, that before and after he maintaines *persecution* against *Apostates, blasphemers, and idolatours*, and then who knows not how all these four sorts, *Jews, Turkes, Pagans, and Antichristians*, are full of *blasphemy* and *idolatry*? Now in case they seduce not; they are to be persecuted as *idolaters* and *blasphemers*, how then are they to be tolerated?

Peace. It could not be (had not this holy man been catcht with sipping at the bloody cup of the great *whore*) that *Master Cottons affirmations* and *doctrines* should thus quarrel among themselves.

But further, I see not the equality of his yoaking the *Oxe* and the *Asse* together, when he further coupleth *seducing* of people into *worship* of false *Gods, confidence* of a mans own *merit*, &c. (which are *spiritual matters*) with *seducing* into *seditious conspiracies* against the *lives* and *estates* of such *Princes*

as will not submit their *conscience* to the *Bishop of Rome*.

Truth. Your observation (*dear peace*) is seasonable; the former are meer *Religious* and *spiritual*, the latter are merely *civil*, against which the *civil state* is bound to defend it self with *civil weapons*.

Peace. In the next place Master Cotton chargeth the *discusser* with want of *reason, truth, and candor*, for observing how unfitly those Scriptures of *Phil. 3. Rom. 14.* are produced to prove a *tolleration* of lesser errors: And he affirms, that he never intended, that what the *Churches* might not tolerate, the *Cities* might not, &c.

Truth. The point is *tolerating* or *persecuting* by the *civil state*; whatever therefore be Master Cottons intentions, it is apparant, unless the *Cities* and *Churches* of *Rome* and *Philippi* be confounded together (as commonly they are in case of *persecution*) I say it is then apparant that there is no Scripture brought for the *civil state* its *tolerating* of *points* of lesser moment, nor are these *Scriptures* brought to any purpose in hand, but prophaned.

Examination of
Phil. 3. and
Rom. 14.

Peace. But observe his *Argument*, The *civil state* tollerates petty *theeves* and *lyers*, to live in *Towns, Cities* &c.

Truth. No well ordered *State* or *City* can suffer petty *Theeves* and *lyers* without some *punishment*, and we know how severely in the *State of England*, even *theeves* have been punished even with *death* it self; but Master Cotton is against such *cruelty*, for he pleades for tollerating of lesser errors, even in points of *Religion* and *worship*.

Very severe, but
not Christian,
more then Ju-
daical punish-
ment of Theeves
in England.

2. If *tollerating* of lesser errors be granted upon this ground, *viz.* till *God* may be pleased to manifest his *truth*; is not the same a ground for *tollerating* of greater, as the holy *spirit* of *God* argues 2 *Tim. 2.* trying if *God* may be pleased to give *repentance*?

Peace. Yea but (saith he) the greater will *infect*, and so is more dangerous, and the *tolleration* is the more unmerciful and cruel to the souls of many.

Truth. *Lyers* and *Theeves* infect also, even the *Civil state*, and a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lump; and therefore as the *Commonweal* ought not upon that ground to tolerate petty

theeves and lyars, so hath *Christ Jesus* provided in his holy *kingdom* and *City* against lesser evils, and upon this ground, that a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lump. But yet *Christ Jesus* hath not spoken (where he gives command for this thing to the *Corinthians* or *Galatians*, that such persons so leavened, should (together with their being put out of the *Church* for obstinacy in a little *leaven*) be put out of the *world* or *civil state*: (The one (the *Church* (being his *Garden*, the other, the *Commonweal*, being the high wayes, *Field* &c. the proper place for men as men to abide in.)

Examination of CHAP. XVII.

Peace.

Concerning the holding forth of error with an arrogant and boysterous *spirit* to the disturbance of *civil peace*, Master *Cotton* moderates the matter, that he would not have such put to *death*, unless the *civil peace* be destroyed, to the *destruction* of the *lives* and *souls* of men.

The civil and
spiritual life
confounded.

Truth. I cannot but here first observe the confounding of *heaven* and earth together, the *Church* and the *world*, *lives* and *souls*, &c. as if all were of *one nature*.

2. Neither blessed *Paul*, nor I, need to be accused of *cruelty* in that grant of *Paul*, if alleadged (*Acts* 25.) for there will not be found ought but a willingness to bear a righteous sentence of *death* in some crimes committed against the *civil state*.

3. Master *Cotton* may here observe, how justly (as he speaks of the *heretick*) he condemnes himself, for it is too bloody a *Tenent*. (saith he) that every man that holdeth *error* in a boysterous and arrogant way, to the disturbance of *civil peace*, ought to be punished with *death*. Is not this the whole scope of his discourse from *Deut.* 13. and other abrogated repealed *laws*, to prove (what was just and righteous in the land of *Israel*) so bloody a *Tenent* and course to be enforced in all *Nations* all the world over?

Peace. Master *Cotton* excepteth against that speech [But if the matter

matter be of a *spiritual* or *divine* nature. | There is no error, saith he, can be of *divine* nature, though it may be *spiritual*.

Truth. Master Cotton may hear *Solomon* here saying unto him, Be not overwise &c.

For first, the words are not, If the *error* be of a *divine* nature, but if the *matter* (that is, the *controversie, cause* &c.) be of a *spiritual* or *divine* nature: which *distinction* between *humane* and *divine* things, I conceive is the same with that of *wisdom* it self God & Cesar. dividing between *God* and *Cesar*: Give to *God*. &c. And so, though no error be of a *spiritual* or *divine* nature (taking the words in their highth) yet the *matter* in question may be of some *spiritual* or *divine* consideration, belonging to *God*, and his *worship*; and not concerning the *Commonweal* or *Civil state* of men, which belong to *Cesars* care.

2. Taking *spiritual* as it is used sometimes in the holy *Scripture* as opposite to *flesh* and *blood*, I see no ground for that distinction, between *spiritual* and *divine*: *God* is a *Spirit*, and the *spiritual* man discerneth All things: In such places and their like (to my understanding) *spiritual* and *divine* are the same thing.

Peace. But I marvel at the next passage: how can Master Cotton with any colour of *reason* or *charity* conceive the *discusser* so reasonless and senseless, as to intend by these words, [Such onely break the *Cities* or *Kingdomes* *peace*, as call for *prison*, and *sword* against *hereticks*?] as if (as Master Cotton infers and saith) that *murderers*, *seditions* persons, *rebels*, *traitors*; were none of them such, *viz.* *Peace-breakers*.

Truth. This word [onely] can onely have a faire respect to such as are charged by their opinions of *Religion* and *worship* to break the *Peace* of the *Commonweale*, who (of what conscience soever they are) may freely enjoy their *conscience* and *worship* (either of many and false *Gods*, or of the true *God* in a false way) and yet not be guilty of the breach of *civil peace*, but onely they (I say they onely in this *consideration*) who by their *doctrine* and *practice* cry out for *prison*, and *fire* and *sword*, against *hereticks*, &c. The great peace breakers.

Peace. As the *devil* appeared an *Angel* of *light* in *Samuels* mantle, So *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prage*, are declared for *devils* with the pictured *devils* upon their heads; and under this cloud of *heresie* and black name of *hereticks*, most commonly have

suffered in all ages the true *messengers* of *Christ Jesus*. Thus cryed they out, *Acts 17*. These are they that have turned the *world upside down*, and are come hither also; and thus did they set the *City* all on an uproare. And *Acts 19*. not the *worshippers* of *Christ* fill'd the whole *City* with *confusion*, but the worshippers of *Diana*, who filled the *heavens* with that *Bedlam Outcry* of two houres continuance, Great is *Diana* of the *Ephesians*.

English Diana's.

Truth. With as little *reason* and *peaceableness* of *spirit* hath our *English Nation* used to cry Great is the *Church* of *Rome*, Great is our holy *Father* the *Pope*, Great the *Mass*, Great the *Virgin Mary*, Great the *General Councils*, &c. And in later times, Great the *Church* of *England*, Great the *Christian Magistrate*, Great the *Ministry* and *Bishops* of *England*, Great the *swearing* and *covenant* of the people, &c. and such as dissent from us in these *points* and *practices*, persecute them as *hereticks*, and *disturbers* of the *common civil peace*.

Peace. In the rest of this Chapter, *Master Cotton* makes three *grants* with his *exceptions* annexed.

Truth. Please you (*dear peace*) to mention them in one, and accordingly I shall weigh them in the *balance* together.

Peace. 1. Saith he, The many *causes* which the *discuss* before wrote of, are all of them allowed, but none of them concern holding forth of *errors*, which is the point in hand.

Gross partiality to private interests.

2. Saith he, It is easily granted that *they* do break the *Cities* or *kingdoms peace*, who cry out for *prisons* and *swords* against such who cross their *judgement* or *practice* in *religion*, to wit, saith he, unless their *religion* be of *God*, and the crossing of it be such as destroyeth and *subverteth* the *Religion* of *God*.

3. It is also easily granted (saith he) that many complaine most who are most in fault themselves.

Truth. To these three I may answer thus in one. The *Mystery* of *preaching* or holding forth the witness of the *Truth* of *Jesus*; is interpreted by many to be the *Mystery* of the first seal, the *white horse*; and the being *persecuted* or slaughtered for the word of *God* and testimony of *Jesus*, to be the *Mystery* of the third seal, where the souls under the *Altar* cry to the *Lord* for *vengeance* against their *persecutors*. These *mysteries* are sealed up, and they are the *Lords letters*, not to be opened and read by every

one, but (as sealed letters be) by such to whom they are directed.

Peace. It follows therefore, that in the midst of all the cries of *Jews, Pagans, Turkes, and Antichristians* [Our Religion is the Religion of God: You are an *heretick*, you are a *persecutor*, We are true *Christians*, we are *persecuted*, &c.] that the hearts of Gods children must be comforted and staid up with the sight of this *Mystery*. And doubtless it is most commonly (though not alwayes) true, that the imprisoned, fined, whipt, banished, hanged, burned, &c. in point of Religion, have been so inhumanely oppressed for the word of God and the *Testimony of Iesus*.

Our own *Chronicles, Records of England*, and blessed Master Fox will in part evidence to us, that scarce a *King* or *Queen* of England hath past since *Richard* the second his time, but the blood of the witnesses of *Iesus* more or less hath been spilt in their *Raignes*, as the blood of *Hereticks, Schismaticks*, &c. and but few drops of the blood of any *Heretick* indeed have fallen to the ground.

England in all Ages guilty of much persecuti-on.

Truth. The *discusser* therefore humbly (to my knowledge) desireth according to Master *Cottons* wish to reflect upon his own way, and humbly to beg of God two things for himself, and all in any measure *censured* and *persecuted* as *hereticks*.

Two seasonable petitions of any persecuted.

First, *Iosephs innocency, purity, chastity*, in all those points and questions wherein they are *charged* and *condemned unclean*.

Secondly, *Iesephs patience* to bear the *accusations, censures, imprisonments* &c. from the *tongues* and *hands* of them who are notoriously *unclean* and *guilty* before the *zealous* and *revenging eye* and hand of God.

Examination of CHAP. XVIII.

Peace.

MAny of the following leaves and Chapters (*dear truth*) are spent upon that great and heavenly *parable* of the *Tares*, a *knot* about which so many holy fingers, dead and living, have been so laboriously exercised, all professing to untie yet some by seeming to *untie*, have tyed the *knot* the faster.

The Parable of
the Tares.

Truth. It is no wonder (*sweet peace*) to finde Master Cotton so intangled both in his *answers* and *replies* touching this Parable; for men of all sorts in former ages, have been so intangled before him: To which purpose, with thy patience I shall relate a notable passage recorded by that excellent *witness* (or *Martyr*) of *God*, Master Fox in his book of *Acts* and *Monuments*: tis this, In the story of Master George Wisheart (that famous *Scotch witness* of *Christ Iesus*) in the dayes of King *Henry* the eighth, there preached at the arraignment of the said *Wisheart*, one *Iohn Winryme*, *subprior* of the *Abbey* of *Saint Andrews*, he discouried on the Parable of the *Tares*, he interpreted the *Tares* to be *hereticks*; and yet contrary to this very Scripture (as Master Fox himself observeth, though eliwere himself also maintaining it the duty of the *civil Magistrate* to suppress *hereticks*) I say the said *Winryme* concludeth that *hereticks* ought not to be let alone until the harvest, but to be *suppress* by the power of the *civil Magistrate*: So that memorable it is that both the *Popish Prior*, and that truly *Christian Fox*, were intangled in *contradictions* to their own *writings* about the interpreting of this Heavenly Scripture.

The Parable of
Tares grossly
abused.

Peace. O what cause therefore have all that follow *Iesus* to beg of *Iesus* (as the *Disciples* did) the blessed *Key* of *David* to unloose this holy *mystery*? In the entrance, therefore of this *discourse*, the *discusser* observing Master Cottons *exposition* to be fallacious, and the *Tares* to be interpreted, either *persons*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, he blames that Master Cotton gives no argument for proof of such an interpretation: Master Cotton replies.

First, Neither did the *Author* of the letter give *reason* for his *interpret-*

terpretation. 2. That they both gave *one interpretation*. For the *Ambor* of the *letter* said, that some expounded the *Wheat* and *Tares*, to signifie such as walk in *truth*, and such as walk in *lies*: now are not (saith Master *Cotton*) *hypocrites* and some corrupt *doctrines* and *practices* coincident with such as walk in *lies*, &c?

Truth. I answer, First it might be both their failing, not to strengthen their *interpretations* with some *light* and evidence from *Scripture* or *reason*, although the *Prisoners* failing the less, as being forced to write by *shifts* and *difficulties* in *prison*, and so the shorter, when Master *Cotton* had free *liberty* to enlarge and confirm without control, &c.

2. When the *prisoner* interprets the *Tares* to be such as walk in *lies*, it will be found evident upon examination, that he meaneth such as manifestly, openly, visibly walk in the true *profession* of *Christianity*; and such as openly and visibly walk in the *lies* of false and *Antichristian doctrine* and *worship*. That distinction of *secret* and *open*. *Hypocrisie* is *seasonable*: *secret*, implies such a *dissimulation* as may lie hid under the true *outward profession* of *Christ Jesus*, as in *Judas*, *Simon Magus*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira* &c. *Open hypocrisie* implies the *profession* of the *man of sin*, sitting in the *Temple of God* (or over the *Temple of God*) pretending the *Name of Christ*, and yet apparantly and visibly, false and counterfeit, and but pretending, when such *pretences* and *shewes* are brought to the *Touchstone* of true *Christianity*. Hypocrisie secret and open hypocrisie.

Peace. Your *observation* is true, as also a second, That these *hypocritical doctrines* and *practices* are to be tollerated to the end of the world, this he sets down in *general*, not instancing in particular what *doctrine* and *practises* are to be tollerated: and on the other hand, the whole drift of his *Booke* maintaineth, that such *persons, doctrines* or *practices*, that are *idolatrons*, or *blasphemous*, or *infectious*, are not to be tollerated or permitted at all; which *passages* to my understanding have not *harmony* among themselves: For what is all the whole *Religion* of every *Antichrist*, but a *Mass* or *Chaos* of *Hypocrisie*, *Idolatry*, *Heresie*, *Blasphemy*, *Poysons* &c.

Besides, Master *Cotton* had dealt more plainly with this holy *Scripture*, if he had explained what he meant by such *doctrines* and

and practises [comming neer the truth] and set down the bounds, how neer as to make them *Tares*.

Truth. Dear Peace, Who knows not that the *weeds* of the *wilderness* come neer the *flowers* of the *Garden*, the *counterfeit* may come neer the *life*, and the *false mettal* the true *gold*? And though it be true that some *doctrines* and *practices* be not so *gross* as other, yet they differ but (as the *Scripture* speaks) as *whores* and *whoremongers*, amongst themselves; some are more *proper*, and *fine*, and *young*, and *painted*; some are *old*, *deformed* &c. And yet the *finest weeds*, *counterfeits* and *whores* are unalufferable in the *Garden*, in the *Commonweale*, *house*, and *bed* of *Christ*: Though yet in the *civil Commonweale*, the vilest *spiritual strumpet* may challenge a *civil Being*, if in *civil things* unreprouceable.

Spituall who e-
dome in worship
may and doth in
all Nations sub-
sist with Civil
Beings, Relati-
ons, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XIX.

Peace.

BUt in this Chapter, Master Cotton in the issue granteth, that the *Tares* signifie *persons*, by *Christ's* own interpretation: For [them that do *iniquity*] may seem to be an explanation of *πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα*, All *scandals*, that is, *persons* holding forth of *scandalous* and corrupt *doctrines* and *practices*, like unto true and sound.

Truth. Yet withall he chargeth the discusser with *lightness* and *inconstancy*, for endeavouring to prove that *corrupt doctrines* and *practices* are not to be tollerated, and yet, saith he, the *discusser* pleades that such *persons* ought to be tollerated. Whereas the discusser twice in this Chapter expressly distinguisheth between *tolleration* in the *Church*, and *tolleration* in the *world*, and affirmeth, that although the *Church of Christ Jesus* cannot tollerate either *persons* or *practices* which are false and *Antichristian*, yet the *civil state*, the *world*, ought to tollerate and permit both.

And therefore Master Cottons inconsiderate charge of *contradiction* will not stick, because of those divers *respects* or *States*, the *spiritual* and *civil*, as it was no *contradiction* in *Christ Iesus*, to affirme that *John Baptist* was *Elias*, when *John* himself affirmeth, that he was not *Elias*: For in several *respects* the

Negative

Negative of *John*, and the Affirmative of *Jesus* were both true.

Examination of CHAP. XX.

Peace.

IN this passage (to my understanding) Master Cotton after much seeming *contestation* and *disagreement*, yet in conclusion he shakes hands and agrees with the *discusser* in the maine point in question.

Truth. Your *observation* reacheth home; for let it be granted, that the *Greek* word *Zizania* should not signifie All weeds sprung up with the *wheat*, but one kind of weed, and that in special which Master Cotton saith *Dioscorides* describeth: Let it be granted to be the same with *Lolium*, and that there is a great *similitude* between the *Tares* and the *Wheat*, while they are in the blade (some of which particulars are *controversial*;) yet it no way opposeth that which the *discusser* maintaineth, to wit, the easiness of discerning these *tares* to be *tares*, when they are grown up to blade and fruit. And therefore Master Cotton at the last, confesseth that even these *tares* (*unknown hypocrites*) (according to his own *exposition*) ought to be suffered in the church of *Christ* to the *harvest* or end of the world. Of the Tares

Peace. I cannot but wonder how Master Cotton should once imagine, that it might possibly stand with the *order*, *piety*, and *safety* of the *profession* of *Christ Jesus*, that such a *generation* of known *hypocrites* should be perpetually suffered.

Truth. Doubtless the *Lord Jesus* was not of Master Cottons minde, who so vehemently warned his *followers* to take heed of the *leaven* of *hypocrisie*. Beside, if known *hypocrites* may be suffered and not cast out, Why may not known *hypocrites* be taken in? And what is then become of the true *matter* of the *church*, to wit, true *living stones* of a *spiritual life* and *nature*, so far as outwardly can be discerned?

Peace. This *assertion* hath so foule a *representation*, that Master Cotton is forced to draw this *vaile* over, and therefore he adds, untill the *fruits* of *hypocrites* grow *notoriously scandalous*.

Truth. I cannot fathom how these two agree: First, known *hypocrites* may be tolerated untill the worlds end; 2. Tolerated no longer, then untill the *fruits* of the *hypocrisie* grow *notoriously scandalous*: For will not all *reason* and *experience* ask this *question*: How comes it that this *friend, subject, and Spouse* of *Christ* is now a known *dissembler, traitor, whore*, unless by some *scandalous fruits* so declaring and uncausing of them? If the shameful fruits of the unclean person, *I Cor. 5.* were sufficient to deno-
 minate him a *wicked person*, why were they not sufficient to war-
 rant *Paul* to say, *Put away* therefore that *wicked* person from
 amongst you?

Peace. But let us mind the Scripture quoted: If (saith *Master Cotton*) foolish *Virgins* be cast out of the *church*, the *wise Virgins* may be found sometimes sleeping as well as they.

Of the wise and
 foolish Virgins.

Truth. Neither *good wheate*, nor *wise Virgins* are to be cast out of the *church* of *Christ*, while they appear to be so: yet since *Master Cotton* elsewhere grants, that a child of *God* (*good wheate, and a wise Virgin*) may so stand out against the *church* of *Christ* (in some passion) that he may be cast out. &c. How much more then ought the *tares* and *foolish Virgins* (while so appearing) be excluded?

2. If the *wise Virgins* be received into *heaven*, as the *foolish* shut out, will it not evidently follow (even the contrary to that for which *Master Cotton* alleadgeth this Scripture) - to wit, That when *hypocrites* are discovered, they are to be kept out, and consequently to be cast out of the *church* of *Christ*? except *Master Cotton* will say, that the *kingdome* of *Christ* on *earth*, may receive and keep in her *bosome* such stinking *weedes*, declared so to be, which the *kingdome* of *Christ* in *heaven* abhors.

Who questions, but while the *hypocrisie* of these *foolish Virgins* lay hid in their empty *vessels*, that outwardly they appeared as *wise* as the *wise Virgins*? But when the *fruits* of their *hypocrisie* discovered them to be *fools*, how can *Master Cotton* (according to the truth as it is in *Jesus*) affirm, that *foolish Virgins* (*known hypocrites*) are to be kept in and not cast out of the *church* of *Christ* unto the end of the *world*?

Peace: O how contrary is this to the very *fundamentals, essence, nature* and *being* of a *church* or *Spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, which

which is (by the confession of *Papists* and *Protestants*) a society of wise *Virgins*, visibly *Saints*, holy and faithful persons, a society of such persons as outwardly profess to love *Christ Jesus* uprightly (*Cant. 1.*) and to be espoused to him, *1 Cor. 11.*

Truth. Yea, and how contrary is this to the nature of *Christ Jesus*, whose heart is all one fire towards the daughters of *Jerusalem* (*Cant. 4.*) and how contrary to the charge, that great and solemn charge of the *Lord Jesus* to all his followers, to take heed of that leaven which is *hypocrisie*, which if suffered, will leaven the whole lump, and render the garden and spouse of *Christ* a filthy dunghill and whore-house of rotten and stinking whores and *hypocrites*.

No true church of *Christ* consisting of visible hypocrites.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

After *Cotton* here endeavors to prove (as many have done before) that the *Field* which the *Lord Jesus* interprets the world, was meant by him to be the *Church*, as he is said to love the world, *Iohn 3.* to be propitiation for the sins of the world, *1 Ioh. 2.*

Truth. In these and many other places of like nature, it pleaseth the *Spirit of God* to set forth his love to *mankind*, distinct from all other creatures: As also the impartiality of his love, calling his chosen out of all sorts of *sinners*, *mankind* all the world over: and yet it cannot be denied, but that the Scriptures speak frequently of the world and of the church in a far distinct and contrary acceptance. So, as when he nameth the church, it cannot signify the world; and when the world; he cannot be said to intend the church, the reasons therefore on either side must be expended and weighed in the fear of *God*, why the *Field* here called by *Christ* the world, cannot be intended to be the church of *Christ*.

The field of the world.

Peace. Your right distinguishing, is a right dividing of the word of *Truth*; but (saith *Master Cotton*) it cannot be the world in proper signification; for which he aladgeth three reasons.

First, Because there had been (saith he) no place for the servants wonder at the appearing of the *tares* verse 27. for what wonder that the *world* should be so full of *fornicators, &c?* Was it ever otherwise?

Truth. It is true, that the *world* lyeth in *wickedness*, and is full of *fornicators, idolaters &c.* and yet it was some thousands of yeers when the world was not full of *Christian*, that is, *anointed*, or *holy fornicators, holy idolaters &c.* That is indeed and truth *Antichristian*, and that alone is the point in question, about which this answer of Master *Cotton* hovers, but comes not neer it. This is indeed a most dreadful and *wonderful point* of the *wisdom*, *justice*, and *patience* of *God*, so to suffer so many millions of men and women, to arrogate to themselves the *name* and *profession* of the most *holy* living *God*, and his holy Son *Christ Iesus*, to be called *Christians, anointed* or *holy*, and yet upon the point to hate the *holiness, truth*, and spirit of *Christ Iesus*.

The mystery of
Antichristians
or false Chri-
stians.

Truth. This is doubtless to me (what ere Master *Cotton* imagines) a wonderful *mystery* in all *Ages* since these *tares* were first sown, to see, I say, so many millions of *holy idolaters, holy mur-therers, holy whoremongers, holy theeves &c.*

The *blasphemy* of this is so wonderful and dreadful, that I cannot sufficiently *wonder* at him that *wonders*, not how this comes to pass.

Truth. The like I answer to his second *Reason*, that it is true that we read not that ever any of the *Ministers* or *Prophets* of *Christ* ever essayed to pluck up all such *vicious* notorious persons out of the *world*, as they demanded concerning the *tares*, for then indeed as the *Spirit* implies, *I Cor. 5.* the whole state of the *world* would be overthrown; but yet this hinders not, but there may be a *desire* in *Gods servants* to pluck up this or that sect or sort of people, *Jews, Turks, or Antichristians.*

Peace. Dear *Truth*, you make me call to minde the desire of *Christs disciples*, that fire might descend from *heaven*, not to consume all *fornicators, idolaters, all cruel and unclean persons* out of the *world*. yet that *particular, unmerciful, superstitious Town* of the *Samaritans*, they desired that *fire* might come from *heaven* and consume them.

Truth. Indeed this *desire* of the *disciples* is no strange *desire*,
for

for what else do All they desire, which permit not in the *civil state*, any *Religion, worship or conscience* but their own? Nay far beyond that, were the whole *worlds neck* under their imperial *yoake* (the many *millions of millions of blasphemers, and idolaters of all sorts*) if they will not be convinced at their *word*, must be cut off from all *natural and civil being* in the world, by *Fire and Sword*.

Master Cotton
knows not his
own desire.

Peace. His third reason is, That the discussor reckoned up as parallel *goats and sheep, wheate and tares* (as generally, said he, others do) and he addeth, that in the purest *church* after the *ruine of Antichrist*, there shall be *goats and sheep, wise and foolish Virgins*, untill the coming of *Christ* to judgement, *Mat. 25*.

Truth. Although the discussor spake of that eternal *separation* between *wheat and tares sheep and goats* approaching; yet he never said, that the *tares and goats* signified *hypocrites* in the Church, which is the point in *question*: Nor dare I subscribe to that opinion, that after the *destruction of Antichrist*, when purest times of the *church* shall come, that there shall be such a mixt estate in the *church of Christ*, untill the coming of *Christ* to judgement.

For first, Although *goats* were clean for *food and sacrifice*, yet it is apparant, that as they are for the *left hand*, So they are visibly known by every child, where *goats and sheep* are kept. And to image that visible *hypocrites*, such as *tares, goats, unprofitable servants, foolish Virgins* &c. shall in a mixt way make up *Christs church*, and that in the purest times of the *church*, of which there are so many and wonderful *prophecies*, is to me not onely to frame a *church estate* point blank crois to the purity of those *churches*, but even to the first *Apostolical churches*, yea and against that *frame of church estate* in *New England* where *Master Cotton* hath professed (though now it is said the door is wider) against receiving in such members as are visibly *foolish Virgins, goats* &c.

Peace. *Master Cottons* second answer is, that if the *Field* be the *world*, as the *tares Antichristians* and false *Christians*, yet they were first sown in the field of, the *church*.

Truth. Not so: for although there might be many *infirmities* and *distempers*, yea some great *corruptions* in the first *Christian*

The first rise of Antichristians argued. *stian body* the church of Christ; notwithstanding that *Antichrist* is an *Apostate*, yet it will not follow, that the *tares* were first sown in the true church, because *Sathan* might easily raise up some *professors* of the name of Christ, which the true church would never admit. And as *Sathan* might raise up *persons, congregations, worships*, which were not according to Christ; So might he easily raise up *churches, congregations and societies* of such *tares* with whom the churches of Christ might refuse society. So saith *John*, There are many *Antichrists*, whom yet we cannot well imagine that they were in the churches of the Lord *Jesus*.

There came false *Apostles* to the Church at *Ephesus*, but yet that church examined and found them *lyars*. And so long as the churches were watchful, those *tares* kept in the world. But when the churches began to be sleepy, the *Tares* might undiscerned creep into the church

This may be as well, as when *Apostates* fall off from the church, go out from it, because they were never of it: and also as well as that the church of Christ may drowsily neglect to purge out the old *leaven* of persons and things, which may soon overspread and over-run the whole *lump* and garden of the church of Christ, untill it be turned againe into one common field of the world together.

Peace. Master *Cottons* third answer is, That *Antichristians* must not be tolerated unto the end of the world, because God will put it into the heart of faithful *princes* to hate the *whore*; and after that, we read of a visible state of *New Jerusalem* before the end of the world, *Rev. 20. 21, 22.*

Truth. It is not said, that those *princes* that shall hate the *whore* shall be *faithful princes*: and since Master *Cotton* seems to hold that by way of ordinance (and so in obedience) the *Kings* of the earth shall with the sword destroy *Antichrist*, I desire his proof for any such prophecy. For,

1. It is not said, that God will put it into their hearts, to hate the *whore*. And we finde that they shall hate the *lambe*, as well as hate the *whore*. For they shall make war with the *lambe*, and the *lamb* shall overcome them, as comes to pass after the ruine of the *whore*, *Rev. 19.*

2. *Judgement* may be executed upon the *whore* by way of mutual

mutual judgement each upon others, when in the midst of their *spiritual whoredoms*, and *drunkenness* with the *Saints blood*, they shall fall out with the *whore* (as useth to be in *whoredome*) and turn their *whorish loves* into *outrageous fury*; and the very description of their fury looks this way, for it is not the property of *sober* and *faithful* men (though repenting of their whoredoms) to make a *woman naked* (though a *whore*) and to eat her *flesh*, as it is said, those shall do.

The judgement
of the great
whore.

But grant (as we most hopefully do) the *whores consumption* by the ten hornes of the *Beast*, and the flourishing of new *Jerusalem* upon the earth (*Rev. 20. 21, 22.*) before the end of the world (all which are great disputes among the people of *God*) yet I judge it necessary that two or three *queries* be satisfied for the further clearing of the holy minde of the *Lord* in this particular.

1. Whether (as some have and do argue) the end of the world in this Parable and other Scriptures do expressly and undeniably signify the end of the world and *judgement-day* literally, and not some other mystical *period of time*, since the word *Αἰών* (usually translated *world*) is of various *signification*, and sometimes signifies an *Age*.

2. Whether those ten *Kings* which shall destroy the *whore*, shall be absolutely *Christian*, true *Saints*, followers of *Jesus* they and their Armies, or else remaining *Antichristian* hornes of the *Beast*, shall yet execute the *judgement* of *God* upon the great *whore*: as *Jehu* remaining both hypocritical and idolatrous, yet dashed out the braines of that great whore *Iezabel*, and executed judgement upon *Baals Priests*: yea and even as *Henry* the eighth tumbled the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and thousands of his Popelings with him, he suppressed and threw the *whore Iezabel* the *church* of *Rome* out of *Englands* window, and yet continued to burn the *Saints* of *Jesus* upon his six Popish and bloody *Articles*.

3. Whether that mighty *Army* of *Gog* and *Magog*, which is mustered up after the thousand yeers raigne of *Christ*, be not in part made up of the ten hornes, even after the whore of *Romes consumption* (as before in *Henry* the eighth his case) which horns with their peoples. *Christ* will have yet to be tolerated as *Tares*

the field of the *world*, though not in the Church of *Christ*.

Peace. What think you of Master Cottons grant, that the first fruits of *Antichristians* may be *tares* sown in the field of the *church*, which afterwards grow to be *Briars* and *Thornes* ?

Truth. I observe that to be *tares*, of *Antichristian worshippers*, and *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*) are both of them of a false and *Antichristian* nature, which ought to be far from *imitation* of the *Rose* of *Sharon*, or the *Lily* of the *vallies*.

But 2. Are there no *tares*, that is, hypocrites, but in the *church*; and must all the *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*, &c.) have no root from the wilde world, but from the *garden* of *Christs church* ?

Peace. Now whereas it was urged, that it stood not with the *wisdome* and *love* of *Christ*, interpreting this parable, and opening what the field was, to call the *field* the *world*, when he meant the *church*: Master Cotton answers, that *Paul* by the same *wisdome* useth the same word, *2 Cor. 5*. God was in *Christ* reconciling the *world* unto himself.

Truth. *Paul* in using that figure of the *world* for all sorts of men in the *world*, doth not undertake to interpret a *Parable*, which before he had proposed unto (and at the request of) the *Corinthians*, as the *Lord Iesus* doth at the request of his *disciples*.

And where Master Cotton saith, that it is no more an improper speech to call the *church* the *world*, then to speak of *Christ* as dying for the *world*, when he dyed for the *church*.

Truth. I finde it not to be said, that *Christ* died for the *world*, but grant that it hath pleased the *Lord* in his most infinite *wisdome*, to cause the term of the *world* to be used in *various significations*; yet let any instance be given of any *Scripture*, wherein the *Lord* opposing the *church* to the *world*, the *wheat* to *tares*, doth not distinguish between the *church* redeemed out of the *world*, and the *world* it self, which is said to lye in *wickedness*, and to be such as for which *Christ Iesus* would not pray, *John 17*.

Examination of CHAP. XXII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter was urged the *scope* of the *Lord Jesus*, to wit, to foretell the *Antichristian state* opposing the true *Christian church* and *worship*, as also to comfort and strengthen the *hearts* of his *fellowers*, against the *grievances* arising therefrom; and where it was urged that the *church* consisteth *only* of good ground, and that the three sorts of *Bad ground* visibly so declared, are properly in the *world*, and not in the *church*, *Master Cotton* answers,

First, Did not *Christ* preach to all these sorts of *bearers* in the *church* of the *Jews*?

Truth. That *national church* of the *Jews*, in its first *visible constitution*, consisted *only* of good ground. Now that the other three sorts of *bearers* were in the *church* of the *Jews*, it was an *accident* and *corruption*: when they grew incurable, and received not the *admonitions* of the *Lord*, by the *Lord Jesus* and his *servants*, preaching unto them, the *Lord* cast them out of his sight, destroyed that *nationall church*, and established the *Christian church*.

The nature of Jewish Church.

Now what is this to the permitting of known *hypocrites* in the *Christian church* to the *worlds end*? since that the proper seat of *known hypocrisie*, and of all other *wickedness*, is the *world*, which indeed properly consisteth of the three sorts of *Bad ground*, as the *church* and *Garden of Christ*, of the *honest* and *good ground*.

Peace. But further, If (saith *Master Cotton*) the children of the *church-members* be in the *church*, then they growing up to yeers, become some of them like the *high-way*, and some like the *stony*, and some like the *thorny ground*.

Truth. Admit the *Christian church* were constituted of the *natural seed* and *off-spring* (which yet *Master Cotton* knows will never be granted to him, and I believe will never be proved by him:) yet he knows, that upon the *discovery* of any such portion of *ground* in the *church*, the *church* is bound to admonish, and

upon *impenitency* (after *admonition*) to cast them into the *world*, the proper place of such kind of hearers and professors.

Peace. Master *Cotton* proceeds to a third answer, to wit, Though it be not the proper work of the *church* to bring up their own children to become the sincere people of *God*. And *Christ* hath given his *Church* and his *Gospel* preached to it, to lye like *leaven* in three pecks of meal, till all be leavened, *Mat.* 13. 31. And he hath given *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as well for the gathering of the *Saints*, as for the *edification* of the *Body* of *Christ*.

Truth. I answer, the proper work of the *Pastors* and *Teachers*, is to feed the *sheep* and *flock*, and not the *Heards*, the *wild Beasts* in the *world*. And although it is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the nurture and *fear* of the *Lord*; yet what if those children refuse to frequent the *Assemblies* of the *Church*, and what if those three sorts of *bad ground* or hearers will not come within the *bounds* of the *Pastors* and *Teachers* feeding; hath not the *Lord Jesus* appointed other *Officers* (in the same *Ephes.* 4.) for the gathering of the *Saints*, that is, sending out of the *Church* of *Christ*, *Apostles*, or *Messengers*, to preach *Christ Jesus* to the three sorts of *bad ground*, to labour to turn them into *good ground*?

But alas, to save up all this, the *civil sword* is commonly run for, to force all sorts of ground to come to *church*, instead of the sending forth (*Rom.* 10.) the *heavenly sowers*, according to the Ordinance of *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. But what say you to his fourth answer, *viz.* There is no such *Resemblance* between the *high-way-ground* and *good ground*, as between the *Tares* and the *wheate*, nor would the servants wonder at *Tares* in the *high-way*, nor ask about their plucking up.

Truth. I answer, Let the *high-way*, *stony*, and *thorny ground* be considered in their several *qualities* of *prophaneness*, *stuniness* and *worldliness*, and all the *sons of men* throughout the whole *world* naturally are such; and tis no wonder, nor would the *servants* of *Christ* be so troubled, as to desire their plucking up out of the *world*. But yet againe consider all these sorts of men as professing the *name* and *anointing* of *Christ Jesus* in a false and

coun-

the nature of
Christ's true A-
postles.

counterfeit *Antichristian* way, and then it may well be wondred, whence such monstrous kind of *Christians* or *anointed ones* *Antichristians monsters in re- religion.* arose: And *Gods* people may easily be tempted rather to desire their rooting out of the *world*, then the rooting out of any such sorts of ground or men professing any other *Religion*, *Jewish*, *Mahometan* or *Pagan*, *Antichristian* and false *Christians* being more opposite to the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, and more dangerous, by how much more a counterfeit and Traytor is worse then a professed *Fox*, an *Antichristian* (whether *Papist* or *Protestant*) worse then a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, Whether *Indian*, *Turke* or *Persian*.

Examination of CHAP. XXIII.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

These *Tares* (saith *Master Cotton*) are not such sinners as are opposite and contrary, for then none should be opposite or contrary but they.

Truth. I acknowledge (as *Master Cotton* here observeth) two sorts of persons opposite and contrary to *Christ Jesus* and his *Kingdome*.

First, All sorts of *sinners scandalous* in their *lives* and *courses*. *Two sorts of sinners.*

2. More especially opposite in point of *Religion* and *worship*, as all idolaters, and especially *Antichristians*.

Now every man by nature, the best and wisest, is opposite and contrary to *Christ*, his *word* and *kingdome*; but an *idolater* and *Antichristian* is more especially opposite to his glorious *Name*, *Truth*, and *Ordinances*.

And therein properly lyes the *mystery* of *iniquity*, brought in by the *man of sin*, that *lawless person*, *2 Thess. 2.* most opposite or contrary to *Christ Jesus* the *Son of God*, and *Son of Righteousness*.

Peace. But this is a begging of the *question* (saith *Master Cotton*) for the *question* is about *visible* worshippers, such as were discovered and declared to be what they were, as well by their *fruit*

as by their *clads*, and therefore againe (saith Master Cotton) these *tares* were the *seed* and children of the *Devil*; for why should they be called the *seed* of the One, and the children of the Other?

Truth. I answer, the *Lord Jesus* distinguisheth, thus, He that soweth the *good seed*, is the *Son of man*; and the *good seed* are the children of the *Kingdome*: he that soweth the *tares* is the *devil*, and these *tares* are the children of the *evil* or *evil one*; Hence by way of *opposition*, these children of *evil* or *evil ones* being visibly such as are *opposite* to the children of the *kingdome*, they cannot be *hypocrites* in the *church*, untill they are discovered: These children therefore of the *evil one* opposite to the *visible kingdome*, and so to *visible Christ Jesus* in point of his *kingdome*, *church*, and *worship* (though they be the children of the *devil* in a sence, yet) can they be no other, but the children of the false *Christ* or *Antichrist*, in the way of a false *church* and *worship*.

Peace. Yea but lastly (saith Master Cotton) that word ἡ ἁποκρυφία translated the children of the *wicked one* or *wickedness*, will agree to *hypocrites*.

Truth. It will indeed, if we respect their *inside*, which is only *visible* to the *invisible King*, as *Judas* in his profession: but it cannot agree to such *hypocrites* as are undiscovered by their *fruits* in the *church*, but unto such *hypocrites* as are discovered in their *blades* and *fruit*, and so consequently are not fit to live with other sinners in the *world*: I doubt not but Master Cotton will say, That although a member of a *Church* prove a *theife*, *adulterer*, *murtherer*, in the eyes of a *Brother*, that sees and knows his secret *wickedness*, yet that brother is censurable as a *slanderer*, if he should report these *evils*, though to the *Church*, untill according to *visible order* he could produce good proof and *evidence*.

Two sorts of hypocrites.

Examination of CHAP. XXIV.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

MAfter Cotton here seems to me (with the *Familists*) to confound *heaven and earth* together, the matters of *Worship*, and *Ordinances of Religion*, with the affaires and *businesses* of this *life*: for saith he, such as stand for the *kingdome* of *Satan* (as all *evil* men do) they stand in *opposition* to the *Kingdome* of *Christ*.

Truth. Master Cotton is not now to be taught the distinction between the *church* and *Commonweale*; nor that a *national church* is not of *Christ Jesus* his *institution*: yet as this discourse strongly inclines to erect a *national church*, so doth this present answer to the *confusion* both of *Church* and *Commonweale*.

It is true, a *covetuous Jew*, that blasphemeth *Christ Jesus*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*. But by his *covetousness* in one kinde, as *covetousness* is opposite to *Righteousness* and *contention*, &c. and for *Sathan* against *Christ* in another sence, that is in a *Religious* and *Spiritual* sence, as he prefers *Moses* before *Christ Jesus*, and denies the true *Messiah* to be yet come in the *flesh*.

Two sorts of
opposites to
Christ Jesus.

A cruel *Turk* stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, by his *cruelty* in one sence, to wit, in *opposition* to *Christs mercy*, *gentleness*, *patience*, &c. but by his *belief* in *Mahomet*, preferring him before *Christ*, he opposeth him in his *Kingdome* and *Worship*.

To come ncerer, a *drunken English, Dutch* or *Frenchman*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, as their *drunkenness* is opposite to *Christs sobriety*, *temperance*. &c. but against *Christ* in another sence, as they profess the wayes of *Antichristian idolatry* and *superstition*: And not to observe this *distinction*, is (with some *Familists*) to run upon *quick sands* of *confounding* the *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, his *worship* and *ordinances*, with the *kingdomes* of this *world*, and the *common affaires* thereof in *natural* and *civil* consideration.

Peace. But though *Christ* (saith Master Cotton) should command.

mand other offenders to be let alone beside *Antichristians*, yet he should not contradict any ordinances for the punishment of offenders &c. because, saith he, No law of God, nor just law of man commands the the rooting out of hypocrites, though the church be bound to endeavour (as much as in them lies) to heale their *hypocrisie*.

Truth. *Hypocrisie* discovered in the fruit of it, is not to be let alone in the church or State: For neither church of Christ nor civil state can long continue safe, if hypocrites or traitors (under what pretence soever) be permitted to break forth in them, without due punishment and rooting out; this *hypocrisie* being especially that great sin against which Christ Iesus so frequently and so vehemently inveighed, and against which he denounced the forest of plagues and judgements.

Truth. By whose command, and by what means and ordinances, by whose power and authority, but by the command, means and power of Christ Iesus?

And I further aske, If faithful admonition be not one good means of healing, and if that lye not in the churches power; and if the hypocrite after faithful admonition once or twice, submit not to the voice of Christ Iesus, I ask where the Lord Iesus commandeth to make a stop, and not to cast forth and reject whomsoever wilfully obstinate?

Peace. Doubtless (dear Truth) many will be apt to say Master Cotton intends secret and close *hypocrisie*.

Truth. And I doubt not but himself will say, That this is not our question, but of known and unmasked *hypocrisie*, as himself hath formerly declared, and such as here he expresseth come under ordinances of healing.

Peace. But further (saith Master Cotton) it is not true, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone untill the end of the world, Why? Because Christ commanded *excommunication* &c.

Truth. I am astonisht, and wonder why Master Cotton here speaketh of *excommunication*, a spiritual ordinance of Christ Iesus in his spiritual kingdome or city, when the dispute onely concerns temporal *excommunication* or cutting off? Let them alone, that is, in civil State?

I wonder also how he should imagine the *discusser* in this Chapter

ter to affirme, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone in the church unto the end of the world, when it was the very scope of his argument in this Chapter, to prove, that the *speech of Christ Jesus*, [let them alone] must needs be understood of letting *idolaters* and *Antichristians* alone in the *civil state*, and in the world, because otherwise, if he had meant, (Let them alone in the church) he should contradict himself, who hath appointed meanes for the disturbing and purging out the corrupt *leaven* both of *persons* and *practices* out of his church and *kingdome*.

Peace. The same answer indeed will easily be returned to his last *supposition* of any *Popish spirit* conspiring against the *life of King* and *Parliament*: The whole scope of this book professeth, and in this Chapter the discusser professedly argueth, that *Christ Jesus* hath appointed that *civil offenders* against the *civil state*, ought not to be let alone.

But Master Cotton adds, If *Popish Priests* and *Jesuits* be
 “ rightly expounded to be the *Rivers* and *fountaines* of water,
 “ which drive the dead sea of *Antichristian* pollutions up and down
 “ all Nations in Europe, and in some cases are to drink blood;
 “ Then are they not to be let alone, but duely suppressed and cut off
 “ from conveying up and down idolatrous, heretical and sediti-
 “ ous wickedness, *Rev. 16. 4. 7.*

Truth. The exposition of this *Scripture* will be further examined in the *sequel*, and found no true exposition, That *Rivers* and *fountaines* of water drive the sea up and down: For *rivers* and *fountaines* however they come from the *salt-water*, yet lose they the *savour* of the *salt-sea*, and yeeld a savour of the earth through which they make their passages; and again they run into the sea and are themselves driven up and down, and swallowed up in the sea: Nor will it be found a true exposition according to *Godliness* and *Christianity*, which commandeth *patience* and *waiting*, not *fire* and *sword* to *gainesayers* and *opposites*: Nor lastly, will it be found a true exposition agreeing with *Master Cottons* own profession in some passage of this book, where in he holds forth great *toleration* and *gentleness* to other *consciences*, both *English* and *Barbarians*.

The rivers and
 fountaines of
 blood, *Rev. 16.*

Examination of CHAP. XXV.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton affirms, that *hypocrites* (even) they that are discerned to be such, yet they are not to be purged out, except they break forth into such notorious fruits of *hypocrisie* as tend to the *leavening* of the *whole lump*: for otherwise (saith he) we may roote out the best *wheate* in *Gods field*, &c.

Of hypocrites in
profession of
Christianity.

Truth. I answer, since *hypocrites* and all *hypocrisie* is so odious in *Gods sight*, and so vehemently inveighed against by *Christ* *Jesus*, what should be the cause why the *leaven* of the *Pharisees*, which is *hypocrisie*, should finde greater *favour* and *connivence* in the *church* of *Christ*, then the *leaven* of any other *sin*, since all ought to be purged out? *I Cor.* 5.

2. Contrary to what Master Cotton saith, [to wit, That no man meerly for *hypocrisie* and want of life and power of Godliness ought to be proceeded against] the *Spirit* of *God* by *Paul* saith, That such kind of professors of the name of *Christ* should arise, that should pretend a form of *godliness*, but not shew forth the power thereof, from which he commandeth us to turn away, *I Tim.* 3.

Peace. But Master Cotton excepteth, Except (saith he) they break forth into some notorious scandalous fruits of *hypocrisie*.

Truth. How shall an *hypocrite* be discovered and known to be an *hypocrite* or *traitor* in *church* or *civil state*, but by some such notorious *scandalous* fruits as tend to the *leavening* of the *whole lump*? Come to particulars; was *Indas*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Simon Magus*, *Demas*, or any other discovered to be *Hypocrites*, when they broke forth into *treachery*, *lying*, *covetousness*? and might the *church* proceed against such? If it be denied, I ask to what end the *Lord* hath given those holy rules of *admonition*? &c. will it prove ought but prophaning of the name of the *Lord*, to pretend our clear discerning of the *Scripture* and *ordinances*, and not to practise them? If it be yeilded against these fruits of *hypocrisie*, discovering *men* to be *hypocrites*, why do we plead for a *dispensation*, and (not for the *wheat* of the *Field*,

and

and *flowers* of the garden, but) for the most stinking and loathsome *tares* and *weeds* to be continued in the holy garden of *Christ Jesus*?

Peace. But many *hypocrites* (saith Master Cotton) fall not within the censure of that *Scripture*, 2 *Thess.* 3. 6. Withdraw from every *brother* that walketh disorderly; for many *hypocrites* follow their *callings*, and are so far from being burthen some unto others, that they are after choaked with the *cares* and *businesses* of the *world*, and yet are not behind in *liberal contribution* to pious uses.

Truth. But is not this *halting* between *God* and *Baal*? yea is not this pleading for *Baal* for *hypocrisie*, *hypocrites* and *dissemblers*, false and *Antichristian counterfeits*, to be permitted not onely in the *wilderness* of the *world* (which I contend for) but also even in the *Garden*, *House*, *Bed*, and *bosome* of *God*? What if men be *civil* and follow their *callings*? Men that know not *God*, so do. What though they be *liberal* to pious uses (millions of *Papists* are and have been so according to their *consciencess*) when as yet they are *choaked* with *cares* and *businesses* of this *world*?

How express is the *charge* of the *Lord Jesus*, to withdraw from such, notwithstanding their *forme* of *Godliness*, and *contribution* to *Godly* uses, when they declare not the *power* of *godliness*, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. Not to *eate* with them, and therefore to separate from such a *brother* as is *covetuous*, 1 *Cor.* 5. as well as from an *idolater*, *drunkard*, &c.

The *Church* of *Christ* is a *congregation* of *Saints*, a *flock* of *sheep*, humble, meek, patieat, contented, with whom it is *monstrous* and impossible, to couple cruel and persecuting *lyons*, subtle and hypocritical *Foxes*, contentious biting *dogs* or greedy and rooting *swine*, so visibly declared and apparant.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter four answers were given by the discusser to that great objection of the *mischief* that the *Tares* will do in the field of the *world*, if let alone and not pluckt up.

The first was, That if the *raxes* offend against *Civility* or *civil state*, God hath armed the *civil state* with a *civil sword*, &c.

Master Cotton replies, what if their *conscience* incite them to *civil offences*?

I answer, the *conscience* of the *civil Magistrate* must incite him to *civil punishment*, as a Lord Maior of *London* once answered, That he was born to be a Judge, to a Thief that pleaded he was born to be a thief. If the *conscience* of the worshippers of the *Beast* incite them to prejudice *prince* or *state*, Although these *consciences* be not as the *conscience* of a thief (commonly convinced of the *evil* of his *fact*, but) perswaded of the *lawfulness* of their *actions*; yet so far as the *civil state* is endammaged or endangered, I say the *sword* of God in the hand of *civil Authority* is strong enough to defend it self, either by imprisoning or *disarming*, or other wholesome *meanes*, &c. while yet their *consciences* ought to be permitted in what is meerly point of *worship*, as *prayer*, and other *services* and *administrations*.

Corrupt consciences distinguished.

Hence the wisdom of God, in that 13 *Rom.* (reckoned by Master Cotton the *Magna Charta* for *civil Magistrates* dealing in matters of *Religion*) I say, there it pleaseth God expressly to reckon up the particulars of the *second table*, chalking out (as it were) by his own finger, the *civil sphere* or *circle*, in which the *civil Magistrate* ought to act and execute his *civil power* and *Authority*.

Peace. The second answer of the *discusser* was, that the *church* or *spiritual City* hath *laws* and *Armories* to defend it self.

Master Cotton excepteth, saying, That if their *members* be leavened with *Antichristian Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and yet must be tolerated in their *idolatry*, and superstitious *worship*, will not a little *leaven* leaven the whole *lump*? and how then is the *church* guarded?

Toleration of idolaters considered.

Truth. The question is, whether *idolatrous* and *Antichristian worshippers* may be tolerated in *civil state*, in the *City*, in the *Kingdome*, &c. under any *civil power*: Master Cotton answers no, they will do mischief. The reply is, against any *civil mischief*

chief (though wrought conscientiously) the *civil state* is strongly guarded. Secondly, Against the *spiritual mischief*, the *church* or *City of Christ* is guarded with heavenly *Armories*, wherein there hang a thousand Bucklers, *Cant.* 4. and most mighty weapons, *2 Cor.* 10. In the *church of Christ* such worshippers ought not to be tolerated, but *cast out*, &c.

That is true, saith Master *Cotton*, but yet their *leaven* will spread.

I answer, What is this, but to make the most powerful appointments of *Christ Jesus*, those mighty *weapons* of God, terrible *censures* and soul-punishments in his *kingdome*, but as so many *woodden daggers* and *leaden swords*, *childrens Bull-beggars*, and *scavengers*, and upon the point so base and beggarly, that without the help of the *Cutlers shop* or *Smiths forge*, the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ* cannot be purged from the *leaven* of *idolatry* and *superstition*?

Civil weapons
in *spirituals*,
blur and slight
the *spiritual*.

Peace. Me thinks the Lord *Jesus* was of another mind, *Mat.* 18. when he accounted it sufficient to cut off the obstinate, Let him be as a *Gentile* or *publican*: and in the very similitude of *leaven* (here used by Master *Cotton*) *Paul* counted it sufficient to purge out the *leaven*, *1 Cor.* 5. if that evil person were put away from the midst of them, that is, from their holy and spiritual society. *Paul* never asks (as Master *Cotton* doth) since we have not to our *spiritual armes*, *armes* of *flesh*, and a *civil sword* to help our *spiritual*, how shall the *safety* of the *church* be guarded?

But let's proceed. The third Answer was, That the *elect* cannot be finally deceived: Master *Cotton* replies, It is true, but *God* provides means of *preservation*, &c. And *Jezabels* tolerating in *Thiatisira* made the *church* guilty.

Truth. This Argument was not used in derogation of *Gods* means, *spiritual* in *spiritual* things, *civil* in *civil*, &c. but by way of *supposition* of the worst, as *Job* spake in another case, How helpst thou the *Arme* that hath no strength? Not but that in ordinary submission to *means*, man ought to help the *Lord* against the mighty. The sum is this, rather let the *Lord* alone to help himself without *means*, then to help the *Lord* to save his *elect* (who cannot by vertue of his *love* and *decree* finally be deceived) by any such *means* as are none of his own appointing.

The tolleration
of Jezabel in
Thyatira.

2. It is true, that the church at *Thyatira*, tolerating *Jezabel* to seduce, was guilty, yea and I add the *City of Thyatira* was guilty also if it tolerated *Iezabel* to seduce to fornication. But what is this to the point of the *issue* [to wit, Whether the *City of Thyatira* should be guilty or not in tolerating *Iezabel* in that which the *City* judgeth to be *idolatry* and false *worship*?] *Jezabels* corporal *whoredoms* (sinning against *civility* or *state* of the *City*) the *City* by her Officers ought to punish, lest *civil* order be broken, and *civility* be infected &c. but *Iezabels* *spiritual whoredomes*, the *civil state* ought not to deal with, but (there being a church of *Christ* then in *Thyatira*, and the *spiritual whoredomes* there taught and practised) I say the church in *Thyatira*, which in the name and power of *Christ* was armed sufficiently to pass and inflict a dreadful *spiritual censure*, which *God* will confirme and ratifie most assuredly and undoubtedly in *heaven*.

Peace. Two reasons more were alleadged out of the Text. The first was, that by plucking up the *tares*, the good *wheate* it self by such *hurries* and *persecutions* about *Religion*, should be endangered to be plucked up; which *Master Cotton* saveth thus: to wit, If *Gods people* themselves, for their *idolatry* and *superstition*, should be cut off, it will be for warning unto others, &c.

Christ Jesus
under pretence
persecuted.

Truth. Oh *ungodly, unchristian*, that is *bloody* and *Antichristian doctrine*, by which (under pretence of punishing *hereticks*, *schismaticks*, and *seditions* persons) the *Son of God*, the *Lord of Lords*, and *King of Kings*, hath so many millions of times, in his *servants* been *persecuted*, *slaine*, and *crucified*! As for the world, it lies in *wickedness*, is a *wilderness* of *sin* over-grown with *idolatry* and *superstition*. The *Antichristian* (falsly called *Christian* world) in most abundant and over-flowing measure hath wondred after and magnified the *Beast*, *Rev.* 13. The two *witnesses* prophesie in sackcloth against this *beast*, in all parts of his *dominion*, by whom also they are persecuted and slaine, and yet we read not that they *judge* or *censure*, or fight for themselves with any other *weapons* then by the *word* of their *prophesie*, the *blood* of the *Lamb*, their patient *sufferings*, the not loving of their lives unto the *death*.

The weapons of
the Saints, *Rev.*
12.

Peace. The second reason out of the *parable* was, That the *Angels*

Angels of God have in charge to bundle up these tares for the burning. Master Cotton replies two things. First, so these Angels will gather into bundles for the burning *murderers, robbers, &c.* who are not yet to be tolerated.

Truth. I answer, If a man call Master Cotton *murderer, witch, &c.* with respect to *civil matters*, I say the *civil state* must judge and punish the offender, else the *civil state* cannot stand, but must return to *barbarisme*. But if a man call Master Cotton *murderer, witch &c.* in *spiritual matters*, as *deceiving* and *bewitching* the peoples souls, if he can prove his charge, Master Cotton ought to give God the glory, and and repent of such *wickedness*. If he cannot prove his charge, but slander Master Cotton, yet is the slander of no *civil nature*, and so not proper to any *civil court*, but is to be cast out (as we see commonly *suits of law* are rejected, when brought into *Courts* which take no proper *cognizance* of such cases.)

The difference between civil and spiritual slander.

Peace. What relief then hath Master Cotton or any so charged in this case?

Truth. The court of heaven, the church of Christ, calls such a *slanderer* to *repentance* (whether he be within the church or without, though orderly proceeding lies only against him that is within) If he be *obstinate*, how dreadful is the *sentence* against such a *slanderer*, both in *earth* and in *heaven*? how dreadful the delivering up to *hardness of heart* (a greater plague on *Pharaoh*, then all the devouring plagues of *Egypt*) how dreadful the delivering up to *Satan*, the *paw* and *jaw* of the roaring *Lyon* (infinitely far more terrible, had we eyes to see it, then to be thrown with *Daniel* to the devouring *Lyon*;) There is no reason in the world therefore, for *theeves* and *murderers* to be tolerated unto the last day without *sentence* and *punishment*, because *transgressors* against *spiritual state* may be tolerated to live in the world, yet punished for *spiritual transgression* with a greater *censure* and sorer punishment, then if all their bones and flesh were rackt and torn in pieces with burning pincers.

The dreadful nature of Christs spiritual punishments.

Peace. Master Cotton and others will say, The *idolaters* and *seducers* were censured *spiritually* under *Moses*, and yet were they also put to *death*.

No such spir-
itual punish-
ments in the
national church
of Israel.

Truth. I desire Master Cotton to shew me under *Moses*, such *spiritual censures* and *punishments* beside the cutting off by the *civil sword*: which if he cannot do, and that since the *Christian Church* antitypes the *Israelitish*, and the *Christian laws* and *punishments* the *laws* and *punishments* of *Israel* concerning religion, I may truly affirme, that that civil state which may not justly tolerate civil offenders, &c. yet may most justly tolerate *spiritual offenders*, of whose *Delinquency* it hath no proper cognizance.

Peace. Lastly, Master Cotton urgeth, that *παρουσία* (2 *Thess.* 2.) should rather be translated *presence* then *coming*.

Truth. Admit it (though many able translators in divers languages rather translate it *coming*) and that *Antichrist* shall not be contumed by the *breath* of the *mouth* of the *Lord Jesus* before his last coming to *judgement*; yet then Master Cotton must give another *interpretation* of this *end* of the *world*, and the *Angels*, and the *fire*, then is usually given: however the *tares* shall be bundled up for the *everlasting burnings*, and are at present under a dreadful *sentence* and *punishment*, and therefore (not offending in *civil* things) the *civil state* may the better tolerate them in matters of *religion* and *conscience*; and *Paul* himself (if opposed by them) might the better wait with *patience*, if God peradventure will give them *repentance*, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXVII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter, those three particulars by which the *Ministers* of *Christ* are commanded to let the *Tares* alone, Master Cotton evades by calling them so many *slippery evasions*, &c.

Truth. I believe neither the *interpretations* nor the *intentions* of the *Author* were evasive: for a faithful *witness* will not lye though a false *witness* will utter *deceit*; however the *fire* shall try. The truth is, the greater part, and especially the former of Master Cottons answer in this Chapter, comes not neer the point of the *issue*, for that is not whether the *Saints* may pray or prophecy against *idolaters* and false *worshippers*, but whether or no for
their

their present temporal *destruction* and *extirpation*.

Perce. Unto this Master Cotton saith, Yes, for the present *destruction* of some or other *Antichristian idolaters* in every age: and he adds, it might as well be said, that a *Minister of Christ* should not denounce present or speedy *destruction* to any *murderers, whoremongers &c.* because though some of them may fall under grievous plagues, yet there will never want a company of such *evil doers*, untill the great *harvest* or end of the world.

Prayer against present destruction of *tares*.

Again, saith he, Though a *Minister* denounce not present *destruction*, yet he cannot let them alone, no more then the feller of an *Oake*, that gives many a *stroake* before the last. &c.

2. It is not credible (saith he) that some of the *Angels* that poure out their *vials* upon the *Antichristian state*, shall not be *Ministers*: And, when the ten *horns* shall burn the *City of Rome*, it is not credible, that they will do it without some excitement from the *Angels*.

Truth. The instance brought of *murderers, whoremongers &c.* is most improper, because we all agree that present *corporal* or *civil punishment* is due to *murderers, whoremongers &c.* and other like *transgressors* against the *civil state* of all *Nations* and *peoples* all the world over, and this in all *Ages* and *Times*: but Master Cotton himself acknowledgeth, that many *prophecies* and *periods* are set for the *continuance* of the *Antichristian state*, and the *idolatry* and *desolations* thereof, and that those *periods* shall be accomplished before the *judgement* day: nor will it appear that those ten *Kings* that shall in the fulfilling of this *prophecy* burn the *whore*, shall do it by way of *ordinance* and *obedience* to *Gods* command, otherwise then he permitted *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyrus*, and other *Tyrants* of the world (as the *fishes* of the sea one to devour and swallow up another.) And for that instance of the *wood-man* felling of the *Oake*, I grant that the *prayers* of the *Saints* hasten the *whores* downfal, and the opening of these *prophecies* make way for *Gods* time; but what is this to a *present downfal* before the time appointed?

Again, That it is not credible but that some of the *Angels* should be *messengers* of the *Gospel*, I answer, Master Cotton knows that the *English* word *messengers*, and the *Greek* word *Apostles*, are the same; but no such *messengers* Master Cotton allows

Pastors and Teachers not Apostles and messengers.

lows of: And that the word *messengers* in the *Apostles* sence should imply *Pastors* and *Teachers* (which Master *Cotton* now only allows of) I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. That those *Angels* should be the *witnesses*, and the *Prophets* in *sack-cloth*, seemes more credible.

And I may well affirme the contrary to Master *Cottons* credible, that it is incredible that any *servant* or *messenger* of the *King of Peace* should stir up the *civil Magistrate* to cut off those by the *civil sword*, whose *repentance* he is bound to wait for with *patience*, bearing in the interim their *oppositions* and *gainsayings*, 2 *Tim.* 2.

Peace. Tis most true, according to the *testimony* of *Christ Jesus* (and most contrary to the *tenents* and *practice* of the *Romish* bloody *Popes* and their *followers*) that *Christs Ministers* are *wisdomes Maidens* (*Prov.* 9.) sent forth in heavenly *Beauty* and *chastity*, with meek and loving, yet vehement *perswasions*, to call in the foolish of the *world* to partake of *wisdomes dainties*: but (dear truth) deliver your minde concerning the last passage to wit, *Elijahs aet* in stirring up *Ahab* to kill all the *Priests* and *prophets* of *Baal*: This aet (saith Master *Cotton*) was not *figurative*, but *moral*; for (saith he) *Ahab* could not be a *figure* of *Christ*, nor *Israel* after their *Apostacie*, a *type* of the true *Church*: Beside, *blasphemers* ought to die by the *law*, and *Ahab* forfeited his own *life*, because he did not put *Benhadad* to death for his *blasphemy*, 1 *Kings* 20.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* is considered two wayes, *Christ* in his *person*, and *Christ mystical* in his *church*, represented by the *Governors* thereof. Some say, that *Israel* was not in *Ahabs* time *excommunicated* and cut off from *Gods* sight, untill their final carrying out of the land of *Canaan*, 2 *Kings* 17. and that *Israel* remained (though none of *Gods* in respect of her *apostacy*, yet) *Gods* in respect of *covenant*, untill the *execution* of the *sentence* of *excommunication* or *divorce*: And therefore that *Ahab*, as *King* of *Israel*, *Gods* people (untill *Israel* ceased to be *Israel*) was a *figure* of *Christ*, that is, *Christ* in his *presence*, in his *governors*, in his *church*, though fallen to *idolatry* under *admonition*, not yet cast off.

But (2.) grant the *church* false, and *Ahab* *King* of a false *church*,

Elijah stirring
up Ahab to slay
the Baalites.

Concerning Yf-
rael in the Apo-
stacy of Jerobo-
am.

church, how will it appear that *Elijahs Act* was a moral act, and so presidential to all *Kings* and *Nations*?

Peace. Because (saith Master Cotton) it is moral equity, that *blasphemers*, and *apostate idolaters*, seducing others to *idolatry*, should be put to death, *Levit. 24. 16. Dent. 13. 5.*

Truth. Those Scriptures concern a ceremonial land in a ceremonial time, before *Christ*; and in the same *Lev. 24.* the command is equally given for the *lampe* in the *Tabernacle*, and the *shew-bread*, as well as for the *idolater*.

Peace. But *Benhadad* (saith Master Cotton) was no *Israelite*, nor was his *blasphemy* belched out in the land of *Israel*.

Truth. It is most true, that *blasphemers* in *Israel*, and *blasphemers* against *Israel* and the *God* of it, were put to death. It is also true in the *antitype* and *substance* since the coming of *Christ*, that *blasphemers* in *Israel*, and *blasphemers* against *Israel* (the church of *God*) are *spiritually* to be put to death by the two-edged sword coming forth of the mouth of *Christ*, *Rev. 1.* and this *Gospel*-punishment is much more dreadful and terrible, then the punishment of the first *blasphemers* under *Moses* or the *prophets*.

Peace. Methiaks also, if *Ahab* were now presidential, and that which he should have done to *Benhadad* presidential, then is there now no *spiritual* or *mystical Israel*, no *spiritual Canaan*, but the *letter*, *ceremony*, and *figure* yet in force, and *Christ Jesus* the *mystical* and *spiritual King* of *Israel* is not yet come in the flesh.

Truth. Yea then not onely a few in a *City* or *Kingdome* (suppose *hundredths* or *thousands*) but *millions* of *millions* of *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*, throughout the whole wide world, ought corporally to be put to death.

Peace. Against this methinks Master Cotton should be, and I am sure against this *Christ Jesus* was, who professed in answer to the rash zeal of his *disciples* (*Luk. 9.*) That he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: but how relish you Master Cottons interpretation, of Let them alone (which he sees pleaseth some so well) to wit, Let them alone is no *precept*, but *permission*?

* Hence Baalls Priests, Monks, Friars, and Bishops have not been civilly actually staine in England, &c. but spiritually by Gods word, the sword of his spirit cashiered and cut off eternally.

Truth. I answer, If let them alone were onely by *permission* in way of *providence*, Why is also a word of *prohibition* added, to wit, That such should not be medled with, for these and these *reasons*, whereas although God permitteth *evil doers* in *spiritual* and *civil state* in the world, yet there lies a word of *ordinance* to purge them out. Here is no *ordinance* for their plucking up, but for their letting alone, and that in a merciful respect of sparing the *good wheate*, who might be indangered to be pluckt up by the *roots* out of the world, by such rash and furious *zeale* of *plucking up the tares*.

Examination of CHAP. XXIX.

Peace.

MAfter Cotton referring the 28 Chapter to former *agitations*, seems to invite us to pass on to Chapter 29.

Truth. Let the 28 Chapter recapitulating the former, and the whole *controversies*, be referred to the *consciencs* of such to whom these passages by any *providence* of the most holy wise shall be presented, and let it graciously please the *Father of lights*, to help all his sons of *light*, to be truly studious of his *truth* in the *love* of it, to cast up all particulars aright in his fear, by the onely *Arithmetick* of his own most holy and unerring *spirit*.

Peace. In this Chapter first ariseth a *question* concerning the *Apostles privacy*.

Truth. Master Cotton acknowledgeth them to be called to a *publike Ministry*, let others judge then of their *privacy*.

Peace. But they were not sent (saith Master Cotton) to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and so consequently were to let them alone.

Touching Christs
Apostles or mes-
sengers.

Truth. I answer, Let it be considered, how he that grants *men* are sent to the *sheep*, can rightly say they have nothing to do with the *Wolves* and *Foxes*.

Peace. In this controversie, Master Cotton elsewhere, will not onely have *sheep* fed, but the *Wolves* driven from the *fold*, their *braines* beaten out, &c. and that not onely by the *Pastors* or *shepherds* *spiritually*, but also by the *civil Magistrate*, and

to

to that end, he is to be stirred up by the Shepherds and *Ministers of Christ*.

Truth. Such exciting and stirring up of the *civil Magistrate* if it were *Christs* will, how can the *Apostles* be excused, or the *Lord Jesus* himself, for not stirring up the *Civil Magistrate* to his duty against their *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, the *Wolves* and *Foxes*, as *Master Cotton* here calls them?

Peace. Neither the *doctrine*, nor their offence at it (saith *Master Cotton*) was *fundamental*; nor had the *civil Magistrate* a *law* established about *doctrine* or *offences* of this *nature*. Besides, *Christ* gave his *disciples* a charge to be wise as *Serpents*, and himself would not meddle with the *Pharisees*, untill the last yeer of his *Ministry*, lest their *exasperation* might have been some hindrance to his *Ministry* before his hour was come.

Truth. I should desire *Master Cotton* againe to ponder whether the notorious *hypocrisie* of the *Pharisees* (now brought into a *Proverb*) and also whether the notorious transgressing (and upon the point abolishing) of the fifth *commandment*, and so consequently of all *civil* obedience (with the *Papists*) under pretence of *Gods* service (although indeed but their own *superstition*) be not of a *fundamental* guilt, both against *spiritual* and *civil* state.

Peace. I remember *Master Cotton* argued against *toleration* of the *Papists*, because their *conscience* excites them against the *civil* powers.

Truth. And whither tended these principles of the *Pharisees*, but to overthrow all *Family*, yea and (if they be followed home) all *Towne*, or *City*, and *Kingdome-Government*?

Peace. Yea, But the *Romane Magistrate* (saith he) had no established *law* about *doctrines* or *offences* of that *Nature*.

Truth. *Master Cotton* in all this *controversie*, pleades, that they ought to have: and though he saith, that *Magistrates* may suspend their duty, untill they be informed, yet he never saith, that the *Ministers of Christ* may suspend their *duty* of humble *information*, and stirring up them up to so high a part of their *Duty*, as concerns the souls of their *subjects* and the *worship of God*.

Laws for persecuting of Christ Jesus.

Peace. I remember, that *Gardiner* and *Boner*, &c. could not make the fire burn to consume the people of *God*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, untill *Edwards laws* were repealed, and *Maries bloody laws* were established; and so they were forced to suspend a while untill they had conjured up a *Parliament* to do both the one and the other, as their *slaves* and *drudges*, for them: And tis true, what the *Spirit of God* in *David* pronounceth (*Psal.* 82.) that under the *maske* or *colour* of a *law* (which carries with it the name and found of *reason* and *righteousness*) the *wickedness* of the *world* is established: And hence the people and *servants*, and *Saints* of the most *high God*, feele the weight of the *violence* of the *Nimrod persecutors* or *hunters*.

But this I wonder at, that *Master Cotton* subjoyneth, that *Christ Jesus* himself, and his *disciples* (under the notion of not *exasperating* the *Pharisees*) should not reprove the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*.

Truth. It cannot sink with me, That the *Spirit of God* in *Christ Jesus* himself, and his *messengers*, should so far differ from himself in all his former *messengers* and *prophets*, who spared not to reprove the *highest Priests*, *Princes*, *Kings* and *kingdoms*; nor doth the practice of the *Lord Jesus* in so many places of *Matthew* (before his *thunderbolts* shot forth against them, *Mat.* 23.) give any countenance to so loose an *opinion*.

The Pharisees blaspheming of Christ Jesus.

Peace. *Master Cotton*, who argues so much against the permitting of *blasphemers* to live in the *world*, may here call to minde, that if ever *blasphemy* were uttered against the *Son of God*, it was uttered by the *Pharisees* in the 12 of *Matthew*, when they imputed the casting out of the *devils* to the power of the *devil* in *Christ Jesus*, and yet we finde not that *Christ Jesus* stirred up the *civil Magistrates* to any such duty of his to put the *blasphemers* to death, nor the hereticks the *Sadduces*, who denied that fundamental, the *resurrection*.

Truth. It is most true, that the cause needeth no such *weapons*, nor spared he the *Pharisees* for fear of their *exasperations*, but poured forth on their *faces* and *bosoms* the forest *vials* of the heaviest doom and *censure* that can be suffered by the *children* of men, to wit, an *impossibility* of *repentance* and *forgiveness* of sins either in this or the world to come: And for the present, at every

very turn he concludes them *hypocrites*, *blind guides*, which could not escape the *judgement of Hell*.

So that all other *sences* of those words [*Let them alone*] that is, of not reprooving them, cannot stand: nor if it were the *duty* of the *Ministers of Christ* to stir up the *civil Magistrate* against such hypocritical and blasphemous *Pharisees*, could *Christ Jesus himself* or his servants the *Apostles* be excused for not complaining to the *Romane State* against them; Soleaving the blame upon the *conscience* of the *governors*, if the land were not purged of such *blasphemers* and fundamental opposers of the *Son of God*.

Let me me end (*sweet peace*) with the *bottome* of all such *persecutions*, Satan rageth against *God* and his *Christ*; that *devil* that cast the *Saints* into *prison*, *Rev. 2.* (*what instruments soever he useth) would cast *Christ* himself into *prison* againe, and to the *gallows* againe, if he came again in *person* into any (the most refined) *persecuting state* in the world.

* Magistrates, kings, high priests: Herod, bad kings, good kings, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXX.

Peace.

I Doubt not (*dear truth*) in the first place, but you cast an ob- servant eye on *Master Cottons* collections in this Chapter, from *Pauls* words *Acts 25. 11.* I will mention the two first.

1. That a man may be such an *offender* in matters of *Religion* against the *law of God* (against the *church*) as well as in *civil matters* against *Casar*, as to be worthy of death.

2. That if a *servant of God* should commit any such *offence*, he would not refuse *judgement* to the death, *ver s. 11.*

Truth. *Paul* onely saith in the general, *If I have committed ought worthy of death, I refuse not to die*: Now therefore as *Acts 25. 11.* *Paul* said, *No man* (that is, no man justly) may deliver me to the *Jews*; So say I, no man from these words of *Paul* (without wronging him and his *Master the God of Truth*) can draw such a *conclusion*, as if *Paul* had acknowledged it evil in him to have preached against the *laws* of the *Jews* or the *temple*, which the *Lord Jesus* and his *servants* after him, so abundantly did, although

considered.

though at this time (in point of fact) *Paul* might well say, he had not done ought against the law of the *Jews*, I mean the ceremonial law and the Temple, for he had now observed the ceremonies of the Law, and the holiness of the Temple: although for this some use to blame him, not discerning that *Paul* knew there was a time to honour those ceremonies, even after *Christ's death*, and a time as much to debase, dishonour, and abolish them.

Peace. His third collection is, That it is lawfull even in Ecclesiastical causes to appeale to a Pagan Magistrate.

No appeals to
the civil powers
in matters meer-
ly spiritual.

Truth. As I utterly renounce such a conclusion (any otherwise then in respect of civil violence offered for a mans conscience, which violence *Cesar* ought to see revenged and punished) so neither will this instance of *Paul* prove it: for in appealing to an higher Judge, a man alwayes presupposeth (if not skill perfect, yet) competent skill, and a true power committed from *God*, to judge in such cases, which *Paul* for many reasons, both in this Chapter, and elsewhere manifested, could not suppose in the *Romane Cesars*, or any civil Magistrate.

Peace. Master *Cotton* urgeth, that these words (*verse 9.*) [These Things] imply matters of Religion as well as civil things.

Truth. Those words [These Things] were not the words of *Paul*, but the words of *Festus*.

2. Grant them *Paul's* words, yet if for those things the *Jews* seek his life, *Paul* well appeals to *Cesar* against them, for *Cesar* is bound to protect the bodies, goods, or good names of his subjects, either from false accusations in civil things, or persecution for matters of conscience, which is a violence against the civil state, of which *Cesar* was the supreme officer.

Peace. His fourth collection is, that civil Magistrates may and ought to be acquainted with all matters of Religion, especially capital.

Truth. In twenty five parts of the world of thirty, civil Magistrates cannot possibly be thus acquainted; for the sound of *Christ Jesus* is not there to be heard, as the best *Historians* and *Cosmographers* yeeld.

Peace. It seemes strange, if *Christ Jesus* had intended any such delegation of spiritual power to civil Magistrates, that he should

should keep the very sound of his name from them.

Againe, in the other five parts of the world, where his name is founded, how rarely hath he acquainted any *civil Magistrate* with the saving *knowledge* of his will? Few Magistrates in the world know Christ Jesus.

Truth. I add, that such rare ones, that savingly know *Christ Jesus* and his will, are no *judges* in such cases over the *consciences* of their *brethren*, or any, by way of *civil judicature*, this very instance of *Pauls* appealing to *Cesar* hath and shall further declare and mainfest.

Peace. But what should be the reason why Master *Cotton* affirmeth, That the *civil Magistrate* ought to be able to judge of all *capital offences* against *Religion*, but not of all *questions*?

Truth. The truth is, if the *civil Magistrate* were a *Surgeon* appointed of *Christ Iesus* to judge in causes that concern cutting of *life* and *limbe*, &c. he would beyond all question be able to judge of *petty cuts*, *wounds*, &c. But *Satan* that old deceiver, that knew (by *Gods* permission) how to *cozen Adam*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Peter* (the most perfect, wise, and holiest of *Gods servants*) is not now to learn how to cheat Master *Cotton* also: *Satan* well sees, if Master *Cotton* should grant it the *Magistrates* duty to judge in lesser *questions*, the hope of *Benefices* and *Livinges* were gone, and the trade of *Synods* would down: And if he should not grant it to be the *Magistrates* duty to judge in *capitals*, the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, and all *persecuting priests*, would want the *secular* power, the *servile executioners* of their most wicked and most bloody *decrees* and *sentences*. Mistical and cruel Surgery.

Peace. In the next place Master *Cotton* seemes to charge a *contradiction* upon the discusser, for saying, that *civil Magistrates* were never appointed by *God* *defenders* of the *faith* of *Iesus*, and yet every one is bound to put forth his utmost powers in *Gods* business.

Truth. Love hath charged the discusser to spare the tearm of *contradiction* in many *passages* of Master *Cottons* writing, where he hath (to his understanding) observed them, to prevent exasperations, &c. contrarily Master *Cotton* against the discusser, strains the *text* and *Margin* to sound out *contradictions*, *contradictions*, to all passengers.

But

The title of defender of the faith.

But let us examine. And first, Master Cotton will not deny, but the son of perdition, the Pope of Rome (whose coming and practice is by the work of the *devil*) was the blasphemous author (he and his *Cardinals* in *Council* together) of that title *defender of the faith* sent with great *gratitude* and *solemnity* to *Henry* the eighth, as a *kingly popelike reward*, for penning (or bearing the name of) a blasphemous writing against *Christ Iesus* in his holy truth proclaimed by *Luther*.

Peace. With what eyes and eares such blasphemous and bloody titles are to be lookt upon and heard by the chaste eyes and eares of *Christs Doves*, *Christ Iesus* will one day, and shortly make appear.

To serve God withal our might, literally taken, horribly abused.

Truth. But what contradiction will be in the later, to wit, [That every one must do his utmost in *Gods business*] when this former (to wit, to be a *defender of the Faith*) is constantly denied to be any of the *businesses* of *civil officers*, and the preservation of the *civil state*, which charge and worke by the *civil state* can only lawfully (and therefore possibly) be committed to them? For otherwise to take these words in a literal sence, without respect to the rules and limits of *Gods order* and *righteousness*, what is it but to fire the world with *wild-fire* of blind zeale, and to tumble down all *Gods* beauteous structures and buildings into a *Chaos* and *confusion* of *Antichristian Babylon*? And this especially by the meanes of such who think and say, that they cannot serve *God* with all their might except they punish blasphemers, and fight against blasphemous nations, and subdue (not only the holy land from the *Turk*, but) even all the world from their idolatries and blasphemies, if it lie in their power; which spirit whether it be the spirit of the Son of *God*, and *Prince of peace*, or the spirit of the world, the spirit of the son of perdition, let every mans own spirit search and judge in the holy fear and presence of *God*.

Peace. But further (saith Master Cotton) it was unnecessary, yea folly and preposterous to have complained to *Herod*, *Pilate*, *Cesar*, against the *Hereses* of the *Pharisees*: For if a poor sheep should complain to the *Wolves* of the *Wolves hereses*, would not the whole kennel of *Wolves* rise up against him, &c? Would it not have disturbed the civil state, by putting them into *jealousies* of a

new kingdome, and it was necessary the *Gospel* should first be known and received, believed and professed, before any could be complained of for *Apostacie* from it into *heresie*.

Truth. Master Cotton cannot deny, but that most of the *Magistrates* of the world (by far) are such as *Herod, Pilate, Casar* were, without *God*, and *enemies* to him, yea also in that little part of the world which is called *Protestant*. Now if they are but *kennels of Wolves* (compared with *Christs sheep*) as Master Cotton expresth, I first demand how poorely hath *Christ Jesus* in all ages provided for and furnished his people with such main pillars of their *spiritual joyes, light and confidence*, as *godly and Christian Magistrates*?

Christ Jesus hath rarely furnished his people with godly Magistrates.

Peace. It is as cleer as the Sun beams, that if ever *Christ Jesus* had intended such an *ordinance* in and over his church, he would never have been so mistaken, as to supply his *sheep* in all ages, and in all parts of the world, with *kennels of Wolves* in stead of *godly and Christian Shepherds*.

Truth. But secondly, Grant them to be *kennels of Wolves* in Master Cottons sence, yet what *bar* is this to any from *presenting*, and to them from receiving such *complaints* as are proper to their *cognizance*, to their *duty and calling* (were they truly called of *God and Christ* to such a *service*) to wit, to govern in *spiritual, Ecclesiastical or Church causes*? what though a *Magistrate* be a *drunkard, whoremonger, opperffour*, is it not the *duty* of the people to complain to him of *drunkards, thieves, whoremongers, opperffors*? whom if he punish not, but countenance, &c. yet have such *petitioners* discharged their *consciencs*, and left the *guilt* upon the right head, who should be an *head of civil righteouness*, but is an *head of wickedness and iniquity*.

Peace. By this *argument* of Master Cottons, the poor *widow*, that sued for right to the unjust *judge*, that neither feared *God*, nor regarded man, took a foolish and a prestoperous course, though commended by the *Lord Jesus*. Luk. 18.

Truth. Indeed (as Master Cotton saith) If we look at the probability of any wholesome fruit from such *trees*, we cannot expect *grapes* from such *briars*, nor *figs* from such *thistles*: But looking at the providence of *God*, who ruleth and over-ruleth the hearts of *Kings* and all *Magistrates* (as in the case of the poor *widow* and

thousand others) as also at what is their *Duty* and *profession*, to wit, to invite cheerfully their *subjects* to bring their *complaints* to them; as also what is the *duty* of the wronged and *oppressed*: to wit, to deliver and discharge their own *souls*. I see not but it is safe, sea sonable, and a duty, to cry even to the unjust *Judge* for *Justice*, as that poor woman did.

Peace. Yea, were *Cesar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* (by virtue of their *places*, *offices*, and *duties*) *Ecclesiastical Judges*, and ought to have suppressed the *heresies* and *blasphemies* of the *Pharisees*? why should it be impossible but they might have removed the *Pharisees offence*; as many *Kings* of *England* and *France* (though evil themselves) have stirred mightily upon complaints of their *subjects* against the *Popish Pharisees* of their times, yea the highest of them the *Pope* himself? And if *Master Cottons* doctrine be true, why must not the *Magistrate* be sought unto, that a true *Gospel* be received and believed? Why may not the *civil power* be a judge in the first receiving of the *Gospel*, as afterward for the *preserving* and *restoring* of it?

Truth. Such is the *brightness* of the *Gospel* of *Christ Iesus*, and the dread and the power of the two-edged *sword* coming out of his *mouth*, subduing and slaying the highest *opposites* and *adversaries*, that it will prove to be unnecessary, foolish and preposterous to run to any other *sword* or *censures*, then those alone of *Christ*, so mighty, and so powerful, were they rightly administered, as the *Popish* and *Protestant world* pretendeth.

Peace. Lastly, *Master Cotton* professeth he knows not how *Magistrates* can know the *Son*, and kiss him, and acknowledge his *kingdome*, and submit their *crowns* to it, love his *truth*, be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* to his *church*, and yet not be *defenders* of it.

Truth. If kings must submit their *crowns* to this *kingdome* of *Christ*, must it not undeniably follow, that the *kingdom* of *Christ Iesus* is far greater and *higher* then their *thrones* and *crowns*? (for none will submit to the *lesser*, *weaker*, &c.) And if so, what weakness is it yet to expect, that the inferiour *power* and *authority*, to wit, *civil* and earthly, must defend the highest and most *glorious crown* and *throne* of *Christ Iesus*? Like as if a poor *Indian Canon* should submit it self to some *Royal Navy*, and yet must be
this

this *Natives* defender; or a few naked *Americans* submit to some *Army* or *kingdome*, and yet these poor naked ones must bear (and that seriously without *Iesting*) the title of their *defenders*.

Truth. Master Cotton and those of his bloody judgement are not contented that the *civil powers* defend the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Saints* from *oppressors*, from *persecutors*, &c. that *love* and *affection* by all gracious means be exprest more to the *Saints* then to other people of their *dominions*, that all true Christian means be used for the spreading of the name and *truth* of the *Lord Iesus*; I say, this serves not the turn, and gives not content, except also the *Magistrate* defend by *civil sword*, the *purity* of the *doctrine*, and the *ordinances* of *Christ Iesus* in his *church*, in *punishing* and *suppressing* the contrary by *arme of flesh*, whether *within* or *without* the *church*.

Peace. In this last respect I must speak an high and bold word, to wit, That the poorest *youth* or *maid*, who hath more *knowledge* and *grace* of *Christ* then a king or Emperour hath (as well sometimes it hath and may come to pals) may be a greater *contender* for the truth, and a great *defender* of the *faith* of *Iesus*, then the *king* or Emperour, and so consequently then all the *kings* of the whole world.

A bold, but a true word.

Truth. Paul was set for the *defence* of the *Gospel* and consequently every *believer* in *Iesus* (according to his measure of *grace* received) and therefore, your word is not more *bold* then *true*. For *spiritual defences* are most proper to a *spiritual estate*, and so accordingly most potent, prevalent, and mighty.

Examination of CHAP. XXXI.

Peace.

Here first Master Cotton will not own it, that the title of *Judges* of *spiritual causes* be given to *Civil Magistrate*.

Truth. The Parliament of *England* established King *Henry* the eighth *supream head and Governor* over the *church* of *England*, and what is this but *supreme Judge* in all *Ecclesiastical causes*? What though the *tearme judge* be stumbled at by some,

The title of *supremacy* head, oath of *supremacy*, &c.

and the tearm *head* will not down with others? yet take but what Master Cotton grants: And (as the *devil* himself, lay hid under *Samuels* mantle, so) under Master Cottons tearm of *fathers, mothers, shepherds* (that is, *spiritual fathers, mothers, shepherds*) mult of necessity be concluded an *headship, and power, and office of judging*, when this *child* doth a *mils*, when these *sheep* go altray, who are *schismaticks, who hereticks, who sheep, who Wolves*, that the *sheep* may be corrected and reduced, and the *Wolves* braines knockt out.

Peace. They may judge (saith Master Cotton) but (not with a *church*) but *politick power*, and for want of which, and for giving their *kingdome* to the *Beast* (*Revel. 17. 12, 13.*) God (saith he) opened a way for the *Turkes* to break in and destroy the third part of *Christendome*, *Rev. 9. 14. to 21.*

Truth. Let it be under what *cloake, or colour, or notion* soever, let it be *politick* (indeed) and *subtle*, or plaine and simple, yet it seemes it is true, that he must *judge*, which will not be owned in *plaine tearms*, but as a *Protector, a Father or a Shepheard*.

Secondly, Those *Scriptures* quoted do not lay a *guilt* upon the ten *horns or kings* for suffering the *beast* in their *dominions*, but for giving their *power and authority* unto him.

The plague of the *Turkes* upon the *Antichristian world*.

Thirdly, the *civil peace* was not dissolved but preserved for many hundred yeers before the *Turkes* rose, to punish either the *Eastern or Western* part of *Antichristian Christendome*: So that a false religion doth not immediately and instantly dissolve the *civil peace*, but *kingdomes and states* professing false religions may flourish. Tis true, God in his deep *councels and times*, brings *judgements, eternal and temporal*, upon false worshipping *states*, especially where the *truth of Christ* is presented and persecuted; Yet divers *ages* of temporal *prosperity* to the *Antichristian kingdom*, prove that common *Assumption* and *maxime* false, to wit, that the *church and Commonweale* are like *Hipocrates twins*, weep and laugh, flourish and fade, live and die together.

Peace. I cannot reach the *bottom* of this next passage of Master Cotton, *viz.* that *Magistrates* may be subject to the *church*, and lick the dust of her feet, and yet be *supreme governors of the church*

church also: In *spiritual matters* (saith he) and in a right *administration* of them, he is subject; but in *civil things*, and in the corrupt administration of *church-affaires* (so far corrupt as tendeth to the disturbance of *civil peace*) there the *Magistrates* (saith he) are *supream governors*, even over the *churches* in their own *dominions*.

Tauth. Who sees not here, but by this *Doctrine* *Magistrates* must judge, when the *church* is rightly administred, and when it is corruptly administred: And that whatever the *Ministers* of the *church*, or the whole *church* judge, that is nothing, for the *Magistrate* if he be *supream governor*, he must judge? and what is this but even in the very same respect, I say in one and the same respect, to make them *high* and *low*, *up* and *down*, *mountaines* and *vallies*? *supream governors*, and so above the *church*. anon agen to lick the dust of the *feet* of the *church*; which *Master Cotton* will as soon make good, as bring the *East* and the *West* together.

The Civil Magistrate no governor over the spiritual kingdom of Christ.

Besides (as elsewhere I observed) what if the people will have no *kings*, *governors* &c. nay no *Parliament*, nor *general courts*; but leave vast *interregnums* or *Ruptures* of *government*, yea conclude upon frequent *changes* (as all *nations* of the *world* have had great changes this way) shall the *churches* of *Christ Jesus* be without an *head*, a *governor*, *defender*, *protector*? What a slavery doth this *bloody doctrine* bring the faire *Spouse* of *Christ* into?

Peace. In the passage concerning *Saul*, *Master Cotton* observeth; that *Saul* was not taken away for exercising *civil power* against *spiritual wickedness* in the case of *witches*.

Truth. *Saul* was king of *Israel*, the *church* of *God*, and a typical *king*, the anointed or *Christ* of *God*; and *Master Cotton* himself will subscribe to the confession of *Nathaniel* to *Christ Jesus*, Thou art the *king* of *Israel*, which he was and is in his own most holy *person*, as also in his *Ministers* and *governors* during his absence. It was now *Sauls* duty to put literal *witches* to death in his *Christian Israel*, his *church* and *Congregation*.

whether Saul a type of Christ.

It is true, *Saul* forsaking the *God* of *Israel*, perished for other wickedness; and among other his sins, for persecuting or hunting righteous *David*, and therein *Saul* is a *type* and warning to all the

the

the apostates and persecuting Sauls of the earth, that desperation and desperate self-destruction attend them.

Peace. But whither tends this last passage concerning *David*? We read not (saith Master *Cotton*) that he did exercise any spiritual power as a King, but as a prophet. Will he commend *Sauls* kingly acting in spiritual things, as just; and shall not *David* (whose name and throne were most eminently figurative of *Christ Jesus*) be found a king in *Israel*, the house and church of God?

Truth. The patern of *David*, *Solomon*, and the good kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, is the common and great argument of all that plead for *Magistrates* power in spiritual caies: And indeed, what power was that but spiritual, which he exercised in bringing up the Arke, expressly said to be done by king *David*? 2 Sam. 6. What power was that but kingly, put forth in ordering and disposing the services of the *Priests* and *Levites*, and singers, 1 Chron. 16?

The kings of Israel and Judah types.

Peace. Master *Cotton* not ignorant of this, it may be was not pleased with that passage, viz. [That God will take away such stays, upon whom Gods people rest in his wrath, that king *David*, that is, *Christ Jesus* the Antitype, in his own spiritual power in the hands of his *Saints*, may spiritually, and for ever be advanced.]

Truth. This power the *General Councils*, the *Popes*, the *Prelates*, the kings of the earth, the civil courts and *Magistrates*, lay claime unto, and most of them with bloody hands, yea and Gods servants have too long leaned unto, and longed after, such an arme of flesh, which proves (most commonly) but *Sauls* arme, an oppressing and persecuting, and a self-killing and destroying power at the last.

Examination of CHAP. XXXII.

Peace.

THis Chapter contains, a twofold denial: First (saith Master *Cotton*) we hold it not lawful for a *Christian Magistrate*

to compell by civil sword, either *Pharisee*, or *Pagan*, or *Jew*, to profess his *religion*.

Truth. He that is deceived himself with a *bad commodity*, puts it off as *good* to others: Master *Cotton* believes, and would make others believe, that it is no *compulsion*, to make *laws* with *penalties* for all to come to *church*, and to *publike worship*; which was ever in our *fathers dayes*, held a sufficient *trial* of their *religion*, and of *consenting* to or *dissenting* from the *religion* of the times. Hence by some is that of *Luk. 14.* alledged, *Compel them to come in*, sufficiently fulfilled, if they be so far compelled, as to be conformable to come to *church*, though it be under the pretence and mask of comming only to hear the *word*, whereby they may be *converted*.

But it is needless to stand *guessing* and *guessing* at the *weight*, when the *scales* are at hand, the holy *word* of *God*, by which we all profess to have our *weight*, or to be found too light.

Peace. Master *Cotton* therefore (Secondly) denies that a blind *Pharisee* may be a good *subject*, and as peaceable and profitable to the *civil state* as any, since they destroyed the *civil state* by destroying *Christ*.

Truth. When we speak of *civil state*, and their *administrations*, it is most improper and fallacious to wind or weave in the consideration of their true or false *religions*.

It is true, *idolatri* brings *judgement* in *Gods* time (and so do other sins, for we read not of *idolatri* in *Sodoms punishment*, *Ezek. 16.*) notwithstanding there is a present *civil state* of men combined to live together there in a *commonweale*, which *Gods* people are commanded to pray for (*Jerm. 29.*) whatever be the *religion* there publicly professed. Beside, the *Pharisees* destroying *Christ*, were guilty of blood and persecution, which is more then *idolatri*, &c. and cries to heaven for vengeance.

Peace. It cannot therefore with any shew of *charity* be denied, but that divers *priests* of *Babel*, might be *civil* and peaceable, notwithstanding their *religion* and *conscience*.

Truth. Yea it is known by experience, that many thousands of *Mahumetan*, *Popish* and *Pagan Priests* are in their persons, both of as *civil* and courteous and peaceable a nature, as any of the *subjects* in the state they live in.

The truth is, that herein all the *priests* in the *world*, *Mahumetan*, *Papish*, *Pagan* and *Protestant*, are the greatest *peace-breakers* in all *Nations* the greatest *peace-breakers*, as they (fearing their own cause) never rest stirring up *Princes* and people against any (whether *Gods* or the *devils instruments*) that shall oppose their own *religion* and *conscience*, that is in plaine *English*, their *profits*, *honours* and *bellies*.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace.

THe entrance of this Chapter (*dear truth*) looks in mine eye like one of the bloody *fathers* of the *inquisition*, and breaths (like *Paul* in his mad *zeal* and *frenzy*) *slaughters* against the *Son* of *God* himself, though under the name or brand of a *seducer*, as all *persecutors* have ever done: For (saith *Master Cotton*) he that corrupteth a soul with a corrupt *religion*, layeth a *spreading leaven* which corrupteth a *state*, as *Michals idolatry* corrupted *Lais*, *Judg.* 19. and that *Apostacy* was the *captivity* of the *land*; and the worshipping of *images* brought the plague of the *Turkes*, and therefore it is *lex talionis*, that calleth for not only *soul* for *soul*, but *life* for *life*.

Touching the
Seducer.

Truth. Thy tender *braine* and *heart* cannot let flie an arrow sharpe enough to pierce the *bowels* of such a *Bloody Tenent*.

Peace. The flaming *jealousie* of that most holy and righteous *Judge*; who is a *consuming fire*, will not ever hear such *Tenents*, and behold such practices in silence.

Truth. Sweet peace, long and long may the *Almond-tree* flourish on *Master Cottons* head in the armes of true *Christianity* and true *Christian* honour; And let *New-Englands Colonies* flourish also (if *Christ* so please) untill he come againe the second time: But that he who is love it self, would please to tell *Master Cotton* and the *Colonies*, and the *world*, the untrueneis, uncharitableneis, unmercifulneis, and unpeaceableneis of such *conclusions*: For is not this the plaine *English* and the bottome, to wit, If the *spirit* of *Christ Jesus* in any of his *servants*, *sons* or *daughters*,
witness-

witnesing against the *abominations* or stinks of *Antichrist*, shall perswade one *soul*, man or woman, to fear *God*, to come out of *Babel* &c. to refuse to bow down to; and to come out from communion with a *state-golden-image*, and not to touch what it is perswaded is an unclean thing.

That man or woman who was the *Lambs* and the *Spirits instruments* thus to enlighten and perswade one soul, he hath (saith this tenent) laid a *leaven*, which corrupteth the *state*, that is, the *land, town, city, kingdome, or Empire* of the *world*; that *leaven* shall bring the *captivity*, ruine and destruction of the *state*, and therefore *Lex Talionis*, not only *soul* for *soul* in the next, but *life* for *life* also in this present *world*.

Of seducing.

Peace. All thy *witneses* (*dear truth*) in all ages have borne the *brand* and black mark of *seducers*, and still shall, even *Christ Jesus* himself, to the last of his holy *army* and followers against his enemies.

Truth. How famous, or rather abominably infamous hath been the practice of all *persecutors* this way? I shall pick out one instance, a very stinking weed out of *Babels* desert (to let pass all the bloody, *bulls* and their roarings and *threatning* of *Councells*, *Popes* and *Emperors, kings, Bishops, Commissaries* &c. against the *Waldensians, Wicklevians, the Hussites, Hugonites, Lutherans, Calvinists* &c.) their infections and seducings. To let pass former and latter *persecutions* in our own *English Nation*, which hath been (as *France, Spaine, Italy, Low-countries, &c.* also) a *slaughter-house* of *Christs lambs*; one instance more pertinent then many, we have (in the raigne of that wise and mighty prince *Henry* the eighth) of bloody *Longland, Lincolnes Bishop*, acting to the life *Master Cottons Tenent* against *seducers* throughout his *Diocess*. What *oaths* did he exact? what *articles* did he invent, to find out the *meetings* the *conventicles*, the *conferences*, of any poor servants of *God*, men and women, day or night; whether the *father* read to the *child*, or the *childe* to the *father*, the *husband* to the *wife*, or the *wife* to the *husband*? Yea, whether they spake any thing (though never so little) out of any line of holy *Scriptures*, or any of *Wickliffes* books, or any good *English writings*: By which abhorred *practices*, the *fathers* (caught in this bloody *Bishops oath*, vehemently forced upon all suspected)

Bishop Longlands subile Oaths of inquisition.

the *fathers*, I say were forced to accuse and betray their *children*, the *children* their *fathers*, *husbands* their *wives*, *wives* their *husbands*, for fear of horrible death on the one side, or else of running upon the rocks of *Perjury* on the other side.

Peace. Hold (*dear truth*) and stop; my *spirit* is wounded with such *relations*.

Truth. O how were the *Saints*, and *Christ Jesus* in them, wounded with such *tenents* and *practices*!

Peace. Master *Cotton* will save this up (with what he elsewhere saith) thus: *Longlands*, and the *Papists religion*, and the *religion* of *England*, was then false in that *kings* time.

Truth, What then? No pious and sober man can hold all men devoid of *conscience* to *God*, except himself. In all *religions*, *sects*, and *consciences*, the sons of men are more or less zealous and precise, though it be in falsehood.

2. But let it be granted, that the *religion* persecuted is false, and that a false *religion* like *leaven*, will spread, as did this *idolatri* of *Michal*, *Jeroboam*, and others; and grant that this *idolatri* will bring *judgements* from heaven in the end; yet I desire Master *Cotton*, or any knowing man, to answer to these two *questions*.

1. Where finde we, since the coming of *Christ Jesus*, a *land* like *Canaan*, a *state-religion*, a *City*, or *Town-religion*, wherein the *Townes*, or *Cities*, or *kingdomes* *apostacie* may be feared (as Master *Cotton* here writes of *Lisib*) and consequently the *Townes* or *Cities* *captivity* for that sin?

causes of destruction to a Nation.

2. Where read we of the destruction of a *land* for *idolatri*, or *images*, without a ripeness in other sins, and especially of *violence* and oppression (of which *persecution* is the greatest?) And therefore to follow Master *Cottons* instance of the *Turks*, beside *idolatri* (which saith Master *Cotton* brought the plague of the *Turks*, Rev. 9.) read we not also in that *Scripture*, and in all *histories*, of their detestable and wonderful *whoredomes*, *witchcrafts*, *thefts*, *slaughters*, and *murthers*, amongst which this bloody *Tenent* of *persecution* was ever in most high esteem? &c.

Peace. Indeed *Babel* hath been filled with blood of all sorts, *Revelations* the 18. but in especial manner hath the *whore* been

been drunk with the blood of the *Saints*, and *witnesſes* of *Jeſus*, Revel. 17.

Truth. Hence then not *idolatry* onely, but that bloody *doctrin*e of *perſecution* (the great *fire-brand* and *incendiary* of all *Nations* and *Commonweals*) brought in the bloody *Turkes* to revenge Gods *truth* and *witnesſes* ſlaine by the idolatrous and bloody *Antichriſtians*.

Peace. I ſomething queſtion, that it can be proved, that the moſt righteous *Judge* of the whole world ever deſtroyed *ſtate* or *nation* for *idolatry*, but where this bloody *doctrin*e of *perſecution* was joyned with it, that is, until he had graciously ſent *witnesſes* againſt ſuch *idolatrics*, and till ſuch *witnesſes* were deſpised and perſecuted, and therefore here comes in ſeaſonably the ſad exprobration of the *Lord Jeſus*, againſt *Jeruſalem*, threatning the ruine and deſolation of it, Oh *Ieruſalem*, *Ieruſalem*, which killeſt the *Prophets*; and ſtoneſt them which were ſent unto thee. &c!

Truth. I add laſtly, Let it be granted that a ſoul is corrupted with a falſe *religion*, and that that falſe *Religion*, like a *leaven*, in time hath corrupted the *ſtate*;

Yet firſt, that *ſtate* or *land* is none elſe but a part of the *world*, and if ſo (ſince every part more or leſs in degree follows the nature of the whole) it is but natural, and ſo lieth as the whole *world* doth in *wickedneſs*; and ſo, as a *ſtate* or part of the *world*, cannot but alter from one falſe way or path to another (upon this ſuppoſition (as before) that no *whole ſtate*, *kingdome*, *City*, or *Town* is *Chriſtian* in the new *Teſtament*.

All nations cities, Towns, &c. are part of the world.

Secondly, Grant this *ſtate* to be ſo corrupted or altered from one corrupt *religion* to another, yet that *ſtate* may many ages enjoy civil *peace* and worldly *proſperity*, as all *hitories* and *experience* teſtifies.

Thirdly, That *idolatry* may be rooted out, and another *idolatrous religion* of the *conqueror* (as in the *Romane* and other *conqueſts*) brought: in or the *religion* may be changed ſomething to the better, by the coming of new *Princes* to the *crown*, as we ſee in *Henry* the eighth, *King Edward*, and *Queen Elizabeth*, in our own *Nation*, and of late times.

change of Religions.

Laſtly, A *ſoul* or *ſouls* thus leavened, may be reduced

by *repentance* (as often it pleaseth *God* so to work, why then should there (as *Master Cotton* intimates) such a peremptory bloody sentence be thundred out as *life for life*, &c.

Peace. But, saith *Master Cotton*, *false prophets*, in the old *Testament*, were to die, but for attempting; and the reason was not from any *typical holiness* of the *land*, but from the dangerous wickedness of the attempting to thrust away a soul from *God*, which is a greater injury, then to deprive a man of *bodily life*.

Truth. The reason to me appears plainly *typical*, with respect to that holy *nation*, and the *seducers* seeking to turn the soul away from the *Lord their God*, who had brought them forth from the *land of Egypt*, by such *signes, miracles* &c. Let *Master Cotton* now produce any such *nation* in the *whole world* whom *God* in the *New Testament* hath literally and miraculously brought forth of *Egypt*, or from one *land* into another, to the truth and purity of his *worship*, &c. then far be it, but I should acknowledge that the *seducer* is fit to be put to death. But draw away the *curtaine* of the *shadow*, and let the *substance* appear, not a whole *Nation*, *City*, &c. but the *Christian church* brought by *spiritual signes* and *wonders* from the *Egypt* of this *world* in all *nations* of the *world*, where the *Gospel* comes. Justly therefore he that seduceth a soul from his *God* in *Christ*, and so endangereth to leaven that only true *Christian state* or *kingdome* the *church* of *Christ*, he ought to die (upon his obstinacy) without mercy, as well under *Christ*, as under *Moses*. Yea, he is worthy of a *sover punishment* (as saith the *Spirit of God*) who trampleth under feet the blood of *Christ*: such a *decever* or *seducer* (except he repent) is to be cut from the presence of the *Lord*, and to lose an *eternal life*: He that is cut off from *material Israel*, might yet repent and live eternally, but he that is cut off from *mystical Israel* under the *Gospel*, that is, for obstinacy in sin (the proper *hereticke*) he is cut off to all eternity; which punishment as it is infinitely transcendent and more dreadful in the nature and kind of it, so answereth it fully and infinitely that clause of *Master Cotton*, to wit, To thrust a soul from *God* is a greater injury then to deprive a man of his *bodily life*.

Peace. Now, whereas the discussor added, That dead men cannot

The state of Israel unparalled.

The punishments of Christ sover then the punishments of Moses.

not die, nor be infected with false doctrine, and such is the State of all men, all nations, all the world over, until the life of Christ Jesus quicken them; Master Cotton replies,

"First, Dead men may be made worse, and more the children of hell then before, *Mat. 23.* and therefore such as so corrupt them, are worthy in a way of due proceeding of a twofold death.

"Secondly, Such as profess the truth of the doctrine and worship of Christ, they live a kind of spiritual life, though not such as accompany salvation, else how are false teachers, and such as are led by them, said to be twice dead, pluckt up by the roots, *Jud. 12.*

Truth. Dead men may be made worse, that is, more to rot and stink; yet this is no taking away of any life. And therefore there is no proportionable reason, why the seducers should suffer a temporal death, having neither taken away spiritual nor natural life; only thus he may be justly liable to a spiritual death, for endeavouring to hinder a spiritual life, by furthering any in their natural state of spiritual death. *Of Seducing.*

2. For that place of *Iude*, Master Cotton knows that *Beza* propounds two senses. *what meant by twice dead.*

First, Twice dead, that is a certaine number for an uncertaine.

Secondly, This sense urged by Master Cotton, which if it be to be admitted, yet is it but in appearance, as his life which in hypocrisie he professed, was but in shew and appearance, he being never raised up from the spiritual death to a spiritual life, and therefore really never suffered the loss of a spiritual life, which he never had: And yet as in typical Israel, it stood with Gods justice to take away the life of the seducer, which seduced an Israelite from the God of Israel, or but attempted to do it: so stands it with the holy justice of God, to cut him off eternally, who but attempteth to take away or hinders the spiritual and eternal life of any.

Peace. Master Cotton in the next place presumes on advantage that the discussor should say, that none are infected with natural plagues or spiritual, but such are thereto appointed, &c.

Truth.

Truth. It is plaine that the discusser alleadged not that, to diminish or lessen sin (let it have its due *aggravation*) but as was said before in case of the not final deceiving of the *elect*, so was it here spoken not to derogate from *Gods meanes* and *remedies* against *natural* or *spiritual infection*; but to abate the needlesse feares of men, who are apt to cry out, Except the *civil sword* be drawn (and so therewith the *world* set together by the *eares*) the *world* cannot be preserved from *infection*.

Peace. Whereas the discusser had affirmed, that *Christ Jesus* had not left his people destitute of *spiritual means* against *spiritual infections*; This is true (saith Master *Cotton*) but it falleth out sometimes, that when the *church* hath cast out an *heretick*, yet he may destroy the *faith* of many, as did *Hymeneus* and *Philetus* (2 *Tim.* 2. 17.) and if the *Magistrates* sword do here rust, &c. such *leaven* may leaven the whole *country* &c. as *Arrianisme* leavened the *world* by *Constantines* indulgence.

Again, saith he, it may be the *heretick* was never a member of the *church*; how then shall the *church* do?

Truth. Who can marvel at this, that the *dunghill* of this *world*, worldly men under the power of *Satan*, unto whom the obstinate person the *heretick* is cast, I say, that they, many of them, receive *worldly doctrine*, which the *church* as filth casts out? &c.

2. As *Paul* saith concerning the *salvation* of *Gods children*: Let the *world* perish; yet the foundation of *God* remaineth sure, he knows who are his, and how to provide meanes to save them, though the *world* still act it self, wallowing and tumbling (like *Swine*) in one puddle of *wickedness* after another.

3. Master *Cotton* should read a little further in the same *Scripture* quoted by him, where he finds not a tittle of *Pauls* directing *Timothy* to stir up the *secular power* (as the *Pope* speakes) to cut off *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, to prevent *infection*; but tels him, that the servants of *God* must not strive, but must quiet themselves with *patience*, waiting if peradventure *God* will please to give *repentance*.

Peace. Methinks this Answer may also fully satisfie his second *supposition*, to wit, if that the *heretick* was never of the *church*.

Truth.

Truth. Yea what hath the *church* to do (that is, judicially) with him that is without? and what hath the *civil state* to judge him for, who in *civil matters* hath not transgressed? In vaine therefore doth Master Cotton suggest a persecuting or hunting after the *souls* or lives of such, as being cast out of the *church*, keep private *conventicles*, &c.

Peace. How grievous is this *language* of Master Cotton, as if he had been nourished in the *chappels* and *cloisters* of persecuting *prelates*, and *priests*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*? As if he never had heard of *Jesus Christ* in truth and meekness: For surely (as the *discusser* observed). *Christ Jesus* never appointed the *civil sword* an *Antidote* or *remedy* in such a case, notwithstanding Master Cotton replies that the *civil sword* was appointed a *remedy* in this case, by *Moses*, not *Christ*, *Dent. 13.*

Truth. *Moses* in the *old Testament* was *Christ's* servant, yet *Moses* being but a servant, dispensed his power by carnal rites and ceremonies, laws, rewards and punishments in that holy nation, and that one land of *Canaan*: But when the *Lord Jesus* the *Son* and *Lord* himself was come, to bring the *truth*, and *life*, and *substance* of all those *shadows*, to break down the *partition-wall* between *Jew* and *Gentile*, and to establish the *Christian worship* and *kingdome* in all *Nations* of the *world*, Master Cotton will never prove from any of the *books* and *institutions* of the *New Testament*, that unto those *spiritual remedies* appointed by *Christ Jesus* against *spiritual maladies*, he added the help of the *carnal sword*.

Peace. But *Christ* (saith Master Cotton) never abrogated the *carnal sword* in the new, which he appointed in the *old Testament*, and the reason of the *law*, to wit, an offence of thrusting away from the *Lord*, is perpetual.

Truth. If it appear (as evidently it doth) that this king (*Jesus* the *King of Israel*, wears his *sword* (the *Antitype* of the *Kings of Israel* their *swords*) in his mouth, being a sharpe two-edged sword, then the answer is as clear as the *Sun*, that scatters the clouds and darkeness of the night.

Besides, Master Cotton needs not flie to the *Popes* argument for *childrens baptisme*, to wit, to say that *Christ* never abrogated *Dent. 13.* therefore, &c. For Master Cotton knows the *professi-*

The sword of typical Israel a type of Christ's spiritual sword.

on of the Lord *Jesus*, *Iohn 18.* that his *kingdome* was not earthly, and therefore his sword cannot be earthly: Master *Cotton* knows that *Christ Iesus* commanded a sword to be put up when it was drawn in the cause of *Christ*, and addeth a dreadful *threatning*, that all that take the sword (that is the *carnal sword* for his cause) shall perish by it.

Peace. And for the perpetuity of the *reason* of the law, you formerly fully satisfied, that even in the dayes of *grace*, for him that shall thrust away an *Israelite* from his *God*, there is upon his *obstinacy* a greater punishment beyond all imagination (to wit, a spiritual cutting off from the *land of Canaan*) then under *Moses*, which was but from the *temporall*, the *type* and *shadow*.

But Master *Cotton* proceedeth, alleadging, that the *Minister* of *God* must have in a readines to execute *vengeance* on him that doth *evil*; and *evil* it is (saith he) to *thurst* away *Gods* people from him.

Magistrates
cannot receive
from the people
a spiritual pow-
er.

Truth. Every *lawful Magistrate*, whether succeeding or elected, is not only the *Minister* of *God*, but the *Minister* or servant of the people also (what *people* or *nation* soever they be all the world over) and that *Minister* or *Magistrate* goes beyond his *commission*, who intermeddles with that which cannot be given him in *commission* from the people, unless Master *Cotton* can prove that all the people and inhabitants of all *nations* in the world have *spiritual power*, *Christs power*, *naturally*, *fundamentally* and *originally* residing in them (as they are people and *inhabitants* of this world) to rule *Christs Spouse* the *church*, and to give *spiritual power* to their officers to exercise their *spiritual laws* and commands; otherwise it is but prophaning the holy name of the most *high*. It is but flattering of *Magistrates*, it is but the accursed trusting to an *arme* of *flesh*, to persuade the *rulers* of the *earth*, that they are *Kings* of the *Israel* or *church* of *God*, who were in their *institutions* and *government* immediately from *God*, the *rulers* and *governors* of his holy *church* and people.

Peace. Grant (saith Master *Cotton*) that the *evil* be *spiritual*, and concern the inner man, and not the *civil state*, yet that *evill* will be destructive to such a *City*, it shall not rise up the second time, *Nahum. 1. 9.*

Truth. Although that it pleaseth *God* sometimes to bring a people

people to utter *destruction* for their *idolatri* against himself, and *cruelty* against his people; yet we see the Lord doth not presently and instantly do this, but after a long course of many *ages* and *generations*, as was seen in *Nineve* her self, and since in *Athens*, *Constantinople*. and *Rome* both *Pagan* and *Antichristian*. And therefore the example here by Master *Cotton* produced, gives not the least colour of *warrant* for the *civil state* presently and immediately to execute vengeance for *idolatri* or *heresie* upon *persons* or *Cittes* now all the world over, as he gave commandment to that *typical nation* of *Israel*, which is now also to be fulfilled spiritually upon the *spiritual Israelite*, or *Israelitish City*, a *particular church* or people falling away from the *living God* in *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. Whereas it was said by the discussor that the *civil Magistrate* hath the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the subjects, and the *spiritual officers* of the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ*, the charge of their *souls* and soul safety, Master *Cotton* answers, First, If it were so that the *civil Magistrate* had the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* onely of the subject, yet that might justly excite to watchfulness against such *pollution* of *religion* as tends to *apostacy*, for *God* will visit *city* and *country* with publike *calamity*, if not with *captivity*, for the *churches* sake. The *idolatri* and *worship* of *Christians* (saith he) brought the *Turkish captivity* upon the *cittys* and *countries* of *Asia*.

Truth. By *soul* and *soul safety*, I think Master *Cotton* understands the same with the *discusser*, to wit, the *matters* of *religion* and *spiritual worship*. If the *Magistrate* hath received any such *charge* or *commission* from *God* in *spiritual things*, doubtless (as before) the people have received it *originally* and *fundamentally* as they are a *people*: But now if neither the *nations* of the *world*. as *peoples* and *nations*, have received this *power* *originally*, and *fundamentally*; nor can they derive it *Ministerially*, to their *civil officers* (by what name or *title*, high or low, soever they be distinguished) Oh what *presumption*, what *prophaning* of *Gods* most holy name, what *usurpation* over the *souls* and *consciences* of men, though it come under the *vaile* or *vizard* of saving the *City* or *kingdome*, yea of *saving* of *souls*, and honoring of *God* himself?

The plague of the Turkes.

Beside, *God* is not wont to visit any *country* or people in general for the sin of his people, but for their own *idolatries* and *cruelty* toward his people, as all *histories* will prove. And for this instance of the *Turkes*, I say it was not the *idolatry* and *image-worship* alone of the *Antichristians*, but joynd with their other sins, which brought *Gods* vengeance by the *Turks* upon them as was said above, from *Revel. 9.* and especially their *Antichristian* cruelty grounded upon this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution*.

Both these *Antichristian states*, and since also the *Turkish Monarchy*, have flourished many *generations* in external and outward prosperity and glory, notwithstanding their *religion* is false, and although it is true, that in the time and period appointed, all *nations* shall drink of the cup of *Gods* wrath, for their *nationall* sins, both against the first and second table, in matters concerning *God* and man.

Peace. How satisfie you Master *Cottons* second answer or question, to wit, Did ever *God* commit the charge of the *body* to any *Governor*, to whom he did not commit in his way the care of their *souls* also?

Truth. There is a twofold care and charge of *souls* manifested in holy Scripture.

First, That which in common belongs to all, to love our neighbor as our selves, to endeavor the present and eternal *welfare* both of *superiors*, *inferiors*, *equals*, *friends* and *enemies*; and this by *prayers*, *exhortations*, *reproofs*, *examples* of *justice*, *loving kindness*, *sobriety*, *godliness* &c.

A twofold care and charge of souls.

But what is this to the second *charge* by way of *office*, which in the *old Testament* was given not only to *Priests* and *Levites*, but to the *governors* and *rulers* of the *Jewish state*: of which *state* (being mixed of *spiritual* and *civil*) they were the *head* and *governors*, as it was *Israel*, a *nation* of *worshippers* of the true *God*: And therein were they the *types* and *forerunners* of *Christ Jesus* the true *King* of *Israel*, as he is called, *Joh. 1.* The cure and charge of *souls*, now (saith Master *Cotton*) in this Chapter, belongeth by vertue of *office* to the *spiritual officers* of *Christs kingdom*: I add, and during the *desolation* of *Zion*, and the time of the *apostacy* from *Christs visible kingdom*, belongeth to the two *Prophets* and *witnesses* of *truth*, *Rev. 11.* but not to the *kings*, *rulers*, *nations*

Christ the true King of Israel.

nations, and civil states of the world, who can be no true parallel or antitype to the Israel or people of God.

Peace. Master Cotton objects *Iehosaphat* sent abroad preachers throughout all the Cities of *Judah*; and if that were a type of *Christ*, it were to act that now, which typed out *Christ*, and he fulfilled in his own person.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* sends out preachers three waies.

First, In his own person, as the twelve and the seventy.

Secondly, By his visible, kingly power, left in the hand of his true churches, and the officers and governors thereof; In which fence that church of *Antioch*, and the governors thereof, rightly invested with the kingly power of *Christ Jesus*, sent forth *Paul* and *Barnabas* with prayer and fasting, and laying on of hands: And *Paul* and others of *Christ's messengers*. being furnished with this kingly power, not only planted churches, but also ordained elders visited these churches or visible cities of *Judah*; that knowledge and teaching, and the word of God might dwell plenteously among them.

Christ's three-fold sending of preachers.

Thirdly, *Christ Jesus* as king of his church, and head of his body, during the distractions of his house and kingdom under *Antichrist's apostacy*, immediately by his own holy Spirit, stirs up and sends out those fiery witnesses (*Rev. 11.*) to testify against *Antichrist* and his several abominations: For as for lawful calling to a true ordinary Ministry, neither *Wickliff* in *England*, nor *Walden* in *France*, nor *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prange* in *Bohemia*, nor *Luther* in *Germany*, nor multitudes more of famous preachers and prophets of *Christ*, both in these countries, and also in *Spain*, *Italy* &c. I say, no true ordinary Ministerial calling can they ever shew; but *Christ Jesus* by the secret motion of his own holy Spirit extraordinarily excited, incouraged and sent them abroad as an *Angel* or messenger (*Rev. 14.*) with the everlasting Gospel &c.

For other true office of the Ministry, since the apostacie, but that of prophecy and opening the Testament of *Christ* against the falshood of *Antichrist*.

Peace. To apply these three waies, or any of them, to the civil Magistrates and rulers of the world (of whom *Iehosaphat* in that his act should be a type) is but to prophane the holy name of God, to leane upon and idolize an arme of flesh, &c.

Truth. I grant, the civil Magistrate is bound to countenance the true Ministers of *Christ Jesus*, to incourage, protect,

and defend them from injuries, but to send them armed (as the *Popes Legats* and *Priests*) with a *sword of steel*, and to compel people to hear and obey them, this favours more of the spirit of the *Pope*, his courses and practises, Yea of *Mahomet* his *Mussel-men*, *Dirgeses*, &c. then the *Lambe of God* and his followers.

Peace. What *Iehosopbat*, *Asa*, *Hezekiah*, *Iosiah*, &c. did, they did not only by *perswasion*, *counenance*, *example* (by which all are bound to further the *preaching of Christ Iesus*) but also by force of *armes* and *corporal punishments*.

Truth. Yea even to the death it self: and this is not a bare sending out of *Ministers* (as *Master Cotton* gives the instance:) For by his argument, all *rulers*, *kings*, and *Emperors*, and other *states* of the world ought to embrue their hands in the blood of the many *thousands* and *millions* of *millions* of the poor people, if they forsake not their *idolatrie* and embrace the *religion* which they say is *Christian* and the only true.

Peace. No, saith *Master Cotton*, this ought not to be, because only *gedly* and truly *Christian Magistrates* may so put forth this power of *Christ*; others must stay until they be informed.

Truth. Can it enter into any *Christian* heart, to believe, that *Christ Iesus* should so loosely provide for his *affaires*, so slightly for his *name* and *Fathers work*, and so regardlesly for his dearest *Spouse*, as to leave so high a *care* and *charge* with such as (generally and constantly throughout the *whole world*) are ignorant of, yea and opposite to the very name of *Christ* and true *Christianity*?

A soule imputation put upon Christ Iesus.

Peace. Surely if this *payment* were offered to the *governour* (as *Malachy* saith) to the *world*, or *governments* of it, it would not pass.

Truth. I never knew a *king* or *captaine* *councillor* or *constable*, officers of high or low condition, rightly called according to to *God*, who were not invested with *ability* more or less for the *maine* and *principal* points of their charge and duty.

Peace. It seemes indeed a marvelous, and yet it is *Master Cottons* conclusion, that such *Magistrates*, yea all or most of the *Magistrates* that ever have been since *Christ*, and now extant upon

upon the face of the earth. must sit down, stay and suspend, and that all their life long, from the executing of the maine and principall part of their office, to wit. in matters concerning the conscience, religion, and worship, of the people.

Truth. Yea (Secondly) in a due survey of the whole universe and globe of this world, will one of a thousand or ten thousand (according to Master Cottons disabling of them from the chief part of their office) be found, I will not say fit to be, but to be at all lawful civil Magistrates or rulers according to Gods ordinance of Magistracy. but meer shadows or images set on high with empty names or titles only of Magistrates?

Peace. Master Cotton adds, Although the good of souls is the proper or adequate object of the spiritual officers of Christ, and the bodies and goods of the people, the proper or adequate object of the civil Magistrate; yet in order to the good of their souls, he ought to procure spiritual helpes, and to prevent spiritual evils.

Truth. I reply, If he mean (as it is clear he doth) that the civil Magistrate ought to do this not only as a Christian by spiritual meanes, but as a civil Magistrate by force of armes, It is not in order, but monstrous disorder, for then he (the civil Magistrate) must sit Judge (judicially and formally) in those spiritual causes and cases, which Master Cotton grants are proper and adequate objects of the spiritual officers which Christ hath appointed.

Pretended order, monstrous disorder.

Peace. Yea, why may not (saith Master Cotton) the Magistrate use his power (spiritually) in order to the good of bodies, as the officers of Christ dehort from idleness and intemperance of meats and drinks. &c. in order to the good of souls?

Truth. The spiritual officers in dehorting from these evils or any other of that kind, interfere not, nor take cognizance of that which belongs not to their spiritual court; for holiness in all manner of conversation is the circle wherein they ought to see all their spiritual subjects to walk. If the spiritual officers should cause by force of armes their people to walk justly, temperately, &c. as Master Cotton saith the civil Magistrate in order to the good of bodies ought to deal in spiritual and soul-matters, I say then the eyes of the civil Magistrate would begin to open and

and to see the horrible *disorder* and *Babylonish confusion* of that which is here masked under the abuled name of *order*.

Peace. Master Cotton closeth up this *chapter* with very bitter censures against the discusser.

Truth. The discusser may well reply, that although since the *apostacy* he sees not the *visible thrones* and *tribunals* of *Christ Jesus* (according to his first *institution*) erected, and although the *civil Magistrate* hath not the power of *Christ* in *matters of religion*, yet they that slay the *Lords sheep* are not exempted from all *judgement*: For, if the *offenders* slay them *corporally*, the *Lord* hath armed the *civil Magistrate* with the *sword of God* to take vengeance on them. In which respect *God* hath crowned the *supream court* of *Parliament* with everlasting honour, in breaking the jaws of the oppressing *Bishops, &c.* Oh that such glorious *Justice* may not be blemished, by erecting in their stead a more *refined*, but yet as cruel an *Episcopacy*.

2. If the offence be of a *spiritual nature*, is there no *spiritual way of judging*, except the *church* of *Christ* be granted *visible* during *Antichrists Apostacy*? Hath not *Christ Jesus* given power to his two prophets (even all the *Raigne* of the *Beast*) to speak *fire*, *Revelations* the *II.* to shut up *heaven*, to turn the *waters* into *blood*, to smite the *earth* with all manner of *plagues*, and this untill the time of the finishing of their *prophetic* or *Testimony*, when their great *slaughters* shall prepare the way for the downfal of *Antichrist* and their own most glorious *raising* and *exaltation*?

There was no Chapter 34 (which probably was Master Cottons oversight, or the Printers) therefore I pass to Chapter 35.

Examination of CHAP. XXXV.

Peace.

HERE, whereas it was said, if it were the *Magistrates* duty or office to punish *hereticks* &c. then he is both a *temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers*: Master Cotton answers, It follows not: except the *Magistrate* were to punish with *Ecclesiastical* censures, his punishment is meerly *civil*, whether *imprisonment*, *banishment*, or *death*.

Truth. I reply, first, the *statutes* of the *English nation*, and the *oath* of *supremacy*, have proved the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* heads and *governors* of the *church* of *England*: And if to be an *head* or *governor* be not an *office*, let Master Cotton be againe requested to ponder the *instance* given, which he passeth by in silence; deny it ingenuously he cannot, and to justify it I hope his *light* from *heaven* will not suffer him, although yet he would faine excuse it, by saying, they punish only with *civil punishment*, *imprisonment*, *banishment* or *death*. Therefore,

2. Here lies the *mystery* of *iniquity*, and the *Babel* and *confusion* of it, that either according to *Popish Tenents* the *kings* of the earth must give their power to the *beast*, and enslave themselves under the name and vizard of the *secular power* to be the *Popes executioners*, or according to *Protestant Tenents*, to wit, that *Kings* and *Governours* be *heads* of the *church* and yet be furnished with no *Church-power* nor *spirituall* censures.

Peace. It would be thought some *mystical* and *monstrous* thing, that *Kings* and *Governors* should be obliged to act in *civil Judicature*, and yet be furnished with no *civil power*, but ought to punish onely with *spirituall* or *Church-censures*.

Truth. The blinde and the lame mans robbing the Orchard is here verified. The Minister (though a blindeguide) he is the seer, but wanting legs and strength of *civil power*, he is carried upon the *civil Magistrates* shoulders, whose blindness the *subtle Clergy* abuseth, &c. but both together, rob the Orchard of the most high and sure-avenging *God*.

Truth:

The civil Magistrate no spiritual officer, now as in Israel.

Truth. I conceive it true, that the *Kings* and *Governors* of the *national church* of *Israel* had a *national power*; and had the *Lord Jesus* been pleased to have continued *national churches*, the *Kings* and *governors* of such *states* might well (as they of *Israel* were) have been both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers*.

Peace. But now the *Lord Jesus* abolishing that *national state*, and instituting and appointing his *worshippers* and *followers* to be the *Israel of God*, the holy *nation* and proper *Antitype* of the former *Israel*; it seems most *unchristian*, that either the *work* or the *title* should remain, whether with open or a masked face or vizard.

Truth. Therefore as it pleased *God* in wonderful *wisdom* and inconceivable depths of counsel for a while to continue a *national church national covenant* &c. and to take them away as insufficient, beggarly, and weak, either for the further advancement of his own *glory*, or *salvation* of men: so hath he taken away the *administration* thereof by *carnal weapons, armes* of *flesh* &c. In stead of *fire* and *sword*, and *stoning* the *opposites* in stead of *imprisonment, banishment* death, he hath appointed *exhortations, reprekenfions, denunciations, excommunications*, and together with *preaching, patient waiting*, if *God* peradventure will give *repentance*.

The peoples power.

Lastly, If the *civil Magistrate* must imprison and banish, and put to death in *spiritual cases*; and the *civil Magistrate*, is but a *Minister* or servant of the people (and so of *God*) and if the people make the *laws*, and give the *Magistrate* his *commission* and power; doth it not follow by this *doctrine*, that the people of the *nations* of the *world* are *fundamentally* and *originally* both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical*? And then what is become of the *foundations* of the *Christian faith*? And also are not hereby the *people* and *nations* of the *world* (whatever care be had to the contrary to restrain) encouraged, according to their several *consciences*, I say encouraged and hardened in their bloody *wars, imprisonings, banishings*, and putting to death for cause of *conscience*?

Peace. Whereas it was said to be *Babel* or *confusion*, for the *church* to punish the offences of such as are not within its *jurisdiction* with *spiritual censures*, or the *civil state* *spiritual offences*

fences with *corporal* or *temporal* weapons, Master Cotton answers, *No confusion*, for so *Paul* directs the church of *Corinth*.

Truth. That very *Parentthesis* which Master Cotton stumbl-eth at, takes away his answer. For as it would be confusion for the church to censure such matters, and of such persons as belong not to the church: So is it *confusion* for the state to punish *spiritual* offenders, for they are not within the *sphear* of a *civil* jurisdiction. The body or *Commonweal* is merely *civil*, the *Magistrate* or *head* is a *civil* head, and each *member* is a *civil* member: and so far forth as any of this *civil* body are *spiritual*, or act *spiritually*, they and their actions fall under a *spiritual* cognizance and *judicature*.

All Commonweals that ever have been, are or shal be in the world (excepting that of typical Israel) merely civil.

Peace. The reason (saith Master Cotton) is the same, for there be offences which tend to provoke *wrath* against the *civil* state, *Exra* 7. Why should there be *wrath* against the *king* or his *sons*?

Truth. This reason indeed Master Cotton often inculcates and beates upon it, that the *Pagan* kings of *Persia* were of his mind: I believe Master Cotton out of a *zeal* to *God*, but the *Pagan* kings out of a slavish *terror*, which never prevailed so far (that I know of) as to bring them to a kindly *repentance* of their own *idolatries*, or a true *love* to the *God* of *Israel* or his *people*.

The Decrees of Pagan kings for Israel, and the God of it, considered.

Peace. However your former answer is to me *sufficient*; to wit, that thousands of famous *Towns*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* have flourished in *peace* and *tranquillity* for many ages and generations, where *God* hath had no house, and not only where it was by the *civil* state neglected but also wholly persecuted.

Truth. In the time appointed and full *ripeness* of their *sins*, the *vengeance* of *God* (after *patience* many generations abused) hath surely and fearefully visited, yet in the *interim*, it is clear it is no ground of a necessity of present punishing of false *worshippers* and *idolaters*, lest present *wrath* fall upon the *King* or his *Son*.

Peace. Now whereas it was said an intollerable *burthen* laid upon the *Magistrates* back, together with the care of the *Commonweal* to be charged also with the *spiritual*, &c. Master Cotton answers, 1. That the *Magistrate* ought to seek out meanes

The Ministers lay heavy loads upon the Magistrates back.

of grace for the people. 2. To remove *idolatry* and *idolatrous Teachers*. 3. It is commonly added, that he ought to preserve the *church* pure by *reformation*.

Truth. I reply, This *work* charged upon the *kings, governors,* and *Magistrates* in the *world*, makes the weight of their *care* and charge far greater, then ever was the charge of the *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, For their people were miraculously brought into *covenant* with *God*, to their hands, like a *bridge*, or *house*, or *ship* ready built; and needed only keeping up in *reparation*: yea an heavier *yoak*, then either their or our *fathers* were able to bear, considering all the several different *consciences, religions,* and *worships* of all mankind naturally, and the many different *opinions, factions,* and *sects*, which daily do arise, and that conscientiously and zealously unto death: All these must by *Master Cottons doctrine*) lie before the *bar*, beside all *civil cases, &c.*

Peace. Tis memorable that *Paul* himself, that had the care of all the *churches*, would not be intangled with *civil affaires*, further then his own *necessities* did call for; and sometimes the *necessities* of his *companions*: but this *yoak* put upon the necks of *Magistrates*, is as full of temporal as spiritual care: And as it is impossible for them to bear, So the *Lord* in his holy *season*, may please to teach them (as he hath taught some already through his grace) to lay that spiritual Burthen upon the *shoulders* of their only King of *Saints Christ Jesus*, to whom the *supream power* and care of *souls* and *churches* doth alone belong.

Whereas it was further said, that the *Magistrate* is to cherish, and to cleave unto the *Saints*, and to defend them from *civil violence*, but the *spiritual* care of them belongs to *spiritual officers* appointed by *Christ Jesus* to that end, *Master Cotton* replies, this is but a pretence, because the discussor acknowledgeth no *churches* extant, &c.

Truth. Although amongst so many pretending *churches*, the discussor be not able to satisfie himself in the rightly gathering of the *Churches*, according to the true *order* of *Christ Jesus*, yet this is far from a pretence, because the *institution* of any *state government, order, &c.* is one thing, and the *administra-*

tion and execution, which may be interrupted and eclipsed, is another.

Peace. Indeed *Jeremy* could not rightly have been judged a pretender, when he mourned for, and lamented the desolations of the temple, priests, elders, altar, sacrifice, &c. and neither he nor *Daniel*, nor any of *Gods* prophets or servants, could (during the time of the desolation and captivity) acknowledge either temple, or altar, or sacrifice right, extant upon the face of the earth.

A time when no visible Church of God in the world for the right forme and order, &c.

Truth. He that saith the *Sun* (*Christ Jesus*) is not to be seen in our *Horizon* or *Hemisphere*, in his absence, or when he suffers an *Eclipse*, cannot be said to deny that the *Lord Jesus* his holy ordinances ought to be visible in the worship and service of *God*: Although the discussor be not satisfied in the period of the times, and the manner of his glorious appearing, yet his soul uprightly desires to see and adore, and to be thankful to *Master Cotton*, yea to the least of the disciples of *Christ Jesus*, for any coal or sparke of true light, amongst so many false and pretended candles and candlesticks, pretending the glorious name of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

Peace. Next, *Master Cotton* demands what reason can be given, why the *Magistrate* ought to break the teeth of *Lyons* (ought to suppress such as offer civil violence) and not of the *Wolves*, that make havock of their souls, who are more mischievous then the *lyon*, as the *Pope* of *Rome*, then the *Pagan Emperors*? He wonders the discussor should favor the *Pope* more then the *Emperour*, except it be that he symbolizeth rather with *Antichrist* then with *Caesar*.

Truth. It may here suffice to say two things (not to repeat other passages.)

First, The *civil state* and *Magistrate* are meerly and essentially civil; and therefore cannot reach (without the transgressing the bounds of civility) to judge in matters spiritual, which are of another sphere and nature then civility is: Now it is most just and proper, that if any member of a civil body be oppressed, the body should relieve it: As also it is just and proper, that the spiritual state or body should relieve the soul of any in that spiritual combination oppressed.

The wolves at
Ephesus, Act.
20.

Therefore (Secondly) for *spiritual* and *religious* oppressions, the *king of kings* *Christ Jesus* hath sufficient providedly in his *spiritual kingdome*: therefore (*Acts 20*) *Paul* gives the charge against those *spiritual Wolves* to the *elders of the church at Ephesus*, and not to *civil Magistrates* of the *city*, which *Paul* should have done (notwithstanding they were *worshippers of Diana*) if it had been *their duty* to have broke the *teeth* of those *spirituall Wolves* &c.

The duty of ci-
vil power in
matters of Re-
ligion.

Peace. It is (indeed) one thing to prohibit the *Pope*, the *prelates*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, or any from forcing any in the matters of their respective *consciencs*, and accordingly to take the *sword* from such mens hands, or (as their executioners) to refuse to use it for them: It is another thing to leave them freely to their own *consciencs*, to defend themselves as well as they can, by the two-edged sword of the *spirit*, which is the *word of God*, which all the several sorts of *pretenders* say they have received from *Jesus Christ*.

The changing of
persecutors is
nothing, the a-
bolishing of per-
secution ano-
ther.

Truth. The renowned *Parliament of England* hath justly deserved a *crown of honour* to all *posterity*, for breaking the *teeth* of the *oppressing Bishops* and their *courts*; but to wring the *sword* out of the hands of a few *prelates*, and to suffer it (willingly) to be wrung out of their own hands, by many thousand *Presbyterians*, or *Independants*, what is it but to change one *wolfe* or *lyon* for another, or in stead of *one*, to let loose the *Dens* of thousands?

Peace. But why should *Master Cotton* insinuate the *discusser* to glance a more obsequious eye upon the *Pope*, then upon the *Emperor*?

The persecuting
clergy no cor-
dial friends to
Magistracie.

Truth. I fear *Master Cotton* would create some evil opinion in the *hearts* of the *civil Magistrate*, that the *discusser* is (as the *bloody Jews* told *Pilate*) no friend to *Cesar*: whereas upon a due search it will be found clear as the light, that it is impossible that any that subscribe *ex animo* to the bloody Tenent of persecution, can (*ex animo*) be a friend to *Magistracy*. The reason is, all *persecutors*, whether *priests* or *people*, care onely for such *Magistrates* as suite the *end*, the great bloody *end* of *persecution*, of whom they either hope to borrow the *sword*, or whom they hope to make their *executioners*. Their very principles also (*Papist* and

and *Protestant*) lead them necessarily to dispose and kill their *heretical, Apostate, blaspheming Magistrates.*

Peace. But why should Master Cotton insinuate any affection in the discusser to that *Tyrant* of all earthly *Tyrants*, the *Pope*?

Truth. To my knowledge Master Cotton and others have thought the discusser too zealous against the bloody *beast*: yea, and who knows not this to be the ground of so much sorrowful *difference* between Master Cotton and the discusser, to wit, that the discusser grounds his separation from their *churches* upon their not separating from that man of sin? For Old *England* having compelled all to *church*, compeld the *Papists*, and the *Pope* himself in them: The daughter *New England*, separating from her *mother* in *Old England*, yet maintaines and practises communion with the *Parishes* in *Old*. Who sees not then, but by the *links* of this *mystical chaine*, *New England Churches* are still fastned to the *Pope* himself?

Neither Old nor New England state-churches separate from the Pope.

Peace. Master Cottons third reply is this, that it is not like that such *Christians* will be faithful to their *prince*, who grow false and disloyal to their *God*, and therefore consequently the *civil Magistrate* must see that the *church degenerate* and apostate not, at least so far as to provoke *Christ* to depart from them.

Master Cotton and Bellarmine all one, for the deposing heretical princes, &c.

Truth. This is indeed the down right most bloody and *Popish Tenent* of persecuting the *degenerate, heretical* and *Apostate* people: of deposing, yea and killing *Apostatical* and *heretical* *princes* and *rulers*.

The truth is, the great *Gods* of this world are *God-belly God-peace, God-wealth, God-honour, God-pleasure* &c. Their *Gods* must not be blasphemed, that is, evil spoke of, no not provoked, &c. The servants of the living *God* being true to their *Lord* and *Master*, have opposed his *glory, greatness, honour* &c. to these *Gods*, and to such *religions, worships, and services*, as commonly are made but as a *mask* or *vaile*, or covering of these *Gods*.

The gods of this World.

Peace. I have long been satisfied, that hence proceeds the *mad cry* of every *Demetrius* and *crafts-Master* of false *worship* in the world, *Great* is our *Diana* &c. These men blaspheme our *goddeffs*, disturb our *City*, They are false to our *Gods*, how will they be true to us?

Hence

The Lord Cobham his troubles in Henry the 5. dayes.

The best of our late Bishops, as Bishop Hall have not spared to render hereticks and Traitors all one.

Hence that bloody Act of Parliament in Henry the fifth his dayes made purposely against that true *servant* and *witness* of God (in those points of *Christianity* which he knew) and other servants of God with him. the Lord Cobham, concluding Lollardy not only to be *heresie*, (that is, indeed true *Christianity*) but also *treason* against the Kings person: whence it followed, that these poor Lollards (the *servants* of the most high God) were not only to be burnt as *hereticks*, but hanged as *traitors*.

Truth. Accordingly it pleased God to honour that noble Lord Cobham, both with hanging and burning, as an *heretick* against the church, as a *traitor* against the king: And hence those diabolical accusations and bloody huntings of the poor servants of God in the reign of Francis the second in Paris, because it was said, that their meetings were to consult and act against the life of the king.

Peace. If this be the *touchstone* of all *obedience*, will it not be the *cut-throat* of all *civil relations*, *unions* and *covenants* between Princes and people, and between the people and people? For may not Master Coston also say, he will not be a faithful *servant*, nor she a faithful *wife*, nor he a faithful *husband*, who grow false and disloyal to their God? And indeed what doth this, yea, what hath this truly-ranting doctrine (that plucks up all relations) wrought but confusion and combustion all the world over?

Truth. Concerning *faithfulness*, it is most true, that *godliness* is profitable for all things, all *estates*, all *relations*: yet there is a *civil faithfulness*, *obedience*, *honesty*, *chastity*, &c. even amongst such as own not God nor Christ: else Abraham and Isaac dealt foolishly to make *leagues* with ungodly Princes. Besides, the whole Scripture commands a continuance in all *Relations* of government, *marriage*, *service*, notwithstanding that the grace of Christ had appeared to some, and the rest (it may be an *husband*; a *wife*, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *servant*) were false and disloyal in their several kinds and wayes unto God, or wholly ignorant of him.

4. Grant people and Princes to be like *Julian*, *Apostate* from the true service of God, and consequently to grow less faithful in their places and respective services, yet what ground is there, from the Testament of Christ Jesus, upon this ground of their *Apostacie*,

Civil society pluckt up by the roots.

Civil honesty may stand with dishonesty against God and Christ in matters of Religion.

stacie, to prosecute them, as Master Cotton saith, The *civil Magistrate* must keep the *church* from *Apostatizing* so, as to cause *Christ* to depart from them.

5. Can the *sword of steel* or *arme of flesh* make men faithful or loyal to *God*? Or careth *God* for the outward *Loyalty* or *Faithfullness*, when the *inward-man* is *false* and *treacherous*?

Or is there not more danger (in all *matters of trust* in this *world*) from an *hypocrite*, a *dissembler*, a *turncoat* in his *religion* (from the *fear* or *favour* of men) then from a *resolved Jew*, *Turke* or *Papist*, who holds firme unto his *principles*? &c.

A turn-coat in Religion more faithless then a resolved Jew, Turk or Papist.

Or lastly, if one *Magistrate*, *King* or *Parliament* call this or that *heresie*, *apostacie*, &c. and make men say so, will not a stronger *Magistrate*, *King*, *Parliament*, *Army* (that is, a stronger *arm*, or longer and more prosperous *sword*) call that *heresie* and *Apostacie* *Truth* and *Christianity*, and make men call it so? and do not all *experiences*, and our own most lamentable, in the changes of our *English Religions*, confirme this?

Heresie and apostacie often change their names to truth, and Christianity, &c.

6. Lastly, As carnal policy ever falls into the pit, it digs and trips up its own heels, so I shall end this *passage* with two *paradoxes*, and yet (dear *peace*) thou and I have found them most lamentably true in all ages.

Peace. *God* delights to befool the *wise* and *high* in their own *conceit* with *paradoxes*, even such as the *wisdom* of this world thinks *madness*: but I attend to hear them.

Truth. First then, The *straining* of mens *consciences* by *civil power*, is so far from making men faithful to *God* or man, that it is the ready way to render a man false to both: my ground is this: *civil* and *corporal punishment* do usually cause men to play the *hypocrite*, and dissemble in their *Religion*, to turn and return with the tide, as all *experience* in the *nations* of the *world* doth testify now.

who knows not that the many turnings of Do. Pearne in Cambridge, brought it into a proverb, to wit, to pernisse.

This *binding* and *rebinding* of *conscience*, contrary or without its own *perswasion*, so weakens and defiles it, that it (as all other *faculties*) loseth its strength, and the very nature of a common honest *conscience*: Hence it is, that even our own histories testify, that where the *civil sword*, and carnal power, hath made a change upon the *consciences* of men, those *consciences* have been given up,

Consciences yeelding to be forced or ravished, loosen all conscience.

not

not only to spiritual, but even to *corporal filthiness*, and bloody, and mad oppressing each other, as in the *Marian* bloody times &c.

Peace. Indeed no people so enforced as the *Papists* and the *Mahometans*: and no people more filthy in soul and body, and no people in the world more bloody and persecuting: but I listen for your second paradox.

Truth. Secondly, This *Tenent* of the *Magistrates* keeping the church from *Aposhatizing*, by practising *civil force* upon the consciences of men, is so far from preserving *Religion* pure, that it is a mighty *Bulwark* or *Barricado* to keep out all true *Religion*, yea and all godly *Magistrates* for ever coming into the *World*.

2 Paradoxes.

Peace. Doubtless this will seem a hard riddle, yet I presume not too hard for the fingers of *time* and *truth* to untie, and render easie.

Truth. Thus I untie it: If the *civil Magistrate* must keep the church pure, then all the people of the *Cities*, *Nations*, and *kingdomes* of the world must do the same much more, for primarily and fundamentally they are the *civil Magistrate*: Now the world (saith *John*) lyeth or is situated in *wickedness*, and consequently according to its disposition endures not the light of *Christ*, nor his golden *candlestick* the true Church, nor easily chooseth a true *Christian* to be her officer or *Magistrate*, for she accounts such false to her *Gods* and *Religion*, and suspects their faithfulness &c.

Peace. Hence indeed is it (as I now conceive) that so rarely this world admitteth or not long continueth a true servant of *God* in any place of *trust* and *credit*, except some extraordinary hand of *God* over-power, or else his servants by some base *staires* of *Flattery* or worldly *compliance*, ascend the chaire of *Civil-power*.

But (to proceed) saith *Master Cotton*, "It was the duty of *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* &c. to reduce the people of *Israel* from their backslidings. because they were an holy people, and is it not the duty of godly Princes to reduce their backsliding Churches to their primitive purity? It is true (saith he) *David* and *Solomon* were types of *Christ*, but so were not the other Kings of *Israel*" and

and *Judah*, who were the one (the kings of *Israel*) all Apo-
 states; and the other (the kings of *Judah*) many of them Apo-
 state from Christ: And Secondly, If they were (saith he) all
 types of Christ, yet Christ being the Antitype, Christ hath aboli-
 shed them all, and so it were sacriledge or Antichristian usur-
 pation for any king to be set over Christians: Or if they were
 types of Christ in respect of their kingly office over the Church
 alone was it typical in *Solomon* to put *Joab* a murtherer to death,
 or *Adonijah* a traitor? and so consequently unlawful for Chri-
 stian Princes to put murtherers and traitors to death? Further,
 saith he, What those kings might do in type, Christ Jesus might
 much more do in his own person, as the Antitype: but he put no
 man to death in his own person, and therefore they were not types
 but servants of Christ, and patterns and examples to Christian Ma-
 gistrates, yea, *Ahab*, who should have put *Benhadad* to death
 for his blasphemy.

Truth. I understand those kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, untill
 their cutting off or excommunicating out of the land of *Canaan*,
 to be yet visible members of the church of *Israel* and *Judah*,
 and as kings of *Israel* and *Judah* types of Christ *Je-
 sus*; partly in his own person, who did that (being the true spiri-
 tual king of *Israel*) which they did or should have done, in that
 typical national church or land of *Israel*, and (2) partly in the
 officers of his kingly power and government of his church, which
 officers and church falling away, untill an absolute cutting off,
 are the Antitypes (in respect of visible government) of those for-
 mer kings of *Israel* and *Judah*.

How the kings
 of *Israel* and
Judah were
 types and figures
 of Christ to
 come.

Peace. Can it be imagined that those wicked Kings, *Je-
 roboam*, *Raasha*, *Ahab* &c. were figures of Christ *Jesus*?

Truth. Master Cotton himself grants *David* and *Solomon* types
 of Christ *Jesus*, and yet, how abominable and monstrous some of
 their practices? we must therefore distinguish between their persons,
 and sins, and frailties.

As kings of *Israel* (Gods Church and people) doubtless they were
 the figures of (the K. of *Israel*) Christ *Jesus*: yea it is probable that
 the land of *Canaan*, with the officers and governors thereof, before
 Christ time, was but a figure of the spiritual land or Christian
 church, with the officers, governors, & administrations thereof good

The types of the
old Testament
many and deep.

Cyrus called
Christ, a figure
of Christ.

evil: Although the applying of the *times* and *persons* each to o-
ther requires a more then ordinary *guidance* of the finger or holy
Spirit of God.

Peace. I remember that some of eminent note for *knowledge*
and *godliness* have not stuck to affirme, that the *Gentile* Prince
Cyrus as he was called *Gods servant, anointed*, or *Christ* (*Isa.*
44) I say, that he in a respect, as a *restorer* of *Gods* people was a
figure of *Christ Iesus*.

Truth. It is not improbable, but that the most holy and only
wise (whole works are known unto *himself* from the beginning of
the *world*) did by such famous *instruments* of *mercy* to the literal
Iew, type out *Christ Iesus* and his heavenly *instruments*,
mercy and goodneis to the *mystical* and *spiritual*, *Christian*
Iews, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVI, and XXXVII.

Peace.

IN these passages Master Cotton first questions (having not his
copy by him) the truth of some *expressions* printed as his.

Truth. It is at hand for Master Cotton or any to see that *copy*
which he gave forth and corrected in some places with his own
hand, and every word *verbatim* here published.

2. To the *answer* it self, or reproof of the *Lord Iesus* given to
his *disciples* for their *bloody* and rash *zeal* desiring fire to come
down from heaven, &c. we both agree, that *Christs* rebuking of his
disciples did not hinder the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* from proceed-
ing in a *Church-way* &c. 2. That false *persecution* in a *church-*
way is as odious and dreadful a *persecution*, as any *prosecution* in
a *court* of *civil justice*, as also that this is not the point intended,
though it be reckoned up with the rest.

Peace. I marvel at that which follows, where Master Cotton
saith, that it never fell from his pen in any writing of his, *viz.* that
it is lawful for a *civil Magistrate* to inflict *corporal punishment*
upon such as are contrary indeed in *matters* of *Religion*: and
therefore he passeth by the *discussers* reasons as which might well
have been spared, being brought but against a *shadow* of his own
fancy.

Truth.

Truth. I am not able to imagine what Master Cotton means by such as are *contrary minded*, against whom he will not (in this Chapter) maintaine any *corporal punishment* to be inflicted, when in so many of his *writings*, and throughout his whole *book* he maintaines *corporal punishment*: and that to death it self in many cases, against the *idolatrours*, the *blasphemous*, the *heretical*, the *seducing*, yea the *degenerate* and *Apostate*.

Peace. Love bids us take this passage as a pang of *reluctancy* (in his other wise-holy and peaceable breast) against such unholy *bloody Tenents*. *The fire from heaven, Rev. 13*

But what say you to the passage about the *second beast*, bringing *fire* from *heaven*? (*Rev. 13.*) This was no wonder (saith Master Cotton) for *Constantine* had done the like before to *hereticks*, the *Arrian Bishops* against the *Orthodox Saints*. Also, it is related as a different matter from the former (*vers. 15.*) that he had power to cause, that as many as would not worship the *image* of the *beast* should be killed. And this *fire* comes not down upon the *Saints*, but the *earth*.

Truth. Master Cotton I think knows that the discussor is not alone in this *interpretation*: If he propose any other more suitable to *Christ Iesus*, I hope the discussor desires thankfully, to embrace it. But this *fire* being not *literal*, but *mystical*, in *imitation* of the true prophet *Elijah*, and also as the true *witnesses* cause *fiery judgements* descend from *heaven* upon the *enemies* of the *truth*: so the false *witnesses* cause *fire* to descend against the *faithful*: and sure it is (as the discussor related) that the *Popish Bishops* in *France*, and *England* and other places have ever constantly cryed out, that the *just judgements* of *God* are brought down by them upon the *hereticks*, which is no smal wonder that the *hearts* of the *sons* of *men* should be so hardened against the *light* of *truth* in *truths witnesses*, notwithstanding the acts of *Constantine* and the *Arrian Bishops* long before.

Peace. But this *fire* (saith Master Cotton) comes down from *heaven* upon the *earth*.

Truth. True, but it may well imply no more, then in the open view and *face* of all men in this world.

Peace. And lastly (saith he) it is said, that he causeth that as many

as many as would not worship the *Image* of the *Beast* should be killed, which is a different effect.

Truth. Because it comes from a different *cause*, with respect, not to the first *Beast* himself, but only to his *picture* or *image*, and implies, that *fiery judgements* descend not onely upon such as refuse to worship the *first* or *second beast*, but the very picture of the *beast* likewise.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVIII.

Peace.

MAfter *Cotton* here first observing the discussers agreement with him, that this instruction (2 *Tim. 2.*) to be meek and patient to all men, is properly directive to the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, he concludes that therefore hitherto his answer was not perplex and ravelled.

Truth. Many plaine threads may be drawn forth of a perplex and ravelled string, as it seemes to me the many *particulars* of *different natures* here wrap up together were.

Peace. Yea, but he seemes to disown those words [*unconverted Christians in Crete*) and more then once in the Chapter toucheth the discussers credit, &c.

Truth. I know the discusser desires unfainedly (with the *Lords assistance*) rather to die a thousand deaths, then willingly to impeach the least of *holy* or *civil truths* ; and therefore affirmeth in this case, that at his pleasure the copy (not which he received from *Master Cotton* for there never passed such writings between them as *Master Cotton* often affirmeth, but) which he received from another, with the correction of *Master Cottons* own hand to it, shall be ready for himself or any to view.

All Truth, heavenly, moral, civil, &c. precious.

Peace. However, *Master Cotton* maintaining the tearms of *unconverted converts* from *Ier. 3.10.* (*Judah* turned unto me, but not with all her heart, but fainedly:) so *Judas*, *Ananias*, and *Sapphira Balaam*, the *Nicolaitans*, *Iezabel* in *Thyatira*, as also the children of believing *parents* born in the *Church*, who though *holy*, yet cannot be conceived to be truly *holy*.

Truth. Were the *question* about *hypocrites*, *counterfeits* and

Tray-

trayers in the church and kingdome of Christ, these words might here rightly be alleadged; but Master Cottons words being these [unconverted Christians in Crete whom Titus as an Evangelist was to seek and to convert]. I conceive that Master Cotton will not affirm that the office of an Evangelist was to seek to convert the church (though possibly an hypocrite may be turned from his hypocrisie by an Evangelist or private man in the church.)

unconverted Christians visibly a paradox.

2. He makes in the very words a distinction between these unconverted Christians, and those Jews and Gentiles in the Church, who (saith he) though carnal, yet were not convinced of the error of their way.

And to conclude this Chapter, the discusser readily with thanks acknowledgeth Master Cottons words, that it is not probable that Timothy was now at Ephesus, and that the subscription added to the second Epistle of Timothy in the English translation, is justly to be suspected.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIX.

Peace.

MAfter Cotton here argues, That if the Magistrate be a Prophet, and opposed in his doctrine, he ought (from this Scripture, 2 Tim. 2.) meekly to bear the opposition, waiting if God peradventure will give repentance; yet withal by the way he observeth, that if the Magistrate be a prophet, he may do some things as a Magistrate, which he may not do as a Prophet.

Many excellent Magistrates of the Parliament, of the Council, of the Army, of the City, of the Country, are also excellent prophets or interpreters of Scripture, & yet may not use a civil sword in spirituals.

Truth. Of this no question? but what is this to a coercive Magisterial power in spiritual things, which is the question?

2. Since that Master Cotton acknowledgeth that Magistrates may be prophets, and that divers Magistrates of New English churches have spoken as prophets (eminently able in their churches) what should be the reason (I ask by the way) that their Churches hear no more of such their propheticall gifts, but that their talents wrapt up? &c.

Magistrates may be prophets in Christs Church.

Peace.

Peace. Of this let their *consciencs* give account to *Jesus Christ*, whom they call the *King* of their *churches*, and the *fountain* of such heavenly *abilities*: But to proceed, *Master Cotton* grants that *Magistrates* ought to bear in the *church oppositions* against their *prophecying*s, but not *continued* opposings nor, *seduings*. &c.

Truth. What is then the waiting here commanded, until *God* peradventure will give *repentance*?

Peace. It is true (saith *Master Cotton*) it is not in the power of *man* to give *repentance*: but *God* alone: Neither is it in mans power (saith he) to give *repentance* to *scandalous* persons against the *civil state*; and yet the *discusser* acknowledgeth that the *civil Magistrate* ought to punish these.

More confidence commonly put in the civil sword then the spiritual.

Truth. It is not the *Magistrates* work and office in the *civil state*, to convert the *heart* in true *repentance* unto *God* and *Christ*: The *civil state* respecteth conformity and obedience to *civil laws*, though indeed the works and office of the *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus* are commonly laid upon the *Magistrates* shoulders, and they pretending themselves the *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus*, armed with the two-edged sword of the *Spirit of God* (the *Word of God*) do commonly flye unto and put more confidence in the *sword of steel* in the hand of their *civil Ministers*, the *Magistrates*.

Engl. changes in Religion excused by those of Judah, but not justly.

Peace. The *sword* of steel hath done *wonderful* things throughout the whole *world* in *matters* of *Religion*, and *woful* and *wonderful* (as was formerly observed) hath *Religious changes* been in the *English nation*, and that by the power of the *civil sword*, backward and forward, and that in the space of a few years, in the *reigne* of four or five *Princes*: But this (saith *Master Cotton*) is no more then befell the *church* of *Judah* in the dayes of *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, and *Ioſiah*.

Truth. *Englands changes* will be found upon examination incomparably *greater*, and wrought in the eighth part of the time that the *changes* of the *church* of *Judah* were. And yet this *instance* will not infringe that the *civil sword* of the *Magistrate*, in a *national way*, is ordinarily able to turn about a *Nation* to and againe, to and from a *truth* of *God*, in *national hypocrisie*, and therefore

therefore most wisely hath the most holy and only wise, by the most glorious brightness of his *person* and *wisdom* of the *Father* (*Christ Iesus*) abolished his own *national* and *state-church*, whether *explicit* or *implicit*, that the two-edged sword of the *word* of the *Lord* in the mouths of his true *messengers*, might alone be brandished and magnified.

Peace. Master Cotton concludeth this Chapter with the observation, that the *revolt* of *England* againe to *Poperie* wanteth *Scripture-light*.

Truth. He that loves *Christ Iesus* in sincerity, cannot but long, that *Christ Iesus* would speedily be pleased with the breath of his mouth to consume that man of sin: But yet that worthy servant of *God* (according to his *conscience*) Master *Archer*, doth not barely propose his *opinion*, but also his *Scripture-grounds*, which I believe, compared with all former *experiences*, will seem to be of great and weighty *consideration*, and call all that wait for *Christ Iesus* to beg his *Spirit* deeply to weigh and ponder them.

whether England may not receive the Pope againe.

Examination of CHAP. XL.

Peace.

TO the several *allegations* concerning the woful *slavery* of all *opposites* of *Christ Iesus*, and the mighty power of *free grace*, only able to release them; Master Cotton replies, So is it with *scandalous* offenders against the *Civil state*, and yet this doth not restrain *Magistrates* from executing just *judgements* upon them &c. And he adds, that better a *dead soul* in a *dead body*, and that *seducers* die without *faith*, then *murder* and *seduce* many *precious souls* from the *faith*.

Truth. The *Lord Iesus* commanding to give *God* the things that be *Gods*, and to *Cesar* the things that be *Cesars*, gives all his *followers* a clear and glorious *torch* of light to distinguish between *offenders* against *God* in a *spiritual* way, and *offenders* against *Cesar*, his *Lawes*, *state* and *government* in a *civil* way.

Things of God and Cesar.

'Tis true, *flatterers* and *time-servers* use to make *Religion* and *justice*

Religions of the world, politick inventions to maintaine a civil state. *justice*, the two pillars of a State, and so indeed do all such States in the world as maintaine a *state-Religion*, invented and maintained in *civil policy* to maintaine a *civil state*. But all men that have tasted of *history* or *travel*, are witnesses sufficient of these two particulars.

The absolute necessity of some order of government all the world over. First concerning *justice*, that if the *sword* and *balances* of *justice* (in a sort or measure) be not drawn and held forth, against *scandalous offenders* against *civil state*, that *civil state* must dissolve by little and little from *civility* to *barbarisme*, which is a *wilderness of life and manners*.

Peace. Yea the very *barbarians* and *Pagans* of the *world* themselves are forced for their *holding* and *hanging* together in *barbarous compaines*, to use the *ties* and *knots*, and *bands* of a kind of *civil justice* against *scandalous offenders* against their *Commonweale* and profit.

Truth. But too many thousands of *Cittes* and *states* in the *world* have and do flourish for many *generations* and *ages* of men, wherein (whatever *Cesar* gets) *God* cannot get one penny of his due in any bare *permission* or *toleration* of his *religion* and *worship*.

Peace. Dear *Truth*, these two points being so constantly proved, I can but wonder that *Master Cotton* or any servant of *Christ Iesus*, should cry out to the *Cesars* of this *world* to help the eternal *God* to get his due, because *Christ Iesus* grants them a *civil sword* in *civil cases*, to preserve their *civil states* from *barbarisme* and *confusion*.

Antoninus Pius his distinction. *Truth.* That worthy *Emperor, Antoninus Pius*, in his letters for the *Christians*, plainly tells the *governors* of his *provinces*, that the *gods* were able to punish those that sinned against their *worship*; evidently declaring, by that light of *conscience* and *knowledge* which *God* had lighted up in his soul, the vast *difference* between *offenders* in the *civil state*, and *offenders* against the true and only *religion* and *worship*, about which the whole world disagreeeth, and is hift together (by this bloody tenent) I say hift together by the *ears* and *throat*, in *blood* and *fire*, as the tide of *times*, *major vote*, *armies* and *armes of flesh* prevaile.

Peace. Ah (Dear *truth*) is there is no *Balm* in *Gilead*, no *balances*, no *sword* of *spiritual justice* in the *City*, and *kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, but that the *officers* thereof must run to borrow *Cesars*

(*asar*? Are the *Armories* of the true king *Solomon Christ Jesus* disarmed? Are there no *spiritual swords* girt upon the thighs of those valiant ones, that should guard his heavenly bed, except the sword of steel be run for from the cutlers shop? Is the Religion of *Christ Jesus* so poor and so weak and feeble grown, so cowardly and base (since *Paul* spake so gloriously of it, and the weapons of it (2 *Cor.* 10.) that neither the *souldiers* nor *Commanders* in *Christ's Army* have any *courage* or *skill* to withstand sufficiently in all points a *false teacher*, a *false prophet*, a *spiritual cheater* or *deceiver*?

The degeneracy of Christianity now professed.

Truth. This must all that follow *Jesus* bitterly lament, that not a *spiritual sword* or *spear* is to be found in the *spiritual Israel* of *God*, but that his poor *Israelites* are forced down to the *Philistines* of this worlds *Smiths* &c. And that the princes of *Zion* are become feeble like *harts* without pasture, as *Jeremy* complaineth in his *Lamentations*.

Peace. Now whereas it was added that a *civil sword* hardens the followers of *false teachers* in the suffering of their leaders and begets an impression of the *falsehood* of that religion, which cannot uphold it self all the world over, but with such *instruments* of *violence*, &c. *Master Cotton* replies, that the *Magistrate* ought not to draw out his *sword* against *seducers*, untill he hath used all good means for *conviction*, &c. and then (saith he) he should be cruel to *Christ's Lambs* in sparing the *Foxes*, &c.

Truth. Who knows not this to be the plea and practise of all *Papish persecutors* in all ages, to compass sea and land to reduce the *heretick* to the union and bosome of the church, not only with *promises*, *threatnings*, &c. but oftimes with solemn *disputations*, and sometimes *writings* and *waitings*, before they come to the *definitive sentence* and deliver him to the *secular power*, and so to the use of those desperate remedies of *hanging*, *burning*, &c. How do the bloody *Popes* and the bloody *Bonnors* in their *hypocritical letters* and *bloody sentences*, profess their lamentable grief at errors and *heresies*; their *clemency* and *mercy*, and great pains taken to reduce that *wandring*, to return the *lost childe*, to heal the scabbed *sheep*? yea and when they are forced (as they say) for the saving of the *stock* from *infection* to deliver such *sheep* to the *secular power*, as their *butchers* and *executioners*; yet beseech they

The loathly hypocrisie of persecutors.

In their bloody
sentence, and
proceedings
with the perse-
cuted.

that power, and that (most hypocritically without shame) in the bowels of *Christ Jesus*, to Minister *justice* with such *moderation*, that if it be possible the *hereticks* soul may be saved, but however the *flock* may be preserved from such *damnable Doctrine*.

Peace. Master Cotton will here blame the alleading of this: for the *Papish Religion* is false, but theirs true, &c.

Truth. Tis true, the *Papists Religion* is false, yet Master Cotton cannot pass without suspicion to be too neer of kin to the bloody *Papist*, to whom they are so neer in *practice*: The *Lord Jesus* gave an everlasting rule to his poor servants, to discern all false prophets by, to wit, their *fruits* and bloody *practices*. But,

Secondly, The holy *Spirit of God* in this 2 to *Tim.* now insitt-ed on, not only commands *Timothy* to exhort the *opposite*, but patiently to wait and attend *Gods* will, if peradventure *God* will give *repentance*, and that they may recover themselves &c.

Peace. Master Cotton will not deny, together with meek exhortation, *patient waiting*, &c.

Truth. Why then doth he limit the holy one of *Israel* to *dayes* or *moneths*? Three months was by the *law* (in *Massachusetts* in *New England*) the time of *patience* to the *excommunicate*, before the *secular power* was to deal with him: But we finde no time limited, nor no *direction* given to *Timothy* or his *successors* to prosecute the *opposite* before *Cesar* bar, in case *God* vouchsafed not *repentance* upon their means and waiting.

Too short a time
set for repen-
tance in New
England.

3. *Christ Jesus* hath not been without *bowels of compassion* in all his gracious *care* and *provision* he hath made for his *sheep* and *lambs*, against the *spiritual Wolves* and *Foxes*; although we read not a word of the *arme of flesh* and *sword of steel* appointed by himself for their *defence* in his most blessed last *Will and Testament*.

False teachers
commonly har-
ned by persecu-
tion.

4. Lastly, to that instance of the *Denatists* and *Papists* suppressed by the *civil sword*, no question but (as before) a *civil sword* is able, among *civil* people, to make a whole *nation*, or *world* of *hypocrites*: and yet experience also testifies (however Master Cotton makes it but *accidental*) that it is the common and ordinary *effect* of the *civil sword* drawn forth (as they speak) against

against *hereticks seducers* &c. to harden the *seducers* and *seduced*, by their *sufferings*, and to beget no other *opinion* in their hearts, then of the *cruelty* and *weakness* of the *heart* and *cause* of their *persecutors*.

Peace. There hath been no small noise of *Master Gortons* and his friends being *disciplined* (or as the *Papists* call it, *discipled* in the *Schoole* of the *New English churches*: It is worth the inquiry to ask what *conviction* and *conversion* hath all their *hostilities*, *captivatings*, *courttings*, *imprisonings*, *chaining*, *banishings*, &c. wrought upon them? *The great sufferings of Master Gorton and his friends in New England.*

Truth. Shall I speak my thoughts without *partiality*? I am no more of *Master Gortons Religion* then of *Master Cottons*: and yet if *Master Cotton* complaine of their *obstinacy* in their way, I cannot but impute it to this *bloody tenent* and *practice*, which ordinarily doth give strength and *vigour*, *spirit* and *resolution* to the most erroneous, when such *wrighteous* and most *unchristian* proceedings are exercised against them.

Peace. Touching the *Edit* of *Antoninus Pius* concerning *persecution* of *Christians*, and the opinion it beget in their hearts of the cruelty of their *persecutors*, *Master Cotton* answers, first, the *Pagan Religion* is not of *God* but the *Religion* of *Christians* came down from *Heaven* in the *Gospel-truth*. *Antoninus Pius his Edit against persecution.*

Truth. This is most true, to him that believeth that there is but one *God*, one *Lord*, one *Spirit*, one *baptizer*, one *body*, &c. according to *Christ Jesus* his *institution*; and that from that blessed *estate* the *Apostacy* hath been made; and that all other *Gods*, *Lords*, *Spirits*, *Faiths*, *Baptizers* or *churches*, are false: But what is this to many *millions* of men and women, in so many *kingdomes* and *nations*, *Cities* and parts of the *world*, who believe as confidently their lies of many *Gods* and *Christs*, all which they believe (as the *Ephesians* of their *Diana*, and of the *image* of *Jupiter*, and (as *Master Cotton* of the way of his *Religion*) that they come down from *heaven*?

Peace. Doubtless, according to their belief, all the peoples of those *nations*, *kingdoms* and *countries*, wherein the name of *Christ* is founded, whether of the *greek church* or the *latine*, whether of *Popish* or *Protestant* profession, will say as *Master Cotton*, my religion came down from *heaven* in the *Gospel* of *Truth*, &c.

Truth. Now then either the sword of steel must decide this *controversie* (according to the bloody tenent of persecution) in the suppressing of *hereticks, blasphemers, idolaters* and *seducers*, by the strength of an arme of *flesh*: or else the two-edged-sword of the Spirit of God, the word of God coming out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus* in the mouths of his *servants*, which will either *humble* and *subdue* the *Rebels*, or cut most deep, and kill with an *eternal vengeance*.

Peace. But (saith Master Cotton) it will beget an opinion of cruelty to murder *innocents*, but not to put to death *murderers*.

The difference between spiritual and corporal murder.

Truth. I answer, beside that great and common difference of *civil murder*, and *spiritual*, there is a second, to wit, that in the murder of an *innocent*, the conscience of a *murderer* is opened, and commonly the mouth confesseth I am a *murderer*, I have killed an *innocent*: but run through all the *coasts* and *quarters* of the whole world, and the very *consciences* of so many thousands of *soul-murderers* are rootedly satisfied and perswaded, that they are so far from being *murderers* as that they are so many *saviours* of the souls of *men*, and *Priests* and *Ministers* of the most high God or Gods, &c.

Peace. For instance, if a man say Master Cotton is a *subject* of the state of *England*, and a *Minister* of that *worship*, which he believeth to be true, confirmed by *argument* and *light* sufficient to his *understanding soul* and conscience: How many thousand are there fellow-*subjects* with Master Cotton to the *English state*, yet of a contrary mind to Master Cotton in matter of *Gods worship*? yea how many are there (it may be thousands) professing a *Ministry* contrary to Master Cottons? and the like may be found in other *nations* and *parts* of the world.

Civil justice ought impartially to permit one conscience as well as another.

Truth. What true reason of *justice, peace*, or *common safety* of the whole, can be rendred to the world why Master Cottons conscience and *Ministry* must be maintained by the *sword*, more then the *consciences* and *Ministeries* of his other fellow-subjects? Why should he be accounted (I mean at the bar of *civil justice*) I say accounted a *soul Saviour*, and all other *Ministers* of other *Religions* and *consciences, soul-murderers*, and to be executed as *murderers*, or forced to temporize or turn from their *Religion*,

on, which is but *hypocrisie* in Religion against their *conscience*, which is ten thousand times worse, and renders men, when they sin against their *conscience*, not only *hypocrites*, but *Atheists*, and so fit for the practise of any *evil, murders, adulteries, treasons, &c?*

Peace. Master Cottons second Answer is, that the persecuting Emperors and governors of Provinces under them, attended not to the conviction of *christians*, nor did they endeavour to make it appear that the *Christians* sinned against the light of their *consci-ences*, and therefore no marvel if it bred in the people a just opinion of the *cruelty* of persecutors, and of the *innocency* of *christians*.

The difference of the persecution of the Roman Emperors and the Roman Popes.

Truth. Let it be granted that the *Roman Emperors* did not attend to, nor endeavour this, yet the *Roman Popes*, and all the *Antichrist* governors of their mystical Provinces, Bishops and Priests, have professedly compassed *Sea* and *Land* to make a *Profelyte*.

Peace. Tis true, the *history* of the death of the *Saints*, slaughtered by such persecutors abundantly testify this, and yet their *persecution* will be found no other then *cruelty* and *murther*, and the opinion of it will never be razed out of the heart of *Gods* people, whatever the whole *world* (which wonders after and *worships* the *beast*) think to the contrary.

Truth. And I add, that herein Master Cottons former position, to wit [that *hereticks* must be punished by the *civil sword*, for sinning against the light of their own *conscience*] accords fully with the Popish clamors, [the *hereticks* mouths are stopped, they are *convinced*, they have not a word to say, and yet they are *obstinate*; away with them, hang them, burn them.]

Peace. Master Cotton saith, It is an untrue intimation of the *discusser*, that *Antoninus* forbod the persecuting of *christians* upon any such ground.

Truth. That it may not rest upon the *discussers credit* or *discredit*, I think it not unseasonable if I present to *English* eyes the *English* testimony of the diligent and praise worthy-Chronicler *John Speede*. who also ingageth *Eusebins* his credit, and thus relateth the effect of *Antoninus* his mind in these words.

The Emperor *Cæsar, Marcus, Aurelius, Antoninus, &c.*
 Unto the Commons of *Asia,*

Sendeth Greeting.

I Doubt not, but the Gods themselves have a care that wicked persons shall be brought to light; for it doth much more appertaine to them, then it doth to you, to punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship: but this course which you take, doth confirme them whom you persecute in this their opinion of you, That you are impious men, and meer Atheists; whereby it commeth to pass, that they desire in the quarrel of their GOD, rather to die then to yeeld to the will of such as you are, and to embrace your soym of Religion: Let it not seem unseasonable to call to your remembrance the Earthquakes which lately have happned, and which are yet to your great terreur and grief; because I understand, that in such like Accidents, you cast the Envy of such common misfortune, upon their Shoulders; whereby their confidence, and trust in their GOD is much the more increased: Whereas, you being ignorant of the true causes of such things, do both neglect the worship of the other Gods, and also banish and persecute the servants of the immortal GOD, whom the Christians do worship; and you persecute to the death all the embracers of that profession. In the behalf of these men, many of the Provinces President have written befoze to my Father of famous memory, to whom he answered, That they should not be molested, unless they were proved to have practised Treason against the Imperial State; and concerning the same matter, some have given notice to me, to whom I answered with like moderation as my Father did befoze me: And by our Edict, do ordaine, That if any hereafter be found thus busy in molesting these kind of men, without any their offence, We command that he that is accused upon this point, be absolved; albeit he be proved to be such an one as he is charged to be, that is, a Christian; and he that is his accuser, shall suffer the same Punishment which he sought to procure unto the other.

Antoninus Pius his famous Edict for liberty to the Christians related by that praise-worthy Master John Speede out of Eusebius.

In this passage the *wise* and *experienced* Emperor observeth many *reasons* for the toleration of *Christians*, and insinuates that the persecuting of the *Christians*, confirmed them in their opinion, that their *persecutors* were not only *cruel* (for that is the least that can be implied in *persecution*) but also as the words run, *impious* men and meer *Atheists*.

Peace. Dear Truth, your *observation* forceth from my peace-able mind, this *Testimony*, which oft to my grief and horror, mine eares have heard many *persons* (I hope in their *persons* chosen of the *Lord*) having as they conceived, suffered *persecution* from the hands, and by the means of many worthy men both of *Magistracy* and *Ministry* of *New England*: I say, they have been by such *persecution* so far from being wrought on &c. that they have been moulded into a strong *apprehension*, that it was impossible that such their *persecutors* should be men of any *fear* of *God*, but meer *dissemblers*, *time-servers*, *Jehues reformers*, for their own ends of *honor*, *ease*, and *liberty* from the *cross* of *Christ*: which apprehension although the *discusser* (to my knowledge) hath often labored to root out of many, yet could he hardly prevaile to stir it, so grossly, *odious*, *unchristian*, or *antichristian*, appears the ugly face of *persecution* &c.

The persecuted ever nourish an bitter conceit of cruelty and Tyranny in their persecutors, whereas Malefactors confess frequently the justice of their condemnments.

Examination of CHAP. XLI.

Peace.

IN the discussing of the prophecy of *Isaiah* and *Micah*, concerning the breaking of *swords* into *plowshares*, and *speares* into *pruning-hooks*, truly interpreted to foretell the meek temper of *Christians* in bringing others to *Christ Jesus*, Master Cotton excepts against the *discussers* observation upon Master Cottons similitude from *Wolves* which he would have driven out from the *sheepfold*: The observation was this, or to this effect, [That if *civil power* might force the *wolves* out, it might force the *sheep* in.]

Truth. The *discusser* denied not the use of *Christs spiritual power* for the life of his *sheep*, and *destruction* of the *Wolves*: but *heaven* and *earth* shall fall before this truth, to wit, [That *power* that driveth *Wolves* out, may drive *sheep* in.] If *spiritual power*

power drive out the *wolfe spiritual*, tho drives in the *sheep*, but if
 if *Civil power* *civil power* (to wit, by *swords whips, prisons, burnings &c.*)
 may force out of drives out the *spiritual* or *mystical Wolfe*, the same undeniably
 the church, it must drive in the *sheep*.
 may also force in.

Peace. Yea, but Master Cotton (too too weakly) would please
 himself upon the word [*same*:] a *father*, saith he, with a *staffe* or
sword may drive away *dogs* that might by the way worry or bite his
children going to *School*, may he therefore with a *staffe* or *sword*
 drive his *children* to *School*? and are *wolves* to be driven away, and
sheep brought into the *fold* by the same *instruments*? The *dog*
 that teares a *wolfe*, if he tear the *sheep* also, will finde an *halter*, &c.

Every true Mo-
 ses will make a
 difference be-
 tween *Israelites*
 and *Egyptians*.

Truth. Master Cotton hath had a name for a man of *Moses*
spirit, of a meek and gentle temper; he cannot but know he hath
 lost that name with thousands tearing *God*, by not putting that dif-
 ference, between the *wolves* and the *sheep*, the *Egyptians* and the
Israelites, as *Moses* did: *Moses* killed the *Egyptian*, he reproves the
Israelite: All that contradict Master Cottons church way (though
 before dear *brethren*, familiar and intimate) he not only drives
 them out, as *wolves blasphemers seducers &c.* by his pretended
spiritual weapons of *Christ Jesus*, but also by *civil sword*, im-
 prisoning banishing, whipping &c.

But more particularly, The discussor indeed useth this word the
same power, but not as Master Cotton seemeth to understand it, for
 the *same weapon*. He hath in this very place printed the discussors
 words, that a *staff* is for the *wolfe*, and a *rod* or *hook* for the
sheep. The *dog* that teares the *wolf*, is but to affright the *sheep* and
 consequently the *father* that hath a *stick* or *rod* for the *child*; But
 yet these *swords, staves sticks* and *rods*, are all of the same *na-
 ture* in general, that is of a *material*, temporal and *civil nature*,
 which may be used about natural *wolves, sheep, children &c.* And
 if they may be used also about *spiritual* or *mystical wolves*, to
 force them out; it is as cleare as the *Sun-Beames*, that they
 may be used; that is such *civil weapons* as are fit for *my-
 stical wolves* to force them into the *sheepfold*: And thus have all
Popish persecutors practised in our own and other countries, to wit,
 by *civil power* (as well as by their own pretended *spiritual*) in
 forcing their supposed *sheep* to *church*, and to *conformity*, as well
 as by *whips*, and *Prisons, Ropes* and *Fires*, driving out the sup-
 posed *wolves* or *hereticks*.

Peace.

Peace. In the close of this, Master Cotton adds, that (Rev. 6. 6.) the *Antichristian wolves* shall drink *blood*, for they are worthy.

Truth. I have in former passages declared the misconceit of Master Cotton and others. as touching that *Scripture*, and that, although they shall drink *blood* filled out of the *cups* of Gods righteous *vengeance* yet not by judicial prosecution in *civil courts* for *spiritual offences*, although yet it is most righteous for the *kings* and *powers* of the earth, meerly with respect to these *wolves* their *oppressions* and *bloodsheddings*, to repay them again with the like smart and paine. and kinds of *punishment*.

Peace. Yea and tis for ever memorable, that while the *kings* of the *earth* have given their power to the *beast*, against the *bodies* of the *Saints*, what *cups* of *blood* hath the righteous hand of the most *high* filled to *Antichristian kings* and *kingdomes*, by the bloody *Turkes*, and by their own more bloody *wars*, sometimes for the empty *puffs* of their *titles* and *honors*, but as frequently for *God* (as they pretend) and for his *Religion*.

Cups of Blood given into the hand of persecuting nations.

Examination of CHAP. XLII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton chargeth the discusser for making work, to wit, for examining more particularly the similitude of *wolves* brought in by Master Cotton himself: yet he consenteth with him in the first *quary*, that those *Wolves* of which *Paul* warns the *elders* at *Ephesus*, were *mystical* and *spiritual wolves*; yet he adds that such cannot be good *subjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, because they *spiritually* are not such; and he argues, that then it will be no advantage to *civil states*, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord*: and that then they may do as good *service* to the *civil state*, who bring the wrath of *God* upon them by their *apostacy*, as they that bring down *blessings* from heaven by *profession* and *practise* of the true *religion* in *purity*.

Whether a comm-nical professor in divers religions permitted.

Truth. I desire that this *reply* be well pondred, for it will be found dangerously destructive to the very *roots* of all *civil relations*,

ons, converse and dealing; yea, and any *civil being* of the world it self.

Men may be very faire and peaceable, though not of the only one religion.

For, if none be peaceable *subjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, but such of Master Cottons *conscience* and *religion* (which he conceives to be the only true *religion*) what will become of all other *states*, *governments*, *cities*, *towns*, *peoples*, *families*, *neighbors*, upon the face of the earth? I say, what will become of them (especially if power were in Master Cottons hand to deal with them as *Wolves*?)

Peace. Alas, too too frequent *experience* tells us in all parts of the world, that many thousands are far more peaceable *subjects*, more loving and helpful *neighbors*, and more true and fair *dealers* in *civil conversation*, then many who account themselves to be the only *religious* people in the world.

Truth. But againe, What the state of things shall be, and what the manner of the *administration* of *Christs* *kingdome*, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdomes* of the Lord Master Cotton doth not expreis: and for wrath brought upon *civil states* for their *apostacy*, I desire Master Cotton to shew, where ever God destroyed any Nation in the world (one only excepted) for *Apostacy* from his *truth* and *worship*? Yea and where was ever *Israel* (the only true *national church* that Master Cotton will acknowledge) meerly for *apostacie* destroyed, without general ripeness in other sins also, and especially for their persecuting of such, as declared their *apostacie*, *superstition*, and will-worship from God unto them.

Peace. In the next place Master Cotton granting that the charge given to watch against these *Wolves*, was not given to the *Magistrates* of the City of *Ephesus*, but to the *elders* of the church of *Christ* in *Ephesus*, he yet chargeth the discusser with a palpable and notorious slander, for saying, that many of those *charges* and *exhortations* given by the Lord *Jesus* to the *shepherds* and *Ministers* of the churches, are commonly attributed by the answerer in this discourse to the civil *Magistrate*.

Truth. This heavy charge of Master Cottons against the discusser, will be found to be a fruit of *Anger* and passion, and not of *reason* and *moderation*; as also his denial that one of those charges given to *Ministers*, were directed by him to *Magistrates*.

For

For if Master Cotton, or any please to view over Master Cottons *allegations* from the *New Testament* in this discourie, he shall finde that (*Tit. 3.*) *reject the heretick* a charge given by the *Lord Jesus* to *Titus*, and the church at *Crete*. is brought for the proof of the *Magistrates* punishing, imprisoning banishing, killing the *heretick, idolater &c.*

Scriptures perverted from the church to the civil state.

The like charges of *Christ Jesus* sent to the *Ministers* and churches of *Asia*, for tolerating amongst them *Balaam* and *Jezabel*, are produced to prove prosecutions against *false Prophets* and professors in the *City* and *Commonweal*.

Yea although Master Cotton name not *Act. 20.* yet in that Master Cotton affirmeth that *Magistrates* with the *civil sword* must drive away *Wolves* from the sheepfold of *Christ the church*, meaning *spiritual wolves, false teachers*, he may be truly said to quote all such *Scriptures* as give charge against such *Wolves*.

Peace. Indeed Master Cotton more then once pleaseth himself with this similitude of *wolves*, to prove the *Magistrates* piety and pity to the *sheep*, in slaying and driving away the *wolves, false teachers, &c.*

Truth. Hence was it (for commonly where *state-Religions* are set up, the *Magistrate* is but the *Ministers Cane* through whom the *Clergy* speaks) I say probably hence from such misapplied *Scriptures* in their churches, that in their solemn *civil general court*, at the banishment of one poor man amongst them, hunted out as a *wolf* or *heretick*, the *governor* who then was, standing up alleadged for a ground of their duty to drive away such by *banishment*, that famous charge of *Christ Jesus* to his *Ministers* and *Church* at *Rome* (*Rom. 16*) Marke them that cause *divisions* contrary to the *doctrine* which you have received, and avoid that is, by *banishment*: By all which and more it may be found, how *Sathan* hath abused their godly minds and apprehensions in causing them so to abuse the holy *writings* of *truth* and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and that how ever they deny it in expreis terms, yet by most impregnable *consequence* and implication they make up a kind of *national church*, and (as the phrase is) a *Christian state* and *government* of church and *Commonweale*, that is, of *Christ* and the *world* together.

The Magistrate usually the Clergies Cane, &c.

Rom. 16. 17. grossly abused by a governor in New England.

Peace. To proceed, it being further inquired into, whether in

all the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus* there be any such word of *Christ*, either by way of *command*, *Promise*, or example, countenancing the *civil state* to meddle with these *mystical Wolves*, if in *civil* things peaceable and obedient. Master *Cotton* replieth, that this *condition* of *peaceable* and *obedient*, implies a *contradiction* to the *nature* and practise of *wolves*. How can, saith he, *wolves* be peaceable and obedient, unless *restrained*? Can there be peace, *Jesus*, so long as the *whoredomes* of *Jezebel* and her *witchcrafts* are so many? And when it might be objected that *spiritual whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* might stand with *civil* peace, He answers, Noverily, for the *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* of the *Jezebel* of *Rome* took away *civil* peace from the *earth*; and brought the *Turks* to oppress both the peace of *Christian churches* and *Commonweals*, Rev. 9. 15, 21.

Truth. I wonder since Master *Cotton* in this very passage mentioneth the *spiritual wolves*, *whores*, and *witches*, as well as *natural* and *moral*, How he can imagine that a *spiritual wolf* or *witch* (to wit, so or so in matters of *spiritual* worship and *religion*) might not possibly be peaceable and *obedient* in *civil* things.

Peace. Yea but he alleadgeth the *whoredomes* of the *Jezebel* of *Rome*.

Truth. Why, was not the *State* of *England*, the *Kings* and *Queens*, and *Parliaments* thereof, lawful as *kings* and *states*, though overwhelmed and overspread univerfally with the *Romish* *abominations*? If such *wolves*, *whores*, and *witches* could yeeld no *civil* obedience, could they then exercise (by the same *argument*) any *civil* authority? And shall we then conclude all the former *Popish kings* and *Parliaments* (and consequently *lawes*) unlawful, because in *spiritual* things they were as *Wolves*, &c. tearing and burning the poor sheep of *Christ*? will it not then be unlawful for any man, that is persuaded the whole *nation* where he lives is *idolatrons* *spiritually whorish*, &c. I say unlawful for him to live in such a *state*, although he might with freedome to his own *conscience*? whither will such kind of arguing drive at last, but to pluck up up the *roots* of all *states* and peoples in the *world*, as not capable to yeeld *civil* obedience, or exercise *civil* authority, except such people *Magistrates*, &c. as are of Master *Cottons* *church* and *religion*.

Peace.

The bloody Tenent plucks up the nations and all civil beings, &c.

Peace. Methinks *experience* (were there no *Scripture* nor *reason*) might tell us how peaceable and just neighbors and dealers many thousands and millions of *Jews, Turks, Antichristians,* and *Pagans* are to be found, notwithstanding their spiritual *whoredoms witchcrafts, &c.*

Truth. Yea, and why doth Master Cotton alleadge the *Iezabel* of *Rome*, and the comming in of the *Turks*? It is true, *God* The plague of the *Turkes.* brought in the *Armies* of the *Turkes* upon the *Eastern* Empire, which yet flourished many ages (even in their *apostacies*) before their *destruction* by the *Turkes*. And how many ages and *generations* hath *Iezabel* of *Rome* sitten as a *Queen* in triumphant *peace* and *glory*, even since the rising of the *Turks* (and so shall Romes glory and downfal. fit probably in greater and greater, untill the time of her appointed *judgement* and *downfal*? If *Christ Jesus* were a true *Prophet* (*Iohn* 16.) outward *peace*, *prosperity*, *riches*, *honor*, is the portion of this *world*, notwithstanding their *idolatryes*, *apostacies*, *blasphemies*: But the portion of *Christs* followers (like his own, and both like a woman in travel) *paine* and *sorrow*, yea *poverty* and *persecution*, untill the great day of *refreshing*, neer approaching.

Peace. Master Cotton againe sends us to *Revelations* the 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.

Truth. And I must also send Master Cotton and the Reader to our disproving of that proof above said.

Further, whereas he calls *Rom.* 13. the great *Charter* for all *Magistrates* to deal in *spiritual matters*. I have and shall manifest in the *examinations* upon that place, how weak a *warrant* it is for the *civil state*, and the *officers* thereof, to coarceive themselves *spiritual Physitians*, by virtue of their office, appointed by *God*, in *spiritual* and *soul-evils*.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that *Magistrates* beside their skil in *civil laws* and *government*, must be able (if Master Cottons *bloody tenent* be true) as *judges* and *heads* to determine *spiritual causes* and *controversies* and that by the sight of his own eyes, and not other mens; Master Cotton replies, that *Magistrates* ought to be skilled in the *fundamentals* of *religion*, and that their *ignorance* excuseth not. The civil state and officers thereof cannot be spiritual judges.

Truth. In this passage Master Cotton waveth that *inference* [That

[That then *Magistrates* must be *heads* and *judges* in *spiritual causes*:] That *inference* cannot possibly be avoided, if we grant it their *duty* (as *Master Cotton* seemes to do) to pass sentence in the *fundamentals* of *religion*, and in those points which have been and are so greatly controverted among all sorts of men that name the name of *Christ*.

2. If *Magistrates* must thus judge, reforme, &c. where hath been the care of *Christ Iesus* to appoint in all parts of the world, such *Magistrates*, as might take care of his *religion* and *worship*? why hath he not furnished them with some *capacity* and *ability* to the work?

Foul neglects
cast upon *Christ*
Iesus.

Peace. It is lamentable to think that most of the *Magistrates* in the world (beyond compare) know not so much as whether there be a *Christ* or no.

Truth. If *Christ Iesus* had forgotten himself for three hundred yeers together, furnishing his *church* with no other *heads* but of *Wolves*, *Bear*, *Lyons*, and *Tygers*, the *Romane Emperors* yet (after a little refreshing by *Constantine*, *Theodosius* &c.) why should he still forget himself (even a thousand yeers together, providing no other *heads*, but bloody and *Papish kings* and *Emperors*?

The case of
Gallio.

Peace. What think you (*dear truth*) of *Master Cottons* grant of *Gallios* not being bound to judge in matters of *religion*, because he had no Law from *Cesar* whose *deputy* he was?

Truth. I answer what if he had not a law from *Cesar*, if yet he had a law from *Christ Iesus*, as *Master Cotton* implies? Or will *Master Cotton* suspend the *execution* of *Christs will*, upon the *kings*, *states*, or *peoples* minds that choose such *Magistrates* to be their *deputies* in the *Commonweale*? But the truth is, concerning *Gallio*, whatever he was in his person, and however he did evil in suffering the peace to be broken; yet will *Master Cotton* never prove, that he had calling from either *God* or *man*, to go beyond his *civil Magistracy* and *office* to intermeddle with *matters* of a *spiritual nature*, and that *Gallio* knew well enough, and other *Magistrates* of the world shall know in the *Lords* most gracious appointed season.

Peace. The discussor ending this Chapter with the infallible safety of *Gods* chosen, notwithstanding all ravenous *wolves*, &c.

Master

Master Cotton replies from *Deut.* 13. that *God* was able to keep his sheep in *Israel*, yet they that seduced them were to be put to death.

Truth. That argument was not alleadged with the derogation to any of *Gods* holy ordinances, which concern the calling or preserving of such whom *God* hath chosen to salvation, but only to discover the over-busie fear of *Gods* loosing any of his chosen to salvation, by the jaws of spiritual wolves, &c. For *Deut.* 13. let Master Cotton produce such a miraculous nation or people (as I may call it) so brought out of the land of *Egypt* into covenant with *God* &c. and I shall readily grant that seducers of such a people from such a *God*, are worthy to die a thousand deaths: But if Master Cotton will now tell me that the Christian congregational church is the *Israel* of *God*, and the coming forth of *Egypt* is now mystical and spiritual, why will he not content himself with a mystical and spiritual death to be inflicted upon him that shall seduce an *Israelite* from the *Lord* his *God*?

Examination of CHAP. XLIII.

Peace.

UPON the fifth query to wit, whether the elders of the church at *Ephesus* were not sufficiently furnished by the *Lord Jesus* to drive away these spiritual and mystical wolves, Master Cotton replies, by granting, that they were furnished with sufficient power to cast them out of the church; but being cast out, they had not sufficient power to drive them away from conferring and corrupting the members of the church, or other godly ones out of the church; and he adds, that it is no dishonour to *Christ*, nor impeachment to the sufficiency of his ordinances left by *Christ*, that in such a case the minister of justice in the civil state, should assist the Ministers of the *Gospel* in the church state.

Shameful weakness cast upon the spiritual Artillery of *Christ Jesus*.

Truth. This grant and this addition do as ill agree, as light and darkeness, *Christ* and *Belial* together. For, is the church or kingdom of *Christ Jesus* sufficiently furnished (that is, in it

itself

The spiritual liberties of Christs people in spiritual causes.

self without the help of the *civil Magistrate* to *excommunicate*, to cast these *wolves* out of the Fold: Oh let M. Cotton then, and all that love *Christ Jesus* in truth, observe what evidently follows, then is this *church of Christ* sufficiently furnished to receive such persons in againe upon *repentance*, then sufficiently furnished at first to be congregated together by *Christs means* to ordaine their *officers*, to judge of *doctrines* and *persons*. and all this (necessarily upon Master Cottons grant) without the help of the *civil Magistrates*.

The mighty power of spiritual weapons.

Peace. Yea, and it seemes to me incredible, and unreasonable, that *Christ Jesus* should have left *power* and *authority* sufficient to take and bind a *rebel* against his *kingdome*, to *arraigne* him and pass *sentence* upon him. yea and *execute* him in the *cutting off* such an *offendor* from the *land* of the *living*, delivering him over into the power of that roaring *Lion* the *devil*; And yet that *Christ Jesus* should not have left *power sufficient* (in such *publick*, high and solmne *actions* of his *kingdome*) to declare sufficient cause of such *proceedings*, by which all men may see. the goings of the *Son of God* in his *church* and *kingdome*, or if willfully blind, may justly be further hardned.

A vaine fear of false teachers.

Truth. The place from *Titus* alleadged (unto which many other *Scriptures* testifie) I say that place doth evidently shew, that the power of *Christ Jesus* left in the hand of his *churches* and *elders*, was not only sufficient to cast out such *wolves*, but even to stop or *muzzle* their *mouthes* (whatever their *gainsaying* be, whether by *conferring*, *preaching*, *printing* &c.) which takes off the plea of the great need of the *civil sword*, to correct the *conference* of such persons &c. when by the words of *Paul* it is here plaine, that they can perform such conferences, no otherwise, but with a stopt or *muzzled mouth*.

Christ Jesus nor Paul adrest themselves to the civil state.

Let it be produced where *Christ Jesus* in such cases writes to the *Magistrates* (either of *Crete*, or *Ephesus*, or any other *civil jurisdiction* where the *churches* were resident) to help the *Ministers* and *churches* with their *civil powers*, after they had cast forth any person obstinate: Doubtless *Christ Jesus* in *Paul* and other of his servants would have written to some of such *Magistrates* in some place or other, having occasion to write to so many *churches* about such cases.

Peace

Peace. It will (possibly) be said, it had been in vaine, for they were idolaters and persecutors.

Truth. The Lord is pleased throughout the whole Scripture in the mouths of his *servants* and *prophets* to call for duties at the hands of all *men*, notwithstanding their natural *hardness* and *inability*, that so he might drive them to see their *duty* and *misery*, and *remedy* alone in *God* by *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. I see now, that this hindring of *conference* &c. by the *Turk* and *Pope* *civil sword* is nothing else but a *conformity* with the *Pope* in defending his *Canons*, and with the *Turk* in guarding his *Alcoran* by *fire* and *sword*; with whom, and their ways, *Christ Jesus* hath no *conformity* nor *communion*, nor with their *carual sword*, his two-edged *sword* that proceedeth out of his *mouth* *Rev. I.* Beside, *Christ Jesus* hath not onely furnished his *church* with *power* sufficient to *excommunicate*, but every one of his *followers* with a *compleat armour* from *head* to *foot* (*helmet*, *breast-plate*, *sword* and *Target*, and and *spiritual shoes* (*Ephes. 6.*) in which respect the least of *Christ's servants* are inabled to stop the mouth of *Papists*, *Pope*, *Turks* and *devils*.

and all Protestants against free conference.

The ammunition of Christ's souldiers.

Peace. Yea all *experience* shews how *Christ Jesus* (little *David*) in the least of his *servants*, hath been able with those plaine *smooth stones* out of the brook of holy *Scripture*, to lay groveling in their *spiritual gore*, the *stoutest Champions* (*Popes*, *Cardinals*, *Bishops*, *Dollors*) of the *Antichristian Philistins*.

David and Goliath types.

Truth. I add, if the *elders*, and *churches*, and *ordinances* of *Christ* have such need of the *civil sword* for their *maintenance* and *protection* (I mean in *spiritual things*) sure the *Lord Jesus Christ* cannot be excused for not being careful either to exprets this great *ordinance* in his *will* and *Testament*. or else to have furnished the *civil state* and *officers* thereof with *ability* and *heart's* for this their great *duty* and *employment*, to which he hath called them; the contrary whereof in all *Ages*, in all *nations*, and in all *experience*, hath ever been most lamentably true.

Peace. I am not clear (*dear truth*) in the *distinction*, M^r *Cotton* makes of *Christ's Ministers* in the *Gospel*, and *Christ's Ministers* in the *civil state*.

Truth. There is a mistake in it, for although *Christ* hath all power delivered to him in *heave* and *earth*, yet as touching his

Difference between spiritual and civil Ministers.

spiritual church or kingdome he disclaimes it to be of the *world*, or *worldly*. Hence cannot the *civil state* or *officers* thereof be called *Christs*, as if they were of *Christs institution* and *appointment*, himself being their *spiritual head*. And therefore it is that the *Spirit of God* calls him the *head* of the *body*, which is the *church*, and the *Ministers* and *officers* of this his *kingdome* and *body Christs Ministers* or *servants*. Beside, Master Cotton will not say that the *kingdomes* of the *world* are yet become the *Lord Christs*: In what manner also those *kingdomes* shall become his, we have aced of the holy Spirit to evidence and demonstrate to us.

Peace. To the fifth *query*, whether (as *men* deal with *wolves*), these *wolves* at *Ephesus* were intended by *Paul* to be *killed*, their *braines* dashed out with *stones*, *staves*, *halberts*, *guns*, &c. in the hands of the *elders* of *Ephesus*: Master Cotton replies, *Elders* must keep within the *bounds* of their *calling*: But such courses were commanded the people of *God* by order from the *Judges*, *Deut. 13*. And where it was added, that comparing Things *spiritual* with *spiritual*, *spiritual* and *mystical wolves* should be *spiritually* and *mystically* slaine. Master Cotton replies True, but in destroying *religion* they also disturb the *civil state*, and accordingly are to be dealt withal by *civil justice*, as *Achan* was for troubling *Israel*, *Iosh. 7. 25*.

Israels corporal killing types of spiritual.

Truth. This acknowledgement of Master Cotton, that these *wolves* must *spiritually* be killed, their *braines* dashed out by the *elders* and *Saints*, might (if the *Lord* should graciously so please) easily satisfy himself and all men, that the type of *Israel stoning* and *killing corporally*, is here fulfilled in all dreadful abundance *spiritually*.

Peace. Yea, but saith Master Cotton, they disturb the *civil state* as *Achan* did.

Achans troubling of Israel a figure of troubling the Israel or Church of Christ now.

Truth. I answer, *Achan* troubling of *Israel*, the people of the *Lord*, must figure out any such like troubling *Gods Israel*, the *church* of *Christ*, for which he is accordingly to be *spiritually* stoned or executed: For, as touching the *civil state* of the *nations* of the *world*, who can prove (and Master Cotton will not affirm) that they are as the *national church* of the *Jews* was? but being merely *civil*, are armed with *civil power* and *weapons* for their *civil defense* against all *disturbers*,

bers of their *civil state*, as also Master Cotton confesseth the *spiritual state* is furnished with *spiritual power* against all the *disturbers* of its *spiritual peace* and safety.

Peace. Now whereas it was further added, that under pretence of driving away the wolves, and preserving the sheep, that streams of the blood of Saints have been spilt &c. Master Cotton replies, belike it is a milky, and peaceable, and Gospel-like Doctrine, that the wolves (*hereticks*) are to be tolerated, not an haire strook from their head; but for the poor sheep, for whom Christ died, let them perish, unless Christ mean to preserve them alone with his immediate hand and no care of them belongs to the *civil Magistrate*.

The duty of the civil state in matters of worship.

Truth. I have here in this *discourse* shewed with what honorable and tender respect every *civil Magistrate* is bound to honor and tender Christ Jesus in his *christian sheep* and *shepherds*, but withall, that it is against *christianity* for the *civil Magistrate* or *civil state*, to imagine that all a whole *nation* was or ever will be called to the *union of Gods Spirit* in *communion* with God in Christ: Also, that it is against *civil justice* for the *civil state* or *officers* thereof to deal so partially in matters of God, as to permit to some the freedom of their *consciences* and *worships*, but to curbe and suppress the *consciences* and *souls* of all others of their *free-born people* &c.

Peace. To end this Chapter: whereas it was said, is not this to take Christ and to make him a *temporal king* by force? Is not this to make his *kingdom* of this *world*, and to set up a *civil* and *temporal Israel*? To bound out a new *holy land* of *Canaan*? yea and to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all parts of the *world*, to the speedy destruction of *millions* of *souls*, and to the frustrating of the sweet end of the coming of the *Lord Jesus*, which was to save mens *souls* (and to that end not to destroy mens *bodies*) by his own blood.

To this Master Cotton replies, when the *kingdomes* of the *earth* shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord* (*Rev. 11.*) it is not by making Christ a *temporal king*, but by making *temporal kings* nursing fathers to the Church.

Truth. If the *Scripture* [At the sound of the seventh trumpet] which is the last of the great *woes*, when the time of Gods wrath shall be come, be to be understood of the removing of the *kingdomes* of the *world* unto Christ, Master Cotton cannot excuse

Concerning the kingdomes of the world becoming the kingdomes of Christ Rev. 11.

Christ Iesus from being a *temporal king*, and the kings of the earth to be but as inferior and *subordinate officers*: For if they administer *Christs kingdome* temporally, as *deputies, officers* or *Ministers temporally*, he is much more then himself a *temporal king* and *Monarch*.

Christ no temporal King.

Peace, Methinks also, if that committing of all judgement to the *Son* (*John 5.*) be meant of *Temporal judgement* in *spiritual things*, then can he not be said, not to be a *temporal king*, then can he not be said (when those words were spoken and ever since) not to have exercised a *temporal government*. The contrary whereof is most true, both at his first coming; and ever since, in all generations, it having been his *portion*, and the *portion* of his *followers* to be judged by this *world*, although *himself* and his judge the *world spiritually*, and will shortly pass an *eternal sentence* upon all the children of men.

Peace. Master Cotton addeth, this will not set up a *civil* or *temporal Israel*, unless all the *members* of the *Commonwealth* be compelled to be *members* of the *church*.

Truth. If that will do it then *Christ* must be a *temporal king*, I say then, when the *kingdoms* of the earth shall become the kingdoms of the *Lord*, for shall not the *kings* of the *earth* compel all *Christs sheep* to submit unto *Christ Iesus* their heavenly *shepherd*?

Towching forcing men to church.

Peace. Yea secondly, will it not prove that all those *commonwealths*, where *men* are compelled *explicitly* or *implicitly* to be *members* of the *church*, are holy lands of *Canaan*, and if so, Oh that Master Cotton and other worthy servants of *God*, may timely consider, whether an explicit forcing of all *men* to come to *church*, because *men* cannot be denied to be *members* (at least by implication) with such *members* and *congregations*, with whom they do ordinarily assemble and congregate, although they be injuriously (indeed but injuriously) kept off from *communion* and *participation* of all *ordinances*, which is indeed their *right* and *due* if they be (though but implicitly) constrained and forced to partake of any.

Againe (saith Master Cotton) it is no *Spanish inquisition* to preserve the *sheep* of *Christ* from the ravening of the *wolves*, but this rather (which is the practice of the discussler) to promote the principal end of the *Spanish inquisition*, to advance the *Romish tyranny*,
idola-

idolatry and apostacie, by proclaiming impunity to their who-
rish and wolvissh emissaries.

Truth. If the Nations of the world must judge (as they
must by Master Cottons doctrine) who are *Christ's sheep*, and
who are *wolves*, which is a *whore* (spiritually) and which the
true *Spouse of Christ*, and accordingly persecute the *whores* and
wolves, this then they must do according to their *conscience*, or
else (as Master Cotton elsewhere) they must suspend. What is this
but either to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all *territories*, or else
to hang up all matters of *religion* (by this *suspension* he speaks
of) untill the *civil states* of the world become *christian*, and
godly, and able to judge, &c. and what is this in effect, but to
practise the very thing which he chargeth on the discussor, to wit,
a proclaiming an *impunity*, all the world over, except only in
some very few and rare places, where some few *godly Magistrates*
may be found rightly informed, that is according to his own *con-
science* and *religion*.

A Spanish In-
quisition all the
world.

Peace. Yea further (which I cannot without great horror ob-
serve) what is this but to give a woful occasion at least to all *Ma-
gistrates* in the world (who will not suspend their bloody hands
from *persecuting*, until Master Cotton shall absolve them from
their *suspension*, and declare them *godly*, and informed, and fit to
draw their swords in matters of *religion*) I say occasion (at least)
to all the *civil powers* in the world, to persecute (as most com-
monly they have ever done and do) *Christ* himself, the *Son of God*
in his poor *Saints* and *servants*.

A threefold fire
kindled.

Truth. Yea, if Master Cotton and his friends of his *consci-
ence* should be cast by *Gods providence* (whose *wheels* turn about
continually in the depth of his *councils* wonderfully) I say should
they be cast under the reach of opposite *swords*, will they not pro-
duce Master Cottons own bloody *tenent* and *doctrine* to warrant
them (according to their *consciences*) to deal with him as a *wolfe*,
an *idolaser*, an *heretick*, and as dangerous an *emissary* and *sedu-
cer* as any whom Master Cotton so accounteth?

That may con-
sume the kind-
lers.

But lastly, Master Cotton hath no reason to charge the discussor
with an *indulgence* or *partiality* toward *Romish* and wolvissh
emissaries, his judgement and practise is known so far different,
that for departing too far from them (as is pretended) he suffers
the

the brands and bears the marks of one of *Christs* poor persecuted *hereticks* to this day: All that he pleaded for, is an impartial *liberty* to their *consciencences* in *worshiping* God as well as to the *consciencences* and *worships* of other their fellow-subjects.

Matthias the second Emperor granting liberty of conscience.

Peace. When *Matthias* the second king of *Hungary*, *Bohemia* &c. (afterward *Emperor*) granted to his Protestant *subjects* the *liberty* of their *consciencences*. doubtless it had been neither *prudence* nor *justice*. to have denied equal *liberty* to all of them impartially. But to finish this Chapter, *Master Cotton* lastly affirmeth, that it is not frustrating of the sweet end of *Christs coming* which was to save *souls*, but rather a direct advancing of it, to destroy (if need be) the *bodies* of those *wolves*, who seek to destroy the *souls* of those for whom *Christ* died, and whom he bought with his own blood.

Christ came not to destroy mens bodies, though to save their souls.

Truth. The place referred to, was *Luk. 9.* where the *Lord Jesus* professeth unto the rash zeal of his *Disciples* (desiring that *fire* might come down from heaven upon the *refusers* of *Christ*) that he came not to destroy mens lives but to save them & from whence it appears that *Christ Jesus* had no such intent (as *Master Cotton* seems to make him to have had) to wit, to save *souls* by destroying of *bodies*: but to save *soul* and *body*, and that for *soul* sake, for *religion* sake, for his sake, the *bodies* of none should be destroyed, but permitted to enjoy a temporal being, which alio might prove a means of their *eternal life* and *salvation*: as it may be was the very case of some of those *Samaritans*.

Examination of CHAP. XLIV.

Peace.

Christian weapons considered.

THe next Scripture produced by the prisoner against *persecution* for cause of *conscience* was *2 Cor. 10.* The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnal*, but mighty through *God* &c. unto which *Master Cotton* answers, that he speaks not there of *civil Magistrates*.

It was replied, True, for in *spiritual* things the *civil weapons* were improper, though in *civil* things most proper and suitable.

Master Cotton now replying grants, that it is indeed improper for

for a *Magistrate* to draw his *sword* in matters *spiritual*, yet saith he, about matters *spiritual* they may, as to *protect* in peace, and to *save* of *disturbers* and *destroyers* of them: And he adds, if it were unfitting for *carpenters* to bring *axes* and *hammers* to build up the *spiritual kingdome* of the *church* of *Christ*, yet their *toolles* are fit to build *Scaffolds* for *hearing*.

Truth. It is strange, and in my understanding suits not with the rest of *Master Cottons* discourse, to wit, that which *Master Cotton* here acknowledgeth, that a *Magistrate* is not to draw his sword in *spiritual* things, but only about them: when throughout the *discourse* he maintaines, that the *Magistrate* must suppress the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *idolater*, *seducer*, that he must reforme the *church*, punish the *apostate*, and keep the *church* in her *purity*; which whether they be *spiritual matters* or no, let such as be *spiritual judge*.

Peace. He is (saith *Master Cotton*) to draw his *sword* about *spiritual matters*, to *protect* in peace, as a *carpenter* may build *Scaffolds*, &c.

Truth. If *Master Cotton* mean *civil peace*, he knows we agree, for all the *officers* of peace and justice ought to attend that *work*: But if he mean *spiritual*, to wit, that by his *sword* he is to provide, that no man dispute against his *religion*, that no man *preach* nor *write* against it, let it be well weighed, whether the *sword* be not now used in *spiritual matters*: As also whether in such cases and others before mentioned, the *civil Magistrate* be not bound by *Master Cottons doctrine* to interpose as *judge* in these *controversies*, to pass *sentence* and to punish whom he judgeth *delinquent*, notwithstanding that both *parties* and both *religions* are *right*, and *righteous* and holy in their own *perswasions* and *consciencs*.

Peace. Beside, I know you deny not *civil conveniences* in *Gods worship*, and (therefore when there is need upon occasion) the help of a *carpenter* to build *Scaffolds*.

Truth. True, but since *Master Cotton* compares the work of the *Magistrate* to the building of a *carpenters Scaffold*, let us in the fear of *God* consider, if this *similitude* (like some *Scaffolds*) be not all too weak, whereon to hazard so mighty a *wesight* and *burthen*: For what should we think of such a *carpenter*, that after

A fallacious distinction of using the civil sword, not in, but about spiritual matters.

Strange Carpenters.

after he hath built his *Scaffold* for people more conveniently to hear the word of *God*, suffers no man to *preach* in the whole *country* (where his *Scaffolds* are set up) but whom he pleaseth, nor no *doctrine* to be taught but what he liketh; no *church* to be gathered, no persons to make up this *church*, no persons to receive the *Sacrament* but what he approves of: yea and further, with broad *axes* and *hammers*, and other tooles of *violence*, should compel all persons (directly or indirectly) to come to *church*, to make use of his *Scaffold* &c. Whether this be not the true *state* of the *business*, the *Carpenters Son Christ Jesus* will shortly more and more discover and break, and tumble down those painted *Scaffolds* and fairest *houses*, which are not built and framed according to the first most blessed *line* and *rule* of his holy *institution* and *appointments*.

Examination of CHAP. XLV.

Peace.

UPon the unfitneis (alleged) of *spiritual weapons* to batter a *natural* or *artificial* hold, and consequently the unfitneis of *natural* and *carnal* weapons to batter the *spiritual* strong holds in the heart, *Master Cotton* replies, that he allows not the *civil state* to make use of their civil weapons to batter down *idolatry* and *heresie* in the souls of men: But if (saith he) the *idolater* or *heretick* grow obstinate, worseand worse, deceiving himself &c. Now, he maketh not use of *stocks* and *whips* (which will but exasperate the *malady*) but of *death* and *bannishment*, that may cut him off from the opportunity of spreading his *leaven*, &c.

Truth. Methinks in this passage, *Master Cotton* resembleth an armed man, who being almost convinced, or overcome by the *Spirit* of *God* in the former part of this passage (granting how unproper and unfit *carnal weapons* be in *spiritual* matters) yet being loath to yeeld, and holding up the goodness of his cause, he recovers again, and grows more fierce and violent: for bearing more gentle stroaks of *stocks* and *whips*, he cuts deeper with no les then quick and dreadful gaslings of *death* or *Bannishment*, that the world (were he one of the *worlds Monarchs*) may be rid of such *idolaters*, *hereticks* &c.

Peace.

The bloody tenent in plaine English.

Peace. Oh, How can Master Cotton wash this Tenent from blood!

Truth. Yea whether this tenent be not invented (as once that learned chancellor of England said of all violence against conscience) for an end or interest: or as (that incarnate devil) the Pope said more plainly of the fable of Christ, for honor and profit, shall further be examined.

All civil violence in spirituals, is for interest.

Peace. But who can read the bloody colour in this book, and yet believe what Master Cotton elsewhere saith, that he holds not persecution for cause of conscience?

Truth. Lastly, I aske, whether is it not the same skill and power of Physick and Surgery, that preserves the body and each member in health and welfare, with that which cuts off (as Master Cotton speaks) the Gangrene &c? and (since also tis in vaine to go about when the next way is as good or better) what means then Master Cotton to bring in the Magistrate using spiritual means in all lenity and wisdom against heresie and idolatry in the souls of men since death or banishment will effect the cure so quickly?

Peace. To proceed, whereas it was urged, that although civil weapons were proper in spiritual matters, yet they were not necessary &c. Master Cotton replies, this is but a meer pretence, because the discussor (saith he) denies all Church officers and Church weapons.

Truth. This formerly was cleared from all appearance of pretence, because during all the reign of the beast the discussor granteth the impregnable power of the spiritual weapons of Christs witnesses Rev II. although he see not extant the true form and order of the kingdom of Christ Jesus which at first he was pleased to establish.

Christs spiritual weapons never wanting.

Peace. Master Cotton adds, Although spiritual weapons are mighty to purge out leaven, and to mortifie the flesh of offenders, yet that is not a supersedeas to civil Magistrates to neglect to punish those sins which the church hath censured if the person censured do proceed to subvert the truth of the Gospel, or the peace of the church, or the souls of the people.

Truth. Why must the Magistrate stay until the party censured do proceed so and so? Why could not he have spared the drawing

ing

The civil sword
esteemed more
powerful then
the spiritual.

ing forth of any spiritual *weapons* since they are so effectual to do that which was not in the power and reach of the *spiritual*? Why was not the first *obstinacy* (which merited the spiritual *stroaks* and *cessures*) worthy of the *exercise* of the *civil Magistrates* power and zeale?

Peace. Me thinks this is an evident *demonstration* that men repose more *confidence* (however they deceive themselves to the contrary) in the *sword* of *steel* that hangs by the side of the *civil officer*, then in the two-edged sword proceeding out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus*, Rev. 1.

Truth. The truth is, such doctrine makes *Christs spiritual sword* but *serviceable* and *subordinate* unto the *temporal* or worldly *powers*: and presents the *church* but making *essayes* and *trials* of that *cure* which *death* and *banishment* (gilded over with pretence of Gods glory, &c.) they think will not faile to effect, &c.

Peace. More plainly therefore writes another *Author* (of *Master Cottons* mind) thus: It is known by *experience* that one *reproof* or *threatning* from the *Magistrate*, hath been known to do more then an hundred *admonitions* from the *Minister*.

Truth. Yea no question, to force a *nation* or a *world* of men to play the *idolaters*, *hypocrites*, &c. but Gods true *servants* (of whom these three famous *Jews* are type, *Dan. 3.*) know that *God* whom they serve is able to deliver them from such fiery *threatnings* and *executions*. But if he please to try them (as his *gold*) in such *fiery tryals*, they will not bow down to invented *gods* or *worships*.

Peace. Methinks (dear truth) such *Ministers* deal upon the point and in effect with the *civil Magistrate*, just as that *ambitious Pope* with the *Emperors*, to wit, make them hold the *stirrop* while they mount, &c. But I grieve, &c. What think you therefore of *Master Cottons* censure of the rest of the discourse in this Chapter, to wit, that it is but (as *Jude* speaks) *clouds* without *waters*, *words* without *matter*, &c.

Truth. I will say no more, but this, Happily (through Gods mercy) *Master Cottons* censure may occasion some to view what he despiseth, yea and happily to finde some heavenly *drops* out of those contemned empty *clouds*.

Examination of CHAP. XLVI.

Peace.

THe 13 to the *Rom.* which the *answerer* quotes, is a sort of such importance in so many *controversies* depending between the *Papist* and the *Protestant*, and between many *Protestants* among themselves, that all seek to gaine and win it: In this present controversive I finde a wonderful *wresting* of this holy Scripture even by many holy and peaceable (though herein violent and sinful) hands: and let the charge be examined in the fear of *God*, whether slanderous (as *Master Cotton* intimates) or true and righteous.

Master Cotton freely grants, that this 13 to the *Rom.* exhorteth unto *subjection* to *Magistrates*, and *love* to all men, which are *duties* of the *second table*: But yet withal he answers, that it will not follow that *Magistrates* have nothing to do with the *violation* of the *first table*; and further saith: that it is a plaine case that amongst the *duties* of the *second table* people may be exhorted to honor their *Magistrates*, and *children* may be exhorted to honour their *Parents*; but will it (saith he) thence follow, that *Magistrates* have nothing to do with matters of *religion* in the *church*, or *parents* in the *family*?

The great fort of
The civil Magistrate not
charged with
the keeping of
the second
tables.

Truth. I answer, the *scope* of the *discourse* was to prove, that it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* in *Paul* here only to treat of the *duties* of the *second table*, unto which *limitation* or *restriction* *Master Cotton* speaks not at all, but only granteth in general, that it speaketh of the *duties* of the *second table*: And I still urge and argue, that the *spirit* of *God* discoursing so largely in this *Scripture* of the *duties* of *Magistrates* and people, and treating only of *civil* things, in that *civil relation* between *Magistrates* and people, points as with a finger of *God* at their *error*, that wrest this *Scripture* to maintaine the power of *Magistrates* and *civil states* in the *spiritual* and *church estate* of the *kingdome* of *Christ*.

Peace. But what may be said to *Master Cottons* argument?

Truth. I answer. If people are bound to yeeld *obedience* in *civil* things to *civil officers* of the *state*, *Christians* are much more bound to yeeld *obedience* (according to *God*, to the *spiritual* of-

Officers of Christs kingdome: But how weak is this argument to prove that therefore the *civil officers* of the *state* are constituted *rulers or governors, preservers and reformers* of the *Christian and spiritual state*, which differs as much from the *civil*, as the *heavens* are out of the reach of this earthly *Globe and Element*?

Examination of CHAP. XLVII.

Peace.

Calvin and Beza's judgement on Rom. 13.

Against the Judgement of those blessed *worthies* alleadged, (*Calvin and Beza*) confining this passage of *Rom. 13.* to the *second table*, *Master Cotton* here opposeth their judgement for the *Magistrates* power in matters of *religion* in other writings of theirs. yea and from this very *Scripture*.

Truth. This their judgement for the *Magistrates* power was granted and premised before; yet let the *expressions* of those *worthy men* (produced by the *discusser* on this Chapter) be faithfully weighed, and it will cleerly appear, that (as *James* speaks) those excellent men endeavoured to bring from the same *fountaines* *sweet water* and *bitter*, which is monstrous and contradictory.

Peace. The pith of what *Master Cotton* further saith in this Chapter, I conceive is couched in these demands: Are not (saith he) all *duties* of *righteousness* to man commanded in the *second table*, as well as all *duties* of *holiness* to *God* are commanded in the *first table*? Is it not a *duty* of *righteousness* belonging to the people of *God*, to enjoy the free passage of *religion*? &c. Is it not an injurious dealing to the people of *God*, to disturbe the truth of *religion* with *heresie*, the *holiness* of *worship* with *idolatry*, the *purity* of *government* with *tyranny*? and he concludes, If so, then these wayes of *unrighteousness* are justly punishable by the *second table*.

Truth. I answer, It hath pleased the *Father of lights* to open the eyes of thousands of his servants in these later times to discern a fine spun fallacy in the term of *unrighteousness* and injury which being twofold *spiritual* against *religion* or *spiritual state*,

Unrighteousness
civil and
spiritual.

and

civil against the *worldly* or *civil state*: It is no *civil injury* (which he grants is the business of this 13 to the *Romanes* in matters of the *second table*) for any man to disturb or oppose a *doctrine worship* or *government spiritual*: *Christ Jesus* and his *messengers* and servants did. and do profess a *spiritual war* against the *doctrine, worship* and *government* of the *Jewish* the *Turkish* and other *Pagan* and *Antichristian religions* of all sorts and *sects, churches* and *societies*: These all againe oppose and fight against his *doctrine, worship, government*: And yet this war may be so managed (were men but humane *civil* and peaceable) that no *civil injury* may be commieted on either side.

Spiritual wars without civil disturbance.

Peace. We may then well take up (as Master Cotton doth) *Beza's* own words on *Rom. 13. 4.* The *civil sword* must take vengeance on them that do *evil*: It must therefore follow that *hereticks* are not *evil doers* (which is gross &c.) Or else that *Pauls* speech is to be restrained to a certaine sort of evil deeds, to wit, such as they call *corporal sins*, of which he saith, he disputeth largely, elswhere.

Truth. And so (through the help of the most *high*) shall I, in proving, that the second sort, to wit, *external, corporal, civil evils* between *man* and *man, city* and *city, kingdomes* and *Nations* (in this false estate of mankind, wherein all *civility*, and *humanity* it self are violated) are alone, and only intended in this *Scripture* by the holy Spirit of *God* and *Paul* his penman.

Examination of CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace.

TO the second argument, to wit, the *incompetency* of those *higher powers* to which *Paul* requires *subjection*, which in his time were the ignorant and *Pagan persecuting Emperors*, and their subordinate *governors* under them, Master Cotton replies.

First, It is one thing to yeeld subjection to the *righteous decrees* of ignorant and *Pagan Magistrates*: And another thing to obey their *ordinances* in matters of *faith* and worship, and *government* of the *church*: The former of these, *Christians* did yeeld

yeeld unto the *Romane Magistrates* even *subjection* unto the *death*; the other they did not, nor ought to yeeld, as knowing *God* was rather to be obeyed then *man*.

Truth. *Subjection* may be either to lawful *governors* or but *pretenders* and *usurpers*: Again *subjection* to lawful *rulers* may be in cases pertaining to their *cognizance*, or in cases which belong not to their, but another *court* or *tribunal*; which unadue proceeding is not tolerable in all well-ordered *states*.

We use also to say, that *subjection* is either *active* or *passive*: Now although we finde the *Lord* requiring and his *servants* yeelding, all *active* or *passive* obedience to the *Romane Emperors*, and their *deputies*, yet finde we not a tittle of the *Lords* requiring, or his people yeelding any kind of *subjection* to those *Romane Emperors* or their *deputies* in the *matters* of *Christian religion*, except it be of so many hundred thousand of their *bodies*, as the *bodies* of *Lambs* to the devouring jaws of those *bloody Lyons* and *devillish Monsters*, of more then barbarous cruelty.

Peace. But (Secondly, saith *Master Cotton*) although the *Roman Emperors* were incompetent *Judges*, yet the *Word* of *Christ* which commandeth a duty, commandeth also the necessary means which tend to that duty, and therefore giving them a power and charge to execute vengeance on evil doers, and that in matters of *spiritual unrighteousness* against the *Church*, as in matters of *civil unrighteousness* against the *Commonweal*, it behooved them to try and listen after the true *Religion*, to heare and try all.

Truth. *Master Cotton* may here be intreated to take notice of his own *distinction* of *unrighteousness* (which a little before he seemed to me to forget) for here he rightly distinguisheth between *spiritual matters* of *unrighteousness* against the *church*, and *civil unrighteousness* against the *Commonweal*: I therefore urge (as before) that the *civil Magistrate*, although he punish (according to his *civil place* and calling) *civil unrighteousness* against the *state*, yet he hath no *warrant* from *Master Cottons* argument, nor any from the *Lord Jesus Christ*, to punish *spiritual unrighteousness* against the *church*, and why then should that term of *unrighteousness* so generally and fallaciouly go undistinguished, and *Master Cotton* thus promiscuously proclaime *idolary* is *unrighteousness*, *heresie* is *unrighteousness*, and therefore the *civil Magistrate* is bound to punish, &c?

2. But

The nature of
twice subjection
to civil pow-
ers.

Of the Roman
Emperors power
in spirituals.]

2. But oh that this *maxime* alleadged by Master Cotton might receive its due *weight* and *consideration*! hath *Christ* commanded all means, as well as the *duty*? what then is the *reason* that since (as Master Cotton argues) that *Christ* hath commanded all the *civil powers* of the *world* such a *spiritual duty*, and yet (I say) that all or most of the *civil states* of the *world* (beyond comparison) are not furnished by *Christ* with those chief *means*, of *grace* and *light*, whereby to try and search, as Master Cotton exhorteth? Or (in some few places, where means of *light* are vouchsafed) with *hearts* and *spirits* unto such a duty? May we not here say, that men make *Christ Jesus* (in appointing such officers, such a duty, without furnishing them accordingly) to forget that *maxime* of his Type *Solomon* (*Prov. 26.*) He that sendeth a *message* by the hand of a *fool*, cutteth off the *leg* and drinketh *dammage*? Did not *Christ* know (as well as *John*) that all the *world* lay in *wickedness*, that all the *world* (in a respect) was then *Roman Paganish*, and that all the *world* in after-ages would wonder after the *beast*, and become *Roman Popish*? Or can we imagine that *Christ Jesus* did not foresee the cutting off of *legs*, and the cup of *dammage* and loss which he must drink, in sending his minde and will into the world by such foolish *instruments*?

Foule imputations against *Christ Jesus*.

Christ permit-eth *Tyrants* o-
ver his churches
Saints, but ap-
pointeth none
but his true spi-
ritual *Minis-
ters*.

Peace. Surely Master Cotton would never advise the *civil state* ty lend a weighty *cause*, and the *lives* of *son'diers* with such *captaines*: Nor will he set an unruly *childe* under the *rod* of such *teachers* or *reformers*: He will not set forth his *Farme* or be-
truff his *cattel*, no not his very *hogs* to such keepers.

Truth. On the other hand, let the *government* of *Christ's* *kingdome* be laid upon the right *shoulders*, and we shall finde the admirable *wisdome* and *care* of *Christ*, in the *affaires* of his *kingdom*, in appointing such *messengers* or *Apostles* to gather and found his *churches*, as also ordinary *Pastors*, *Shepherds* or *teachers*, for their feeding and building up &c.

Christ Jesus his
careful and
most wise pro-
vision for his
kingdome.

The qualification of these the *Spirit* of *God* hath expresly and exactly recorded, wherein (according to the *principle* mentioned by Master Cotton) *Christ Jesus* his highest *care* and *wisdome* shines most gloriously in appointing the *means* as well as the *duty* it self.

Peace. But Master Cotton addeth, that the *causes* of *religion*,
wherein

wherein we allow the *civil Magistrate* to be *Judges* are so *fundamental* and palpable, that no *Magistrate* studious of Religion in the fear of God, cannot but judge: such as cannot, they ought to forbear &c. the exercise of their power, either in protecting or punishing matters of Religion: till they learn so much knowledge of the truth, as may enable them to discern of things that differ. This forbearance of theirs (saith he) is not for want of authority in their callings nor for want of duty in their consciences but want of evidence to them in the cause: In which case *Magistrates* are wont to forbear their exercise of power and judgement even in civil cases,

The cleargies
evil dealing
with the civil
Magistrate.

Truth. O the miserable allowance which Master Cotton hath brought the *kings* and *governors* of the world unto! We allow them (saith he) to judge in such *fundamentals* and *palpable causes* &c. On with what *proud* and domineering feet do all *Popes* tread upon the *necks* even of the highest *kings* and *Emperors*! The *Magistrate* must wait at their *gates* for their poor allowance: They shall judge, and they shall not judge: They shall judge that which is *gross* and *palpable*, and enough to hold the people in *slavery*, and to force them to sacrifice to the *Priests belly*; but the more sublime and nicer *mysterics* they must not judge or touch, but attend upon the tables of the *Priests infallibility*.

The nature of a
church, but lately
discovered
since the apo-
stasie.

Peace. Concerning *fundamentals* (*dear truth*) you have well observed, that since the *apostacy*, and the *worlds* wondring after the *beast*, even *Gods* servants themselves (untill yesterday) have not so much as heard of such a kind of *church* (and so consequently of such a *Christ* the *head* of it) as Master Cotton now professeth: For no other *matter* and *forme* of a *church* (about which Master Cotton justly contends) was known I say among *Gods* people themselves, (till yesterday) then the *matter* and form of the *stone* or *woodden Parish-church*.

Truth. Yea an happy man were Mr. Cotton could he rectifie and settle those *foundations* which are yet so controverted amongst *Gods* servants, to wit, the *Doctrine* of *Baptismes*, and laying on of *hands*.

Peace. You may also mention other *foundations*, which want not their great disputes among the *servants* of *Christ*.

Truth. But further, that *Christ Jesus* the *wisdom* of the *Father*,

Father should commit his *wife*, his *church* to be governed in his absence by such who generally know not the *church* and *Saints* but cruelly and blasphemously *persecute* them with *fire* and *sword*, and this with *charge* to suspend most *Magistrates* of the *world*, and that all their dayes from *generation* to *generation*, as appeareth in all parts of the *world* which is such a *monstrous* and *blasphemous Paradox*, that *common reason* cannot digest, nor suffer.

Monstrous] Suspensions.

Peace. If *Merchants* and owners of *ships* should commit their *vessels* to such men as wanted *ability* to *steer* their *courses*, nay could not tell what a *ship* was y^e were never like to know all their dayes surely it were not only matter of *admiration*, but even of *laughter* and *derision*, among all the sons of men.

Truth. But further, How weak is that *distinction* which *Master Cotton* makes between *authority* of *calling*, and *duty* and *evidence* in the *cause*, when in all *judicatures* in the whole world, even amongst the *Pagans*, there is necessarily supposed beside these three, a fourth to wit, *ability* or skill of *discerning* or *judging* in such *cases*: Now *cognizance* of the *cause* or *evidence* of the *cause* may be wanting in most able *judges*, where matters are not *proper* or not *ripe* for *hearing* and *trials*; whereas our dispute is of the very *ability* or *skil* of *judging*, which *Master Cotton* himself confesseth is wanting, except in such *Magistrates* as *fear God*, which will be found to be but a little *flock*, especially compared with the many thousands and ten thousands of those who neither know *God* nor *Christ*, nor care to know them, and this in all the *states*, *regions* and *civil governments* of the *world*.

Spiritual courts and Judges.

Eamination of CHAP. XLIX.

Peace.

Concerning *Pauls* appeale to *Cesar*, it was argued that *Paul* appealed to *Cesar* even in *spiritual* things; which that *Paul* did not nor could not do without the committing of five great evils, was pleaded in this Chapter, Master *Cotton* replies no more but this, The reasons are but *Bulrushes*.

Truth. Whether they are so or no, or rather the *Bulrushes* and weak things of *God*, which the gates of hell shall never be able to shake, let the *Saints* judge in the fear of *God*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds further in this Chapter, that *Paul* pleadeth he was not guilty in any of those things whereof the *Jews* accused him: those things (saith he) concerned the *Law* of the *Jews* and the *Temple*, which were matters of *religion*; and for trial thereof he appealed to *Cesar*.

Touching *Paul*
appealing to
Cesar.

Truth. *Lyfias* the chief captaine in his letter to *Felix* the Governor (Chap. 24.) distinguisheth (vers. 29.) into *questions* of the *Jews*; *Law*, and (secondly) matters worthy of *death* or *bonds*: Now tis true the *Jews* charged *Paul* with offences against *religion*, their *Law* and the *Temple*: Secondly, against the *civil state*, and with *sedition*. For the first, although it is apparent that all the scope of *Pauls* preaching, was to exalt *Christ Jesus*, and to preach down *Moses* *Law*; yet at this present time of his apprehension, he had seen cause to honour *Moses* his *institutions* at *Jerusalem* (which was the wisdom of *God* in him for a season, for the *Jews* sake, and his own *glory*-sake:) And he had not at this present so much as disputed with any in the *temple* (which was not so hainous a matter in *Pauls* eye, as it is well known by his constant practice.) Secondly, for matters of *civil crime*, he pleadeth that he stirred up no man, nor in the *Synagogue* nor *City*, and professeth (Chap. 25.) that if he had committed ought worthy of *death*, he would not *wave* death: Tis true that *Paul* was charged by the *Jews* with both these kinds of offences, *religious* and *civil* (according to *Lyfias* his distinction) but that *Paul* appealed to *Cesar* for *tryal*, that is, for *trial* of his *person* and *cause* in any *religiōns* respect, as it cannot be collected from the *Scripture* or *Pauls*

Paul own words: so those five reasons against it, will evidently disprove it, if they be well and thoroughly weighed in the *balance* of the *Sanctuary* in the sight and fear of *God*.

Peace. I cannot in my understanding clear Master *Cottons* own words from destroying one another. 'Tis true (saith he) those five *Pauls* might have been charged upon *Paul* with some colour, if he had appealed to *Cesar* whether his *religion*, or *Ministry*, or *Ministration* were of *God* or no? But yet (saith he) he might appeal whether his *religion*, *Ministry* or *Ministration* were guilty of any *capital crime* against the *Law* of the *Jews*, or the *temple*, or against *Cesar*. *Pauls appeal to Cesar.*

Truth. Indeed what difference is there between the judging whether this *Ministry* deserve death (supposing a false *Ministry* is worthy of death) or judging whether it be of *God*, or false and idolatrous? must not he that sits judge of the *desert* and *punishment*, judge also of the *crime* and fact, whether so or not?

Peace. When Master *Cotton* shall affirme (and truly) that the *Magistrates* of *Israel* were to judge a false *prophet* to death, will he not also grant that they were to judge whether such persons so charged were false *prophets* or no?

Truth. Yea, and when Master *Cotton* shall affirme (as unjustly) that *civil Magistrates* in all *nations* of the *world* ought to kill or banish *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, out of their *dominions* and *jurisdictions*, doth he intend that they shall try and examine, whether they be such and such or no? But blessed be the *Father* of *lights*, who hath now opened the eyes of so many thousands of his people to discern the *difference* between the *Forts* and *Bulwarks* of *God*, here called *Bulrushes*, and those *strong holds* and high *imaginations* of men (erected against the *crown* and *kingdome* of the *Lord Jesus*) which in *Gods* holy season shall more and more be found to be but *straws* and *Bulrushes*.

Examination of CHAP. L.

Peace.

TO the arguing against the *Magistrates civil* power in *spiritual* causes taken from the *nature* of the *Magistrates* weapons (a *material* earthly and worldly sword, distinguished from the two-edged sword of *Christis spiritual* power in the mouth of *Christ*) Master Cotton replies,

First, the *Magistrate* must governe his people in *Righteousness*, and it is *Righteous* to defend his people in their *Spiritual* Rights, as well as in their *civil* Rights.

Spiritual rights
and civil.

This *distinction* of *spiritual* and *civil* *Righteousness* doth truly anatomize the cause; It is righteous for the *Magistrates* to defend their *subjects* in their *civil* Rights, for it is within the compass of his *calling*, being essentially *civil*: And unless we also grant him a *spiritual* calling and office (which is the Point denied) tis beyond his *calling* and compass to judge of what is *spiritual* Right and wrong, and accordingly to pass a *spiritual* sentence, and and execute and inflict *spiritual* punishment.

The civil Magistrate not bound to defend spiritual rights.

Peace. Methinks I may add, if the *Magistrate* be bound to defend his *Subjects* in their *spiritual* rights, then as he is bound impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their severall and respective *civil* Rights, so is he bound as impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their severall and respective *spiritual* Rights; and so accordingly to defend the *Jews*, the *Papists*, and all severall sorts of *Protestants* in their severall and respective *consciences*; or else, he must sit down in *Christis* head, and produce a *Royal* charter from the *New Testament* of *Christ Iesus* to judge definitively which is the onely right, to pass sentence, and execute *spiritual* punishment on all offenders &c.

Peace. But Master Cotton adds a second, the sword was *Material* and civil in the *Old Testament*.

I answer, If Master Cotton granted a *national church* under the Gospel, his Argument were good; but when he grants that *national church* under the *Jews* (as afterward in this chapter he doth) did type out the *Christian church* or *churches* in the Gospel, why must he not grant that material Sword of the *Church of Israel*

rael

rael types out the *spiritual sword of Christ Iesus*, proceeding out of his mouth, and cutting off offenders *spiritually* with *spiritual* and *souls-punishments*? And I add, As the sword was *material*, so also was the *Tabernacle* and *Temple* worldly and *material*; which he denies not to be typical of the *spiritual Temple* of *Christ* and his *Church* in the New Testament.

Peace. Master Cotton adds (Thirdly) that the *Magistrates Sword* may well be call'd the *Sword of God*, as the *Sword of War*, *Judg. 7.*

Truth. As it was call'd *Iehovahs Sword* in that typical Land; So must it needs be typical as well as the Land it self, which is also called by the Prophets. *Iehovah's Land. Emanuels land*; which *names* and *titles* I think Master Cotton will not say are competent and appliable to any other *Lands* or *Countries* under the *Gospel*, but onely to the *Spiritual Canaan* or *Israel*, the *Church* and people of *God*. the true and onely *Christendome*.

Peace. But (Fourthly) saith he, they are called *Gods*, and shall they not attend *Gods work*?

Truth. In the state of *Israel* they were *Gods* deputies to attend the causes of *Israel*, the then onely *Church of God*: But Master Cotton can produce no parallel to that, but the *Christian Churches* and people of *God*, not *national* but *Congregational &c.*

2. Grant the *Magistrates* to be as *Gods*, or strong ones in a *Resemblance* to *God* in all *Nations* of the world, yet that is still within the compass of their calling, which being confessed to be *essentially civil*, the *civil work* of these servants of the *Commonweal* is *Gods work*, as well as *Paul* calls (in a sense) the work of the servants of the *Family*, *Gods work*, for which he pays the wages. *Eph. 5.*

Lastly, for *spiritual* causes we know the *Lord Iesus* is call'd *God*, *Psal. 45. Heb. 1.* whose *Scepter* and *Kingdome* being essentially *spiritual*, the *administrations* which he hath appointed are also *spiritual*, and of an heavenly and soul *Nature*.

Peace. Master Cotton (Fifthly) adds, *Revel. 17.* The *Kingdoms* of the *World* are become the *Kingdoms* of the *Lord*, and of his *Christ*.

Truth. How the *Kingdoms* of the *World* shall become the *Kingdoms of Christ*, is no final *mystery* and *controversie*; but

grant

grant it to be true, that either *Christ Iesus* personally, or by his *Deputies* the Saints, shall rule all the *Nations* of the world in hearing and determining all *civil Controversies*: Yet why doth Master *Cotton* draw an Argument from this *Prophecie*, of what shall be in one *Age* or *Time* of the World, and to come, to prove an *Universal power* and *Exercise* of such power in all *Ages* and *times* since *Christ Iesus* his first coming to this day?

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cotton* may as well argue, that because it was prophesied that a *Virgin* should conceive, and bring forth a child in *Gods* appointed season, that therefore all *Virgins* must so conceive and so bring in forth all *ages* of the world.

But, (Lastly) saith Master *Cotton*, although the *nations* have not that typical *holiness* which the nation of *Israel* had; Yet all the Churches of the Saints have as much truth and realty of *holiness* as *Israel* had: And therefore, what holy care of *Religion* lay upon the *Kings* of *Israel* in the *Old Testament*, the same lyeth now upon *Christian Kings* in the *New Testament*, to protect the same in their Churches.

Christ Iesus in himself and his *spiritual officers* the onely Key of *Israel*.

Truth. Oh how neer the precious *Jewels*, and *Bargains* of *Truth*, come sometimes *Gods* Saints, and yet miss of the finding and going through with it! The *churches* of the *New Testament*, Master *Cotton* grants succeed the *Church* of *Israel*; The *Kings* and *Governours* therefore of the *churches* of *Christ* must succeed those *Kings* What *King* and *Governours* of *Israel* are now to be found in the *Gospel*, but *Christ Iesus* and his Servants, deputed in his absence, which are all of a *spiritual* consideration? What is this to the *Nations*, *Kings*, and *Governours* of the world; where few *Kings*, few *Nobles*, few *Wise*, are cald to profess *Christ*? Is not *Christ Iesus* the onely *King* of *Israel*; and are not all his holy ones made *Kings* and *Priests* unto *God*? And unto his *Saints*, and his *spiritual officers* *Administration* in the midst of them, is his *Kingdomes* power committed in his absence. This *spiritual* power, however the *Pope* and *prelates*, *Kings* and *Princes*, *Parliaments* and *General Courts*, and their respective *Officers* of *Justice* (to be honoured and obeyed in *civil things*,) I say however they have challenged and assumed this *Kingly Power* of the *Son of God*, yet the *King* of *Kings*, *Christ Iesus* hath begun to discover, and will never leave until he hath made it clear as

Christ Iesus robd of his crown.

the Sun Beames, that he is robd of his *crown*, and will shake, and break, all the *nations* and *Powers* of the world until his Heavenly *crown* be again restored.

Examination of CHAP. LI.

Peace.

TO the fourth *Argument* (Rom. 13.) from the *civil rewards* due to *Magistrates*; to wit. *custom*. *Tribute* &c. Master *Cotton* replies, That even the *contributions* of the *Saints*, are called *carnal* things; shall therefore their work be called *carnal*? It is true (saith he) the *contributions* of the *Saints* are called *holy*, because they are given to God for his service about holy things; So the *reward* given to *Magistrates*, is for their service about *Righteous* things: And it is righteous (saith he) to preserve the purity of *Doctrine* *Worship*. and *Government*, which if *Magistrates* do not, they do not deserve all their *wages*.

Of custome
tribute, &c.

Truth. It is true that *money* or *monies-worth* is the same for value in the *contribution* of the *Saints*, and in that of *custome*, *tribute* &c; and yet Master *Cotton* grants a *Holiness* of the *Saints* *contribution*, which he doth not affirme of *custome*, *tribute*, &c.

There is also a two fold way disputed, of preserving of the purity of *Doctrine* *worship*, &c.

Spiritual de-
fence for spiri-
tual right, &c.

First, That which I plead for, by *spiritual weapons* appointed by *Christ Iesus*.

Secondly, that of *Civil weapons*, *Force of Armes*, &c. which Master *Cotton* affirms. and I deny to be ever appointed by *Christ Iesus*, or able to accomplish a *spiritual* end, but the Contrary.

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cottons* *addition*, not a little concerns my self in the peace of all *Citties* and *Kingdomes*: for if (as Master *Cotton* saith) *Magistrates* shall not deserve all their *wages* except they preserve the *purity* of *Doctrine*, *worship* &c. (which upon the point is that *Doctrine* *Worship* and *Government* Master *Cotton* approves of) what is this (in effect) but to deny *tribute*, *custome* *subsidies*, &c. to *Caesar*, the *Kings* and *Governours* of the *Earth*, if they prove *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*: &c. I cannot see, but this

this in plaine *English* tendeth to little less then the *Papish bloody Doctrine* of deposing *heretical Kings &c.*

But Master Cotton further adds, that *spiritual wages* are to be paid to *Magistrates*. 1 *Tim. 2.* to wit, *Prayers, Intercessions &c.* If therefore (saith he) the *Magistrates* suffer their Subjects to live a quiet life in *ungodliness* and *Dishonesty*, the *Magistrate* falls short of returning *spiritual* recompence for the *spiritual Duties* and *services* performed for them.

Touching prayer for all in authority.

2 *Tim. 2.*

Truth. Those prayers are not the proper *wages* paid to *Magistrates* for their work; for then should they not be paid (as the *Spirit* of God there exhorteth) to all men, whether *Magistrates* or not.

Peace. And I may add, nor paid to those *Magistrates* that are *Idolatrous Blasphemous Persecutors*: But those prayers were to be poured forth for such *Magistrates* (such as most of the *Magistrates* in the *world* then were and are.) Those prayers then were a general *Duty* to be paid to all men, and especially to the *chiefe* and *principal*, *Kings* and all that are in *Authority*.

Gross Slavery.

Truth. Now further, wherein it is said that such *Magistrates* as suffer the people to live in *ungodliness*, fall short in returning *spiritual* Recompence: I answer, By this *Doctrine*, most of the free *Inhabitants* of the *world*, who live in ignorance of *God*, and in *abominable Religions* without him, must yet be supposed to choose and set up such *Ministers* or *Servants* of *civil Justice* amongst them, who during their *termes* of *administration* or *service*, should not suffer their *Choosers* and *Makers* to enjoy their owne *Conscience*, but force them to that, which their *Officers* shall judge to be *Godliness*; but the *neck* of no free people can bow to such a *Yoke* and *Tyrany*.

Civil Ministers and Spiritual.

Peace. But (lastly) to that *Argument* of *Rom. 13.* from the *title* which *God* gives to *Magistrates* to wit, *Gods Ministers*, and to the *Distinction* of *Spiritual Ministers* for *spiritual*, and *civil Ministers* for *civil* matters; Master Cotton replies. If *Magistrates* be *Gods Ministers* or *Servants*, then must they do his work, and be for *God* in matters of *Religion*: And further, saith he, *Magistracy* is of *God*, for *light* of *Nature*, and not onely for *civil* things, but also in matters of *Religion*; and he produceth divers instances of *Pagans zeal* for their *Religion*, and worship.

Truth. Because *Magistrates* are *Gods Servants*, or *Ministers* *civil*,

civil, and receive *civil* wages for their *civil* service; will it therefore follow that they must attend, and that chiefly, and principally a *spiritual* work? That *noble-man* or *Lord*, that lets one to keep his *children*, and another to keep his *sheep*, expects not of him appointed to keep his *sheep* (though a *Minister* or *Servant*) to attend upon the keeping of his *children*, nor expects he of the *waiter* on his *children* to attend the keeping of his *sheep*.

The God of heaven hath several sorts of Ministers.

Tis true, that *Magistracie* is of God, but yet no otherwise then *Marriage* is being an *estate* meerly *civil* and humane, and lawfull to all *Nations* of the World, that know not God.

Tis true that *Magistrates* be of God from the *light* of nature; but yet, as the *Religions* of the World, and the *worlds* zealous contending for them, with persecuting of others, are from the *Father* of lies and murder from the beginning; so seldome is it seen, that the *nations* of the world have persecuted or *punished* any for error, but for the *truth*, condemned for error.

Ordinarily the Truth is persecuted.

Peace. Alas, who sees not that all *nations* and people bow down to *Idols* and *Images* (as all the world did to *Nebuchadrezzars* Image.) If any amongst them differ from them, it is commonly in some *truths*, which God hath sent amongst them, for witnessing of which they are persecuted.

Truth. Your observation (deare *peace*) is evident from the *cases* of those *Philosophers*, by Master *Cotton* alledged; how weak and poor therefore is that *Argument* from the zeal of *Pagans*, &c. It is evident that such *Builders*, frame by no other then that of *nature* depraved and rotten, and not by the *Goulden* reed of the glorious gospel of *Christ Jesus*.

Examination of CHAP. LI.

Peace.

IN the discourse concerning that terme, *Evil*, Master Cotton produceth *Parens*, who makes that *Evil* punishable by the *Magistrate*, fourfold, *natural*, *civil*, *moral*, and *spiritual*.

Truth. That excellent and holy *witnesse* of Christ Jesus (in many of his precious *truths*) *Parens* being here produced without Scripture or *Argument*, for the *Magistrates* punishing of the fourth sort of *evil*; to wit *spiritual*: nor answering my *Arguments* brought against such an *Interpretation*, gives me occasion of no further answer to Master Cotton or him in this place.

Peace. Whereas it was alleaged, that the *Elders* of the *New English Churches*, in the model prohibite (*expressly*) the *Magistrates* from the punishing or taking notice of some *Evils*, and that therefore as they ascribe to the *Civil Magistrates*, more then God gives, so they take away and disrobe him of that *Authority*, which God hath cloathed him with: Master Cotton replies, when we say that the *Magistrate* is an avenger of *evil*, we mean of all sorts, or kindes of *evil*, and not every particular of each kind; and further he saith, that *domestick evils* may be healed in a domestick way.

Truth. I readily concur with him, that the *Magistrate* may not punish *evils* that he knowes not of in a due and orderly way sufficiently proved before him; as also, that many *domestick evils* are best healed in a *domestick way*; but yet that *Limitation* added, to wit, without acquainting the *Church* first) seems to bind the *Magistrates* hand, where no true *Church* of Christ is, to acquaint with such things) yea and further where it is, why should the *Magistrate* be denied, to exercise his power in cases meely *civil* (the old practice of the *Popish Church*?) And to whom should the *Servant* or *Child* or *Wife*, petition and complaine against *oppression*, unless to the publike *Father*, *Master*, and *Husband* of the *Commonweal*? And therefore from their own *Interpretation*, they may well spare that strict and literal *acception* of the word *evil* and cease to cry *Herefie* is *evil*, *Idolatrie evil*, *Blasphemie evil*. &c.

CHAP.

Touching the
tearme *Evil*,
Rom. 13.

The *civil Ma-*
gistrate robbed
of his *civil*
power.

Examination of CHAP. LIII,

Answering to

Chap. LIII, LIV, LV.

Peace.

IN these three Chapters, the last Reason which the Author of the Arguments against persecution produced, was discussed; to wit, that the disciples of Christ should be so far from persecuting, that contrariwise they ought to bless such as curse them, &c. and that because of the freeness of Gods grace, and the deepness of his counsels, calling home them that be enemies, persecutors, no people, yea some at the last hour. In answer to which, Master Cotton complaineth that two of his Answers were omitted; and suspecteth that as children skip over hard places, so they were skipt over, &c.

Truth. It is true; those two answers were omitted, not because the chapter was too hard, &c. but because the Discussor saw (nor sees) not any controversy or difference between Master Cotton and himself in those passages; and also studying brevity and contraction, as Master Cotton himself hath done, omitting far more, and contracting three Chapters in one, in this very passage.

Upon the same ground, I see no need of mentioning his Reply in these three Chapters, wherein Master Cotton concurs in the point of the necessity of tolerating even notorious offenders in the State in some cases.

Peace. The result of all agitations in this passage is this: Master Cotton denies not but that in some cases a notorious malefactor may be tolerated, and consequently (as I understand him) an heretick, seducer, &c. But that ordinarily it is not lawful to tolerate a seducing teacher, and that from the clearness of Gods command, *Deut. 13.* and from the reason of it, *vers. 10, Because he hath sought to turn thee away from the Lord thy God.* Withal he concludes, that all Moses capital Politicks are eternal.

Truth. Thus far is gained, that it was no vain exception against Master Cotton's general proposition, to wit, that it is evil to tolerate

notorious *evil doers, seducing teachers, scandalous livers*, because he sees cause of toleration in some cases.

Peace. Yea but, saith he, In ordinary cases it is not lawful to tolerate, from *Deut. 13*.

The land of Israel a type.

Truth. I am of Master Cotton's minde : It is not lawful for *Israel*, that is, the Church of God, to tolerate : and the reason it pleaseth the Lord to alleadge, is *eternal*. But what is this to the nations of the world, the *states, cities, and kingdoms* thereof ? Let Master Cotton finde out any such land or state that is the Church and *Israel* of God. Yea Master Cotton confesseth in a fore-going passage, that the Church is the *Israel* of God : Then must he with me acknowledge that this *Deut. 13*. only concerns the *Israel* or Church of God, whom Christ *Jesus* furnished with spiritual weapons against such spiritual offenders.

Peace. But I wonder that Master Cotton should say that *Moses capitals* are *eternal*.

Truth. I wonder not, because I have seen in print sixteen or seventeen *capital evils* (a great part of them of a *spiritual* nature) censured with death in *New England*.

And yet again, me thinks it is wonderful, since Master Cotton knows how many of *Moses capitals* were of a *ceremonial* nature. The breach of the *sabbath*, the not coming to keep the *pasche-over*, (for neglect whereof the *Israelites* were to be put to death) how can Master Cotton make these *eternal* in all nations ?

Peace. How many millions of millions of Heads (and not a few of the highest) in our own and other Nations, would soon feel the *capital calamity* of such a *capital bloody Tenent*, if Master Cotton swayed the *Scepter* of some of the worlds former or present *Cesars* ?

Truth. And yet I readily affirm, that *spiritually* and *mystically* in the Church and Kingdom of Christ, such evils are to be *spiritually* (and so *eternally*) punished.

CHAP. LIV, Replying to Chap. LVI. Examined.

Peace.

IN this 56 Chap. were observed two evils in Mr. Cottons conjoyning of *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers*, as the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress and punish: Unto which Master Cotton replies, First, That he no where makes it the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* saying, that it ought to be the care of the *church* to suppress and punish *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* in a *church-way*, as well as the *Magistrates* in a *civil way*.

Truth. By this Doctrine, Master Cotton will seem to deny it, to be the *Magistrates* proper and adequate object to punish scandalous livers, because the *church* also (saith he) is to make it her work also.

Touching false and seducing Teachers.

It is true, if a scandalous liver be of the *church*, and fall into any scandal, she by the *ruls* and *power* of *Christ* ought to recover him in the *spirit* of *meekness*: but yet the punishing of him with temporal punishment, who will deny it to be the proper work of the *civil state*?

But (Secondly) what if the *seducing teacher*, or *scandalous liver*, be neither of them members of the *Church* (and the *church* hath nought to do to judge them without) will not Master Cotton then affirm the *seducing Teacher*, or *scandalous liver* to be the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work?

Peace. When it was excepted against that things of such a different *nature* and kind, as *seducing Teachers*, and *scandalous livers*, should be coupled together at the *civil Bar*? Master Cotton replies, that both these agree in one common kind, to wit, they are *evil* and destructive to the common good of *Gods* people, which ought to be preserved both in *church* and *Commonweal*: If a man shall say (saith he) that the *work* of *creation* on the sixth day, was either of *man* or of *Beast*, is here any such commixture.

Truth. Were Master Cotton the *worlds* Monarch, what

Monstrous Mixture, bloody

bloody *reformati*ons or destructions rather, would he fill the world withal, if he walk by such rules and principles? for, what *religi*ons or almost men (all the world over) would he finde not opposite and destructive to *Gods* people.

2. But (Secondly) an historical narration of *Gods* works on man or *Beast*, *Birds*, *Fishes*, and all creatures *Cœlestial* and *Terrestrial* is one thing: But to mix them together in *doings* or *sufferings* inconsistent with, and improper to their kinds is another thing, far different and insufferable: As for a man to affirme that a man and a beast sin'd against their *Maker*, and therefore were justly punished with spiritual *blindness* and *hardness* of heart, loss of *Gods Image* &c. The same difference and no less is between transgressors against the *heavenly state* and *kingdome* of *Christ*, and the *earthly state* or *Commonweal* of *Cities*, *kingdomes*, &c.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, that it is more tolerable for seducing Teachers to *seduce* those who are in the same gall of *bitterness*, as for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans* &c.

Truth. That is but in the degree, and so (according to his supposition) must be punished gradually; but what is this to prove *seducing* Teachers as well as *scandalous* livers, the joynt object of the *civil sword*?

Peace. Why doth Master say it is more tolerable for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans*. *Antichristians*, *Antichristians*? What Scripture doth he produce for this toleration, this *indulgence*, this *partiality*? All that is here said, is this, We look at it as more tolerable?

Truth. One thing is shroudly to be suspect in this matter, and that is a most *unchristian partiality*, in directing the sword of the *Magistrate* to fall heaviest on such seducers only, as trouble his conscience, his *Doctrine*, *Worship*, and *Government*: suppose in some of the *Cities* of *Holland*, *Poland*, or *Turke* (where some freedom is) that *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Antichristians* and *Christians* (that is *Christians* of Master *Cottons* conscience) together with *Turkes* were commingled in civil cohabitation and commerce together: Why now shall that *Turke* that hath seduced one of Master *Cottons* conscience to *Mahumetanisme*, be more punished for that crime, then for turning a *Jew*, *Pagan*, or *Papist* to his *Belief* and worship? What warrant shall the *Magistrate* of such a *city* or place

The great difference of evil and sin, as against the civil or spiritual estate.

Gross partiality the bloody doctrine of persecution.

place finde to their souls; either for striking at all with the *civil sword* in such a case? or else in dealing such partial blows among the people?

Peace. I fear that *Gods* own people (of this opinion) see not the deceitfulness of their own heart, crying up the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, Nursing fathers, Nursing mothers, &c. when all is but to escape the bitter sweeting of *Christs* cross, so dashing in pieces the most wise *councils* of the father, concerning his blessed Son and his followers: to whom he hath (ordinarily) allotted in this world, the portion of sorrow and suffering, and of raining and triumphing after the battel fought and *victory* obtained in the world approaching.

Great shifting
to escape Christs
cross.

Peace. But Master Cotton will say, that in such fore-mentioned cases, such *Magistrates* must suspend punishments for religion, &c.

Truth. I say, consequently all or most of the *Magistrates* in the world must suspend and none but some few of his *conscience* (by his *doctrine*) shall be found fit, to use the *civil sword*, in matter of *Religion*, and that is (in plaine *English*) to fight o. ly for his *conscience*.

Peace. But to proceed it will behard (saith Master Cotton) for the discussor to finde *Antichristian seducers* clear from *disobedience* to the *civil laws* of the state, in case that *Antichrist* (to whom they are sworn) shall excommunicate the *civil magistrate*, and prescribe the *civil state* to the invasion of his followers.

Truth. Most properly *seducing teachers* sin against the church and *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, which is erected and governed according to *Christ Jesus*, she is a Castel or Fort sufficiently provided with all sorts of heavenly *ammunition* against all sorts of her *spiritual* adversaries: yea and in the desolation of the churches (during the *Apostacy*) *Christ Jesus* (as I have elsewhere observed) hath not left his *witnesse* destitute of terrible *defence* against all gainesayers: But grant (what Master Cotton supposeth) such seducers from *obedience* to the *civil state*, &c. Such as the Seminaries and bringers over of Pope *Pius* the 5 his Bul against *Queen Elizabeth* &c. The answer is short and plain, civil officers bear not the sword in vain; when the *civil state* is assaulted as the *spiritual officers* and *governors* of the church bear not in

Christian wea-
pons.

vain the *spiritual* and *two-edged sword* coming out of the *mouth* of Christ.

Peace. Whereas now (secondly) there was observed by the Dissuffer in such coupling off [*seducing teachers & scandalous livers*] a silent and implicate *justification* of the Jews and Gentiles their coupling *Christ Jesus* and his followers, as *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*, *Christ* between *two thieves*, &c. The sum of what Master Cotton replies, is, that the *Lord Jesus* and his followers suffering under those names, weakens not the hand of *Authority* to punish such who are *seducing teachers & scandalous livers*.

Christ Jesus
between two
Thieves.

Truth. It hath ever been the portion of the *Lord Jesus* and his followers (for the most part theirs onely) to be accounted *seducing teachers*, *deceivers* and *cheaters* of the people, *blasphemous* against God, *seditions* against the State; and accordingly to be numbered (as *Christ Jesus* between *two thieves*) both in *esteem* and *punishment* with scandalous and notorious *malefactors*; and this for no other cause, but cause of *conscience* in spiritual matters, and most commonly for differing from and witnessing against the several *State* and *City-Religions* and *Worships* wherein they lived.

Peace. If the *Jews* (notwithstanding their fair colours to the contrary) walking in the doctrine of *Persecution* for *conscience*, justified their *fathers* for murdering the *Prophets*, &c. I cannot (*dear Truth*) but subscribe to your sorrowful observation that Master Cotton and others (otherwise excellent servants of God) in coupling *seducing teachers* and *scandalous livers*, as the proper object for the *civil sword* to strike at, they do no other but act the *Jews* true *Antitype*, coupling *Christ Jesus* the *seducing teacher* with *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* and *murderer*.

Truth. Yea, and who sees not how often *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* is cried out of the *Magistrates* hands by the scandalous people, while *Christ Jesus* in his servants is cried to the *Cross*, to the *Gallows*, to the *Stake*, to *Banishment*, &c. Their Persecutors also are applauded, for (not persecuting men for their *Consciences*, but) *righteously*, *legally* (and with great sorrow) punishing them for sinning against their own *conscience*, for disturbing of the *civil State* and *peace*, for contemning of *Magistrates*, *Kings* *Queens*, and *Parliaments*, for blaspheming *God*, and for *seducing* and *destroying* the souls of the people.

horrible
sacrifice of
all persecutors

CHAP. 55. *Replying to* CHAP. 66. *Exam.*

Peace. **T**HE Discusser admired in this Chap: how Mr. Cotton should alledge (*Revel. 2.*) *Christs charge* against the Church of Pergamus for tollerating them that hold the *Doxtrine of Balaam*, and against the Church of Thiatira for tollerating *Jezabell* to teach and seduce: Mr Cotton here replies, that he meant not in alledging those Scriptures to prove it unlawfull for *Magistrates* to tollerate seducing Teachers, but unlawfull for Churches: adding that the Letter of the Prisoner was so stated, in *generall termes* that he knew not (upon the point) what *Tolleration* or *Persecution* should be meant or intended, otherwise then *generall* against all *Persecution* for *Conscience*, withall affirming that an unjust *Excommunication* is as true *Persecution* as unjust *Banishment*.

Christs charge to Pergamus and Thiatira against Tolleration examined.

Truth. It is true what Mr Cotton saith, An unjust *Excommunication* is as true *Persecution* as an unjust *Banishment*, and therefore some may justly complaine against Mr Cotton and others, for practicing such *persecution* in both kindes, being not onely *banned* from their *civill State*, but unjustly (and after the Popes way) *Excommunicated* also, from their Churches, but of that more elsewhere.

False Excommunication one kinde of persecution.

2. We doe not in ordinarie *English* read, but that the word *Persecution* is taken for *civill corporall violence* and punishment inflicted on the *body* for some spirituall and religious matter; according to the Lord *Christ* his words to *Paul*, *Acts 9.* *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*

The word Persecution how ordinarily it is taken.

3. The passages in the Letter shew that the whole *scope* of the Letter was to contend against outward *violence* and *corporall affliction* in matters of *Conscience*.

Peace. It may not be a lost Labour (*Deare Truth*) to draw a taste of some passages in the Letter.

Truth. For further satisfaction, my paines shall be a pleasure; and first

From the *Arguments* from holy *Scripture*, observe *Luc. 9.* the Lord *Christ* reproving his two *zealous Disciples*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of: The Son of Man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.

Persecution ordinarily implies corporall violence.

Againe, That of the Prophets, *Isaiah* and *Micah*, They shall breake their *Swords* into *Mattocks*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*.

Againe, *Christs* charge unto his *Disciples*, that they should be so farre from persecuting those that would not be of their *Religion*, that when they were persecuted, they should pray and blesse, &c.

Peace. These holy Passages (Me thinks) are not unlike the *Stones* in *Dauids* sling, smooth and plaine enough, yet powerfull and dreadfull, both against this *Goliath Tenent* of persecution, and also prove a corporall persecution intended.

Truth. Now a taste of the speeches of severall *Kings* produced by the prisoner.

1. That of King *James*; God never loves to plant his *Church* by *Violence* and *Bloudshed*.

2. That of *Stephen King* of *Poland*; I am King of *Men*, not of *Consciencs*, of *Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

3. Of the King of *Bohemia*; When ever *Men* have attempted any thing in this violent course, the issue hath been ever pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderfull *Innovations*.

4. Another of King *James*; That he was resolved not to persecute or molest, or suffer to be persecuted or molested any Person whatsoever, for matter of *Religion*.

In the third place, a taste of the *Speeches* of the ancient Writers produced by the *Prisoner*.

1. That of *Hilarius*; That *Church* which formerly by enduring *miserie* and *imprisonment*, was knowne to be the true *Church*, doth now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *miserie*.

2. Of *Jerome*; *Herésie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, Let us strike through with the *Arrowes* of the *Spirit*; implying, not with other weapons.

3. Of *Luther* in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate*; The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrate* extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods*. And againe upon *Luk. 22*. It is not the true *Catholike church* which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane *Power*.

Lastly, The *Papists* in their Booke for *Tolleration*; When *Christ* bids his *Disciples* to say, *peace* to this house, he doth not send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoyle the house.

Lastly,

Speeches of Princes against Persecution.

Lastly, The Prisoner in answering some Objections, concludeth; It is no prejudice to the Common-wealth, if Libertie of Conscience were granted to such as feare God indeed: He also alledged that many Sects lived under the Government of Cæsar, being nothing hurtfull unto the Common-weale.

Peace. From these severall Tafts (Deare Truth) I cannot imagine how the Prisoner can be understood to cast the least glance unto spirituall persecution or prosecution, as Mr Cotton in this Chap: calls it: But to end this Chapter: When as the Power of Christ Jesus in his Church was argued sufficient for spirituall ends, Mr Cotton grants both for the healing of sinners, and for keeping of the Church from Guilt, but not for the preventing of the spreading of false Doctrine, among those out of the Church, and in private among Church-Members: nor sufficient to cleare the Magistrates of a Christian State from the Guilt of Apostasie in suffering such Apostates amongst them, &c.

Truth. I have in other Passages of this Discourse proved;

1. That Christ Jesus (whiles his Churches and Ordinances flourished, and since the Apostasie of Antichrist in the hands of his Witnesses) hath gloriously and sufficiently furnished his Servants for all spirituall cases of all sorts, defending, offending, &c.

2. That there is no other Christian State acknowledged in the New Testament, but that of the Christian Church or Kingdome, and that not Nationall but Congregationall. No Civill Christian State.

3. That the Apostles or Messengers of Christ Jesus never addressed themselves by Word or Writing to any of the Civill States wherein they lived and taught, and were mightily opposed and blasphemed. I say they never ran to borrow the Civill Sword, to helpe the two edged Sword of Christ Jesus, against Opposers, Schismaticks, Hereticks. The Lord Jesus was a wiser King then Solomon, even Wisdome it selfe, and cannot without great Dishonour and Derogation to his Wisdome and Love, be imagined to leave open such Gaps, such Leakes, such Breaches in the Ship and Garden of his Church and Kingdome. Christ's Sword.

The Exam: of Chap. 56. replying to 58. & 59.

Peace. **T**O the first observation, that Mr Cotton urgeth that Princes are nurcing Fathers to feede and correct (and consequently must judge of feeding and correction, and all men are bound to submit to such their feeding and correction :) Mr Cotton sayth, This is false and fraudulent so to collect, and these are devised Calumnies.

Truth. It will evidently appeare, how greatly Mr Cotton forgets the Matter and Himselfe, when he so deeply chaargeth, for all this he granteth in this his Reply, onely with this Limitation, that Subjects are bound to submit to them herein when they judge according to the Word. This Limitation takes not away the observation, for it is alway implied in subjection to all Civill Rulers, Fathers, Husbands, Masters, that it be according to the Word.

Peace. Yea but sayth he, it is a Notorious Calumnie so to represent Mr Cottons dealing with Princes, as if he made his owne Judgement and practice the Rule of the proceeding of Princes.

Truth. Let it be laid in the Ballance, and seene where the Calumnie or slander lies: Princes or Civill Rulers, saith Mr Cotton, are Fathers to feed and correct; and their Judgement ought therein to be obeyed according to the Word. Now some Princes and Rulers declare themselves against Mr Cottons Tenent of persecution for conscience. Mr Cotton will answer; The profession and practice of Princes is no rule to Conscience. I reply, and ask, who shall judge of Princes profession and practice, when they thus feed and judge in spirituall matters? whether their profession and practice be according to the Word or no? Mr Cotton (when Princes are alleadged against his judgement and conscience) pleads, that Princes profession and practice is no rule: Let all men judge whether his judgement and conscience be not made the Rule to the consciences and practices of Princes, whom yet he makes the nurcing Fathers.

Peace. When it was further demanded, whether Mr Cotton and others of his minde could submit in spirituall cases to any Magistrates in the world, but onely to those just of his owne Conscience?

Nurcing Fathers dealt withall as children.

science? He answers, they will submit to any in *Active* or *Passive* obedience.

Truth. But how can Mr Cotton suppose *Active* obedience in *spirituall* things to such *Magistrates*, who are *Pagans*, *Turkish*, *Antichristian*, and unable to judge, and bound (by his *Doctrin*e) to suspend their Dealings upon matter of *Religion*, untill they be better informed? What *Active* obedience can I be supposed to give to him that hath no *Activitie* nor *Abilitie* to command and rule me? And must it not evidently follow, that *Active* obedience in these cases (according to his *Judgement*) must onely be yeilded to such *Magistrates* as are able to judge the true *Religion* and way of *Worship*; That is, the *Religion* and *Worship* which he takes to be of *God*.

Active obedience cannot be given but to a competent *Judge*.

Peace. Whereas it was said, will it not follow that all other *Consciences* in the world, besides their owne must be persecuted by such their *Magistrates* (were power in their hand)? Mr Cotton replies, no; except all Mens *consciences* in the world did erre *fundamentally* against the *Principles* of *Christian Religion*, or *fundamentally* against *Church-Order*, and *Civill Order*, and that in a *tumultuous* and *façious* manner; for in these cases onely (sayth he) we allow *Magistrates* to punish in matters of *Religion*.

Truth. I have and must observe the *Evill* of that *Distinction* between *Christian Religion* and *Christian Order*, as not finding any such in the *Testament* of the *Sonne of God*, but finding *Church-Order* a *principall* part of the *Christian Religion*, as well as *Repentance* and *Faith*, Heb. 6.

But (2.) grant once Mr Cottons *Religion* and way of *Worship* to be the onely true *Religion* and way of *Gods Worship*, and all other *Religions* and wayes of *Worship* false, how can that *Errour* be otherwise then *fundamentall*? And if other mens *Consciences* attend not to Mr Cottons *convictions*, but obstinately maintaine their blasphemous *Religions*, how can the *Magistrates* of his *conscience* be dispenced with and absolved from persecuting such *obstinate Consciences* throughout the whole *World* beside?

Persecutors, if it were in their power, would, and are bound to persecute all *Consciences* and *Religions* in the *World*.

Peace. When it was further demanded, if this were not to make *Magistrates* *Staires* and *Stirrups* for themselves (the *Clergie*) to mount up in the seats and saddles of their great and settled *Maintenance*? Mr Cotton replies, this is rather to make them

them *Swords* and *Staves* to punish them (if need be) for *Hereticall Delinquencie* : 2. Their *Magistrates* themselves fall short of great and settled *Maintenance* : And lastly, Himselfe liveth upon no great and settled *Maintenance*.

Truth. It is true Mr *Cotton* allows the same *Power* to *Magistrates* to punish all *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, one as well as another : But what if it should fall out that his *Magistrates* should declare themselves for the *Pope*, or for the *Prelates*, or for the *Presbyters*, yea, or for some other way then is professed : and left it free for each mans *conscience* to worship as he believed, and to pay or not pay toward this or that *Worship* or *Ministrie*, according to his owne *perswasion* more or lesse, any thing or nothing, will not Mr *Cotton* then plead that such *Magistrates* themselves (*Apostatizing* from the *Truth* of God, and turning *Enemies* (as the *Pope* clamours) to the holy *Church*) I say, that such ought not onely to be accursed with the lesser and greater *Censures* of *Suspention* and *Excommunication*, but also punished with *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, and *Death* : Or if they finde the mercy of *Life* and *Favour* of an *Office* (by some over-ruling *Providence*) will not Mr *Cotton* then pleade that such *Magistrates* ought to suspend their *Power* to hould their hands, and not to medle untill they be better informed, &c. Into such poore withered *Strawes* and *Reedes* will the *Allowance* of *Swords* and *Staves*, Mr *Cotton* here speakes of come to ? Concerning the seats and sadles of great and settled *maintenance* of *Magistrates*, the *Discusser* spake not, but heartily wisheth their *Maintenance* as great and settled, as he knowes their *Labours* and *Travells* and *Dangers* be : He spake onely of *Ministers* great and settled *maintenance*.

Peace. O *Truth*, this is the *Apple* of the *Eye*, the true cause of so much *combustion* all the *World* over, especially *Popish* and *Protestants*.

Truth. Indeed this was the cause (as *Erasmus* told the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, that *Luther* was so stormed at) because he medled with the *Popes Crowne* and the *Monkes Bellies*. To obtaine these warme and soft and rich seats and sadles (who ever stand or goe on foote, or creepe, or beg, or Starve) the *Prelates* practises all Ages know. Yea and other *practises* of some of late, who (with the *Evill Steward* providing wisely) first made sure of

All persecutors
hould the Popes
traiterous Do-
ctrine of depo-
sing hereticall
Princes.

The Popish and
Protestant Cler-
gie set the Po-
pish and Prote-
stant World on
fire for their
Maintenance.

an Ordinance of Parliament for *Tithes* and *Maintenance*, before any Ordinance for God Himselfe.

Peace. This is that indeed which the *Politick State of Holland* well foresaw, when they were lamentably whipt by the King of *Spaines* (and Gods) Scourge, *Duke D'alva*, into a Toleration of other mens *Consciencs* : The *Politick States-men*, I say, saw a necessitie of stopping their *Dominies* Mouths with sure and settled *Maintenance* out of the *States* purse. Hence it is the *Dutch Ministers* zeale is not so hot against the Toleration of *Hereticks* in the *Civill State*, as the *English* hath been.

The Dutch dev-
vice to winne
their Clergie to
Tolleration of
other Religions.

Truth. To this purpose (sweet *Peace*) how fitly did that learned *Prideaux* once tell his Sons the *Oxford Doctors*, at one of their *Superstitious Creations*, that since they could not dig, and were ashamed to beg, they had great need (therefore) of settled *Maintenance*, This was but the *Evil Stewards* device, and (I adde) little better then stealing.

All that professe
to be Christs -
Ministers, must
Dig, or Beg,
or Steale.

Peace. Yea but sayth *Mr Cotton*, I live not so, &c.

Truth. One *Swallow* makes not a *Summer* : what others have done and doe, and what *practices* have been and are for a forced settled maintenance (as firme and settled as ever was the *Purish maintenance* of *Old England*) hath been, to the shame of *Christianitie*, too apparant : For *Mr Cotton* himselfe, as I envie not the *fatnes* of his *morselfs*, nor the *sweetnes* of his *Cups*, but wish him as large a *purse*, as I beleeve he hath an *Heart*, and a desire to doe good with it : Yet it hath been said, that his case is no *President*, because what he loofeth in the *Shire*, he gets in the *Hundreth*, and sits in as soft and rich a *sadle* as any throughout the whole *Countrey*, through the *greatnes* and *Richnes* of the *Marchandize* of the *Towne of Boston*, above other parts of the *Land*. The truth is, there is no *Tryall* of the good or *Evill* - *Servant* in this case, untill it comes to *Digging* or *Begging*, or the third way, viz: of *couzening* of the great *Lord & Master Christ Jesus*; by running to *carnall meanes* and *carnall weapons*, to force mens *purfes* for a rich and settled *Maintenance*.

Chap. 57. (replying to Chap. 60.) Examined.

Peace. Concerning *Princes* *Mr Cotton* addeth, that *Princes* out of *State policie*, doe sometimes tollerate what suits

suits not with *Christianitie* (as *David* did *Joab*) against their wills.

Unto this it was answered, that this agrees not with his former generall *Proposition*, to wit, that it was evill to Tollerate *seducing Teachers*, and *scandalous livers*; Mr *Cotton* replies; Yes, for *Moses* laid downe in generall, Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed; yet *Joab* was tollerated to live, &c.

Truth. If *Moses* had said; It is not lawfull to tollerate a *Murthurer*; and yet afterward had tollerated a *Murthurer*, his later practice would not have seemed harmonious to his former speech, but *Moses* did not so, and therefore I conceive is not rightly alledged.

Peace. Whereas it was further alledged, that that *State policie*, and *State necessitie*, which permitted the consciences of Men, will be found to agree most punctually with the *Rules* of the best *politician* that ever the world saw (the *Lord Jesus* himselve) who commanded the permitting of the *Tares*.

Mr *Cotton* replies, that he is not against the permitting of some *Antichristians*, or false *Christians*, unlesse they maintaine *fundamentall* Heresie against the *Foundation* of *Religion*, and that *obstinately* after *conviction*, and withall *seduce* others: But for such *Hereticks* and *seducing Teachers*, they are none of those *Tares*, of which *Christ* sayth, Let them alone.

Besides, sayth he, If by *Tares* are meant grosse offenders: then the speech of *Christ*, Let them alone, is not a word of command, but a word of permission and prediction; like that *Luc. 22. 36*. He that hath no *Sword*, let him sell his *Garment* and buy a *Sword*.

All *Antichristians* are fundamentally opposite to *Christ Jesus*.

Truth. I answer, that there should be *Antichristians*, or false *Christians*, which maintaine not *fundamentall* Heresie against *Foundation* of *Religion*, I thinke is new to the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and to the *Tryalls* the holy *Spirit* proposeth by *John* in his *Epistles*, discovering such to be the *Hereticks* and *Apostates*, as deny the *Lord Jesus* (as all *Antichristians* or false *Christians* doe more or lesse) to be come in the *Fleish* the true *Messiah*, and anointed *King*, *Priest*, and *Teacher* to his *Church*.

Peace. If Mr *Cotton* will make good his word, to wit, that he will permit some *Antichristians* or false *Christians*, methinks, the

the whole Tryall of this matter might well turne upon this Hinge, so that the true or false Christian be tryed by the Rules of the New Testament.

Truth. If so, he must undeniably subscribe to this great and Christian policie of permission or Toleration: As for the Exceptions following [Unless they maintaine Fundamentall Heresie, and unless they sin actually] These pull backe againe with the Left hand what merciful Freedome he had given before with the Right.

3. But lastly, by this Interpretation of, Let them alone, by way of permission and prædiction, it appears that Mr Cottons Thoughts are not without checks and doubtings what these Tares might be: For (sayth he) [if by Tares are meant grosse offendours] whereas before he spent much precious time to prove the Tares to be a kinde of closer Hypocrite.

Touching the Tares.

Moreover, all permission is of Evill, for some Good, so he, the permission of Tares for the Wheate sake: In which respect (as I conceive) the good Wheate is not so tendred, nor the Word of Christ so attended to by such, as presume (in pretence for the good wheate sake) to pluck up those Tares, unto whom Christ Jesus for the good Wheate sake, hath for a Time granted a permission.

Exam: of Chap. 58. replying to Chap. 61.

Peace. **W**Hereas the Discusser professedly waved any Argument from the number of Princes witnessing in profession or practice against persecution for cause of Conscience, Mr Cotton replies, that this is a yeelding of the Invaliditie of the Argument: But 2. that he urgeth not the number, but the greater pietie and presence of God with those Princes who have professed and practiced against Toleration.

Truth. As I would not use an Argument from the number of Princes about an heavenly matter (as knowing that the Kings and Rulers of the Earth commonly minde their owne Crownes, Honours, and Dominions, more then Gods; and such Princes as are called Christian, use Gods Name, Crowne, and Ord-

Policie store, but Pietie rare in Princes.

nances, as Jeroboam used Gods Name, and Jezabell used Fasting and prayer, for the advancement of their owne Crownes, and persecuting of the Innocent and Righteous) So neither would I rest in the Qualitie, Greatnes or Goodnes of any. That which I attend in this Argument is the Ground and Reasons of their Speeches; which may also have this Consideration to boote, that they are the Speeches of such who sit at the helme of great States, and were not ignorant of the Affaires of States, and what might conduce to the peace or disturbance, to the wealth or woe of a Common-weale. To their Ground and Reasons therefore I attend in the next Chapter.

Exam: of Chap. 59. replying to Chap. 62.

Peace. **I**N this Chap. the Consideration of the Speeches themselves, Mr Cotton sayth, he passed by, because, either the Reasons wanted waight, or did not impugne the cause in hand, as

A Speech of King James considered.

First, That Speech of King James; God never loved to plant his Church by Bloud: It is farre from us (sayth Mr Cotton) to compell men to yeeld to the Fellowship of the Church by bloudie Lawes or Penalties: Neverthelesse, this hindreth not but that his Blood may justly fall upon his owne head that shall goe about to supplant and destroy the Church of Christ.

Truth. How light or how impertinent soever these Speeches may seeme to Mr Cotton, yet to others (fearing God also) they are most *sollid* and *waighy*.

This Speech of King James seemes impertinent in this cause, because (sayth Mr Cotton) we compell no man by *bloudy Lawes* and *Penalties* to yeeld themselves to the Fellowship of the Church.

No Man to be forced from his owne worship, &c.

I answer, as Saul by persecuting of David in the Land of Canaan, and thrusting him forth of Gods Heritage, did as it were bid him goe serve other Gods in other Countries: So he that shall by bloudie Lawes and Penalties force any man from his owne Conscience and Worship, doth upon the point, say unto him, in a language of *bloud*, Come be of my Religion, &c.

2. *Peace.* Why should not *Men* as well be forced to the *Truth*, as forced from their *Errours* and *Erroneous practices*? Since (to keepe to the Similitude) it is the same *Power* that sets a *plant*, and plucks up *weedes*, which is true (mystically) in the *spirituall worke* of *Christ Jesus*, in his heavenly planting by his *Word* and *Spirit*.

3. *Truth.* I adde, if men be compelled to come to *Church* under such a *penaltie*, for *Absence* (as hath been practiced in *Old* and *New England*) How can *Mr Cotton* say, there is no forcing to the *Fellowship* of the *Church*; when (howsoever with the *Papists*) he makes so great difference, which *Christ* never made, between the *Lords Supper*, and the *Word* and *Prayer*, and say, that men may be forced to the hearing of the *Word*, but not to the *Supper*. Yet the *consciences* of *thousands* will testifie, that it is as truly grievous to them to be forced to the one as to the other, and that they had as lief be forced to the *meat* as to the *Broth*, to the more inward and retired *chambers* and *closets*, as into the *Hall* or *Parlor*, being but parts of the same house, &c.

Touching compelling to come to Church and to heare.

Peace. And I may adde (*Deare Truth*) that the bloudie *Imprisonments*, *Whippings* and *Banishments*, that have cryed, and will cry in *New England*, will not be stild untill the cry of *Repentance*, and the *bloud* of the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, put that cry to *silence*. But to the second Speech of *King James*, No marvell (sayth *Mr Cotton*) that I past by that Speech, to wit, [that *Civill obedience* may be performed by the *Papists*,] for I found it not in the *Letter*; and beside, how can *Civill obedience* be performed by *Papists*, when the *Bishop* of *Rome* shall *Excommunicate* a *Protestant Prince*, dissolve the *Subjects Oath*, &c.

A second Speech of King James.

Truth. I answer; *King James* professing concerning the *Oath* of *Allegiance* (which he tendred to the *Papists*, and which so many *Papists* tooke,) that he desired onely to be secured for *Civill Obedience*, to my understanding did as much as say, that he beleaved that a *Papist* might yeeld *Civill obedience*, as they did in taking this *Oath*, as quiet and peaceable *Subjects*, some of them being employed in places of *Trust*, both in his and in *Queene Elizabeths* dayes.

Papists may yeeld Civill obedience.

What though it be a *Papish Tenent*, that the *Pope* may so doe, and what though *Bellarmino*, and others, have maintained such

The Parliament at Paris, although Popish, yet condemned Bookes and Tenents against Civill obedience.

bloudie Tenents, yet it is no Generall Tenent of all Papists, and it is well knowne that a famous Popish Kingdome, the whole Kingdome of France assembled in Parliament in the yeare (so calld) 1610. condemned to the Fire the booke of *Johannes Marianus* for mainteining that very Tenent. And two moneths after *Bellarmines* booke it selfe was condemned to the Fire also, by the same Parliament for the same detestable Doctrines, as the Parliament calld it, as tending to destroy the higher Powers, which God hath ordained, stirring up the Subjects against their Princes, absolving them from their Obedience, stirring them up to attempt against their Persons, and to disturbe the common peace and quiet: Therefore all Persons who ever under Paine of High Treason, were forbidden to print, sell, or keepe that booke, &c.

Peace. This passage being so late, and so famous in so neere a Popish Countrie, I wonder how Mr Cotton could chaine up all Papists in an Impossibilitie of yeelding Civill obedience, when a whole Popish Kingdome breakes and abhorres the chaines of such bloudy and unpeaceable Doctrines and Practises.

All England Papists, and yet the Pope renounced.

2. Experience hath proved it possible for Men to hould other maine and fundamentall Doctrines of that Religion, and yet renounce the Authoritie of the Pope, as all England did under King Henry 8. when the six bloudie Articles were maintained and practiced, and in them the Substance of that Idolatrous Religion, although the Power of the Pope of Rome was generally acknowledged no other, then of a forreigne Bishop in his owne Diocesse.

A twofold holding the Pope as Head.

3. But grant the English Catholicks maintaine the Supream Authoritie of the Pope, even in England, it must be considered and declared how farre: If so farre, as to owne his Power of absolving from obedience (against which the aforesaid Parliament of Paris declared) the wisdom of the State knowes how to secure it selfe against such Persons. But if onely as Head of the Church in spirituall matters, & they give Assurance for Civill obedience, why should their Consciences more then others be oppressed?

Peace. Mr Cotton, (as all men and too justly in this Controversie) alledgeth the Papists practises, what ever professions otherwise have been: So long as they hould the Pope, they are sure

ure of a *Dispensation* to take any *Oath*, subscribe to any *Engagement*, and of *Absolution* for the *Acting* of any *Crime* of *Treason* or *Murder* against the chiefest *States-men*, and the *State* it selfe.

Truth. What is it that hath rendred the *Papists* so intraged and desperate in *England*, *Ireland*, &c? What is it that hath so imbittered and exasperated their minds, but the *Lawes* against their *Conscienc*es and *Worshipp*s?

Peace. The two *Sisters Lawes* compared, *Maries* and *Elizabeths*, concerning mens *Conscienc*es, while *Maries* were certainly written with *bloud* against the *Protestants*, *Elizabeths* may seeme to be written with *milke* against the *Papists*. *The two Sisters Lawes concerning Conscience.*

Truth. Deare *Peace*, *Chaines* of *Gold* and *Diamonds* are *chaines*, and may pinch and gall as sore and deepe, as those of *Brasse* and *Iron*, &c. All *Lawes* to force even the grossest *Conscience* (of the most besotted *Idolaters* in the world, *Jew* or *Turke*, *Papist* or *Pagan*) I say, all such *Lawes*, restraining from or constraining to *Worshipp*, and in matters meerly *Spirituall*, and of no *Civill* nature, such *Lawes*, such *Acts*, are *chaines*, are *yoakes*, not possibly to be fitted to the *Soules* neck, without *oppression*, and *exasperation*.

Peace. It is no wonder indeed that the *Brains* of those of the *Popish Faith* are so distempered and enraged by *yoakes* clapt on the neck of their *Conscienc*es, when *Solomon* the wisest observes it common : that *Civill oppression* (how much more *Soule-oppression*, the most grievous and intollerable) doth use to render the *Braines* of men (otherwayes most sober and judicious) *madde* and *desperate*.

2. *Truth*. I answer (secondly) grant the *Practices* of the *Papists* against the *Civill State*, fowle, dangerous, &c. yet why should there not be hope (according to the rules of *pietie* in *Scripture*, and *policie* in *Experience*) that the *coales* of *mercy* and *moderation* may melt the *Head* of an *Enemie*, as hard as any *stone* or *mettall*, and render *imbittered Enemies*, *loving Friends*, combined and resolved for their common *safetie* and *Liberties*. *Coales of moderation and kindnesse, may melt an Enemie, as David melted Saul, &c.*

Thirdly, Against the feare of *Evill practices* the *Wisdom*e of the *State* may securely provide, by just *cautions* and *provisoers*, as of *Subscribing* the *Civill Engagement*; of *yeelding* up their *Armes*, the *Instruments* of *mischiefe* and *disturbance*; of being *noted* *Cautions for preventing of disturbance by Papists, &c.*

noted (as the *Jewes* are. In some parts) by some *distinction* of or on their *Garments*, or otherwise, according to the *Wisdom* of the *State*. And without such or the like sufficient *cautions* given, it is not *Civill Justice* to permit justly suspected persons, dangerous to the *civill peace*, to abide out of places of *Securitie* and safe *Restraint*.

Peace. If such a *course* were steered with the *Consciences* of that *Religion*, yet are there some *Objections* waightly concerning the *Body* of the *People*.

First, There will be alwayes danger of *tumults* and *uproares* between the *Papists* and the *Protestants*.

Sufficient Provisions are made in other Nations, against Distractions and Tumults from opposite Consciences and Worships.

1. *Truth*. Sweet *Peace*, thou mayst justly be tender of the quiet *repose* and secure *Tranquillitie* of all men, and with *All men* (if it be possible, as the *Scripture* speaks) as thou art an heavenly daughter of the *God* of *peace* and *love*. But yet thou knowest the *Wisdom* of the *English State* needs not be taught from abroad (where *Libertie* abroad is granted to the *Papish* or *Protestant Consciences*) of making safe and sufficient provision against all *Tumults*, and feare of *uproares*.

Neveret Competitions, & homebred oppositions most of all exasperate, &c.

2. But secondly, it is too too fully and lamentably true, that the *Congregations* or *Churches* of the severall sorts of such as in whole or in part seperate from the *Parish worship* and *worshippers*, are faire more odious to, and doe more exasperate a thousand times, the *Parish Assemblies*, then the *Papists* or *Catholiques* themselves are or doe: So that if the *People* were let loose to take their choice of exercising *violence* and *furie*, either upon a *Popish* or a *Protestant Seperate Assembly*, it is cleare from the greater *corrivation* and *competition* (made by the *Protestants* that seperate,) to the true *Church*, true *Government*, true *Worship*, true *Ministrie*, true *Seales*, &c. the rage of the *People* would mount up incomparably fiercer against the one then the other: Hence it was the *Papists* ever found more favour with the last two *Kings* and their *Bishops*, then the *Puritans* (so called) did, and the seperate *Assemblies* were not so maligned by them as the *Nonconformists*, nor they so much as the very conforming *Puritans*. And therefore suitably it was belcht out from a fowle mouth *Rabshekeh*, a *Chaplain* to one of the late *Bishops*; A *plague* (said he) on all *Conforming Puritans*, they doe us most mischief. Notwithstanding all this, and the bitter *Indigna-*

dignation of People against these *Sectaries* (so called) and their *Assemblies*, yet the most holy *wisdom* of the *Father of Lights* hath taught the *Parliament of England* that wonderfull skill (in the midst of so many *Spirituall oppositions*) to preserve the *Civill peace* from the *dangers* and *occasions* of *civill Tumults* and *Distractions*.

The admired
Prudence of the
Parliament in
preserving Ci-
vill Peace.

Peace. Admit the *civill peace* be kept inviolate, yet how *fastidious* we the *feares* and *jealousies* of many who cry out of *danger* of *Infection*, and that *Jezabels Doctrine* will *leaven* and *seduce* the *Land*, &c.

Truth. I will not here repeat what in other parts of this booke I have presented touching that Point of *Infection*. At present, I answer;

First, It is to me most improbable, that (except the *Body of the Nation* face about from *Protestanisme* to *Poperie*) (as in *Queene Marias dayes*) that the number of *Protestants* turning *Papists*, will be great in a *Protestant Nation*, especially if such *securitie* be taken, as was above-mentioned, and otherwise, as the *State* shall order, &c. together with such publick *notes* and *markes* (before mentioned) on the *People* of that *Way*, because of their former *practices*.

Increase of Pa-
pists unlikely in
England.

Secondly, Yea, why should not rather the glorious *Beames* of the *Sunne* of *Righteousnesse* in the free *Conferrings*, *Disputings* and *Preachings* of the *Gospel of Truth*, be more hopefully like to expell those *Mists* and *Fogs* out of the *minds* of *Men*, and that *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, be brought home, not onely into the *common roade* and *way* of *Protestanisme*, but to the *grace* of true *Repentance* and *Life in Christ*. I say, why not this more likely, by farre, then that the *mists* and *fogs* of *Poperie* should over-cloud and conquer that most *glorious Light*.

Peace. 'Tis true, the holy *Historie* tells us of one *Sampson* laying heapes upon heapes of the proudest *Philistims*; of one *David*, and of his *Worthies*, encountering with and slaying their stoutest *Gyants* and *Champions*, yet it is feared such is the depraved *nature* of all *mankind* (and not of the *English* onely) that like a *corrupted full Body*, it sooner sucks in a *poysoned breath* of *Infection*, then the purest *Ayre of Truth*, &c.

Truth. Grant this, I answer therefore (thirdly) If any of many conscientiously turne *Papists* : I alledge the *Experience* of

Mr John Robin-
son (decea-
sed) his Testi-
monie in a Ma-
nus: from Hol-
land.

of a holy, wise, and learned man, experienced in our owne and other *States affaires*, who affirms that he knew but few *Papists* increase, where much *Libertie* to *Papists* was granted, yea fewer then where they were restrained: Yet further, that in his *Conscience* and *Judgement* he believed and observed that such Persons as *conscientiously* turned *Papists*, (as believing *Pope-rie* the truer way to *Heaven* and *Salvation*) I say, such Persons were ordinarily more conscionable, loving, and peaceable in their dealings, and neerer to *Heaven* then thousands that follow a bare common *trade* and *roade* and *name* of *Protestant Religion*, and yet live without all *Life* of *Conscience* and *Devotion* to *God*, and consequently with as little *love* and *faithfulness* unto *Men*.

A third Speech
of King James
considered.

Peace. But now to proceed; a third Speech of King James was, [*Persecution* is the note of a *false Church*, the wicked are *Besiegers*, the *Faithfull* are besieged, upon *Revel. 20.*] Mr Cotton here grants, that it is indeed a Note of a *false Church*, but not a certaine One; for, sayth he, which of all the *Prophets* did not the *Church* of the *Old Testament* persecute?

Persecution or-
dinarily the
marke of a
False Church.

Truth. Mr Cotton granting *persecution* to be a degree of *Falseness* and *Apostacie*, as he doth in his following words, he must also grant, that where such a *Doctrine* and *practice* prevails, and the *Church* growes obstinate after all the *Lords* meanes used to reclaime, such a *Church* will proceede to further degrees, untill the whole be leavened with *Falseness* and *Apostacie*, and the *Lord* divorceth her, and casts her out of his *Heart* and *Sight*; as he dealt with *Israel* and *Judah*: And it will be found no false, but a dutifull part of a *faithfull* childe to abhorre the *whoredomes* of such an one, though his own *Mother*, who for her *obstinacie* in *whoredomes* is justly put away by his *heavenly Father*, but of that (the *Lord* assisting) more in its place.

Stephen King
of Poland his
Speech.

Peace. Further, Whereas it was said, that Mr Cotton had passed by King Stephen of Poland his Speech, to wit, the true *Difference* between the *Civill* and *Spiritual Government*, Mr Cotton answers, that it is true, that the *Magistrate* cannot command their *Soules*, nor binde their *Consciences*, nor punish their *Spirits*: All that he can doe is to punish the *Bodies* of *Men* for *destroying* or *disturbing Religion*.

Truth.

Truth. It is true, the Lord alone reacheth the Soules or Spirits of Men, but he doth it two ways.

First, Immediately stirring up the Spirits of the Prophets, by *Visions, Dreames, &c.*

Secondly, By instituted *Meanes and Ordinances* : of which is the Question : Now *Stephen King of Poland* professed that he was *King of bodies*, and not of *Consciencs* : It being most true, that the Lord *Jesus* hath appointed *spirituall Rulers and Governours*, to binde and loose *Soules and Consciencs*, to wound and kill, *Comfort and save alive the Spirits and Consciencs of Men*. This power *Christ Jesus* committed to his true *Messengers* ; but oh, how many are there that pretend to this *Apostleship* or *Ministrrie*, who yet have sold away this *spirituall Power* to the *Earthly or worldly powers*, upon an (*implied secret*) *Condition or Proviso*, to receive a broken *Reed* an *Arme of Flesh*, (*in stead of the Everlasting Armes of Mercy*,) to protect them.

The Spirituall Power of Christ Jesus bestrusted not with Civill but spirituall Ministers.

Peace. With your leave (*Deare Truth*) let me adde a second: If the *Magistrate* (as *Mr Cotton* sayth) punish the *body* for a *spirituall offence*, why doth he not punish by a *spirituall power* as a *spirituall Officer*, with a *spirituall Censure and punishment* ?

Truth. *Mr Cotton* will tell us that the *bodies* of the *Israelites* were punished for *spirituall offences* : And we may againe truly affirme, that the very cutting off by the *materiall Sword* out of the *typicall Land of Canaan*, was in the *type*, a *spirituall punishment*.

Peace. *Mr Cotton* is not ignorant of this, and hath often taught of these *Types* from *Passages* on *Genesis* and other bookes of *Moses, &c.*

Truth. The *Father of Lights* graciously be pleased to set home the *light* he hath vouchsafed him, & fix and imprint the beames thereof in his *heart and affections* also.

Peace. This Argument (of punishing the *body* for the *soules* good) I remember was feelingly resentted by an honourable *Gentleman* in the *Parliament* against the *Bishops*, urging how contrary unto *Christ Jesus* those *Prelates* were ; for *Christ Jesus* did make way for his working upon *Mens soules*, by shewing kindeesse to their *bodies, &c.* but *Prelates* contrarily, &c.

An Argument used in Parliament against the Persecuting Bishops.

Truth. All the *Angells* of *God* will one day witnesse, that *Christ Jesus* was never *Captain* to *Pope*, nor *Prelate*, *Presbyter*, no

nor Independent, Emperour nor King, Parliament, nor Generall Court, who punish and afflict, persecute and torture the bodies of Men under pretence of a spirituall and religious medicine.

Peace. Yea, but sayth Mr Cotton, Religion is disturbed and destroyed, what shall be done?

Of disturbance
of Religion.

Truth. Religion is disturbed and destroyed two wayes.

First, When the Professors or Assemblies thereof are persecuted, that is hunted and driven up and downe out of the world: Against such Destroyers or Disturbers (being Tyrants and Oppressours,) the Civill Sword ought to be drawn.

The Bishops as
Tyrants justly
suppressed, and
the Parliament
therein prospered
from Heaven.

Peace. The drawing of the Sword of Justice against such Tyrants, I believe hath prevailed in Heaven, for the Parliaments successes and prosperitie: The turning from the violence that was in the hands of those Men of Bloud the Bishops, (as in the Men of Ninivies case) hath laid the long and violent storme of Fire and Bloud, &c.

Daniells Coun-
sell to Belshaz-
zar preserveth
Parliaments &
Kingdomes.

Truth. Yea let the most renowned Parliament of England, and all England know, that when they cease to listen to Daniells counsell to Belshazzar, to wit, to shew Mercy to the poore, (even the poorest and most afflicted in the World) the Consciences of Men, then is their Parliamentarie Glory and Tranquillitie eclipsed: Till then I confidently believe, their Government (which hath now so many yeares with so many Wonders continued) shall not be numbred, nor another fatall change surprize them.

But now (2) the Disturbance or Destruction of Religion is spirituall, by false Teachers, false Prophets, by spirituall Rebels and Traytors against the Worship and Kingdome of Christ Jesus: Against which Disturbers or Destroyers, if Christ Jesus have not provided sufficient spirituall Defence, let Moses (his ancient Type,) be said to exceede him in Faithfulnesse, David in holy zeale and affection to the house of God, and Solomon in wisdom and heavenly prudence, in ordering the Affaires of the holy Worship of God.

Peace. But further, whereas it was said, that to confound these (to wit, a Civill and Spirituall Government) was Babell and Jewish: Mr Cotton replies, That is Babell to tollerate and advance Idolatrie. 2. (Sayth he) though Christ hath abolished a Nationall Church-State, which Moses set up in the Land of Ca-

naan,

naan, yet Christ never abolished a Nationall Civill State, nor the Judicall Lawes of Moses, which were of Morall Equitie, and therefore (sayth he) If the true Christs blood goe for the planting of the Church, let the false Christs goe for supplanting it.

Truth. I answer; Babell was infamous for Pride, for Confusion or Disorder, for Idolatrie, for Tyrannie: Now let all persecuting Cities and Kingdomes be examined and see if they have been cleare from any of these: and especially from Babells confusion and disorder, from monstrous mingling of Spirituall and Civill, the Devills Worship with Gods vessells: It was no Confusion in the Nationall Church of Israel for the Power of that Nation, in the hands of Kings and Civill Rulers, to purge that Nationall Church by Nationall force of weapons and Death: But since Mr Cotton acknowledgeth that Christ hath abolished that Nationall Church, and established Congregationall Churches, (in some of which possibly may be no Civill Magistrate fearing God, for few wise or noble are called, and consequently few godly or Christian Magistrates professing Christ Jesus) What is this but Babell or a Babylonish mixture of the Old and New Testament, Nationall and Congregationall Churches power and practices together?

Touching the Nationall Church of Israell.

Peace. 2. What if Christ Jesus have not abolished a Nationall Church State, it is sufficient that he hath abolished a Nationall Church. And if so, then in Church matters those Nationall Judicalls, and the use of those Nationall Weapons and Punishments, in attending upon such a Nationall Church: Yea what colour of Morall Equitie is there that all the Nations of the World (most of which never heard of Christ) should be ruled by such Lawes and Punishments as were peculiarly and miraculously given and appointed to one selected and culd out Nation, conceived, borne, and brought up (as I may so speake) from first to last, by extraordinarie, and miraculous dispensation?

Israell a miraculous Nation.

Peace. There may be (sayth Mr Cotton) difference between the Nations professing Christianitie, and other Nations.

Truth. There is indeed great Difference: There are two sorts of Nations or Peoples of the World, which shall be Feswell for the devouring flames of the Lord Jesus, 2 Theff. 1. First, such as know not Christ Jesus, of which sort the greatest part of the Nations of the World (beyond all colour of comparifon) consist. 2. Such as have heard a sound, and make some profes-

Two sorts of the Nations of the World.

sion of the Name of *Christ Jesus*, and yet obey him not as *Lord and King*, &c.

Now it is true at the *Tribunall* of this dreadfull *Judge*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Sodome* and *Gomorra*, shall finde an easier doome, then shall *Bethsaida*, *Chorazin*, *Capernaum*, *Jerusalem*, &c. And *Mr Cotton* need not feare the escaping of a false *Christ*, when all *Nations* professing *Christianitie* (*Papist* or *Protestant*) (if yet found disobedient to the true *Christ*) shall passe under a more fierie Sentence then all *Mahumetane* and *Pagan* Countries.

Peace. *Mr Cotton* will not stick to subscribe to this; But, the false *Christ*'s blood (sayth he) ought now, to be spilt.

Touching the
true and false
Christs.

Truth. Since there are so many false *Christs* (as the true *Christ* Prophesied) *Mr Cotton* must unavoydably name and detect and convict those false *Christs*, *Popish* and *Protestant*, &c. upon whom he passeth such a present Sentence. He must also direct the way how the true *Christ* may shed the blood of the false *Christs*. When *Mr Cotton* hath done this faithfully and impartially (according to his *Conscience* and present *Judgement*) what Reader will not at first view see rising up from such Premises these foure *Conclusions*?

First, Amongst so many *Christs* extant (that is visible *Christs* *Head* and *Body*) in the *Christian Antichristian* World, there can but One *Christ* be found to be true.

Secondly, That *Christ* which *Mr Cotton* professeth (according to his *Conscience*) will be *He*.

Thirdly, All such *Christs* as are extant, beside *Mr Cottons*, *Head* and *Body*, ought impartially to be put to *Death*, as false, counterfeit, blasphemous, &c.

Fourthly, Such as embrace his *Christ*, that is, be of his *Church* and *Conscience*, are bound (if they once get power in their hands) to pursue with fire and sword, and to shed the blood of all the false *Christs*, that is, the severall sorts of false or *Antichristian* *Worshippers*.

Peace. Oh how wise and Righteous is the *Lord*, in letting loose the *Wolfe* and *Lyon* (persecutors and Hunters) upon his *Sheepe* and *People*, that by their owne painfull sence of such bloudie violence and crueltie, he may graciously purge out the Malignant venomous Humours of such fowle *Antichristian* and bloudie *Doctrines*? But to the next, the King of *Bohemia* his say-
ing.

ing. Whereas it was said that in this *King's Speech* Mr Cotton King of Bohemia his
had passed by that *Foundation in Grace and Nature*, to wit, that *Speech.*
Conscience ought not to be violated or forced, and that such
forcing is no other then a *Spirituall Rape*.

Mr Cotton replies, It was not passed by, but prevented in
"stating the *Question*, where it was said, It is not lawfull to
"Censure any, no not for *Error in Fundamentall Points of*
"Doctrin or *Worship*, till the *Conscience* of the offendour be first
"convinced (out of the *Word of God*) of the dangerous Er-
"rour of his way, and then if he will persist, it is not out of
"Conscience, but against his *Conscience*, as the Apostle sayth,
"(Tit. 3. 11.) and so he is not persecuted for cause of Con-
"science, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

1. *Truth*. I answer, the forcing of a *Woman*, that is, the vio-
lent *Acting of uncleannesse* upon her *bodie* against her will, we
count a *Rape*: By Proportion that is a *Spirituall* or *Soule-rape*,
which is a forcing of the *Conscience* of any Person, to *Acts of*
Worship, which the Scripture entitles by the name of the Mar-
riage bed, *Cant. 1.* *Spirituall Rape.*

This forcing of *Conscience* was in an high measure the brand-
ed sinne of that great typicall *Machiavel Jeroboam*, who made
Israel to Worship before the *Golden Calves*: And this is the abo-
minable practice of the Second *Beast*, who compells all to take
the Marke of the first *Beast*, and this is the sinne of (the mysti-
call *Ammon*) the Princes of *Europe*, and of the *Antichristian*
World, those mysticall effeminate *Ababs*, who give their power
to the *Beast*, themselves (together with that Man of *Sinne* and
Filthinesse (the *Pope*) Practicing most odious spirituall un-
cleannesse upon the *Consciences* of the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

2. *Peace*. Deare *Truth*, who knowes not whose voyce and
Song this is, but that, of all the bloudie *Bonners, Gardiners*, and
most devouring *persecutours* that ever have or shall legally in
way and pretence of *Justice*, persecute. [You pretend *Conscience*
that you dare not come to *Church* because of *Conscience*, that so
to *swear, submit, subscribe, or conforme*, is against your *Consci-*
ence, that you are persecuted for your *Conscience*, and forced
against your *Conscience*. *All persecutours contumeliously object against Conscience.*

Truth. Indeed, what is this before the flaming eyes of *Christ*,
but as (*Ammon-like* in the type) some lastfull *Ravisher* deales
with

Amnon his ravishing of Tamar, a Type.

with a beautifull Woman, first using all suble Arguments and gentle perswasions, to allure unto their spirituall Lust and Filthinesse, and where the Conscience freely cannot yeeld to such Lust and Folly (as Tamar said to Amnon) then a forcing it by Penalties, Penall Lawes and Stauies? Yea, what is this but more filthy and abominable then is commonly practiced against ravished Women, to wit, a perswading a Conscience that it is obstinate, obstinate against its knowledge, that a man might lawfully have yeelded, that he is convinced of the lawfulness of the Act, and therefore may justly be punished for repelling such Arguments, and resisting such perswasions against the Conviction of his owne Conscience.

3. Peace. It is a common Question, made by most, who shall be Judge of this Convicted Conscience; shall the lustfull Ravisher (the Persecutor) be Judge? Will the burning Rage of his Spirituall Filthinesse and Antichristian Beastialitie cause no shaking of the scales of Justice? And will Mr Cotton indeed (except he suspend them) have all the Civil Magistrates, or Civil States, or Generall Assemblies, or Courts of People in the World (according to their severall Constitutions) sit Judges o're Conscience, to wit, when the poore ravished Consciences of Men are convinced.

Truth. What is this, but (in truth) to submit the Soules and Consciences of the Saints (yea the Conscience of the Lord Jesus in them,) unto the World that lyes in wickednesse (and to the Devill in it) out of which God hath chosen; but few, that are wise, or that are Great, Rich, or Noble.

4. And to end this Passage, what is this, but to destroy that distinction of a true and false Conscience, which the holy Spirit expressly maketh, telling (2 Thessal. 2.) of Antichristians that make Conscience of Lyes, believing them conscientiously for Truths. What is it now to force a Papist to Church, but a Rape, a Soule-Rape? he comes to Church, that is, comes to that Worship, which his Conscience tells him is false, and this to save his Estate, Credit, &c. What is this in a Papist, but a yeelding unwillingly to be forced and ravished? Take an instance of holy Cranmer, and many other faithfull Witnesses of the truth of Jesus, who being forced or ravished by terrour of Death, subscribed, abjured, went to Masse, but yet against their Wills and Consciences. In both these Instances of Papist and Protestant, Mr Cotton must confesse

A Query, who shall judge, whether Conscience be convicted.

Church-Papists and Protestants also ravished.

fesse a Soule-Ravishment; for, the Conscience of a Papist is not convinced that it is his Dutie to worship God by the English common Prayer-Booke, or Directorie, &c. And the Consciences of many are not convinced but that it is their sinne to come at either the Papists or common Protestants Worship. So both Papist and Protestant are forced and ravished by force of Armes, (as a Woman by a Lustfull Ravisher) against their Soules and Consciences.

Peace. Againe, in that King of Bohemia's Speech Mr Cotton passed by that most true and lamentable experience of all Ages, to wit, that persecution, for cause of Conscience, hath ever proved pernicious, and hath been the cause of great Alterations and changes in States and Kingdomes. To this Mr Cotton replies, No experience in any Age did ever prove it pernicious to punish Seducing Apostates, after due Conviction of the Errour of their way: And he asks, wherein did the burning of Servetus prove pernicious to Geneva, or the just Execution of many Popish Priests to Queene Elizabeth, or the English State?

Truth. I answer, though no Historie did expresse what horrible and pernicious mischiefs the persecuting of the Arians and others caused in the World: yet is it lamentably sufficient to the Point, that all Ages testifie (and I had almost said all Nations) how pernicious this Doctrine hath been in raising the devouring flames of Fire and Sword, about Hereticks, Apostates, Idolaters, Blasphemers, &c.

Wars for Religion.

Peace. Later Times have rendred the observation of that King most lamentably true, in the many great Desolations, in Germany, Poland, Hungaria, Transilvania, Bohemia, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Low Countries (not to speake of the mighty warres between those dreafull Monarchies of the Turkes and Persians, and other Nations) to the Flames whereof although other causes have intermingled, the Matters of Heresie, Blasphemie, Idolatrie, &c. have been the chiefeest sparkes and Bellowses.

Truth. It is true (as Mr Cotton sayth,) it hath pleased the God of Heaven to spare some particular places, and to preserve wonderfully for his Name and Mercy sake, Geneva, England, &c. &c. When they have been besieged and invaded: Yet Mr Cotton confesseth, that Queene Elizabeth by that course had like to have fired the Christian World in Combustion, which though it pleased

The bloudie Tenent Guiltie of all the bloud of Papists and Protestants lately spilt.

pleased God to prevent, yet later times have shewen how pernicious this *Doctrin*e hath proved unto *England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.* in the slaughter of so many hundreth thousand *Papists* and *Protestants*, upon the very point (principally) of *Heresie, Idolatrie, &c.*

Peace. To end this Chapter : To that observation that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience* was practiced most in *England*, and such places where *Poperie* reignes, implying that such practices proceed from the great *Whore*, and her *Daughters* : *Mr Cotton* replies, it is no marvaile he passed by this observation in the *Kings* speech, for it was not the Speech of the *King*, but of the *Prisoner*, and it was not the persecuting of *Antichristians*, but of *Nicknamed Puritans*, and of them too without *Conviction* of the *Error* of their way : He addeth that he could never see
 “ Warrant to call that *Church* an *Whore*, that worshipped the
 “ true *God* onely in the name of *Jesus*, and depended on him
 “ alone for *Righteousnesse* and *Salvation*, and that it is (at least)
 “ a base part of a *childe* to call his *Mother* *whore*, who bred him
 “ and bred him to know no other *Father*, but her lawfull *Husband* the *Lord Jesus Christ*

Truth. Whether the *Observation* was the *Kings*, or the *Prisoners*, yet it was passed by : And if those *Puritans* or *Protestants* persecuted, were not convinced, *Himselfe* (as he here sayth) never saw *Warrant*, that is, was convinced, for to call such a *Church* as he here describeth, an *Whore*, yet not a few of his opposites will say, and that aloud, that *He* and *they* were or might have been convinced, what ever *He* or *they* themselves thought. The truth is, the carnall *Sword* is commonly the *Judge* of the conviction or obstinacie of all supposed *Hereticks*. Hence the faithfull *Witnesses* of *Christ*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, had not a word to say in the *Disputations* at *Oxford* : Hence the *Non-conformists* were cryed out as obstinate *Men*, abundantly convinced by the *Writings* of *Whitgift* and others : And so in the *Conference* before *King James* at *Hampton Court, &c.*

But concerning the *Church* of *England*, whether a *daughter* or no of the *Great Whore* of *Rome*, It is not here seasonable to repeate what the *Witnesses* of *Christ* to *Bonds, Banishments*, and *Death* (whom *Mr Cotton* here calls the rigid *Seperation*) have alledged in this case. I thinke it here sufficient to say two things.

The strongest Arme & sword the ordinarie Judge of the Conviction of Conscience.

Touching the Nationall Church of England.

things. First, Mr Cotton himselfe is thought to believe that it is not a *profession of words* containing many *fundamentall Doctrines* that makes a people a true Church, who professing to know God, yet in *workes* deny him; notwithstanding that amongst them by Gods gracious *Dispensation* much good may be wrought by many.

*Reall denying,
the greatest deny-
ing of Christ
Jesus.*

2. Mr Cotton himselfe will not say that ever Christ Jesus was married to a *Nationall Church*, which all men know the Church of England ever was, and Mr Cotton elsewhere acknowledgeth (as *Nationall*) to be none of Christs, but onely *Churches Congregationall*.

Exam: of Chap. 60. Concerning the Romane Emperours, which did or did not persecute.

Peace. **V**Hereas it was answered, that *Godly Persons* (as some *Godly Emperours*) might doe evill, to wit, in *persecuting*: And *ungodly Emperours* in not persecuting, might doe well, &c. Mr Cotton replies, This begs the *Question*, to say that *Kings* alledged by the *Prisoner* did that which was good, but *Kings* alledged by Mr Cotton (though better persons) did that which was *Evill*.

Truth. I think Mr Cotton mistakes the *poore Prisoner* if he conceives him to have argued from the *Number*, or (by way of *comparison*) the *Qualitie* or *Goodnesse* of the *Kings*. I am sure he mistaketh the *Discusser*, who argues neither from their *Persons*, nor *Number*, nor *Practices*, but from the *waight* of their *Speeches*, qualified onely with the *consideration* of their *State*: Their *Speeches* Mr Cotton passed by, but now hath waighed, though not so fully as it may please God to cause *Himselfe*, or *others* to doe hereafter.

Peace. I conceive it to be a further mistake, to thinke the *Discusser* accounted the *Persons* alledged by Mr Cotton better *Persons* then those alledged by the *Prisoner*.

Truth. The *Discusser* compared them not, but desired that their *Speeches* and *Arguments* might have their just and due *waight*, and then I believe it will be found, not a *begging*, but a *winning* of the *Question*, even from the *Testimonie* of some *Kings* themselves.

Chap. 61. replying to Chap. 64. Examined.

Peace. **I**N this Chapter God is pleased to leave Mr Cotton to fall into two Evills, then which (ordinarily) greater cannot be among the *sonnes of Men*: I speake not of the *Aggravations of malice and obstinacie*, which I hope the most gracious Lord will keepe him from, but of the *sinnes themselves in themselves*: The One is monstrous *Blasphemie* and abominable profanation of the most holy Name of his most *High* and holy *Maker*, &c. The second extreamest *Crueltie* and *Tyrannie* against *Men* his fellow *Creatures*.

For the first, after a new *refined fashion* and drefs, he projects how to turne this whole *Dunghill* of the corrupt and rotten *World*, into a most sweet and fragrant *Garden* of the *Church*, or *Dove of Christ*.

For the second, he contents not Himselfe with the *Severitie* and *Crueltie* of former times exercised by the *Emperours* professing the Name of *Christ*, against such, whom they reputed *Hereticks*, but blames them for applying too favourable and gentle *Medicines of Exile* and *Banishment*, and in *plaine tearmes* he sayth, It had been better they had put them to death.

Truth. Your observation (*sweet Peace*) is full of *pietie* and *Mercy*: It is most true, that a private *opinion*, or an *Act of Antichristianisme* and *Idolatrie*, like a dead flie, may cause a sweet pot of *Christian Oynment*, to yeeld a *stinking savour*, but such a *Doctrine*, of such a *generall Nature* and extent, as reaches to *all men*, to all the *World* (in my apprehension) should cause *Men* to feare and tremble at such *Rocks*, against which such *Gallant vessells* may *strike*, and *split*, if the most *holy* and *jealous God*, be pleased a little to withdraw his holy hand from the *steering* of them.

Peace. Let me (*Deare Truth*) summe up the *Heads*, to which I shall request your *Consideration*.

It is true (sayth Mr Cotton) when God advanced *Constantine* and other *Christian Emperours* to sit on the *Throne*, the *Church* soone became a *Wildernesse*, and he also seemeth to consent
 “ that the *unknowing zeale* of *Constantine* and other good *Empe-*
 “ *rouers* did more hurt to *Christianitie*, then the raging fury of
 “ *bloudie*

Two high Transgressions objected against Mr Cotton.

Touching the Romane Emperours practices in Religious Affaires.

“bloudie Neroes : But withall he addeth that their *unknowing*
 “zeale did not lye in punishing notorious *Hereticks, Seducers,*
 “&c. And he sayth, that the *Church* never had hurt by such
 “punishments. He affirmeth that it is no *Sollecisme in Religion*
 “for the whole *World* to become *Christian* : that the *World* be-
 “came *Antichristian* by the tolleration of *Princes*, and their ad-
 “vancing of *Church affaires*, together with the *unwatchfullnesse*
 “of such being advanced : that if the *World* had renounced
 “*Paganisme*, and professed *Christ* to be the *Sonne of God*, but yet
 “had been kept from the *Fellowship* of the *Church* till they had
 “approved their *profession* by a *sincere conversation*, it had been
 “no *Sollecisme*, &c.

Further, He sayth, the *Christian Emperours* did permit *Here-*
 “*ticks* to live in the field of the *World*, that they seldome or
 “never put them to *Death* for *hereticall pravitie* (though it had
 “been better (sayth he) they had so done with *some* of them,
 “but onely expelled them from *populous Cities* and *Countries*,
 “where the *Gangrene* might spread, &c.

Truth. You have well summd up (*Sweet Peace*) I shall
 briefly touch these *Heads*, with *Gods* assistance ; and first con-
 cerning the zeale of the *Romane Emperours*. It is confest by *Mr*
Cotton, that upon the good *Emperours* coming to the *Throne*, the
Church soone became a *Wildernesse*, and that was a greater hurt
 and mischief then ever befell the *Saints* and *Churches* under the
 fierie *persecution* of the most *bloudie Neroes* ; surely such zeale
 that brought forth such *fruit* to *Christianitie* might seeme justly
 to be suspected not to be kindled from *Heaven*, but from
Men.

Christs Garden
 gains by vio-
 lent Stormes,
 and looseth by
 sweete Sun-
 shines.

2. It seemes not reasonable to the weakest understanding, nor
 suitable to the *wisdome* and constant care and *love* of *Christ* *Je-*
sus to his *Wife* and *Spouse* in his *absence*, that the *Romane Empe-*
rours should be such *Godly Persons*, and that also neither by
Christ Jesus nor his *Apostles* or *Messengers* the least word should be
 directed to them, when, as yet, they were extant, in *Christs* and
 his *Messengers* times ; and (by the *bloudie Tenent*) must be sup-
 posed *invested* with so high a *calling* too, so high a *worke* and
datie, as higher is not to be performed in the whole *World* (and
 that *Ex Officio*) to wit, the *Establishing, Governing, Reforming, &c.*
 the *Church*, the *Spouse*, and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*.

The *Romane*
Emperours.

The Arrians
persecuted and
persecuting.

Peace. 2. The Church and Servants of Christ had great hurt (notwithstanding Mr Cottons contrary beliefe) by the Emperours persecuting, of whom they judged hereticall, partly in that the Arrians were hardned by their sufferings, and Arrianisme increased by the sufferings of the professors of it; as also that the Christians were more severely persecuted (as hath often also come to passe (in the Interchanges between the Papist and the Protestant) when the Arrians came to weare the Sword, and the Orthodox Christians were under Hatches.

The great Dif-
ference between
this World and
Christ.

Truth. 3. But that the whole World that wonders after and worshippeth the Beast, should yet possibly be of the small Number, that follow the Lambe, and stand opposite to the Beast, on Mount Zion: That the World upon whom the vialls of plagues and vengeance are to be powred according to the infallible Prophecies (not to speak of the World from other Scriptures) that this whole World (I say) should be brought into such an Onenes with Christ Jesus, seemes so crosse to the fundamentall Ennemie between Christs Seede and the Serpents, to the priviledges of the Saints, to the puritie of Christ, to the streame of Scripture, and in particular to the sweete last Will and Testament of the Lord Jesus, and the nature of his particular Flocks, &c. That I cannot wonder sufficiently, how any man professing but a small Knowledge of the Mysteries and Kingdome of Christ Jesus, should be so veiled, so obscured, so to write of the state of Christs Church and the World, as Mr Cotton doth?

Peace. Christ Jesus (Blessed Truth) gave not thanks to his most holy, most wise Father in vaine, for hiding from Wise and Prudent, and opening to Babes and Sucklings.

A Christianitie
strange from
Christ.

Truth. 4. But further, Such a Conversion of People from Idolatrie to Christianitie, as fits them to be professors of the Sonne of God, but yet not fits them for the Fellowship of Christians in Church State, I finde not in the Testament of Christ Jesus. Surely the Conversion of the Thessalonians was not such, 2 Thess. 1. Who turned not onely from Idolls, but to serve the living and true God, which service of God in Christ no Soule uprightly in love with Christ Jesus, but (in its measure) longs after, as vehemently and cordially as ever chaste Spouse after her dearest earthly Husbands presence and Enjoyment, Cant. 1. & 3. & 5.

Peace. Gods Spirit (in John) describes one Difference, &c. between

between the true Spirit and Professours, and the false, to wit, that such as acknowledge (that is truly as I conceive) Christ Jesus to become in the flesh, are borne of God.

Truth. Yea therefore consequently such a Spirit cannot be of Jesus, that makes such a profession of Christ Jesus as the Devils themselves may make, and (even for want of Regeneration and Personall Grace,) the professours are not fit for the Fellowship of the true Christian Worship, and Worshippers.

Antichristian
Christianitie.

5. But lastly, if Mr Cotton, or any of his bloudie Judgement woare the Imperiall Crowne of the Worlds Majestie, what slaughters shall we imagine the World should heare and feele ? Whether would such fierie zeale transport Men? Yea what an Earthly Dunghill Religion and Worship should the most High God be served with, fit onely for the Dunghill Gods and Goddeses, whom all Asia (as the Towne-clarke speaks) and the World worshipeth.

Peace. If the Report of Mr Cottons interpreting that Scripture of Serving God with all our Might, &c. be true, to wit, of employing our Civill Armes and Forces to the utmost, and that against other Peoples professing Idolatrie and Antichristianisme : His Conscience (as I conceive) must needs force on and presse after, an universall Conquest of all Consciences, and under that (like those bloudie Spaniards, Turkes and Popes) lay under that faire cloake, the Rule and Dominion over all the Nations of the Earth.

The bloudie Tenent tends to an universall Conquest of the whole World.

Truth. But may not Mr Cotton better listen to the voyce of the Lord Jesus, saying to him and such of his bloudie Tenent, You know not of what Spirit you are of : Were the Emperours too favourable (as Mr Cotton sayth) in but Banishing ? How keene a Sword would Mr Cotton draw against so many Millions of Gangreene Soules throughout the Turkish and the Popish World ?

The bloudie Tenent in its colours.

Peace. Oh, how farre different would Mr Cottons Sword be from the Sword of the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Mouth of Christ Jesus, yet sharpe enough with two edges, piercing between Soule and Spirit, &c.

Truth. Yea how farre different from the Meeke Spirit of the Lambe of God, who came not to destroy Mens lives, but to save them, yea how different from the former make and noted gentle

tle

tle Temper of Mr Cottons own Spirit, now over-heat and inflamed by his unmercifull and bloudie Tenent?

Exam: of Chap. 62. replying to Chap. 65.

Peace. **W**hen Mr Cotton was justly observed to use the Language of Lyon-like persecutism in these words, [More and greater Princes then these you mention have not tollerated Hereticks and Schismaticks, notwithstanding their pretence of Conscience, and their arrogating the Crowne of Martyrdome to their suffrings] He defendeth such Language by the Scripture Freedome in such Tearmes against Sinners, which sayth he, the Discusser acknowledgeth.

Truth. In holy Scripture are many Expressions full of Holinesse, Gravitie, Love, Meeknesse, &c. which yet are wrested by us poore Men to unholy and unchristian Ends and purposes. How many wofully pervert many grave and heavenly Passages and Expressions of holy Scripture to base and filthy Jeasting? How many from some sharp Expressions of Christ Jesus and Paul (in cases) take licence to raile and call Men all to naught, in Wrath, Revenge, and Passion? And how many out of pride and false zeale trampling upon the Heads and Consciences of all Men, are ready (not in an holy Meeke and Christian way but) in a Pharisaicall, Bishop-like and Pope-like way, to roare and thunder out against Gods meekest Servants the odious tearmes of Hereticks, Schismaticks, Blasphemers, Seducers, &c. Which tearmes though used in holy Scripture, yet never in such a way, as commonly and constantly the bloudie and persecuting expresse themselves in.

Peace. But what or whom meanes Mr Cotton in this passage, what Language have they learned, who in point of worship have left Zion, but not the Gates and Suburbs of Babylon, for they set up Bull-warkes of Impunitie to secure them.

Truth. Surely Mr Cotton knowes that none that plead against the Civill Power and Weapons in Spirituall Matters, but they also maintaine, that, there ought to be in vigorous use the Spirituall and two edged Sword that comes forth of Christs Mouth (not for the Impunitie but) for the Ruine and Destruction of all Babells Erats and Abominations.

Peace.

No Booke or Writing ever so abused as the holy Writing & Scripture of God is.

The Language of persecutors.

Peace. Mr Cotton spends many lines, and quotes *Austin* to prove, that *Julians* End of tollerating *Heresie* to grow, was to choake *Christianitie*.

Truth. What ever were *Julians* End, yet I deny that Tolleration of the weedes of *Heresie* and blasphemous Religion (*Paganish, Turkish, Jewish, Popish*) in the field of the *Civill State* and *World*, hath power to choake the vitalls of *Christianitie* in the *Garden* or *Bodie* the *Church* of *Christ Jesus*.

Julian his Tolleration.

And concerning *Infection*, It is to be observed that when the holy Scripture speakes by the *Similitudes* of *Leaven*, *Gangrene*, or *Poysonfull weedes*, of *Wolves*, or *scabbed sheepe*, &c. it is commonly with respect to such Evills got in among the *Saints* and *Churches*, the *Flocks* and *Gardens* of *Christ*, where such *Leaven*, *weedes*, &c. tollerated may spread and infect: But what is this to the *Lyons*, *Beares*, or *Wolves*, not to be suffered in the *Wildernesse*, or *Swine*, or *Dogs*, in the common *high wayes*; or *weedes* in the *Common* or *Forest*, which all may be, and yet the *Garden*, *Body*, and *Flock* of *Christ* be pure and safe from such *Infection*.

Touching Infection of false Doctrine, &c.

Peace. One passage more is very Considerable. In former *Discourse* about the *Tares* Mr Cotton was large in proving the permission of *weedes*, even in the *Church* of *Christ*, and that untill *Christs* *Comming*, and that after they be discovered to be *Hypocrites*.

Truth. O what a *Distance* is between that *Doctrine* and this here? There the *Tares* must not be touched in the *Garden* of the *Church*, here they must not be suffred abroad in the field of the *World*, for feare of choaking the good plants in the *Garden* of *Christ*. Who can finde out how these *Doctrines* suit with *Godlineesse*, with *Reason*, or *Themselves*?

Hypocrites tollerated in the Church, but not in the World.

Peace. But now you speake of *suiting*: It is (sayth Mr Cotton) (for a close) a plaine *Contradiction* of the *Discussers* former *Speech* to say, that *persecuting* of others was a meanes of choaking *Christianitie*, whereas he had said, that *Constantines* *wiknowing zeale* did more hurt to *Christs* *Kingdome*, then the raging furie of the most bloudie *Neroes*.

Truth. Let the words be well weighed, and no such *Affirmation* will be found: The words are; [It was not when *Christians* lodged in cold *Prisons*, but in *Downe* *Beds* of *Ease*, and

perse-

“persecuted others.] The Discusser made not *persecution* to be a meanes of choaking Christianitie, but attributes the Losse of Christians Life and Love, to those Beds of their abused Sweete prosperitie.

2. If he had made *persecution* a meanes to choake Christianitie, it had been the *persecution* of Christians among Themselves, and not the *persecution* of bloudie Neroes: Which yet if it had been so, it might yet be no *Contradiction*, for Neroes *persecution* might doe hurt, although Constantines unknowing zeale might doe much more.

Exam: of Chap. 63. replying to Chap. 66.

Peace. **M**After Cotton here being understood to *smile* on Q: Elizabeth for persecuting the Papists, and to *frowne* on K: James for persecuting the (so named) Puritans, he denies neither, but insists onely upon the Number, that as many and as great Princes are against Tolleration as for it, and in particular Q: Elizabeth and K: James.

Touching the
Persecution of
K: James and
Q: Elizabeth.

Truth. I say (as before) I should never use an *Argument* from the Number of Princes (no more then from the Number of any other men) for any truth of Christ Jesus: Who as he was not pleased himselfe to be borne of the sons of Nobles, so hath he not chosen many Nobles and Wise men of this World to be borne of him: Yet 2. If that be his *Argument*, he hath not satisfied, in naming these two, for more were named by the Prisoner, and besides one of these *Witnesses*, K: James abundantly declared himselfe, not onely against persecuting of Papists, but against all *persecution* in generall, what ever otherwise or afterwards his practices were against some Persons, as Mr Cotton too truely alledged.

Truth. In the next Passage the Discusser having objected that both Q: Elizabeth and K: James did persecute according to their *Consciences*, and arguing why should the one (namely) K: James be more blamed for *persecuting* according to his *Conscience*, then Q: Elizabeth for *persecuting* according to hers: Mr Cotton distinguisheth of *Consciences*: The Queenes sayth he, was rightly informed, but the Kings was not. When it was replied,

ed, that either K: James, and such Princes whose Consciences (according to Mr Cottons Conscience) are ill informed, must act according to their Consciences, or else they want the *Qualification* and *Fines* for such places : Mr Cotton answers two Things.

First, that such *Qualifications* are not *Essentiall*, but *Integrall*.

Secondly, That such Princes must forbear all *Civill Censures* in matters of *Religion* untill they be better informed.

Truth. It is most true as Mr Cotton sayth, if we speake of the right of *Succession*, a childe may be a *Lawfull King* (as K. James himselve was being but a yeare old) But if we speake of the *Qualifications* of the *minde*, by which a King is enabled to rule his *State* (as is supposed *Ecclesiasticall* and *Civill*, and to judge under *Christ Jesus* in all *Causess Ecclesiasticall* as well as *Civill* : Surely, he that knowes not which is the true *Church*, true *Ministrie*, true *Ordinances*; yea and *persecutes* the true *Church*, *Ministrie*, and *Worship*, what ever his *Qualifications* be for the *Government* of the *Civill State*, yet can it never be made good that he is furnished with any *Essentiall Qualification* for the *Spirituall Administration*, any more then He that undertakes to be a *Guide*, and yet is *blinde*, and never set foote in the way, and knowes not the true from the false : Or to be a *Captaine Generall*, yea or but a *Shepherd*, &c. 2. Beside, *Christ Jesus* never calld any person to any *Employment* of his, to any *Worke*, whom he inables not in a *Measure* proportionably, &c.

Touching the
Qualification
of Princes.

Peace. In such cases (sayth Mr Cotton) Princes are called to *suspend* and forbear all *Execution* of *Civill Censures* in the matters of *Religion*, till they be better informed, leait they doe *persecute* the *Son of God* in stead of the *Son of Perdition*.

Truth. I answer : First, Then Mr Cotton hath cut off K: James from acting, though so long esteemed and sworne *Supream* in all *Causess Ecclesiasticall*.

Secondly, I aske, how many shall forbear, and how long, for evident then it is that most (beyond all comparison) of all the *Princes* and *Magistrates* in the *World*, must not meddle with this pretended chiefe part of their *Dutie* and *Office*, and that (if they convert not) for the whole *Course* and *Race* of their *Life* : In particular, that no *Pagan Magistrate* (of all the ten thou-

Touching Magi-
strates suspend-
ing from acting
in matters of
Religion.

sands in the *World*, no *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Popish*, nor *Protestant* (if *Prelaticall* or *Presbyterian*,) ought to exercise any of this *High and Glorious Power*, but onely such *Princes* and *Magistrates* as are of *Mr Cottons Conscience*; for otherwise what *Prince* in the world more learned *King in-his time* then *King James*, yet was not he of *Mr Cottons Conscience*.

Monstrous partialitie.

Peace. Deare *Truth*: The fall of this partialitie is so apparant, and withall so fowle, that I thinke it impossible, but ere long it must needs be condemned by *Men on Earth*, as doubtless it is abhord by the most holy and impartiall *God*, and his holy *Angells in Heaven*: Upon this occasion I call to minde that famous *Act* of the so greatly renowned *Constantine*, who in his first wearing of the *Diademe*, put forth (his *Colleauge Licinius* concurring also) a famous and most solemne *Charter and Ediēt*, that no man throughout the whole *Empire* should be constrained in his *Religion*.

Constantines Ediēt.

Truth. *Mr Cotton* (according to his *proviso of suspension*) must doubtles applaud *Constantine* for this his *Forbearance* untill he were better informed, whereas afterward his *Ediēts* against *Arrius* and *Arrianisme*, testifie his practice to the contrary. But he that shall reade seriously in *Gods presence* that first *Ediēt* of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, will there finde *Constantine* to use such *Arguments*, as might for ever have caused him to have forbore *persecution*, to have still suspended, to have gratified the *Subjects* of all his *Empire* with *Libertie* and *Fredome* in the Point of *Worship* and *Religion*.

But I will End this Passage with this *Querie*; If *Christ Jesus* have left such Power with the *Civill Rulers* of the *World*, *Kingdomes*, and *Countries*, of or for the *Establishing*, *Governing*, and *Reforming* his *Church*, what is become of his *Care* and *Love*, *Wisdome* and *Faithfulnesse*, since in all *Ages* (since he left the *Earth*) for the generall, beyond all exception, he hath left her destitute of such *qualified Princes* and *Governours*, and in the *Course* of his *Providence* furnished her with such, whom he knew would be, and all men finde as fit, as *Wolves* to protect and feede his *Sheepe* and *People*.

Foule imputations cast on Christ Jesus.

Exam: of Chap. 64. replying to Chap. 67.

Peace. **W**Hen it was questioned, what good to the *Soules* or *Bodies* of their *Subjects* did those *Princes* bring in persecuting! Mr *Cotton* produceth a good five-fold that is brought to *Princes* and *Subjects* by the due punishment of *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolaters*, and *Blasphemers*.

Truth. Let all that feare God and Mr *Cotton* himselfe be perswaded to observe, whether under this faire cloake of punishing these and these *spirituall sinners*, he maintaine not strongly (what elsewhere he denies) to wit, *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*. But we know the *Evasion*. It is not for *Apostatizing*, *seducing* out of *Conscience*, but after *Conviction*, against their *Conscience*, &c.

Peace. You have before satisfied me (besides other *Passages*) with this one, that to this End of discerning the poore *Hereticks* sinning against his *Conscience*, the *Civill State*, the *Earth*, the *World* must necessarily Erect its *Tribunall*; to judge not onely *Civill Things*, but even the *Heart* and *Conscience* also; but now to Mr *Cottons* five-fold good.

First (sayth he) it puts away *Evill* from the *People*, by cutting off a *Gangrene* which would spread to further *ungodlinesse*, *Deut. 13. 5.* *2 Tim. 2. 1. 6. 7. 13.*

Truth. I answer, these *Scriptures* (though pure and holy in their places, yet) are here coupled together as *Linsley Wollsey*, contrary to the *Law. Deut. 13.* which concerns the typical *Nationall Church*, using *Nationall & temporall Weapons*: The *2 Tim. 2.* concerns the *Particular Congregations* or *Churches* of *Christians*, using onely the *Sword* of Gods *Spirit*, the *Word* of God, &c.

Beside, *Deut. 13.* concerned such a *People* whom the Lord brought forth of *Aegypt* with *Miracles*, into *Canaan*, &c. Let any such *People* be now produced, excepting the *Christian* (particular) *Churches*. Why doth Mr *Cotton* then alledge this *Scripture* so frequently, and in these five *Reasons* brings two from hence; This the *first*; and the *Third*, to wit, that all the *People* may beare and feare, &c. which is alone made good in the *Antitype* or *Christian Church*; according to that *1 Tim. 5. 20.* *Rebuke* them that sinne openly, that others may learne to feare.

*Unchristian
Tribunalls.*

*Deut. 13. 5.
& 2 Tim. 2. 16.
Unchristianly
conjoynd.*

2. *Peace.* Mr Cotton mentioneth a second good, which is driving away *Wolves* from worrying and scattering the *Sheepe* of *Christ*.

Truth. This was largely answered in discourfing the nature of *mysticall* or *spirituall Wolves*, upon that very place which he quotes, *Acts* 20. From whence it may evidently appeare that from the *literall* urging of fuch *mysticall Scriptures*, all *Peoples* and *Nations* are enforced (and that *Confcientiously*) like *Wolves* and *Lions* to teare and devoure each other.

3. *Peace.* Mr Cotton addes, that *Punifhments* are *wholesome Medicines* to fuch as are curable of fuch *Evills*, *Zach.* 13. 4, 5, 6.

Truth. I anfwer; All the holy *Appointments* of *God* are moft powerfull (in their feverall refpective *feafons*, and *manner* of *Dispensations*, to his owne moft holy *Ends* and *purpofes*, &c. The *Materiall Nationall Sword* in the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* before *Christ*: and the *Spirituall Sword*, in the *spirituall* and *Christian Church* fince his comming to abolifh thofe *shadowes*.

Touching Ex-
communication
in *Israel*.

As it was therefore in vaine to have cut off or *Excommunicated* *spiritually* in that *Nationall State*: So is it in vaine to ufe the *materiall* or *carnall Sword* in the *spirituall*. Wherefore (according to this place of *Zach.*) a true penitent will bleffe *God* for the *Wounds* of *Friends* and *Lovers* (faithfull and sharpe dealing) and for *Deliverance* from the *Riffe* of deceitfull flatterie: But what is this to prove (that which is fo much denied) to wit, *Corporall Death* or *Wounds* now to be inflicted upon *false Teachers* in thefe times of the *Gofpel*, and that in all *parts* and *Nations* of the *World*.

4. *Peace.* The *punifhment*, fayth Mr Cotton, executed upon *false Prophets* and *seducing Teachers*, doe bring downe *Showres* of *Gods* bleffing upon the *Civill State*, 1 *King.* 18. 40, 41.

Anf: *Truth.* If that *Nationall State* of *Israell*, and that *Nationall* or *Corporeall killing* of fo many hundreth *false Prophets*, and that *literall drouth* and *literall showres* of *Raine* and *plentie* were *figures* of no other *Prophets* and *flughters*, *drouth* and *showres*, but *literall, materiall*, and *corporeall*, (now fince the *Body* and *Subftance* *Christ* *Jesus* is come): What fhould hinder but that thofe *Priefts* of *Israel*, and *Sacrifices*, and *Temple*, and *Nationall Church* fhould all be in force, for our *Imitation*, *literally*, the one as well as the other?

Peace. I cannot possibly conceive but that (all being of the same Nature,) the one is *Typicall* as well as the other, and that they must flourish and be glorious (as *Gods Ordinances,*) or *vanish* and *disappeare* (giving place to brighter dispensations) at the arising of *Christ Jesus the Son of Righteousnesse.*

Truth. Hence *false Apostles, false Teachers, false Prophets,* are *Spiritually cut off,* Revel. 2. 2 Pet. 2. Gal. 4. And *spirituall showres of Blessings* descend upon the *Israel of God;* for although *corporeall Blessings of Food and Raiment and plentie,* are *Gods blessings,* yet principally under the *Gospel God* blesteth his *Israel,* the *Antitype* with *spirituall Blessings,* Eph. 1. *Houses, Lands, Fathers, Mothers, Children, &c.* with *persecution,* Mark. 10.

Spirituall Blessings and Curses the Antitypes of Corporall before Christ.

Peace. Me thinks (*Deare Truth*) If *Christ Jesus* had appointed such *punishments,* such *executions,* literall, in the *Christian Church,* he would also have appointed *Offices and Officers* suitable and proper for such *Ends* and *purposes,* such *punishments,* such *executions.*

Great oversight: supposed to Christ Jesus.

Truth. It cannot otherwise with *Reason* and *common prudence* be supposed, but that, if *Christ Jesus* had appointed (which we finde not in his holy Testament) *holy and Christian Magistrates* for those great *decrees* and *sentences,* wee should also have read of his holy *Constables,* holy *Sergeants,* holy *Prisons,* holy *Stocks,* holy *Whipping Posts,* holy *Gibbets,* and holy *Tyburnes;* together also with holy *Hangmen,* the *spirituall Instruments* and *Officers of Christ Jesus,* for the *Executions* of his holy *punishments* upon *Apostates, Hereticks, Blasphemers, Idolaters, Seducers, &c.*

If civill punishments for spirituall offences: they must be inflicted by holy and Christian Instruments and Officers.

5. *Peace.* *Gods Justice* (sayth *Mr Cotton*) is honoured in the *Execution* of such *Judgements,* Revel. 16. 5, 6.

1. *Truth.* I have (to my understanding) formerly shewed *Mr Cottons* mistake in his expounding of this third *Viell,* and have presented an *Exposition* more agreeable with the scope of this *Prophecie.*

Peace. 2. *God* was honoured in all his *Judgements* which the *Tyrants* of the *World* have executed, (the *Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, Romane*) yet not by way of *Law* and *Ordinance,* but in the way of his holy *providence* and just *permission.*

3. *Truth.* Yea the *Witnesses of Jesus,* by the *two-edged Sword of God* in their *Mouths,* execute *Gods Judgements,* to the *vindicating*

cating of Gods Glory, and their Innocencie, (Revel. 11.) although they used no carnall Weapon.

A true Christ,
a true Sword;
a false Christ,
a false Sword.

4. The holy Name of God is much dishonoured and prophaned, when the Inventions of Men are set up, against his holy Appointments, and when the Sword of Steele (in spirituall cases) is drawn in stead of the spirituall Sword, proceeding out of the Mouth of Christ Jesus in his servants Testimonie. All such worship, is but vaine or idle worship (Mark. 7.) and such is the carnall Sword and Executions of it.

Peace. Whereas it was observed, that Mr Cotton acknowledged that Queene Elizabeth had well neere fired all Europe, by such Executions, Mr Cotton answers, God bore witness to his Truth in Deliverances: And when it was replied, that Successes doth not prove causes true, Mr Cotton answers, yes; *Psal. 1. 3, 4. Jer. 22. 15, 16, 17.*

Truth. I reply, Temporall prosperitie, success, &c. were proper in that Temporall and Civill State, of that Nationall Church, and spirituall Blessing and prosperitie proper in the Gospell now, *Ephes. 1.*

Peace. 2. It was answered that God had given victorie to the Papists, especially against the Waldenses (and the Beast makes warre against the Witnesses, Revel. 11. and overcomes them, &c.) Mr Cotton herein first observeth a Contradiction, in the words, to wit, that the Papists ever had the victorie, and yet their success hath been various.

Truth. I reply; the words are not that the Papists had ever the Victory, but that they ever had both Victory and Dominion; which words may be true, although that the Event were sometimes various.

2. Peace. Again (sayth Mr Cotton) Queene Elizabeth ever had the Victory against the Papists.

Q: Elizabeth
her wars against
the Papists.

Truth. I answer; Many gracious Deliverances God vouchsafed to Q: Elizabeth, yet sometimes her Armies prospered not against the Papists, as in that famous Expedition of Essex; Drake and Norris (though in a most righteous cause,) against the Papists of Spaine and Portugall, as also against the Papists in Ireland and the Low Countries, at sometimes.

2. Grant not onely Deliverances, but Victories and Successes, Her cause (how ever intermingled) was civill Defence of her Kingdome,

Kingdome, against *Invasion* and *Ambition*, *Dominion* and *Conquest*, by *practices* of *Tyrannie* and *oppression*, both against the *English* and the *Hollanders* (especially) as appeared by the horrible *Exactions*, *Outrages*, *Murthers* and *Slaughters* committed upon them by *D'alva* the King of *Spaines* Generall.

Peace. But although the *Papists* (sayth *Mr Cotton*) fought with various successe, yet it is *Gods* manner to nurture his *People* with some crosses, to teach them not to fight in their owne strength, &c.

Truth. Yea and it might also teach them not to fight but with *Christs* Weapons in *Christs* Cause; who hath said, That all that take the *Sword*, that is, (as I conceive) in *Christs* cause, shall perish by it, *Matih.* 26. 52.

3. *Peace*. Concerning the *Waldenses* *Mr Cotton* sayth, They never lost *Victorie*, but when they complied with the *Papists*, and trusted more to their false *pretences*, then to the *Lord*. And he adds, that it is not true, that the *suall* successe of *Victorie* fell to the *Papists*, to the utter extirpation of those *Waldenses*; for sayth he, those *Witnesses* were not extirpated but dispersed.

The Warres of the Waldenses.

Truth. For their *Complying* with *Papists*, alas, what can *Gods* little flock, his two *Witnesses* doe with *carnall* weapons, unlesse assisted by *carnall* Men, to whom this *carnall* course causeth them to bow downe, dissemble, lye, &c. as holy *David* with *Achish* and his *Philistims*.

2. For the *Successe*. it is evident that the *Waldenses* and their *Adherents*, were so defeated by the *Popes* Armies, that in respect of any power to resist, the *Armies* of the *Waldenses* were wholly extirpated, although it is true (through *Gods* o're-powring hand) the *Truths* of *Christ* (which the holy *Waldensian* *Witnesses* testified) were more and more propagated by their *Dispersions*, *Christ Jesus* gaines more by preaching his *Truth* in a flying persecuted dispersion, then by fighting on *Horshacke* with *carnall* weapons in *carnall* companies, &c.

Acts 8. & 17.

4. *Peace*. But, whereas it was observed from *Daniell* and *John* their *Prophecies*, that *Antichrist* was foretold to obtaine great successe against *Christ Jesus*, for a time determined: *Mr Cotton* sayth, Not against *Christ Jesus*, but his *Servants*, and that either in *Suffring* for his *Truth*, or when they ill handled his *Cause*.

Truth,

Truth. Be it so, yet the Prophecies were true, and truly were fulfilled, and it is Gods Counsell that for the time appointed, Christ Jesus in his Truths and Servants is despised, Psal. 89. &c. How can then temporall victorie and prosperitie be expected by Christs followers for Christs Cause, or the temporall Sword be an Ordinance for Christs spirituall Kingdome and Worship?

Christian weapons.

5. Peace. Now lastly, when the weapons of the Saints Victories were mentioned three; (Revel. 12.) 1. Christs Blood. 2. The Word of their Testimonie. 3. Their owne Blood: Mr Cotton answers; this is true in private Christians: But (sayth he) the Sword of Gideon, the publike Magistrate is the Lords Sword, &c. when drawn out for Gods cause and Worship, according to God, is Victorious, Revel. 17. with Revel. 19. 14. 19, 20.

Christs Sword.

Truth. I answer; Gideons Sword (if well examined) will be found a Figure of that sharpe Sword of that great Captaine and Generall Christ Jesus. This Sword comes forth of his Mouth in the Preachings and Writings of his Servants: other sword we never finde he used in all his Battells against all his Adversaries: yea even against the Devill himselve and his Instruments.

Christs Warres and Victories, Revel. 17.

Peace. Yea, those very Victories of the Saints, Revel. 19. are expressly won with that Sword which comes forth of his Mouth: And his owne white Horse, and the Horses of his Followers, and the white Linnen with which they are clothed, cannot with any shew of Christian Reason hold forth the carnall preparation of white Horses, (literally) Guns, Swords, &c. But of the Word of Meeknesse, Innocencie and Righteousnesse (which is interpreted the Fine Linnen, vers. 8.)

Gideons Army typical.

Truth. To shut up this Chapter, Gideons Armie and Artillerie and Victorie, cannot be type of such Materiall Armies, Artillerie, and Victories, but of a Spirituall Armie, fighting with the Light and Testimonie of Gods Truth openly proclaimed, and the chearefull breaking of the earthen Vessells of their Bodies for Christs Cause, when in conclusion, the Antichristian Midianites (by their Divisions and Combustions) run their Swords in each others Bowells, with mutuall slaughters and Destructions; as woefull experiences hath declared.

Exam: of Chap. 65. replying to Chap. 68.

Peace. **F**ROM the Argument of the Testimonie of Kings and Princes concerning persecution for matters of Religion in their Kingdomes and Dominions, the Prisoner descended to the Argument from ancient Writers: unto some of which sayth the Discusser, the Answerer pleaseth to make Answer: Unto this Mr Cotton replies; As if any of them were omitted, or as if all of them were not answered: Compare the Prisoners Letter and mine together, and see if I have balked any one of them.

Truth. Mr Cotton would here insinuate a false Charge: I have compared the Prisoners Letter, and the Answer, and although Mr Cotton hath said some-thing to some-thing, which every one of them spake: Yet he that impartially will view the Passages shall finde, that although in strictnesse of Grammar Rules, he may not be said to omit to say some thing to each of them, yet in respect of Matter and Argument, he hath toucht but some, and that but lightly, as the Candle of Examination will make it appear.

Peace. Hilarius words in the Letter are these: "The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted: and lamentable it is to see the great folly of these Times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this World, in that Men thinke by humane ayde to helpe God, and with worldly pompe and power to undertake to defend the Christian Church: I aske you Bishops, what helpe used the Apostles in the publishing of the Gospel? With the ayde of what power did they Preach Christ, and convert the Heathen from their Idolatrie to God? When they were in prisons, and lay in chaines, did they praise or give thankes to God for any Dignities or Graces and Favours received from the Court? Or doe you thinke that Paul went about with Regall Mandates or Kingly Authoritie, to gather and establish the Church of Christ? Sought he protection from Nero, Vespasian, &c? The Apostles wrought with their own hands for their Maintenance, travelled by Land, and wandred from Towne to Citie to preach Christ: Yea the more they were forbidden, the more they taught and preached Christ: But now alas Humane helpe must assist and protect the Faith, and give countenance to it,

The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

“and by vaine and worldly Honours doe men seeke to defend
 “the Church of Christ, as if he by his power were unable to per-
 “forme it.

Truth. How many goulden heavenly Sentences (like so many precious Jewells) are treasured up, in the Cabinet of this holy Testimonie of Hilarius? And yet, but some of them, nay onely one of them doth Mr Cotton choose to answer, to wit, this, The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

Truth. Deare Peace, Each inch and sbread of heavenly Gold is precious, forget not therefore the Addition in the Letter, Hilarie
 “against the Arrians thus: The Church which formerly by en-
 “during miserie and Imprisonment, was knowne to be the true
 “Church, doth now terrifie others by Imprisonment, Banishment,
 “and Miserie, and boasteth that shee is highly esteemed of the
 “World, whereas the true Church cannot but be hated of the
 “same. In which and other Passages of Hilarius Mr Cotton might
 see as in a Glasse, the foule spots of his owne and New Englands
 face, in a most lively Testimonie against both bloudie Tenents and
 practices.

Worldly glory
 and persecution
 characters of
 the false
 Church.

Peace. To close upon the Point: Mr Cotton sayth, He cannot make it a marke of a Christian Church to be persecuted, for (Acts 9 31.) the Churches had rest, &c. Nor a marke of a false Church to persecute; for, Asa persecuted the Prophet (2 Chron. 16. 10.) Acts 7. 51. the true Church persecuted the Prophets.

Truth. When the Scripture or common Reason speaks of a common *marke* or Character, proper to one they deny not; but in an Act, or unusuall cases that *Marke* or Character may be worne by the Contraries. Noah was drunk; Abraham lyes; David commits Adulterie: yet lying, drunkenness and whoredome were not their ordinarie Characters, but the Markes of the common Lyars, Drunkards and Adulterers of this World: David stobd Uriah with his Pen, and Asa imprisoned the Prophet; yet these Acts were not their ordinarie Badges, but rather Spots or Blemishes, Warts, or Scabs, which grew on and were cast off (like Pauls Viper) without the note of a constant marke or character.

The sins of
 Gods children.

It is the propertie of Fire to ascend, and Water to descend, yet the Scripture relates of the descending of Fire, and the ascending of Water, which takes not away the ordinarie Nature of the marke

marke and character of Fires ascending, and Waters descending the Hills and Mountaines.

An arrant Whore is not alwayes in actuall Whoredome and Blood, though both are her Markes and Dispositions: A chaste wife or Virgin abhorres both, and yet by force or great Temptation, may be vanquished (as Bathsheba) which afterwards the Teares of godly Sorrow and Repentance wash away.

Peace. Yea but, the Question is (sayth Mr Cotton) whether Magistrates may not punish arrogant Hereticks and Seducers?

Truth. In all ages God hath permitted, Goulden Images (like Nebuchadnezzars) to be set up, I say State Worships and Religions! And he hath also provided his Witnesses to testify his Truth against such Abominations: Such Witnesses dissenting, Non-conforming, and refusing to come to the Common Assemblies of such Worshipers (to come to Church in plaine English) to yeeld Conformance, to Subscribe, to Swear, &c. are commonly cryed downe for Hereticks, Schismaticks, &c. And if they open their Lips in defence of their owne Conscience, and profession of Gods Truth! Seducers, Seducers, Blasphemers, Blasphemers.

Christ's Witnesses.

2. Peace. But 2. sayth Mr Cotton) it is another begging of the Question, to take it for granted, that it is a marke of no true Church to procure the Civill punishment of incorrigible, obstinate Hereticks and Seducers.

Truth. I intend by a marke or character, an inbred constant disposition, put forth in a constant and ordinarie practice: And then I dare challenge Mr Cotton to produce any true Church of Christ, eyther in Scripture or Historie, that did ordinarily and constantly professe and practice to stirre up the Civill Magistrate against such whom they judged incorrigible obstinate Hereticks and Seducers.

A true Wife of Christ no persecutor.

Peace. That which follows is full of Wonder and Astonishment, for Mr Cotton confessing the Christian Church doth not persecute, that is (sayth he) persecute in Excommunicating the Heretick) it was replied; this is but an Evasion, for who denies Power to Christs Church to Excommunicate? or who understands by Excommunication, persecution for Conscience? Mr Cotton answers; the Prisoner did not expresse himselfe, what persecution he meant, and also since false Excommunication is a great persecution, and so Christ Jesus himselfe esteemes of it, Luk. 21. 22.

Touching persecution what it is.

Truth. I have formerly and must againe appeale to the nature of the word, commonly used and taken, and aske, if *persecution* properly so taken be not a corporeall violence, or hunting for Religion and Conscience sake! And then halfe an eye will see through this poore and thin excuse and covering, notwithstanding that false excommunication be a spirituall persecution, and the abuse of the spirituall Sword be also deeper and fouler then the abuse of the civill and materiall.

Peace. To this (upon the Point) Mr Cotton consented, to wit, that *Hilarius* complaint, speaketh not to Excommunication, but civill censures, and therefore answers, first by proportion that excommunication of an Heretick is no persecution, and therefore by proportion neither is the civill punishment of an Heretick, persecution. By concession of *Hilaries* words, that the Apostles did not, and we may not propagate Religion by the Sword.

Truth. The Question with *Hilarie* was not whether a true Church did persecute an Heretick Idolater, Blasphemer, &c. but whether a true Church persecuted at all by civill censures: Now there being two States, the Civill or Corporeall, and the Ecclesiasticall or spirituall: There are consequently two sorts of Lawes, two sorts of Transgressions, two sorts of punishments, to wit, Civill and Spirituall, and there must of necessitie be two sorts of false or corrupt punishments, which are not just punishments, but oppressions, persecutions or huntings, to wit, the Civill persecution and the spirituall: Now Mr Cotton (confounding Heaven and Earth together) deceives himsele and others by a notion of spirituall persecution, to wit, by Excommunication, contrary to *Hilaries* scope, and the scope of this whole Dispute and Controversie.

I may illustrate it thus: Some Tutors of Kings Children, not being authorized to correct the Bodies of such young Princes, are said sometimes (not without some desert) to correct the Bodies of Inferiours (the young Princes Favourites,) by which the minds of such young Princes smarted sufficiently, if not exceedingly. I parallell not the similitude in all respects, but to illustrate the difference and distinction, between a spirituall punishment of the minde, and spirit. soule and affections, with which Christ Jesus hath furnished his Churches: and that Civill or corporall punishment, which he never gave them power to inflict (unlesse in miraculous dispensation) over the Bodies of any, directly or indirectly by Themselves or others.

Peace.

Difference between a civill and spirituall State.

The nature of spirituall punishment.

Peace. It is an everlasting Truth; Rightly distinguish, rightly Teach: but let us view Mr Cottons Second Answer, He grants that the Christian Religion was not, nor is not to be propagated by the Sword.

Truth. Then let Heaven and Earth judge, if Mr Cotton may not (in this case) out of his owne mouth be judged, since in this whole Discourse he sets the visible Headship of Christ Jesus (that golden Head, Cant. 5.) over the Church and all her Officers, Doctrines and Practices, (in the power of Correcting, Reforming, &c.) on the shouldiers of the Civill State, the Ministers and Officers thereof: provided that they execute not this Headship or Government, except they be able to judge, that is, (in English) provided they be of his Conscience and Judgement, and so consequently will judge and execute, according to the Clergies (though implicite) decree and sentence.

The nature of
Christ's spiritu-
all Government.

Peace. It is not much unlike that Mr Cotton affirmeth in the words following: for although he confesseth it is not proper for Christian Churches to inflict Civill punishments by Themselves, yet makes he (as all Popes and Popish persecutours have done) the Magistrates and Civill powers, their servants and slaves for execution, &c.

The Civill
Powers and
Officers the
Clergies Exe-
cutioners.

Truth. This Mr Cotton covers over with this Similitude, saying that although it is not proper for Lambes to teare Wolves, yet if they were reasonable they would run to their Shepheards to send out their Dogs after them.

Now under this fine Paint and vizard of Lambe-like dispositions of Shepheards, the Bishops, Presbyterians, and Independents, may render the Civill Magistrate not as Shepheards, but no other upon the point and in plaine English, then their servants and Executioners, to punish such on whom the Clergie first have past their Sentence. The bloudie Papists have commonly used to persecute Christ Jesus formally and judicially, delivering over Christ Jesus (in his Servants,) orderly to Pontius Pilate, the Secular Power. The Protestant persecutors use a finer vaile (every ugly vizard will not so deceive) for though they practice not so above board, in respect of a formall and judiciall delivering of Christ (the Heretick) unto their Shepheard Pontius Pilate the Secular power, yet they doe it, and doe it as substantially and fully by preaching and chalking out to their servants the Magistrates,

strates, their task, I say, as fully as ever the bloucie Popes, the Bishops, or their Chancellours did.

Peace. But why (sayth Mr Cotton) should a Christian Church spare an Idolater tempting of her now, any more then the eye of an holy Israelite was to spare the like Tempters in the dayes of old, Deut. 13. 3 ?

Truth. Mr Cotton cannot get over this block, though it be but a shadow, yea the shadow of a shadow, abolished by Christ Jesus : Mr Cotton a little before grants that the power of spirituall chaines far exceeds the power of materiall, and if so how cleere is it, that the spirituall impartialitie and severitie of a Virgin Israelite now, is incomparablie sharper and more dreadfull, by putting spirituallly to Death such as Tempt them from the Lord their God, who hath brought them forth of Ægypt into spirituall Canaan, then the impartialitie and severitie of any literall Israelite, against such as tempted them from the Lord, who in a Type had brought them forth of materiall Ægypt into materiall Canaan ?

I adde (sweete Peace) to end this Chapter, If the Father of Lights graciously please to open a crevis of Light to that (otherwise) excellent and piercing eye of Mr Cotton in this Controversie, he will confesse concerning this cutting off in Israel these two things.

The cutting off
or Excommunicating
from the holy Land of
Israel figurative
and typicall.

First, that the cutting off in materiall Israel, was by Swords, Stones, &c. a cutting off from the holy Land ; and a casting out of Gods sight, which cutting off God executed either by legall Judgement and Sentence among Themselves, or by furious hand of persecutours and oppressours, slaughtering or captivating that People.

Secondly, That there is no other cutting off in the Gospel, but by the spirituall Sword of the Word & Ordinances of Christ, or the violent hand of Oppressours, Antichristians, &c. carrying Gods Israel captive into mysticall Babylon, or Ægypt of false worship, or worldly corruption, which is ten thousand-fold more terrible and dreadfull, then the literall and materiall Captivitie of Israel.

Exam: of Chap. 66. replying to Chap. 69.

Peace. **H**ERE Mr Cotton complains of wrong, in that the Discusser chargeth him to plead for persecution, and yet confesseth that he agrees with *Hilarie*.

Truth. Mr Cotton indeed agrees with *Hilarie* in generall profession, that the Gospel is not to be propagated by Sword, but in particulars he affirmes, the Blasphemer, the Idolater, the Heretick, the Seducer is to be persecuted. In the generall he saith, the Magistrate may not constrain any to believe & professe the Truth, yet in particulars; thus far saith he, a man may be constrained by the Magistrates withdrawing Countenance and Favour, Incouragement and Employment from him, which affirming, what doth he else but affirme that he may be constrained, deposed, punished, that is, persecuted.

A twofold way
of constraint.

Peace. Indeed such kinde of punishment, as to displace men, to keepe them out from all offices, or places of Trust and Credit (because of difference of Conscience) may prove in the particular a greater affliction and punishment, then a Censure, a Fine, Imprisonment, yea sometimes more bitter to some Spirits then Death it selfe.

Truth. Yea and Mr Cottons ground is both unsafe and darke, and needs a candle of Light to discover the bottome and compass of it: Such, saith he, as walke not according to their Light, are neither true servants to God nor Man, but

First, what meanes here Mr Cotton by Light? Light in this sence is commonly taken two wayes.

What it is to
walke according
to a mans
Light.

First, For that is Light indeed, to wit, the precious Light of Gods revealed will.

Secondly, That which so appeares to be, to a mans minde and Conscience, but may be a falshood, a lye, a mistake, and darknesse. Mr Cotton had done well to have distinguished, for (before) he blamed King James for walking according to his Light: and although (upon the point) he makes the Civill Magistrates in all parts of the World, the Heads, Protectours, and Governours of Christs Church; yet if the eyes of these Heads see not by his Light, he cuts off these Heads, forbidding them to act as Heads, and to walke according to their Light, they must (as
often

often he tells us) suspend, untill they have *Light*, &c.

Conviction two-fold: Sufficient in it selfe: or to the partie efficacious.

2. *Peace*. Beside, it comes oft to passe, that the *Light* which shines by *preaching* or *practice* of others, although it be a meane sufficient to *convince*, if *God* please to *blesse* it, yet untill the *Consciences* of men be *convinc'd* of the *Light* of it, I judge it cannot properly be said to be the *Light* of their *Consciences*, nor they to sin against the *Light* of their *Consciences*.

3. *Truth*. Yea, and there is a *morall vertue*, a *morall fidelitie*, *abillitie* and *honestie*, which other men (beside *Church-members*) are, by good *nature* and *education*, by good *Lawes* and good *examples* nourished and trained up in, that *Civill places* of *Trust* and *Credit* need not to be *Monopolized* into the hands of *Church-Members* (who sometimes are not fitted for them) and all others deprived and despoiled of their *naturall* & *Civill Rights* and *Liberties*.

Peace. But what say you (Deare *Truth*) to Mr *Cottons Apologie* for *New-England* (for as for *constraint* in *old* he is silent) he sayth he knowes not of any *constraint* upon any to come to *Church*, to pay *Church Duties*, and sayth it is not so in his *Towne*.

Truth. If Mr *Coiton* be *forgetfull*, sure he can hardly be ignorant of the *Lawes* and *Penalties* extant in *New-England* that are (or if *repeald* have been) against such as absent *Themselves* from *Church Morning* and *Evening*, and for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*, although no *Members*.

Touching the Maintenance of the new English Ministers.

For a *Freedome* of *Not paying* in his *Towne*, it is to their commendation and *Gods praise*, who hath shewed him and others more of his holy *Truth*: Yet who can be ignorant of the *Sessments* upon all in other *Townes*, of the many *Suits* and *Sentences* in *Courts* (for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*) even against such as are no *Church Members*? Of the *Motions* and *pleadings* of some (not the meanest of their *Ministers*) for *Tithes*? And how ever for my part I beleeve Mr *Cotton* ingeniously willing, that none be forced expressly to pay to his *Maintenance*, yet I question whether he would work if he were not well paid: And I could relate also what is commonly reported abroad; to wit, that the rich *Merchants* and people of *Boston* would never give so *freely*, if they were forced, yet now they are forced to give for shame (I take it) in the *Publike Congregation*.

The

The *Indians* of this *Countrie* have a *Way* calld *Nanówwé*, or *Giving* their *Commodities* freely, by which they get better *bar-gaines*, then if they stood stiffly on their *Termes* of *Anaqúsbento*, or *Trading*: And when not *satisfied* to the utmost, they *grudge*, *revile*, &c. It cannot be, but that to such *Deceitfulnesse* of Heart *Mr Cotton* is subject as well as others, though *Love* bids me, and others, to hope the best.

Peace. The close of this Chapter seemes *strange* and *wonder-ful*, for *Mr Cotton* acknowledged that *Propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the *Sword*, and yet instantly againe main-taines he the use of the *Sword* when persons (which then must be judged by the *Civill State*) blaspheme the true *God* and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to damnable *Herese* and *Idolatrie*: But this (sayth he) is not the *Propa-gation* of *Religion*, but the preserving of it, and if it doe conduce to *Propagation*, it is onely *Removendo prohibens*.

Of propagating
Religion by
the Sword.

Truth. What is this *Removendo prohibens*, but as the weeding of a *Field* or *Garden*? And every *Husbandman* will say, that the end of such his *work*, is the *propagation* and *increase* of his *graine* and *fruit*, as well as the making of his *fence*, and *planting* and *sowing* of his *Field* or *Garden*: What therefore is this *Confession*, (though with this *Distinction*) but in truth an acknowledgement of what in *Words* and *Termes*, he yet denies (with *Hilarie*) to wit, a *propagating* of *Christian Religion* and *Truth* by the *Civill Sword*?

2. Besides it is the same *band* and *power* that plucks up the *weedes*, and *plants* the *Corne*, and consequently, that same *band* and *Sword* that *destroyes* the *Heretick*, may make the *Christian*, &c.

Exam: of Chap. 67. replying to Chap. 70.

Peace. Concerning *Tertullians* speech, and especially that *Branch*, to wit, that [By the Law of naturall equitie, Men are not to be compelled to any *Religion*, but permitted to believe or not believe at all] *Mr Cotton* answers, that they doe permit the *Indians*, but it will not therefore be safe to tollente the publicke *Worship* of *Devills* or *Idolls*. The *Discusser* replied,

F f

that

Touching the
Indians of
New-England

that they doe permit the *Indians* in their *Paganish Worship*, and therefore were partiall to their *Countrymen* and *others*: Mr *Cotton* answers; that it is not true, that they doe so permit the *Indians*, what ever they may doe privately: That the *Indians* submit to the ten *Commandements*, and that some of their *Ministers* have preached to them in *English*, which hath been interpreted: That one now preacheth in their owne *Language*: Further, That they permit *strangers* in their *Worship*. And for their *Countrymen*, for the most part that they worship *God* with them: They which are distant have *Libertie* of *publike prayer* and *preaching*, by such as themselves choose without *disturbance*.

Truth. Concerning the *Indians*, it is most true, that the *Monahigganeucks*, *Mishawomèucks*, *Pawtuckséucks*, and *Cawsumséucks* (who professe to submit to the *English*) continue in their *publike Paganish Worship* of *Devills*, I say openly and constantly.

Peace. Yea but (saith Mr *Cotton*) they have submitted to the ten *Commandements*.

Truth. I answer; the ten *Commandements* containe a *Renunciation* of all *false Gods* and *Worships*, and a *Worshipping* of the true *God*, according to his owne *Institutions* and *Appointments*, which their practice is as farre from, as *Mid-night* is from *Mid-day*.

Worshipping of
God and Christ
before the founda-
tion of Re-
pentance, is no-
thing but Anti-
christian dis-
order.

2. To put men upon *observations* of *Gods Worship*, as *Prayer*, &c. before the *Foundations* of *Repentance* from *dead workes* (their *worshipping* of *Idolls*, &c.) is as farre from the *Order* of *Christ Jesus*, and his *Christian principles* (whereof *Repentance* from *dead workes* is the first) as the building of an *House* or *Palace*, without the first *Groundsell* or *Foundation* laid.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* therefore saith, they preach unto them.

Truth. I from my soule wish that all the *Lords* people in *New England* were *Prophets*, yea true *Apostolicall Ministers* or *Preachers*, truly furnished with *Christs Abilities*, and *Christs Commission*, to goe forth to convert and baptize the *Nations*, even these *Wildest* of the *Nations* of *Adams Children*: But *Conversion* of *Nations* Mr *Cotton* sayth (upon *Revel. 15.*) untill the *seaven plagues* of the *seaven Angels* be fullfilled, will not be great.

This Interpretation I acknowledge to be very probable, so far as concernes any great Conversion of the Nations before the downfall of Antichrist, and in the meane season I commend the pious Endeavours of any (professing Ministry or not) to doe good to the Soules of all Men as We have opportunitie. But that any of the Ministers spoken of are furnished with true Apostolicall Commission (Matth. 28.) I see not for these Reasons.

First, The Minister or Ministers, whom Mr Cotton I conceive intends, professe an ordinarie Office in the Church of Christ, which is cleerely distinct, yea and another thing from the office of an Apostle, or one sent forth to preach and baptize, Ephes. 4. & 1 Cor. 12.

Touching preaching to the Indians in New-England.

Secondly, Such Churches as are invested with the power of Christ, and so authoriz'd to send forth, are seperate from the World, which many thousands of Gods people (dead and living) have seene just Reasons to deny those Churches so to be.

Thirdly, Were the Church true, and the Messenger or Apostle rightly sent forth with prayer and fasting, according to Act. 13. yet I believe that none of the Ministers of New England, nor any person in the whole Countrey is able to open the Mysteries of Christ Jesus in any propriete of their speech or Language, without which propriete it cannot be imagined that Christ Jesus sent forth his first Apostles or Messengers, and without which no people in the World are long willing to heare of difficult and heavenly matters. That none is so fitted;

First, The Natives themselves affirme, as I could instance in many particulars.

Secondly, The Experience of the Discusser and of many others testifie how hard it is for any man to attaine a little propriete of their Language in common things (so as to escape Derision amongst them) in many yeares, without abundance of conversing with them, in Eating, travelling and lodging with them, &c. which none of their Ministers (other affaires not permitting) ever could doe.

Peace. There being no helpes of Art and learning amongst them, I see not how without constant use or a Miracle, any man is able to attaine to any propriete of speech amongst them, even in common things. And without propriete (as before) who knowes not how hardly all men (especially Barbarians)

Propriete of Language necessary to the true preaching of Christ Jesus to any people.

are brought to heare matters of Heaven (so strange and contrary to Nature) yea, even matters of the Earth, except profit and other worldly ends compell them to spell out Mens minds and meaning?

Truth. 3. I may truly adde a third, an Instance in the booke of their Conversion, written by Mr Tho: Shepheard, there Mr Eliot (the ablest amongst them in the *Indian Speech*) promising an old *Indian* a suit of Cloths, the man (sayth the relation) not well understanding Mr Eliots speech, asked another *Indian* what Mr Eliot said.

Peace. Me thinks, the *Native* not understanding such a common and wellcome promise of cloths upon Gift, would farre more hardly understand Mr Eliots preaching of the garment of Righteousnesse Christ Jesus, unto which Men mutually turne the deaf Eare, &c.

Truth. Neither you (sweet *Peace*) nor I Expreffe thus much to dampe Mr Eliot or any from doing all the good they can, whiles opportunitie lasts in any truly *Christian* way, but to shew how great that mistake is, that pretends such a true preaching of Christ Jesus to them in their owne Language.

Peace. But to proceed, in the next Passage Mr Cotton affirms their Impartialitie in permitting others as well as the *Indians*.

Truth. I answer; it is one thing to connive at a strange *Papist* in private devotions on shoare, or in their vessells at Anchor, &c. Another thing to permit *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, &c. the free and constant Exercise of their Religion and Worship, in their respective Orders and Assemblies, were such Inhabitants amongst them.

Peace. Doubtlesse the bloudie Tenent cannot permit this Libertie, neither to the *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, &c. nor to the *Indians*, nor doth their practice toward their Countrymen hold forth a shew of such a freedome or permission.

Truth. I wonder why Mr Cotton writes, that the most part of the *English* worship God with them, and the rest absent have Libertie to choose their Preachers! Since Mr Cotton knowes the Petition and Petitions that have been presented for Libertie of Conscience in *New England*, and he cannot but also know the Imprisoning and Fining of some of the Petitioners, &c.

Peace. It may be Mr Cotton will use the common objection, that some part of their *Petition* tended to *Disturbance* in *Civill Things*.

Truth. Some of their *Petitions* were purely for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, which some in *Office*, both in *Church* and *State* favoured, as is reported, if not promoted. If others or some part of them might be judged *offensive* against *Lawes* made, yet why then hath not the *Libertie* of their *Conscience* (in point of *Worship*) been granted to them? When they have complained (amongst other Passages) that they have been forced to stay the *baptizing* of other *Mens children*, while their owne might not be admitted, and therefore earnestly sued for *Ministers* and *Congregations* after their owne free choice and *Consciences*, which have ever been denied to them.

Conscience to God in Worship a close Prisoner in New-England, and no Petitioner could obtaine its Libertie.

Peace. It is said, that their *Ministers* being consulted with, utterly denied to yeeld to any such *Libertie*.

Truth. They might justly feare, that if such a *window* were opened (as once *Bishop Gardiner* spake in another case) that the *New English Congregations* and *Churches* would be as thin, as the *Presbyterians* complained theirs to have been, when the people once began to taste the *Fredome* and *Libertie* of their *Consciences*, from the slaves whip, &c.

Peace. In the next *Passage*, the *Discusser* having excepted against Mr *Cottons* distinguishing betweene Members of the *Church*, and such as have given their names to *Christ*; Mr *Cotton* replies; they are not all one, and quotes, *Esa.* 65. 5, 6.

Truth. Let the place be viewed, and that place will be found to speake of no such *Difference*: It speaks of the *Lords* promise to *Eunuches* and *Strangers*, laying hould on the *Lords Covenant*, and joyning themselves to the *Lord*, which I conceive Mr *Cotton* will not deny to be in a *Church way*; in which condition the *Lord* gives the *Eunuches* a name better then of *Sonnes* and *Daughters*.

Publike marriage, or giving ones selfe to Christ.

Peace. In the next *Passage* Mr *Cotton* upon *Tertullians* speech, affirms, that a false *Religion* will hurt, because the *Red Horfe* follows the *White*, &c.

Truth. I answer; *Gods Judgements* (by *Warre*, *Famine*, *Pestilence*) plaguing false *Religions* in his time (though after many hundred yeares *patience*, as hath formerly been opened) is

one thing: and the present hurting or profiting of others, is another.

Peace. In the next place Mr Cotton takes offence that the Discusser should insinuate Mr Cotton to have a hand in the *Modell of Church Government.*

Truth. I answer, Mr Cottons words in the End of his Answer to the Prisoner, (where he speaks of this *Treatise* or *Modell*, sent to some of the Brethren of Salem) seemed to hold out the probability of it. How ever Mr Cotton subscribeth to the rest of the *Elders*, (as he here sayth) their words being rightly understood.

Peace. Further, Mr Cotton here affirms, that the want of a *Law* for Religion in any State provokes the *Wrath* of God, as the want of a *King* in *Israel*, Judg. 21. 25.

Judges 21. 25
Considered.

Truth. This Scripture proves no more, but that the want of a *King*, *Magistrate*, *Governour*, or *Civill Officer* of Justice, provokes the *Wrath* of God, and endangereth the people, against which the Discusser never affirmed, but against their *Kingly* or *Civill Authoritie* in *spirituall* cases, since *Christ Jesus* abolished that *Nationall Church.*

Peace. But sayth Mr Cotton, the best Good of a *Citie* is *Religion*, and therefore there should be a *Law* for it.

Truth. To this I have spoken largely in discussing of that *Modell*, unto which I know not of any *Reply* yet made by *Himselfe*, or any of those worthy men whom he makes the *Authours* of it.

Supream Authoritie in Spiritualls.

Peace. But further, whereas the Discusser had said that the weeds of the *Wildernesse* will not hurt the *Garden*, nor *poysen* the *Body*, if not suffred to grow in the *Garden*, nor taken into the *Body*, Mr Cotton grants that *Christ* hath ordained *Gardiners* for his *Garden*, and *Physick* and *Physicians* for his *Body*: Yet withall he makes the *Civill Officers*, to be as *Supervisors*, *Superintendents*, and consequently, *Bishops*, *Governours*, and *Heads* of the *Church* or *Churches*, and over the *spirituall Officers* of *Christ Jesus.*

Truth. What is this but to establish *Henry* the 8. a *Spirituall Civill Magistrate*, and *Head* of the *Church*, in the roome of the *Pope*? Contrary to which I have discoursed in the discussing of the *Modell* in the *bloudie Tenent.*

Peace.

Peace. But what thinke you of Mr Cottons interpretation of *Tertullians* minde, to wit, that *Tertullian* should meane, that the *Christian Religion* would not hurt nor disturbe the *Romane Civill State*?

Truth. I conceive it cannot stand, for although it be true that the *Christian Religion* hurts no *Civill State* (but infinitely the contrary) yet Mr Cotton will not deny that the *Christian Religion* (not of it selfe, but through the corruption of the *Civill State*) may provoke a *Civill State* many wayes, and therefore *Tertullian* must meane otherwayes, to wit, every Man must stand or fall in his owne *Religion*, and the *Religion* of one man will neither hurt nor save another: Therefore (to end this *Passage*) *Tertullians* words may not unfitly be thus applied: The *Religion* of the *Protestants*, if permitted by the *Papists*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Papists*: The *Religion* of the *Independents* will nether hurt nor profit the *Presbyterians*, if they permitted it: And the *Religion* and *Worship* of other *Consciences* in old or *New England*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Independents*, where the power of tollerating or not tollerating lies in the *hands* and *power* of the *Independents*.

Tertullians
Speech of one
Religion, not
hurting or profit-
ing another
Considered.

Exam: of Chap. 68. replying to Chap. 71.

Peace. **H**ere Mr Cotton urgeth two mistakes: First in the quoting of *Jerome*: secondly, in naming *Tertullian* for *Jerome*.

Truth. Possible it is, they are neither the mistakes of the *Prisoner*, nor *Discusser*, but either the *Scribe* or *Printers* may share with them; or if they were their owne mistakes (although the *Prisoner* wrote in close prison in *Newgate*, and the *Discusser* in multitude of *Distractions*, yet) they are justly to be blamed for their least *sleepines* in the handling of the *matters* of the *most High*.

Peace. But, *Jeromes* words (saith Mr Cotton) imply more then a *spirituall* cutting off; for *Jerome* immediatly subjoyneth these words! *Arius* was but a *sparke*, but because he was not speedily supprest, his *Flame* depopulated all the *World*, which cannot

cannot be meant (sayth he) of cutting off by *Excommunicati-
on*, which proceeded against him once and twice.

Truth. I cannot be easily induced to believe that *Jerome* intended to complaine of *Constantine*, who was not sparing at the first to put forth his temporall *Arme* and *power* against *Arrius*: But this is certaine, his words are these, [*Herese* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*: and the *Scriptures* quoted by him (*1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5.*) as *Mr Cotton* yeeldeth] prove onely a *spirituall* cutting off: So that it seemes not *rationall* for *Jerome* to run from the *Spirituall Sword*, about which he is now conversant, to the *carnall* and *temporall Sword*, of which those *Scriptures* (as *Mr Cotton* acknowledgeth) discourse not.

Peace. But let no man say (sayth *Mr Cotton*) that this
 “ grant of his [That *Herese* must be cut off by the *Sword* of
 “ the *Spirit*] doth imply an absolute *sufficiencie* in the *Sword*
 “ of the *Spirit*, to cut it downe according to *2 Cor. 10. 4, 5.*
 “ For though *spirituall Weapons* be *absolutely sufficient* to the *End*
 “ for which *God* hath appointed them, as hath been opened
 “ above, to wit, for the *conviction*, and (if he belong to *God*)
 “ for the *conversion* of the *offendour*, for the *mortifying* of his
 “ *flesh*, and for the *saving* of his *Soule*, and for the *cleansing* of
 “ the *Church* from the *Fellowship* of that *Guilt*: Yet if an *Heretick*
 will still continue obstinate, and persist in *seducing*, creepe into *Houses*, leade captive sillie *Soules*, and *destroy* the *Faith* of some, it may be of many, such * *Gangrenes* would be cut off by another *Sword*, which in the hand of the *Magistrate* is not borne in vaine.

* *Mr Cottons*
 and *Mr Edwards*
Gangrenes have
 little differd.

Blasphemie
 against the holy
Scripture.

Truth. This answer of *Mr Cotton* lookes too too like that *Distinction* of the bloudie *Bishop* against the poore *Martyr* or *Witness* of *Jesus* (which *Mr Fox* mentioneth) The *Scripture* is sufficient for *Salvation*, but not for *Instruction*: There is need of *Tradition*, &c. The *Sword* of the *Spirit* (sayth *Mr Cotton*) is absolutely sufficient, for these foure, to wit, the *Conviction*, *Conversion*, *Mortification*, and *Salvation* of the *offendour*, the *Heretick*, yea, and for a fifth, for *Expiation*, and *cleansing* of the *Church* from the *Fellowship* of that *Guilt*, but there is a sixth, to wit, *Infection*, and there the *Sword* of the *Spirit* is too weake, and the *Sword* of the *Magistrate* must helpe.

Peace. What sound and modest *Reason* can be (almost) pretended,

pretended, why the holy Ordinances, Appointments and provisions of the Lord Jesus (who is the *Wisdom* of the Father, whose is all power in Heaven and in Earth, and whose Heart is all on Fire with Love to his people) should be so weake in suppressing the Enemies of his Kingdome, that, all the Counsell, Order, and Power he hath left in his Absence, are not able to resist the Infection of false Doctrine, without the helpe of the Powers of the World his professed Enemy, unto whom who so is a Friend (sayth *John*) he cannot but be an Enemy unto God. Oh what should be the mysterie that the two-edged Sword of Gods mighty Spirit, is sufficient for Conviction, for Conversion, Mortification, Expiation, Salvation, but yet not powerfull enough against Infection?

Truth. There is written evidently, on the Forehead of this plea, as on the forehead of the great Whore (Revel. 17.) *Mysterie.* The *Ægyptian Onions* (as I may so speake) are full of Spirituall Infoldings, or *Mysteries*: One or two I shall briefly unfold or peepe.

Mysterie of false Christs.

First, the Clergie (*sacrilegiously* so called) in all Ages since the *Apostasie*, have (like some proud and daintie Servants) disdain'd to serve a poore despised Christ, a Carpenter, one that came at last to the Gallows, &c. And therefore have they ever framed to Themselves rich and Lordly, pompous and Princely, temporall and Worldly Christs, in stead of the true Lord Jesus Christ, the spirituall King of his Saints and people. And however it suits well the common End to retaine the Name of Christ (as the Lord Jesus prophesied many false Christs should arise, and many should come in his Name, &c.) yet most sure it will be found, that a temporall Crowne and Dignitie, Sword and Authoritie, Wealth and Prosperitie, is the White that most of those called Scholars, Ministers, Bishops, aime and levell at: How many thousand of them will readily subscribe to the pleas of the French Bishops against the Lord Peter, disputing before Philip the French King for temporall Jurisdiction, and Peters two Swords in the hands of Christs Ministers?

The true Christ despised for his povertie.

Peace. Mr Cotton is not far off, for howsoever He and some will say with him, one Sword is enough for a Presbyter or Elder, enough for Conviction, Conversion, Mortification, Expiation, and Salvation, yet one Sword is not enough against Infection, and therefore it is needfull (though we are not of the opinion

A base esteeme of the Spirituall Sword.

of those French Prelates and others, that challenged to themselves the *Sword* of temporall jurisdiction into their owne hands, yet) it is needfull that it be at our call in the hands of our Executioners the *Civill Magistrates*.

Earthly
Christ's need
earthly sup-
ports.

Truth. It is impossible that *temporal* and *worldly Christs* should walke with the legs of a *spirituall supportment*; but as (in respect of outward *Government*) they spring from the *Earth* and the *World*, it is impossible I say but their *Feeding and Aliment*, *Defence* and *Protection* should be of the nature of the *Root* and *Element* from whence they arise.

Peace. It is objected, was the *Church* of the *Jewes* temporall that was assisted and protected with a *temporall Sword*?

Truth. The *Spirit of God* tels us (*Heb. 8 & 10.*) of a *worldly Sanctuary*; of a *weake* and *old vanishing Covenant*, to wit, a *National Covenant*, and *Ordinances* of a *Jewish Church*.

Peace. It is againe said how can the *Discusser* extoll the *Sword* of the *Spirit* only, and acknowledge no *Churches*.

Truth. Although the *Discusser* cannot to his *Souls satisfaction* conclude any of the various and severall sorts of *Churches* extant to be those pure *golden Candlesticks* framed after the first patterne, *Rev. 1.* Yet doth he acknowledge *golden Candlesticks* of *Christ Jesus* extant; those *golden Olive trees* and *candlesticks*, his *Martyrs* or *Witnesses*, standing before the *Lord*, and testifying his holy *Truth* during all the *Reign* of the *Beast*, *Rev. 11.* Hence, although we have not *satisfaction* that *Luther* or *Calvin*, or other precious *Witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, erected *Churches* or *Ministeries*, after the first patterne (as they conceived they did) yet doth he affirm them to have been *Prophets* and *witnesses* against the *Beast*, and furnished sufficiently with *spirituall Fire* in their *mouthes*, mightily able to consume or humble their *Enemies*, as *Eliab* did with the *Captains* sent out against him.

The state of
Christianity
during the
reigne of
Antichrist.

Peace. I will object no more, please you (*Dear Truth*) to passe on to the 2nd. viz. the *Ministry* of the *Spirits* pretended *insufficiency* against *Infection*: why should not the *spiritual power* of the *Lord Jesus* be powerful enough against *creepers* into *Houses*, against such as lead *captive* silly souls, against such as *destroy* the *faith* of some, &c. as well as in the first *Churches* and *Assemblies*, professing his holy *name* and *worship*?

Truth. Search his *Will* and *Testament*, and we find no other
but

but *spiritual* means prescribed and bequeathed by the Lord *Jesus*, to *Paul* to *Peter*, or any of the holy *Apostles* or *Messengers*.

Peace. I must needs acknowledge that the poor servants of *Christ*, for some hundredeth of years after the departure of the Lord enjoyed no other power, no other *Sword* nor *Shield* but *spirituall*, until it pleased the Lord to try his children with *Liberty* and *ease* under *Constantine* (a soarer *Tryall* then befell them in 300 years persecution) under which *temporall* protection, *municifence* and *bounty* of *Constantine*, together with his *temporall* *Sword*, drawne out against her *spirituall* enemies, the *Church* of *Christ* soon surfeited of the too much *honey* of worldly ease, *authority*, *profit*, *pleasure*, &c.

Constantines peace a greater tryal and danger to *Christians*, then 300 years persecution.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, the second *mystery* is this. In all ages, the world hath been overspread with the *delusions* and *abominations* of *false worship*, invented by *Sathan* and his *Instruments* in opposition to the pure *worship* of the *God* of *Heaven*: Against these the Lord *Jesus* hath not been wanting to stir up his *witnesses*, *servants* and *souldiers*, fighting for their Lord and *Master*, *spirituall*, &c..

Sathans two wayes of quenching the Candle of *Christianity*.

These *witnesses*, when *Sathan* hath not been able to vanquish and overcome them by *disputing*, *writing*, &c. (but hath ever lost that way) he hath been forced to run to the *fleshly* *Armories* of *temporall* *weapons* and *punishments*, and to fetch in the powers of the world; So hoping to dash out the *Candle* of *Truth* and break the *candlesticks* thereof the *witnesses* of *Christ* *Jesus*: This *Sathan* hath ever practised one of these two wayes, sometimes by (pretended) *legall* *tryals* and *executions* of *Justice*, sometimes by most horrid and dreadfull *murthers* and *massacres*

Peace. Thus hath *Christ* *Jesus* indeed been vanquished, and driven out of this world by the powers of *Cæsars*, *Kings* and other earthly *Governours* and *Rulers*.

Truth. 'Tis a fresh and bleeding *History* of that famous *disputation* between the *Cardinal* and *Prelates* of *France* and *Beza* with his *protestant* *assistants* under *Charles* the 9th. And not long after of that most barbarous and horrible *murther* and *massacre* of about 30000 *Innocents*, to finish and compleat that *victory* which the pretended *Disputation* and *spirituall* arme could never effect.

The French *Massacre* must doe what their pretended *disputation* could not effect.

Pretended
disputes in
Q. Maries
days, ending
in fiery
flames.

The late Sy-
nodicall dis-
putes.

A bloody and
most unchri-
stian speech.

Peace. Yea in the bloody *Marian* dayes, there must be *Convo-*
cations cald at *London*, and downemust these famous *wiitneses*
of *Jesus*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer* to dispute at *Oxford* but faith-
full *Phylpot* for his free disputing in the *Convocation* at *London*,
and *Cranmer*, *Latimer* and *Ridley* for not yeelding away the
truth at *Oxford*, they must all feel the rage of the fiery furnace,
who bow not downe to the golden Image.

And (without offence of *civill Authority*, or disrespect against
any mans person be it spoken) in the late great disputes between
the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* at *VWestminster*; what a *Tem-*
pest raised, what *Earthquakes* and *Thunders* cal'd for, from *Earth*
and *Heaven*, ihat the second sword of the *magistrate* (herein the
Presbiteriaus Servant and *Executioner*) might effect that which all
the power of the pretended sword of Gods Spirit was never able to
reach to.

Pea. To proceed. *M Cot.* is greatly offended at this word: to wit
[the Eye of the *Answerer* could never be so obscured, as to run
to the *Smiths-shop* for a sword of *Iron*, and steel to help the *Sword*,
of the *Spirit*; if the *Sun* of *Ryghteousnes* had pleased to shew
him that a *Nationall Church*, &c.] And his anger breaths forth,
first against all *Hereticks* thus: If there be stones of the streets,
the *Magistrate* need not run for a *Sword* from the *Smiths shop*;
nor an *Halter* from the *Ropiers* to punish an *Heretick*.

Truth. It is true, the warehouse of *p rsecution* is so abundantly
filled with all sorts of bloody *Instruments*, besides *Swords* and
Ropes, that the *Primitive* and *Latter* times have told us how many
severall sorts of sorrows, pains and torments the servants of
the living God, have felt by severall *Instruments* of *Blood* and
Death, besides *Ropes* and *Swords*, &c. and all to punish (as *Master*
Cotton sayth) the *Heretick*, the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer*
&c.

Peace. What is this *Anger* but *Fury*, *Ira furor brevis est?*
And what weapons can be wanting to *Fury*, not the stones in
the streets (saith *Master Cotton*) *Furor arma ministrat*, for the
magistrate needs not (saith he) stay so long as to run to a *Smiths-*
shop for a sword, or to the *Ropiers* for a halter, &c.

Peace. O the mysteries of *iniquitie* and *cozenage* of sin, that a
Lambe of *Christ* should thus roar out like a *Lyon*, and (as the
speech may be construed by some) so far as in him lies to pro-
voke

voke the *civill powers*, yea the people in the streets to furious outrage, and not so much as to attend proceedings in pretended legal Trials and executions, but in the madnesse of *Barbarous murders and massacres*, and that even upon himselfe and the *Independants* in their meetings, &c.

Peace. But 2dly. he finds fault with the *Discussers wit*, for bringing such light conceits into grave *discourses* and *disputes* about the holy things of *God*.

Truth. If there be any thing favouring of wit in the *Discussors* speech, let all men judge whether there be not a *double*, yea a *treble* portion in this of *Master Cottons*; I acknowledge, *Non est major confusio quam serij & Foci*. The *Discussor* dares not willingly to prophane the holy name of the *most high* with *lightnes*, no not with those fine turnings of wit which the *word* forbids, (*ἠωραελαία*, *Ephes. 5.*) which becomes not *Christs schollars*, but rather the *giving of thanks*: And yet there is an holy wit and pleasantnes in *Samsons Riddle*, in *Jothams* and *Jesus his Parables*, yea, and in *Eliah his sharpe and cutting language*, which cut as deep to their deluding consciences, as the *Knives* and *Lances* of their *Idolatrous backs* and *bodies*: Yet none of these were (as *Maist. Cotton* insinuates against the *Discussor*) for naming of *Smiths-shop*) playings with *feathers*, &c.

Peace. But what think you of his confidence, touching his *New-England Diana*, to wit, that the *Discussor* will never be able to make it good: that the *Church* in *New-England* is implicitly, a *Nationall* and *State Church*?

Truth. His own words seem to prove it, for if it be a *Church* and not *Churches* of *N. England*, as elsewhere he speaks (and as the *Scripture* ordinarily speaks, the *Churches* of *Judea*, *Galatia*, &c.) it cannot be no other but a *Nationall*, as the *English-Church*, *Scotch-Church*, *French-Church*, &c. But possibly it being a mistake, I answer, A *Nation* in the common and large extent, I dare not call *New-England*, but thus, the severall *Plantations* or *Colonies* of one *Religion*, or way of *worship* make up one *Colony* or *Province* of *English-men* in this part or tract of *America*. I cannot therefore call the *Church* of *New-England* (properly) a *Nationall Church*, but a *Provinciall Church*, a *State Church*; cast into the mould of a *Nationall Church*, distinct into so many *Parishes*, I say not expressly and explicitly, but implicitly and secretly:

The rash fury and madnesse of persecutors even against themselves.

Pleasantnesse of wit sanctified, glorifies the giver.

The pretended particular Churches of *N. E.* indeed but a *Nationall Church*.

cretly, which the son of righteousness will at last reveal, as clearly and brightly in the eyes of all men, as the sun that shines at Noon-day.

At present, I affirm (what ever are the pretences, pleas and coverings to the contrary) that that Church estate, that religion and worship wch is commanded or permitted to be but one in a country, nation or province (as was the Jews religion in that typical land of Canan) that Church is not in the nature of the particular Churches of Christ, but in the nature of a Nationall or state Church: the nature of a particular Church of Christ, is to be one, 2 or 3 (more or lesse) in Townes or Cities (as in all the instances of the New-Testament, but the nature of the State Church is when the whole State is turn'd into a State Church in so many Parishes or Divisions of worshippers: and it is made odious & intolerable for any part of this City, state, &c. not to attend the common worship of the City, sanctifie the holy times, and contribute to the holy Officers, and to walke in another way, which is the generall state and practise of New-England.

No permission of any Religion or worship but one in N.E. there fore are the Churches, but a Nationall Church in the mould of them, &c.

Where the Supream Authority in a Church is Civill, the Body cannot but be like the head, and all make up but one Civil or Nationall mixt Church, like the Jewish Nationall Church. The purging a Countrey of Hereticks declares that Countrey is explicitly or implicitly a National Church.

2 That is a nationall and state Church where the Civill power is constituted the Head thereof, to see to the conforming or reforming of the Church, the truth or falshood of the Churches, Ministries or ministrations, ordinances, Doctrine, &c.

In the particular Churches of Christ Jesus, wee finde not a tittle of the power of the civill magistrate or civill sword in spiri-
tuall cases. It is impossible but a Nationall and Civil head must be head of a Nationall or State Church, which (upon the point is but a civill or temporall Church (like the head thereof) and not a heavenly and spirituall: I say, a Civil or temporall Church, subject to the changes of a changeable Court or Countrey, and the interpretations and expoundings of Scripture, to what the Court or Countrey is subject to approve or disprove of.

3 It is a Nationall or State Church, where the opposite or gain-sayer, the pretended Heretick, Blasphemer, Seducer, &c. is some way or other punished, put forth of the State or Countrey it selfe by death or banishment: whereas particular Churches put forth no further then from their particular societies, and the Heretick, &c. may still live in the Countrey or Countreys unmolested by them.

4 That Church cannot be otherwise then a National or State

State Church, where the maintenance of the *Worship, Priests and Officers*, is a *State maintenance*, provided by the care and power of the *State*, who (upon the point) payes their *Ministers or Servants* their wages; whereas the maintenance of the *Worship and Officers* of a particular Church, we finde by *Christs Testament* to be cared for sufficiently by *Christs power*, and meanes in his Church.

A State Maintenance proveth a State Church.

5 That Church is a *Nationall or State Church*, whose whole Assemblies, in *Synods, Councells, Provinciaall, Nationall, &c.* If *Mr Cotton* can disprove the truth and substance of these and other particulars alledged, so farre as concernes the generall and Body of the *Countrey* combined (whatsoever little variation some particular Townes may make) the *Discusser* must acknowledge his *Error*, but if *Mr Cotton* cannot doe it, as I believe he cannot (what ever flourish a wit may pretend) the *God of mercy* pardon what by *Mr Cotton* is done in Ignorance, and awaken him and others, who cause his people to goe astray; according to that of the *Prophet*; Their *Shepheards* cause this people to goe astray.

Synods assembled by Civill Power, prove the Churches of the same Nature with the Head that calls and calls them.

Peace. O that all *Gods sheepe* in *New England*, and such as judge themselves their *Shepheards*, may truly judge themselves at the *tribunall* of their owne *Consciencers* in the presence of the *Lord*, in the upright Examination of these particulars: But to leave *New England*, and to returne to the *Land of Israel*: I should thinke (sayth *Mr Cotton*) not onely mine eye obscured, but the sight of it utterly put out, if I should conceive (as the *Discusser* doth) that the *Nationall Church State* of the *Jewes* did necessarily call for such weapons to punish *Heretiques* more then the *Congregationall State* of particular Churches doth call for the same now in the dayes of the *New Testament*.

Truth. It is a strange Speech to proceede from so knowing a Man, but let us ponder his *Reasons* in the feare of *God*.

Peace. Was not (sayth *Mr Cotton*) the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes* compleatly furnished with *Spirituall Armour* to defend it telfe, and oppose *Men and Devils*, as well as particular Churches of the *New Testament*? Had they not power to convince false *Prophets*, as *Elijah* did the *Prophets of Baal*? had they not power to separate *Evill Doers* from the *Fellowship* of their

their Congregations? And he addeth, an uncleane Person, although he might not Enter into the Temple, with the rest of the Israelites to worship the Lord, yet he was permitted to live in the Common-weale of Israel, Men uncircumcised both in Heart and Flesh.

Touching the difference between the Church of the Jewes and the Christian Churches.

He addeth further, that the Nationall Church of Israel was powerfully able by the Sword of the Spirit to defend it selfe, and to offend Men and Devills, for which he quoteth, *Zach. 4. 6.* And he asketh, doth not the Discusser himielse observe that time was, in the Nationall Church of the Land of Canaan, when there was neither Carnall Sword nor Speare to be found, *1 Sam. 13*? And was not then the Nationall Church powerfully able by the Spirit of God to defend it selfe, and to offend Men and Devills as well as particular Churches now?

Truth. I answer: First, As much as the shadow of a Man falls short of a Man himselfe, so did all their Ordinances (which were but shadowes of spirituall things to come) fall short of that bright enjoyment of Christ Jesus, and spirituall and heavenly things in him, now brought to Light by Christ Jesus in the Gospel or New Testament.

2. Mr Cotton will never demonstrate that the putting forth, or Excommunicating of a person from the Church of God amongst them, was other then cutting off from the Land by Death, and the Civill Sword, the same being spiritually executed now in the Israel of God, *1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5. 12.*

The holy Land of Canaan a Nonesuch.

Thirdly, Although the Stranger uncircumcised might live amongst them, yet none of the Native Israelites might so live, nor yet might the Stranger prophane the holinesse of the Lord by labour on the Sabbath, which Mr Cotton will never prove ought now to be kept by all Countries of the world, and that under such Penalties, as was in the Land of Canaan, the holy Land: Nor that they had spirituall power sufficient to punish the willfull breach of any Morall or Ceremoniall dutie, without the helpe of the Carnall Sword, the contrary to which is plaine in the New Testament, *1 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 10.*

A Figure of the Christian.

Fourthly, For the Scripture, *Zach. 4. 6.* Not by might nor Power, &c. The Prophet doth not here oppose the Spirit to might or power, so as to deny the use of Carnall weapons, might or power, which God had vouchsafed to them against all Enemies

mies within and without, but sheweth it to be the work of Gods own finger or Spirit in the use of carnall meanes which they used for the raising of the Materiall Temple and Civill defence of Themselves against all Opposers, Hinderers, &c. Whereas 2 Cor. 10. the Apostle flatly opposeth Spirituall Weapons against Carnall, and Mr Cotton will never prove that the Corinthians or any of the Saints of Christ, did enjoy other Weapons, in that first or the Ages next after, but onely the Spirituall Weapons and Artillery which the Apostle mentioneth.

The weapons of the Jewes and Christians compared.

Lastly, To that of 1 Sam. 13. I answer, That when there was no Speare nor Sword in Israell, the Israelites were not powerfully able to defend Themselves against their Enemies, except that God was pleased extraordinarily to stirre up meanes of their preservation, as wee see in the case of Jonathau and his Armour-bearer against the Philistims. In like manner I believe that where the ordinary power of Gods hand in his holy Ordinances is withdrawn, it is his extraordinarie and immediate power that preserveth and supporteth his people against Men and Devills; as in particular, during the reigne of Antichrist in stirring up and supporting the two Witneses.

No Speare nor Sword in Israell.

Exam: of Chap. 69. replying to Chap. 72.

Touching the Testimony of Brentius.

Peace. **I**T is untrue, sayth Mr Cotton, that we restraime Men from Worship according to Conscience, or constraime them to Worship against Conscience, or that such is my Tenent or practice.

Truth. Notwithstanding Mr Cottons cloake, to wit, that they will not meddle with the Heretick before he hath sinned against his owne Conscience, and so persecute him onely for sinning against his owne Conscience, yet I earnestly beseech every Reader seriously to ponder the whole streame and series of Mr Cottons Discourse, Propositions, Affirmations, &c. through the whole booke, and he shall then be able to judge whether it be untrue that his Doctrin tends not to constraime, nor restraime Conscience,

2. For the matter of fact, how can he with any *Humilitie* before the *flaming eyes* of the most *Highb*, cry out, no such *practice*, when

New-England
loath to be
accounted
persecutours.

First, Their *Lawes* cry out a *Command* under *Penaltie* for all to come to *Church*, though not to be *Members*, which in truth (as hath been opened) is but a *colour* and *visard*, deceiving himselfe and others: And a *cruell Law* is yet extant against *Christ Jesus*, muffled up under the *hood* or *vaile* of a *Law* against *Anabaptistrie*, &c.

Secondly, Their *practice* cryes, their *Imprisonments*, *Finings*, *Whippings*, *Banishments* cry in the *Eares* of the *Lord of Hosts*, and the louder because of such *unchristian sigleaves*, *cloakes*, &c.

Peace. Let it be granted (sayth *Mr Cotton*) that we did both, yet this did not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*, but the *outward* man onely! Nor would we (sayth he) think it fit to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*.

Truth. I cannot discern the *Coherence* of these three *Affirmations*: 1. We *restraine* no man from *Worship* according to *Conscience*. 2. We make *Lawes* but to binde the *outward* man onely. And yet againe (3) we thinke not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*. *Mr Cotton* lived once under a *Papish Law*, to weare a *fooles Coat* or *Surplice* on his back, and to make a *Conjuring Crosse* with his *Fingers*, why should he say, that this *Law* went beyond his *back* and his *fingers*, and came even to his *Conscience*? If these *pettie bonds* did binde his *Conscience*, as well as his *back* and his *fingers*; Oh let not *Mr Cotton* so farre put off the *Bowells* of *Compassion* toward *Christ Jesus* and his *Followers*, yea toward all men, as to binde their *backs*, and their *Necks*, their *Knees* and *Hands backward* and *forward*, to or from *Worship*, and yet say he binds but the *outward* man, &c.

Lawes concerning
Gods
Worship.

Dangerous
distinctions.

Yea and oh let not such *uprightnes*, *candor*, and *Integritie*, as *Mr Cotton* hath been noted for, be blemished with such an *Evasion* as this, to wit, when it comes to selfe, that *Conscience* his owne or his *Friends* be offred to be bound, &c. then he shall flie to his third *Evasion*, saying, We think it not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*, that is, against our *Consciences*, &c. What ever becomes (sinck or swim) of other *Mens*.

Peace.

Peace. In the next Passage, God needs not (sayth Mr Cotton) the helpe of the *Magistrate* more in the *Second*, then in the first *Table*.

Truth. God needeth not *absolutely* for the matters of the *Second Table*, though *respectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances*, unto which he hath graciously referd himselfe. But for the *first Table*, he hath no neede at all, of *carnall weapons*, no not *respectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances* to thousand-fold more potent, *suitable* and *sufficient*.

Touching
keeping of
both Tables.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that if *Magistrates* must use their *materiall Sword* in keeping of both *Tables*, they must be able to judge of both: Mr Cotton replies, that it is enough, that they be able to judge in *Principles* and *Foundations*, and of the *Arrogancie* of a *tumultuous Spirit*; for such want not *Judgement* to censure *Apostasie* or *Heresie*, *Idolatrie*, &c.

Of Magistrates
Judgement in
Spirituals, &c.

Truth. It is not like that a *Carpenter* who hath skill sufficient to judge the *Principles* and *Foundations* of a *house* or *Building*, should be unable to judge about the *Beames*, *Posts*, &c.

2. With what great darknes, have the best of *Gods children* themselves been covered these many hundreth yeares, touching the very *Fundamentalls* of *Gods Worship*!

Peace. Whereas it was said further, that either they are not fitly qualified *Magistrates* and *Common-weales*, that want this *abilitie* to judge, &c. Or else they must judge according to their *Conscience*! Mr Cotton replies; *Many Qualifications* are required in *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, *Ministers*, *Churches*, the want whereof may make them *sinfull*, but not *unlawfull*.

Of Qualifications
of Magi-
strates.

Truth. I answer; some *Relations* are *Passive*, as that of *children*, who may be true and lawfull *children*, although they know not that they are *children*. But, such *Relations* as are *active* in their *choice* and *consent*, as of *Husband*, *Wife*, *Magistrate*, &c. these cannot be *lawfull*, unles they be fitted and qualified to performe the *maine* and *essentiall duties* of *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Servants*, *Magistrates*. That *Husband*, *Wife*, *Servant* cannot be *lawfull*, that are engaged to other *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Masters*: Nor can that *Magistrate* be *lawfull*, who is a *mad-man* or *Ideot*, not able to discern between *Right* and *Wrong*: and truly (were *Magistrates* bound, as to the *chiefe part* of their *Dutie* and *Office*) to establish the true *Religion*, &c. he were no more then

a mad-man (as to the first Table) that were not spiritually indued with ability of discerning the true *Church, Ministry, Worship, &c.*

Of Magistrates Abilities.

Peace. Now whereas it was further urged that then the *Common-weale*, the *Civil, Naturall state*, hath more Light concerning the *Church of Christ* then the *Church* it self, &c. *Master Cotton* replies, it followes not, because that is a weak *Church* that knowes no more light then that of the *Principles*; and beside; what light the *Common-wealth* hath it may have received from the *Church*.

Truth. I answer, If *Kings* and *Queens, &c.* be nurcing *Fathers* and *Mothers* (in a spirituall respect) over the *Church*, as is usually alleadged; can it be expected but that the *Nurse, Father* or *Physician* should know more of the *Childs state* then the *Child* or *Patient* himselfe, who oftentimes knows not his sicknesse, nor that he is sick, (as oft may be the case of a *Church of Christ*) It is impossible, but they must have more light then the *Child*, yea and much more impossible that they should receive their Light and direction from the *Child, &c.*

Peace. We see, saith *Master Cotton*, that *Magistrates* sometimes have more Light in matters of Religion then the *Church* it self, as *David* and *Hezekiah*.

Truth. This (1) confirms what I said, that these *Kings* being appointed by *God, Formers* and *Reformers* of the *Church of Judah*, they must needs have more light in the matter of *Reformation* then the *Church* it selfe to be reformed.

David and *Hezekiah* figurative *Kings, &c.*

2 I must deny that *David* and *Hezekiah* were other then types of *Christ Jesus*, both in his owne person and in such, who in his absence are by him deputed to manage the *spirituall power* and sword of his holy and spirituall Kingdome.

Peace. Yea, but alas, saith *Master Cotton*, there is no colour, that because *Magistrates* are bound to discern and serve *Christ* with their power, that therefore they may punish *Christ* and *Christians*.

Truth. True, therefore, *Master Cotton* elsewhere saith, they must suspend to deal in *Church matters* untill they can judge, &c.

And this, First implies their light and judgement (absolutely necessary) in all such matters of the *Church*, about which they are to Judge and act as often I affirme.

2 I aske what kind of *spirituall Physicians* will Master Cotton have, who shall be bound to suspend their power, all their lives long, unlesse they have skill to judge of *Diseases*? will not the similitude hold against such *spirituall Fathers, Nurces, Physicians*, who all their life long (yea the greatest number beyond compare of all their *spirituall Fathers* upon the face of the Earth) must wholly suspend from acting in *spirituall diseases* or cases, to wit, in reforming, establishing, &c.

Magistrates
suspending in
matters of
Religion.

3 Although it excuseth not ('tis true) such *Magistrates, Princes Common-wealths*, for making this *Doctrine* their ground of persecuting *Christ* and *Christians*, yet doubtlesse it makes their sin the greater who feed them with such *bloody Doctrines*, and so consequently occasion them upon the rocks of such fall and dangerous and *bloody practices*.

Exam: of Chap. 70. replying to Chap. 73.

Peace. IN this Chap. (*Dear Truth*) I see many stones of offence, at which the feet of the unwary most easily may stumble; I hope your carefull and steady hand may be a blessed Instrument of their Removall: As First, although Master Cotton subscribe unto *Luther* that the Government of the *Civill Magistrate* doth extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, yet (saith he) he may and ought to improve that power over their *Bodies* and *Goods* to the good of their *Souls*.

Truth. Sweet Peace my hand (the hand of *Christ* assisting) shall not be wanting: but what offence can be taken at the propositions?

Pea. The proposition like an apple of *Sodom*, is fair and specious untill you crush it by examination: For, by maintaining the *Magistrates* power over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, for the good of his *Soul*, it is clear in this Chapter and others foregoing and following, that Master Cottons words drive at no lesse then a seising upon, and plundering of the goods, the Imprisoning, whipping, Banishing and killing the *Bodies*, of the poor people, and this under the Cloak and colour of saving their *Souls* in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Wofull Soul-
saving.

Truth. The *Civil State*, and *Common-weal* may be compared to a piece

a peice of Tapiftry, or rich Arras, made up of the severall parts and parcels of the Families thereof. Now by the *Law of God, Nature and Nations*. a Father hath a power over his Child, the Husband over the Wife, the Master over, &c. and doubtlesse they are to improve that power and *Authority* for the good of the *souls* of their Children, Yoak-fellows, &c. But shall we therefore say that the Father and the Husband hath power under *Christ* over the *consciencies* and *religion* of the Child or Wife, as a Father or Husband had under *Moses* *Numb. 30.* Parents are commanded in the *Gospel* to bring up their Children in the instruction and fear of the *Lord*; the *Husband* is commanded to labour to win and save his *Wife* (with no other power then the *Wife* also her Husband) whether *Turke* or *Jew, Antichristian* or *Pagan*: but such a power and sword to be improved (as *Mr. Cotton* here pretends) for *soul-good*, Master *Gotton* will never finde in the Testament of *Christ Jesus*.

The *Plain English* is (what ever be the Cloak or cover which the *States, Kings* and *Rulers* of this world use in this case) this terme [for *souls good*] is no more then the old *Popish Jesabels* painting, *pro salute anime, pro redemptione anime*, or as that noble *St. John* observed in a speech at *Guild-hall*, that the *Kings* party made use of the name of *Peace*, as the *Papists* used the name of *God, In nomine Domini, &c.*

Peace. It is most lamentable to see how the *Kings* of the Earth are grossly flattered by their *Clergy*, into as grosse a belief that they are most *Catholick Kings* as in *Spain*, most *Christian Kings* as in *France*, *Defendors* of the *Faith* in *England*. Hence those two bloody *Persecutors* of *Luther*, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth, were celebrated even upon the posts of the doors in *Guild-Hall*: *Carolus, Henricus vivant, defensor uturque, Henricus Fidei, Carolus Ecclesie.*

Peace. And yet to what other end have or doe (ordinarily) the *Kings* of the Earth use their power and authority over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their *Subjects*, but for the filling of their *pauiches* like *Wolves* or *Lions*, never pacified unlesse the peoples *bodies, goods* and *Souls* be sacrificed to their *God-belly*, and their owne *Gods* of profit, honour, pleasure, &c.

Peace. But in the second place Master *Cotton* affirmes, that by procuring the good of their *souls*, they may much advance
the

The power of Parents, Husbands, Magistrates in spirituals.

1 Cor. 7.

The tearme [Souls-good] commonly but a paint, &c.

the good of their *bodies* and outward man also.

Truth. This Proposition is as fair as the former, but in the searching and crushing is as rotten, for however it is most true (as he quoteth 1 Tim. 4.) that *Godlineffe* hath the promise of this *Life*, and of a better, and also that such as seek first the *Kingdome of God*, may expect outward mercies to be cast upon them, yet these promises can never by any rule of *Christ*, be stretched to proue outward prosperity and flourishing to the followers of *Christ Jesus* in this present evill world.

The promises of temporall mercies considered.

Peace. He that is in a pleatant *Bed* and *Dream*e, though he talke idly and insensibly, yet is loath to be awaked.

Truth. Those sweet promises supply *Gods servants* with what outward blessings his holy *Wisdom*e seeth they have need of for his service: But when wil *Master Cotton* indeed witness against a *Nationall Church*, and cease to mingle *Heaven* and *Earth*, the *Church* and *worldly state* together? when will he cease to propose the rich and peaceable, victorious and flourishing *Nationall State* of the *Jewes* as the *Type* of the *Carnall* peace and worldly wealth and honour of the spirituall *Nation* and *Kingdome of Christ Jesus*? when will he more plainly and simply conforme the members to the head *Christ Jesus* in the *Holinesse*, *Glory* of his *spirituall poverty*, *shame* and *sufferings*?

Peace. I have in the experience of many *Ages* observed the flourishing prosperity of many *Cities*, *Common wealths* and *Nations*, where no sound of *Christ* hath come, and that for hundredreths, yea, some thousands of years together, as hath formerly in this discourse been instanced.

Truth. You have found that when the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse of *War*, *Famine* and *Death* have thundered upon the *Nations*, it hath not been upon the decay of a *State Religion*, but most commonly upon the rejecting and persecuting of the *Preachers* and *Witnesses* against it.

Peace. Yea *Master Cotton* himselfe observeth that such of *Gods servants* as grow fatter in *Godlineffe*, grow not outwardly in *wealth*, but *God* keepeth them low in *outward estate*.

Truth. I conclude this passage with an observation of constant experience, ever since the *Son of God* ascended the *Heavens*. The nearer *Christs* followers have approached to worldly wealth, ease, liberty, honour, pleasure, &c. the nearer they have

Worldly prosperity ever dangerous to Gods children.

have approached to *Impatience, Pride, Anger and Violence* against such as are opposite to their *Doctrine and Profession of Religion*: And (2) The further and further have they departed from *God*, from his *Truth*, from the *Simplicitee, Power and Puritie* of *Christ Jesus* and true *Christianitie*.

Peace. In the next Passage Mr *Cotton* (though with another heart, yet) in the *Language and Tongue* of the *Pharisees*, seemes to take part with the *Prophets* against the persecuting *Fathers*, and amongst many things he prohibits *Magistrates* this one, to wit, that he must not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*.

Of Lawes
binding Con-
science.

Truth. What is a *Law*, but a *binding Word*, a *Commandement*? What is a *Law* to binde *Conscience*, but a *Commandement* that calls for *Obedtence*? And must wee raise up such *Tumults*, such *Tragedies*, and fill the face of the *World* with *streames of blood*, about the *Christian Magistrates* reforming *Religion*, establisshing *Religion*, killing the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, and yet all this without a *Law*, that may in the name of *Christ* exact *obedience*?

Peace. I wonder what we shall thinke of those *Lawes* and *Statutes* of *Parliament*, in *old* or *New England* that have bound the peoples *Consciencs*, at least so farre, as to come to the *Parish Church*, improving (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) the *power* and *Authoritie* over their *Bodies*, for their *Soules good*? What shall wee call all those *Lawes*, *Commandements*, *Statutes*, *Injunctions*, *Directions*, and *Orders*, that concerne *Religion* and *Conscience*?

Truth. The plaine truth is, Mr *Cottons* former reforming zeale, cannot be so utterly extinguished, as to forget the name and *Notion* of *Christian Libertie*, although in this bloudie *Discourse*, he hath well nigh, (if not wholly) *sold away* the Thing! The *Conscience* (sayth he) must not be bound to a *Ceremonie* (to a pretended *indifferent Ceremonie*): And yet loe, throughout this *Discourse*, he pleades for the binding of it from these and these *Doctrines*, from these and these *Worships*, and binding to this or that *Worship*, I meane, to come to the publike *Towne* or *Countrey Worship*! Just for all the world, as if a *Woman* should not be bound to make a *Curtse*, or *Salutation* to such a *Man*, but yet shee should be bound (will she nill she) to come to his *bed* at his pleasure. *Worship* is a true or false *Bed*, *Cant. 1. 16.*

Peace. It is observable in the next place, what Mr *Cotton* observeth,

observeth, concerning the Principles of saving Truth, to wit, that no good Christian, much lesse good Magistrate can be ignorant of them.

Truth. In the Consideration of the Modell, this Goodnesse or Badnes of the Magistrate is Examined, and easily it is proved (to my understanding) that this Assertion confounding the nature of Civill and Morall goodnesse with Religious, is as farre from Goodnes as Darknes is from Light.

Peace. To this Issue tends Mr Cottons Conclusion of this passage [verily the Lord will build up and establish the House and Kingdome of such Princes, as doe thus build up his.]

Truth. The promise of God to David concerning his House and Kingdome in the Letter, is most true in the Mystery and Antitype, as to the Spirituall House and Kingdome of King David, King Jesus, in such Princes or Prophetical Kingly Spirits, who Spiritually, in the Word of Prophecie (the Sword of Gods Spirit) contend, for the Spirituall Kingdome of Christ Jesus: God will establish them in Spirituall Dignitie and Authoritie: But take this literally (as Mr Cotton carries it) and as he never will finde any such Dutie lying upon Princes in the Gospell, nor any such promise of temporall prosperitie, but holy predictions & foretellings of the crosse and persecution ordinarily to all that will live Godly in Christ Jesus, and the greater persecution to the most zealous and faithfull Servants of Christ Jesus: So neither can he give any true Instance (truely proper and parallel) to this purpose.

Peace. Me thinks although successe be no constant rule to walke by, yet Gods providence in successe of Journies, Victories, &c. are with great care and feare to be attended to and pondered, and the Hand and Eye of God to be observed in them, of what sort or Nature so ever they be.

Truth. Two instances of greatest successe and temporall prosperitie we have presented to us on the publike stage of this world, before our owne Dores, crowning the Heads of such States and States-men, as have attended to mercy and freedome toward oppressed Consciences.

The first is that of the State of Holland: The second of our owne Native England, whose renowned Parliament and victorious Armie never so prospered, as since their Declaration and pra-

Persecution
the ordinarie
Portion of
Christs Fol-
lowers.

Two States
wonderfully
favoured by
God, upon
mercy shewed
to oppressed
Consciences,
formerly Hol-
land and now
the State of
England.

Office of pitie and mercy to Consciences oppressed by Mr Cottons bloudie Tenent.

Bodies and Goods the Magistrates object.

Peace. In the next Passage, it being a Grievance that Mr Cotton should grant with Luther the Magistrates power to extend no further then the Bodies and Goods of the Subject, and yet withall maintaineth, that they must punish Christians for sinning against the Light of Faith and Conscience: Mr Cotton answers;

First; He supposeth the chiefe good to be that of Christian Faith and Good Conscience.

Secondly; Suppose (sayth he) by Goods were meant outward Goods, yet the Magistrate may punish such in their Bodies and Goods, as seduce, &c. for (sayth he) in seeking Gods Kingdome and the Righteousnesse thereof, Men prosper in their outward Estates, Matth. 6. 23. Otherwise they decay.

Lastly, He remembers not the proposition to be his, [The Magistrates power extendeth no further, then the Bodies and Goods of the Subject] He answereth it is true in respect of the Object, though not in respect of the End, which (sayth he) is *εὐνομιάνειν*, Bene administrare Rempublicam. And he asketh if it be well with a Common-weale, enjoying bodily health and worldly wealth, without a Church, without Christ! And he concludes with the Instance of the Romane Empire, which had it not cast away Idolatrie (sayth he) had been ruined.

Truth. For answer; First, the distinction is famous among all Men of the Bona or Goods of Animi, Corporis, Fortunæ: and againe, that of the Minde, Soule, and Conscience within, and that of the Body and Goods without, that it can be no lesse then a Civill as well as a Spirituall Babell to confound them.

Oppression in Bodies Goods and Minde.

Secondly, To his Supposition, suppose (sayth he) by Goods were meant outward Goods, yet the Magistrate may punish such in their Bodies and Goods, as doe Seduce, &c. I see not how these Cohere any better then the grant of some Papists, that the Churches power extends no further then the matters of Faith and Conscience: But yet (say they) they may punish such in their Bodies and Goods as seduce, &c. Mr Cottons Suppositions and the Papists come both out of the same Babylonian Quiver.

But thirdly, let us minde his Reason from Matth. 6. In seeking Gods Kingdome men prosper in outward estate, otherwise not:

Answer,

I answer, this Proposition would better besit the pen of a Jew then a Christian, a follower of Moses, then of Jesus Christ, who although he will not fayle to take care for his in Earthly Providences, that make it their chiefe worke to seeke his Kingdome, yet he maketh (as I may say) Christs Crosse the first Figure in his Alphabet, taking up his Crosse and Gallowes (in most ordinarie persecution,) which with selfe-deniall, are the assured Tearmes his Servants must resolve to looke for.

'Tis true, he promiseth and makes good, an hundreth Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Wives, Children, Houses and Lands: But Mr Cotton well knowes, it is [with persecution]. And how this outward prosperitie, agrees with Imprisonments, Banishments, hanging, burning, for Christs sake: the Martyrs or Witnes of Jesus in all Ages, and the cry of the Soules under the Altar, may bring againe to his Remembrance, if New Englands peace, profit, pleasure and Honour, have lulld him into a Forgetfulnessse of the principles of the true Lord Jesus Christ.

Wealth, Honour, and Prosperitie seldome attending Christs true Followers.

Peace. But Mr Cotton remembreth not the Proposition to be his, to wit, that the Magistrates power extendeth no further then the Bodies and Goods of the Subject.

Truth. Mr Cotton hinted not his least dissent from Luther (as he otherwayes useth to doe if he disowne,) &c.

Secondly, He grants it true in the object, to wit, that the object of the Magistrates power is the Body and Goods of the Subject, though not in the End which he saith is *εὐνομία καὶ εὐδαιμονία*, well to administer the Common-weale: Now I aske what is this Common-weale?

Peace. The Spirit of God distinguisheth in the New Testament between the Common-weales of the Nations of the World, and the Common-weale of Israel. The Common-weale of Israel, Mr Cotton will not affirme now to be a Church Provincially, Nationally, Oecumenicall, but Particular and Congregationall.

What is the Common weale of Israel.

Truth. If so, then the finall cause of both these Common weales or States cannot be the same. But although the End of the Civill Magistrate be excellent, to wit, well to administer the Common-weale, yet the end of the Spirituall Common-weale of Israel and the Officers thereof, is as different and transcendent as the Heaven is from the Earth.

Peace. But how (sayth Mr Cotton) can it be well with the

Common-wealth that injoyes bodily health, and worldly wealth, if there be no *Christ*, no *Church* there? and how was it with the *Romane Empire* which the *Red-horse of War*, and *Black horse of Famine*, and *Pale horse of Pestilence* would have ruined, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

The Roman Empire flourisheth in worldly glory without *Christ*

Truth. Concerning this instance of *Rome* Master *Cotton* here acknowledgeth it abounded in worldly blessings, till the *Lord Jesus* came riding forth upon the *White Horse* of the *Gospel*. And Master *Cotton* may remember that from the *Foundation* of her rising and *Glory*, laid by *Romulus* untill *Christs* time, it flourished about 750 years in a long chaine of generations succeeding each other in worldly prosperiity, and yet no *Church* nor *Christ* to uphold it, so far is Master *Cottons* *Romish* instance from countenancing Mr. *Cottons* *Roman Doctrine*.

Peace. But when *Christ* came (saith Master *Cotton*) and was neglected, then the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse had almost destroyed her, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

The Citie of Rome famous for professing *Christ Jesus*.

Truth. I answer, *Rome* the head of the *Empire* cannot be said to neglect *Christ* (untill the bloody Tenent of persecution arose amongst them) I say, not to neglect *Christ* more, nor so much as other *States*, for there were so many of the *Romanes*, and so glorious professors of *Christ Jesus*, that all the world over the *Faith* and *Christian* obedience of the *Romanes* was renowned.

Christs Spouse most chaste under persecution.

2 The *Roman Empire* cannot be said to cast away her *Idols*, but to change (as the *Portugals* did in the *East-Indies*) her *Idols* her more grosse and *Pagan Idols*, for more refined & beautified *Idols*, painted over with the name of *Christ*, the true *God*, *holines*, &c. and this in the glorious dayes of *Constantine*, or not long after. The *Church* of *Christ Jesus* which under persecution remained a *wise* and *spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, now degenerates and apostates into an *Whore*, in the times of her ease, security and prosperiity. (Whole *Cities*, *Nations*, and the whole world forced and ravished into a *whore* or *Antichristian Christian*.)

3 As far as the *East* is from the *West*, so far is the world and nations and *Empire* of it from the holinesse of *Christ Jesus*, holy *Spirit*, *Truth* and *Saints*: With what appearance then of *Christs* holinesse, glory, &c. can Master *Cotton* advance the world, (the *Roman Empire*) to be (as he here speaks) the *Advancer* of the *scepter* of *Christ Jesus*?

Peace.

Peace. If this *Roman Empire* be that dreadfull *Beast*, (in *Daniels* prophecy) more strange and terrible then the rest, yea, and more terrible to *Christ Jesus* and his servants, then was the former *Babylonian Lion*, or *Persian Beare*, or *Grecian Leopard*, what truth of *Jesus* is this, that advanceth this dreadfull bloody *Beast* to be the *Advancer* of the *Scepter*, that is, the *Church* and *Government*, the *Truth* and *Saints* of *Christ Jesus*.

The *Roman* Monarchy bloody to the *Saints*.

Peace. Glorious things (Dear *Truth*) are recorded of *Constantine* and other glorious *Emperors*.

Truth. The *Beast* was (sweet *Peace*) the *Beast* still, although it pleased *God* to give some refreshing and reviving to his persecuted servants, by *Constantine* and other blessed *Instruments* yet *Constantines* favour was a bitter sweeting, his superstitious zeal laying the *Foundation* for after *Usurpations* and *Abominations*.

Constantine a friend and enemy to *Christis* Spouse.

4. But further, for neer 1000 years together, both before and after *Christis* time, *Rome* grew and flourished (with little alterations of her glory in comparison) untill this very time that *Master Cotton* calls this casting away of her *Idols*: For not before, but after *Constantines* advancing of *Christians* to wealth and honour, &c. I say neer about 300 years together (interchangeably) after his time, untill *Pipinus*, and *Charles* the Great, the City and state of *Rome* was almost ruined and destroyed, by the often dreadfull incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Longobards*, and other furious *Nations*: So contrary to the truth of *Jesus* is this fleshly doctrine of worldly wealth and prosperity, and also this very instance of *Rome* and her glory here discussed.

The state of the *Romane* Empire before and after *Christ*.

Peace. *Master Cotton* ends with prayer and blessing to *God* (as *James* speaks) and bitter and cutting *curings* and *censures* to man, the poor *Discusser*, who (saith *Master Cotton*) seduceth himselfe and others and delights to doe it, and against the light of *grace* and *conscience*, against *reason* and *experience*.

Truth. The *Discusser* is as humbly confident of *Grace* and *Conscience*, *Reason* and *Experience*, yea, the *God* of all *Grace*, *Christ Jesus*, his holy *Spirit*, *Angels*, *Truth* and *Saints* to be on his side, as *Master Cotton* otherwise can be: But the day shall try, the *Fire* and *Time* shall try which is the *Gold* of *Truth* and
faith-

Faithfulnesse, and which the *Drosse* and *Stubble* of *Lyes* and *Error*.

In the meane time I dare pronounce from the *Testimony* of *Christ Jesus*, that in all *Controversies* of *Religion*: That *Soul* that most possesseth it selfe in patient suffering, and dependeth not on the *arme* of *flesh*, but upon the *arme* of *God*, *Christ Jesus*, for his comfort and protection, that *Soul* is most likely (in my observation) to see and stand for the *Truth* of *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. In the next place *Master Cotton* denyes to compell to the *Truth* by *penalties*, but onely by withdrawing such favours as are comely and safe for such persons.

Truth. I have formerly answered, and doe, that a great Load may be made up by *Parcels* and *particulars*, as well as by one *masse* or *bulke*; and that the backs of some men, especially *Merchants* may be broke, by a withdrawing from them some *Civill* priviledges and rights (which are their due) as well as by afflicting them in their *Purses*, or *Flesh* upon their backs.

2 *Christ Jesus* was of another opinion (who distinguisheth between *Gods* due and *Cæsars* due: and therefore (with respect to *God* his cause and *Religion*) it is not lawfull to deprive *Cæsar* the *Civil* Magistrate, nor any that belong to him of their *Civil* and *Earthly* rights. I say in this respect, although that a man is not *Godly*, a *Christian*, sincere, a *Church-member*, yet to deprive him of any *Civill* right or *Priviledge*, due to him as a *Man*, a *Subject*, a *Citizen*, is to take from *Cæsar*, that which is *Cæsars*, which *God* indüres not though it be given to himselfe.

Peace. *Experience* oft-times tell us, that however the stream of just *Priviledges* and *Rights* hath (out of *Carnal* Policy) been stoppt by *Gods* people, when they have got the *Staffe* into their hands (in divers *Lands* and *Countreys*) yet hath that streame ever returned, to the greater calamity and tryal of *Gods* people.

Truth. But (thirdly) it hath been noted that even in *New-England*, penalties by *Law* have been set to force all to come to *Church*, which will appear upon a due search to be nothing else but an outward profession of force and violence, for that *Doctrin*e which they suppose is the *Truth*.

God will not
wrong, nor
have *Cæsar*
wronged.

Peace. Concerning coming to Church: wee tolerate (saith Master Cotton) *Indians, Presbyterians, Antinomians, and Anabaptists*: and compell none to come to Church against their conscience, and none are restrained from hearing even in England.

Truth. Compelling to come to Church is apparant whether with or against their Conscience, let every man look to it. Concerning toleration in New-England. The toleration of *Indians* is against professed principles, and against the stream of all his present dispute as before I proved.

Touching the *Magistrates* duty of suppressing *Idolatri, Witchcraft, Blasphemy, &c.* such *Indians* as are (possedly subject to *English*) in *N. England*, notoriously continue and abound in the same which if they should not permit, it as apparant, their subjection is hazarded.

Tis true, this *Toleration* is a *Duty* from *God*, but a *sin* in them because they professe it their *Duty* to suppress *Idolatri, Blasphemy*; I adde, Master Cotton may say, we not onely tolerate the *Indians* in their abominable and barbarous *worships*, but (which may seem most incredible) we tolerate the *Indians* also in that which by our *civil principles* we ought to tolerate no subject in, that is, in abominable *lying, whoring, cursing, thieving*, without any active course of restraint, &c.

Tis true, Those *Indians* submitting to their Government (as it may be Master Cotton will say to the ten *Commandements*) yet living in all kind of *Barbarisme*, live some miles more remote: how ever they are (they say) their subjects) were every miles distance an hundreth.

Peace. But is there any such and professed toleration of *Antinomians, Presbyterians, Anabaptists*, as is here insinuated?

Truth. I know of no toleration of *Presbyterian, Antinomians, Anabaptists*, worshipping *God* in any meetings, separate from the common *Assemblies*. If any such persons be amongst them (like *Church-Papists*) it is their sin, that they separate not from such opposite *Assemblies* and *Worships*, and it is the sin of such *assemblies* to tolerate such persons after due admonitions, in the name of *Christ*, rejected. Witnesse the bloody whipping of *Obadiah Homes* for the point of *Baptisme* lately at *Boston*.

But further, Master Cotton grants a *Communion* in hearing in a *Church-Estate* by *Church members*, but not in any as are no *Church-members*, but come in as the *Pagan, Infidell*, 1 *Cor. 14.*

Truth. *Communion* is twofold, First, open and professed among

Communion
Spirituell,
two-fold.

among *Church-Members*: Secondly, *Secret* and *implicite* in all such as give their *presence* to such *Worshipp*s without *witnessing* against them. For otherwise, how can a *Church-Papist* satisfie the *Law*, compelling him to come to *Church*, or a *Protestant* satisfie a *Papish Law* in *Papish Countries*, but by this *Cloake* or *Covering*, hiding and saving of themselves by bodily *presence* at *Worship*, though their *Heart* be farre from it.

The great
Triall among
Papists & *Pro-*
testants con-
cerning com-
ming to
Church.

Peace. Whereas it was said, that *Conscionable Papists*, and all *Protestants* have suffered upon this ground, especially of refusing to come to each others *Church* or *meeting*. Mr *Cotton* replies; They have suffred upon other *points*, and such as have refused to come to *Church*, have not refused because such hearing implanted them into *Church-Estate*, but out of feare to be leavened.

Truth. 'Tis true, many have suffred upon other *points*, but upon due *Examination* it will appeare that the great and most *univerfall Tryall* hath been, amongst both *Papists* and *Protestants* about coming to *Church*, and that not out of feare of being leavened (for what *Religion* is ordinarily so distrustfull of its owne strength?) as of Countenancing what they believe *false*, by their *presence* and *appearance*.

Exam. of Chap. 71. replying to Chap. 74.

Peace. **C**ONCERNING the *Papists* testimonie against *persecution*; Mr *Cotton* replies: First, why may not their *Testimonie* be *wicked*, as well as their *Booke*, confest so to be? Secondly, He grants, that *Conversion* of *Soules* ought not to be but by *Spirituell* means.

Truth. It is true, the Authour of the *Letter* calls their booke *wicked*, and themselves the *Authours* of *persecution*, yet their *Testimonie* is in part acknowledged by Mr *Cotton* to be true, and will further appeare so to be upon *Examination*: But whether Mr *Cotton* allow of no other *Armes*, then *Spirituell* to be used about *Spirituell conversion*, it hath and will be further examined.

Peace. Whereas the *Papists* alledge (*Matth. 10.*) that *Christ Jesus*

Jesus sent his Ministers as sheepe among Wolves, not as Wolves among sheepe, to kill, imprison, &c. Mr Cotton grants this true, yet adds that this hindreth not Excommunication, Tit. 3. nor miraculous Vengeance against Spirituall Wolves (Acts 13.) where there is a gift: nor their Prayers against such, 2 Tim. 4. 4. nor their stirring up of the Civill power against them, as *Elijah* did *Abab* and the people against the Prophets of *Baal*, 1 Kings 18. 40.

Truth. Concerning the two first we agree, for the third, the Prayers of Gods people against Gods Enemies, we finde two-fold: First, Generall against all; secondly, Particular against some; and that two-fold; First, for Gods Vengeance in Gods time, leaving it to his holy Wisdom; as *Paul* prayd against *Alexander*. Secondly, For present Vengeance; as the Disciples desired in the case of *Christ*, Luke 9. And against such Prayers the Discusser did and doth contend.

Touching prayers for Vengeance upon Gods Enemies.

For the fourth, in Stirring up of the Civill State against false Prophets, I must answer as before, Let Mr Cotton produce any such Civill State in the World, as that Extraordinarie and miraculous State of *Israel* was, and I yeeld it: otherwise, if the passage be extraordinarie and typing, why doth Mr Cotton adde fuell to *Nebuchadnezzars* fierie furnace, which hath been so dreadfully hot already, and hath devoured so many millions of Gods people?

Stirring up of the Civill State to persecute.

Peace. Further out of *Matth. 10*. Whereas the *Papists* booke says, *Christs* Ministers should be delivered, but should not deliver up, those whom they are sent unto to convert, unto Councells or Prisons, or to make their Religion Felonie or Treason; Mr Cotton answers; What is this to Apostates, who seeke to subvert the Faith they have profest? What is this to them that seeke to subvert States, and kill Kings; which Doctrine, in down-right tearmes, he at last chargeth upon the Authour of the Letter, and the Discusser.

Truth. But how falls an Antichristian or Apostate more directly under the stroake of the Civill Sword, then a Jew or Turke or Pagan? By what rule of God or Christ hath a Magistrate of this World, Authoritie, so to punish the one above the other? And where hath Mr Cotton found one Title, either in the Letter or in the Discusser, which forbids the Magistrate to punish Felonie

The bloudie
Tenent of per-
secution is
alone the
King killing
and State-kil-
ling Doctrine.

or *Treason*, whether it be in *practice*, or in *Doctrine*, leading to it? Doth not every *Leaf* and *Line* breath the contrary to what Mr Cotton here insinuateth? The *Truth* is, as *Putipbars* wife accusing *Joseph* was not cleare her *selfe*, so let this charge be well examined, and this will be the *Result* of it; The *Papists* and the *Discusser* agree together in asserting one *Truth* in this Chapter, to wit, that *Gods Messengers* ought not to deliver any to *Prisons* or *Councells*. But in the *Doctrine* of killing *hereticall Kings* or *Magistrates*, who sees not but such *Papists* as hold that *Doctrinne*, and Mr Cotton meete in the end? For if the *Magistrate* prove an *Apostate*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolater*, *Heretick*, *Seducer* (according to Mr Cottons *Doctrine*, as well as the *Papists*) such *Kings* and *Magistrates* ought (as well as thousands of his *Subjects* in like case) be put to *Death*.

Peace. Againe, where the *Papists* booke argued from *Matth. 10.* that *Christ* bids his *Ministers* to salute an house with *peace*, he sends no *Pur servant* to *ransack* and *spoil* it: Mr Cotton answers: *True*, but if *Seducers* be there, or *Rebells* or *Conspiratours* be there, *God* hath armed the *Magistrate*, *Rom. 13.*

Truth. Mr Cotton (too too like the bloudie persecutors of *Christ Jesus* in all Ages) still couples the *Seducer* and the *Rebells* together, as the *Jewes* coupled *Christ* and *Barrabbas*, though *Barrabbas* finds more favor then the *Son of God*, for *Christ* as a *seducer*, a *Deceiver*, &c. is commonly executed, & *Barrabbas* released.

'Tis true the *Magistrates Commission* is from *God*, even in the time of the *Gospel*, but *Christ Jesus* never gave *Commission* to *Magistrates* to send *Pur servants* to *ransack* an house, to search for *Seducers* and *Idolaters*, who transgresse onely against the *Spirituell Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, but not against *Civillie* and the *Civill State*.

Peace. This *Distinction* of *Evills* I remember it pleased *God* to open some of the *Romane Emperours* eyes to see, upon the occasion of his poore servants *Apologies* presented unto them.

Truth. You seasonably remember this (*Deare Peace*) for although we finde not *Antoninus Pius* or *Aurelius Antoninus* to have been *Believers* in *Christ Jesus*, yet they gave forth their *Edicts*, that no *Christian* should be punished meerely for that he was a *Christian*, except some other crime against the *Civill State* were proved against him: And the later of these gave in Ex-

Antoninus Pi-
us his Edict
for the Chi-
istians.

ressed

preſſe charge, that ſuch as were their *Accuſers* ſhould be burnt alive.

Peace. If ſuch an *Edict* or any farre more moderate ſhould come forth in our Time, againſt the great troublers of all *Civill States*, to wit, *Informers*, *Accuſers* and *Maintainers* of the bloudie *Doctrin*e of *perſecution*: Doubtles thouſands and ten thouſands of Men, yea not a few of the moſt zealous *Hunters* or *perſecutors* would eaſily ſubmit to the Truth of the *Diſtinction* between the *crime* of a *Religion* contrary to a *State Religion*, and a *crime* againſt the *Civill State* thereof.

Transgreſſion
againſt the
Spirituall or
Civill peace.

But to the *Papiſts* againe, they (laſtly) alledged *John 10.* that the true *Shepherd* comes not to kill the *ſheepe*, &c. Upon this *Maſter Cotton* queries. But what if the *Wolfe*, the *Thiefe* come, ſhall the *Shepherd* uſe *Spirituall Cenſures*, when they are not capeable of ſuch *ſtroakes*, or ſhall he not ſeeke helpe from the *Magiſtrate*, who is to ſee *Gods* people live a quiet and peaceable *Life* in all *Godlines* and *Honeſtie*, 1 *Tim. 2.*?

Truth. I anſwer, and cry out, how long, how long *Lord*, before thou avenge the bloud of thy *holy ones*, againſt them that dwell on the *Earth*, both *bloudie Papiſts* and *bloudie Proteſtants*? Out of their owne Mouthes ſhall *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* be condemned, for ſlaughtering *Chriſt Jeſus* (the *Shepherd*) in his poore *ſheepe* and *Servants*, and eſpecially the *bloudie Papiſt*, for alledging that *Scripture*, for the *Popes* *bloudie Butcherie*, [*Arise Peter, kill and Eat:*] yet all pretending to ſave the *ſheepe*, and onely to reſiſt *Wolves*, *Thieves*, &c.

Perſecutors
of Chriſts
ſheepe pre-
tend to ſave
them and kill
none but
Wolves.

But more punctually *Maſter Cotton* well knowes, that in the *Mysterie* of *Antichriſtianisme*, many thouſand *Antichriſtian Wolves* pretend ſtrongly to be the harmeles *ſheepe* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, yea his tender and carefull *Shepherds*, yet are but *Antichriſtian Thieves* and *Robbers*, who cannot dig and to beg are aſhamed, and therefore finde it beſt to ſteale and rob, whole *Parishes* and *Provinces*, whole *Nations*, &c. for *Livinges*, for *Benefices*, for *Biſhopricks*, *Cardinalſhips*, *Popedomes*, &c.

Antichriſtian
Ministers
great Thieves.

Peace. What kinde of *ſheepe* and *Shepherds* (*Chriſt Jeſus* will finde out ſhortly) are all thoſe *Hirelings*, *Papiſt* or *Proteſtant*, who no longer *peny*, no longer *paternofter*, no longer *pay*, no longer *pray*, nor *preach*, nor *faſt*, nor *convert*, &c.

Hireling
Ministers.

Truth. Theſe *Babylonian Rivers* ſhall at laſt be ſtopt: *God* and

Man shall agree to stop them : The truth of that holy *Mysterie* of that great *Exchange* shall be opened, *Revel. 10.* And Peoples eyes shall be opened to see, how these *mysticall Marchants* of the *Earth* (pretending to be the great *Sellers of Truth*) have been the greatest *Deceivers*, and *Cheators*, the greatest *Thieves* and *Robbers* in the *World*.

Peace. But Mr *Cotton* will say, *Gods people* would live at peace in *Godlineffe* and *Honestie*, *1 Tim. 2. 1.* as *Paul* professeth, *Acts 25. 8.*

Fryars in
Chaucers time
and the Clear-
gie in our time
considered.

Truth. I remember when old *Chaucer* puts this *Querie* to the four chief sorts of *Fryers* in his *Time* [which of the four sorts is the best] he finds every sort applauding it selfe, and concluding the other three sorts of *Fryers* to be *Liars* : whence in *Conclusion* he finds them all guilty of *Lying* (in a round) before *God*, for all profest themselves to be the only *godly* men.

I may now ask, who among all the sorts of *Churches* and *Ministers* applaud not themselves (like the *Fryars* in *Chaucers* dayes) to be *Christs onely Churches*, *Christs Ministers*, &c. And who among the severall sorts of such as are *Gods people* indeed, believe not their own *Godlines* (or worshipping of *God*) to be onely right and *Christian*?

Peace. What now if each sort should enjoy *Magistrates* of their owne *profession* and *Way*?

Truth. The *bloudie Tenent* will unavoydably set them altogether by the *Eares*, to try out by the *longest Sword*, and *strongest Arme*, which *Godlines* must live in peace and quietnes : But as for that *Scripture*, *1 Tim. 2.* I have (as I believe) fully debated it, in the *Examination of the Modell*, and made it evident how farre from all *Godlines* and *Honestie* that holy *Scripture* is perverted.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* in the next passage being charged with partiall dealing, and a double *waight* and *measure*, one for himselfe and another for others; Mr *Cotton* in effect answereth, that it is a true and just *Complaint* against *persecution* and *persecutours*, but not against them, for they are *Righteous* and not *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. What doth *Master Cotton* answer, but what all *religi-
ons*, *sects*, and severall sorts of *worshippers* in the world: all *religious Priests* and *Church-men* plead, We are *Righteous*?
&c.

Peace.

Peace. Yea, the very *Turkes* and *Mahumetans* challenge to themselves true *Faith* in God, yea, whether *Jews*, *Antichristians* or *Christians*, they all call themselves *Muselmanni* (that is the right beleivers.

The *Turkes* themselves will be *Muselmanni*, or right beleivers. The horrible partialite of persecutors.

Truth. It is not so great wonder then if the *popish* and *protestant* sects, and *ministers* of *worship* cry out (as men use to doe in *suits* of *Law* and pretences to the *Crowne*) We are *righteous*, my title is good, and the *best*. We are *holy*, we are *Orthodox* and *godly*: You must spare us, beleeve us, honour us, feed us, protect and defend us in peace and quietnesse. Others are *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolators*, *Blasphemers*, starve them, imprison them, banish them, yea hang them, burne them with fire and sword pursue them.

Peace. When it was urged (by way of prevention) that persons truly professing *Christ Jesus* be his sheep, and they cannot persecute;

First, Because it is against the nature of *Sheep* to hunt, not the *Wolves* that have hunted themselves, &c. Master *Cotton* answers, First if the similitude be so stretched, then if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep*, he ought not to punish, *robbers*, *adulterers*, *murderers*, &c.

2 "Paul was a *sheep*, and yet he strook *Elimas* with blindness, *Acts* 13.

3 "(Saith he) when the *Wolfe* runs upon the *sheep*, it is not against the nature of the true *sheep* to run to the true *sheepherd*, and is it against the nature of the true *Sheepherd* to send for his *Dogs*, to worrie such a *Wolfe*, without incurring the reproach of a *persecutour*.

Truth. To the first, the finger of true *Distinction* will easily untie these seeming knots,

Mistickall
sheep.

Sheep therefore are two-fold, *naturall* and *mistickall*.

Againe, *mistickall* are two-fold, First, *Civill*, and so all *Magistrates* have rightly been called *Sheepherds* and the people *sheep*.

2 *Spirituell*, and so *Christ Jesus* gave *pastors*, that is *Sheepheads* and *Teachers*, and all *Believers* and *followers* of *Jesus* are *sheep*.

On the contrary there are *naturall* and *mistickall wolves*: of *mistickall* some oppose the *spirituell*, and some the *Civill State*, and some both, who must be resisted by the proper *sheepheads*, and proper

proper weapons in each kind, and to confound these is to deceive and to be deceived.

Peace. Upon the ground of this *Distinction* we may easily perceive, that a *Shepherd* in *Civil state*, of what Religion soever he be, as a *Shepherd* of the people he ought to defend them by force of *Civill arms*, from all oppressions of *body, goods, chastity, name, &c.* This doth the *Magistrate* as a *Shepherd* of the *Civil state* and people, considered in a *Civil respect* and capacity, and this ought all the *Magistrates* in the world to doe, whether they be *sheep* or no themselves in another respect, that is in a *spirituall and Christian.*

Truth. Yea, and if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep* or a true *Christian*, who seeth not that he punisheth not the *robber, adulterer, murderer* as a *spirituall shepherd* with *spirituall weapons*, but as a *Civil Shepherd* with a *Civill staffe, sword, &c.*?

Paul his striking *Elimas* blind considered.

Tis true, *Paul* was a *sheep*, that is, a *spirituall sheep*; he also was a *spirituall Shepherd*, and *Elimas* was a *wolfe* opposing *spiritually*, and *Paul* in his opposition strook him blind. *Striking* is two-fold, *spirituall* and *corporall*: And all the *sheep* of *Christ* as *spirituall*, are also *Lyons* and armed men, and so doe strike *spiritually*.

Peace. It will be said that *Paul* strook both *spiritually* and *corporally*.

Truth. *Corporal stroaks* may be considered either ordinary or mediate, by force of *armes, fire and sword, &c.* or extraordinary and immediate; such as it pleased *God* to use himselfe, and his holy *Prophets* and *Apostles* by his power: Now tis true, in this second way, (even in *spirituall cases*) *Gods sheep* which have been indued with power above nature, that is of miracles, have plagued *Egypt*, have burnt up *Captaines* and their *Fifcies*, yea pluckt up *Nations* and *Kingdomes* as *Jeremie*: *Peter* kild *Ananias* and his wife, *Paul* strook *Elimas* blind, and the two witnesses consume their *Enemies* with fire out of their mouths.

Of the power of miracles.

If either of these should doe this ordinarily, that is, by ordinary means (for instance, if *Peter* had killed *Ananias* with a *Sword*, or *Paul* beat out *Elimas* his eyes with a *Fist* or *stone*) they ought to have been punished by the *Civil state*, as oppressors of the people, and transgressors against *Civill peace, &c.* But per- forming

forming these executions, by a spirituall, divine and miraculous power, above humane reach: all that heard were to acknowledge, and feare and tremble at the holy *Spirits* might: of this gift of miracles, I say as the Lord *Jesus* spake touching the gift of *Continency*, he that can receive it, let him receive it.

Peace. By what hath been said, I see Master *Cottons* last answer will be more easily satisfied: when the *Wolfe* runneth ravenously (saith he) upon the *sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *sheep* to run to their *Shepherds*? and it is not against the nature of the true *Shepherd* to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *Wolfe*, &c?

Truth. Master *Cotton* (doubtlesse) here intends *misticall sheep*, and *Shepherds*, and *Wolves* and *Doggs*, and presseth the similitude from the naturall *sheep* in *Civill* respect, he cannot here mean (for that is not the *Question*) whether *Wolvish-men* oppressing the *Civill state* are to be resisted and suppressed by *civill weapons*, &c.

Concerning *Spiritual sheep* then: the first question is: If the *wolfe* runs ravenously upon the *Sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *Sheep* to run to their *Shepherd*? I answer, a *Spiritual Wolfe* (a false *Teacher*, &c.) may be said to run ravenously upon a *spirituall sheep*, by *spiritual assault* of *Argument*, *Dispute*, *Reproach*, &c. The same man as a *civil wolfe* (for so we must speake to speake properly) may also run upon a *sheep* of *Christ* by *Civill Armes*, that is in a *Civil respect*, upon *Body* and *Goods*, &c.

Spiritual sheep and wolves considered.

If now the *Wolfe* ravin the first way, the *sheep* of *Christ* may and ought to run, to the Lord *Jesus* (the great *Mr. Shepherd*) and to such under and in inferiour *Shepherds* as he hath appointed (if he can attain to them.)

If the second way, the *sheep* (beside running to *Christ Jesus* by *prayer*, and to his *Ordinances* and *Officers* for advice and comfort) may run to the *Civil Magistrate* (appealing to *Cesar*, &c.) against such uncivill violence and oppression.

Peace. Mine heart joyfully acknowledgeth the *Light* mine eye seeth, in that true and necessary distinction: Now to the Second *Question*, is it against the nature of the true *Shepherd* (saith *Mr. Cotton*) to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *wolfe*, &c.

Truth.

Truth. Mr Cotton here discouraging of *Christ's sheepe*, and *Christ's Shepheards*, Reason would perswade, that the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* here intended should be the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* appointed by *Christ Jesus*, Ephes. 4.

Peace. If so he should intend, it well suits with the spirit of some proud and scornfull (pretended) *Shepheards* of *Christ Jesus* in the World, who have used to call their *Clarkes*, *Sumners*, *Proctors*, and *Pursevants*, their *hunting Dogs*, &c.

Truth. But such *Dogs*, (as yet) the *Independent Pastours* or *Shepheards*, keepe not.

Peace. Yea but the *Pope* (to speake in Mr Cottons phrase, yet with all humble respect to *Civill Autoritie*, the blessed *Ordinance of God and Man*) I say the *Pope* keeps such *Dogs* good store, yea *Dogs* of all sorts, not onely of those lesser kindes, but whom he useth as his *Dogs*, the *Emperours*, *Kings*, and *Magistrates* of the *World*, whom he teacheth and forceth to crouch, to lie downe, to creepe, and kisse his foote, and from thence at his beck to flie upon such greedie *Wolves*, as the *Waldenses*, *Wickliviſts*, *Huffites*, *Hugonites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Seſtaries*, &c. to imprison, to whip, to banish, to hang, to head, to burne, to blow up such vile *Hereticks*, *Apoſtates*, *Seducers*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

But I forget, it will be said, the *Protestants Grounds* and *practices* differ from the *Popes* as far as *Light* from *Darknes*, and how ever the *Pope* useth the *secular power* and *Magistrates* thereof, but as *Dogs* and *Hangmen*, yet the *Reformed Churches* teach and practice better.

Truth. 'Tis true (sweet *Peace*) the *Protestants* professe greater honour and *subjection* to the *Civill Magistrate*: But let plaine *English* be spoken and it will be found that the *Protestant cleargie* (as they will be calld) ride the *backs* and *necks* of *Civill Magistrates*, as *fully* and as *heavily* (though not so *pompously*) as ever the great *Whore* sat the *backs* of *Popish Princes*.

Peace. The *Protestant Cleargie* hath yielded up the *temporall sword* into the hand of the *temporall State*, *Kings*, *Governours*, &c. They proclaime the *Magistrates*, *Head* of the *Church*, *Defenders* of their *Faith*, the *Supream* *Judges* in all *causes* as well *Ecclesiasticall* as *Civill*.

Truth. 'Tis true, they make the *Magistrate* *Head* of the *Church*

The Pope and all proud Popish Priests and Cleargie use the Civill Powers but as Dogs.

The Protestant Cleargie their dealing with Magistrates.

Church, but yet of what Church they please to make a nd fashion.

They make him *Defeudour* of the Faith, but of what Faith, what *Doctrine*, what *Discipline*, what *Members* they please to admit and account of: And this under the *penaltie* of being accounted either *hereticall* (and so *Magistrates* worthy themselves to be put to Death) or *ignorant*, and so not fit to *act* (as Mr Cotton sayth) but must suspend their *power*, untill they submit to the *Cleargies* pretended *Light*, and so be learnd to see and read with the *Cleargies Spectacles*.

Peace. To this purpose (indeed) agrees the next passage, wherein Mr Cotton affirmeth, that although all the *Magistrates* in the *World*, ought to punish *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, yet this must they not doe while their *Consciencs* are *blinde* and *ignorant* of the *Truth*, and yet they cease not to be *Magistrates* (sayth he) although they cannot performe all the *Duties* of *Magistrates*.

A suspending
or hanging up
of Magistrates

Truth. Concerning this *stated Dutie* of all *Magistrates*, and yet *suspending* of all *ignorant Magistrates* from *acting*, according to this their *Dutie* I have spoken to before and often, I now add, according to Mr Cottons *similitude*, if the *Errours* of others be as *motes* in comparison of the *beames* of this *ignorance* and *blindnesse* in *Magistrates*, which he calleth *Beames*, it will be found that he renders thousands of the *Magistrates* of the *World* as *uncapable* to be true *Magistrates*, as an *heape* of *Timber* to be an *House*, which wants the *beames* and *principalls*.

Peace. The *summe* of the *Difference* in the last passage is not great, nor any in *words*, for sayth Mr Cottons *Conclusion*, If the *Difference* be onely in the *way* and *manner* of the *Administration* of *Christ*, and the *Difference* be held forth in a *peaceable* and *Christian way*, *God* forbid a *Staffe* should be shaken against such, or a *Sword* unsheathed.

Truth. Alas, where hath lien the great *Difference* between the *Prelates* and *Presbyterians*, the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, but about the *way* and *Administration* of *Christs Kingdome* (for as for matter of *Doctrine* according to the 39 *Articles* of the *Church* of *England*, they have little differd)? Yea wherein for matter of *Doctrine*, of *Faith*, *Repentance* and *Holinesse*) have the *Churches* which make whole *seperation*, or such

The great (spirituall differences of these late Times.

Of rest from
persecution.

as goe further to a new *Baptisme*, wherein have they differd from the former? and yet we know what *Lames* have been and are extant in *Old and New England* against them, and what *practices* have been felt, and may justly be expected both from the *Mother* and the *Daughter*, if a jealous *God* and heavenly *Father* (for our *unibankfullnesse*) should once be pleased to finish this late and wonderfull *calme* and *moderation*: Which yet may justly be feard to prove, (as *Sea-men* use to observe) but a *Winters calme*, and they say, a *Winters calme* (for then *stormes* are breeding) is as bad as a *Summers storme*.

Exam: of Chap. 72. replying to Chap. 75.
Concerning the *Testimonie* of *Austin*.

Peace. **M** After *Cotton* finds two faults in the first entrance. First, that *Antichrist* should be said to be too hard for *Christ* at voting: 2. That *Austins Testimonie* should be put off as a *Rhetoricall Evasion*.

Truth. To the first, it will shortly appeare as the *Light* at *Noone day*, what packing of *Votes*, and *listing*, and *mustring* up of *Numbers* have been in all *Ages*, in all *Councells*, in all *Synods*, in all *Parliaments*, and in all (falsely so called) *Christian Countries*, against the *Lord*, his *Christ* and *Servants*.

Peace. But *Mr Cotton* marvelles that when the case concernes tolleration of *Hereticks* and *Antichristians*, that *Antichrist* should procure more *Votes* against *Antichristians*, and that *Christ* should procure any *Vote*, though fewer, for them.

Truth. To expound this riddle; It was never affirmed, that *Christ* hath any *Votes* for the tollerating of *Hereticks* or *Antichristians* in the *Religious State* or *Church* of *Christ*, but in the *Civil State* or *Common-weale*, that is, in the common field of the world together.

Secondly, Not onely *Antichrist* may oppose some *Antichristians*, but the *Israel* of *God* may oppose *Israel*: *Ephraim* may be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah* in severall respects. Have not the *Presbyterians* been against the *Independents*, and the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and both against such as seperate from the *uncleanneses* of them both?

No.

Gods children
may possibly
fight each a-
gainst the o-
ther.

No wonder then when one *Antichristian Faction* prevales to crush another, (and therein wraps up *Christ Jesus* himfelfe as an *Antichristian*,) that *Christ Jesus* should finde some *Friends* and *Votes* against the *Oppreffing Faction*, though the number of the *oppreffours* doe farre exceede, and cast the cause (most commonly) against *Christ Jesus*, as a *Malefactor*, a *Drunkard*, a *Glutton*, a *Deceiver*, a *mad-man* posselt with a *Devill*, a *Seducer*, a *Blasphemer*, &c.

Antichristians against Antichristians; but principally against Christ.

Peace. But to the second, let us Examine the *Reasons* against *Austins Argument* with Mr *Cottons* defence of them.

The first answer was, that *soule-killing* was of a large extent in *Scripture*, which may reach to many *sins* that are not *capitall*; Mr *Cotton* replies; the Answer reacheth not the point; for as every *killing* of the *Body* is not a *capitall crime*, so neither is every *killing* of the *soule*, but such as is more *voluntary* and *presumptuow*, and joyned with some *grosse* and *murtherous* intent.

Touching spirituall murder.

Truth. *Austin* and Mr *Cotton* spake in generall, without distinction of *soule-murth*er and *killing*: the *Title* and *sound* of *soule-murth*er and *soule-killing*, should not be cast abroad like *Thunder* and *Lightning*, with a late excuse that we intend not every *soule-murth*er and *killing*.

Peace. Your second *Argument* was from the *Dissimilitude* of *bodily* and *spirituall Death*: *Body-killing* is but once and for ever, but a *soule* killed may recover, &c. Mr *Cotton* replies, that the very attempt of *soule-killing* is *capitall*, Deut. 13. 10.

Truth. First, then the *Dissimilitude* or *Difference* remains good, between the *murth*ering of the *body*, and the *killing* of the *soule* or *inner man*; contrary to his Answer foregoing.

Secondly, Concerning this *attempting* I have spoken elsewhere, and proved that *spiritually* it may be made good, against a *Christian Israelite*, falling away from *Christ*, and *seducing* others; but literally, against such *attempting* against any mans present *Religion* or *Worship*, (in any *Civill State* all the *World* over) it cannot be taken, because the *whole world*, the *Nations* and *peoples* of it cannot parallell this *State of Israel*, whence this plea is taken.

Touching Seducers.

Peace. I presume (*Deare Truth*) you would not excuse and extenuate the *punishment* of a *Soule-Traitour* and *seducer*, now under the *Gospel*.

The hainouf-
nes of spiritu-
all stumbling
blocks.

Truth. No; I aggravate the least attempt of *soule-murthber*, and the least *prejudice* or *hindrance* to *Eternall Life*, infinitely above what is *temporall* and *corporall murthber*, when either *Husband* or *Wife*, *Brother* or *Sister*, *King* or *Queene*, *Synod* or *Parliament* shall lay a *stumbling block* in the *heavenly way*, or *grieve* or *offend* the least of the *littles ones* of *Christ Jesus*, and such *dreadfull punishment* shall all even the *highest* and *greatest sinde*, who now seeme to forget the *Millstone*.

Punishing of
Seducers.

Peace. The third argument was from the different punishment which *Christ Jesus* hath appointed for *Soul-killing*, to wit, by the two edged *sword*, which comes out of *Christ's mouth*, which is able to cut downe *Heresie*, and to slay the *soul* of *Hereticks* everlastingly.

Master Cotton replies, *this answer hath been removed above*: *Church censures* are sufficient to heal the *Heretick*, if he belong to *God*, and to remove the *guilt* of his *wickednesse* from the *Church*, but not to prevent *spreading*, &c. nor to *clense* the *Common-wealth* from such *rebellion* as hath been taught by him against the *Lord*.

Common-
weale two-
fold, and Re-
bellion two-
fold.

Truth. Above hath also been shewen the *soveraigne excellency* and *power* of *Christ's spirituall meanes* against *spirituall infection*: Above hath also been shewen the *two-fold Common-wealth*; *Firft*, the *Civil* and *natural*; *Secondly*, the *spiritual*, *religious* and *Christian*.

Rebellion also against the *Lord* hath been proved, *two-fold*, *Firft*, *spirituall*, against himselfe in point of his more immediate *worship* and *service*, for which he hath provided not onely the *vengeance* of *eternall fire* approaching (according to the degrees and hainoufnesse of such *rebellion*) but also present *spirituall punishment*, far exceeding all *corporall punishment* and *torment* in the *world*.

2 *Rebellion* against *God* is *temporall* and more *mediate*, as it is a *resistance*, *opposition* or *violation* of any *Civil state* or *order* appointed by *God* or *Men*. Now to confound these together, (and to hover in generall tearms of *Rebellion* against the *Lord*) is to blow out the *Candle* or *Light*, and to make a *noyse* in the *dark*, with a *sound* and *cry* of a *guilty Land*, a *guilty State*, *soul-murthberers*, *soul-killers*, *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, *rebels* against the *Lord*, *kill them*, *kill them*, &c.

Suppose these *soul-murthbering Hereticks*, *Seducers*, &c. be as
full

full of vexation and mischief as the *Musketoes* or *Wolves* in *New England* or other Countries; It were to be wished, (but never can be hoped in this world) that every *Civil state*, *City* and *Towne* in the world, were free from such *mysticall* and *soul-vermin*: The poor *Planter* and *Farmer* is glad, if his house and chamber, if his yard and field, his family and cattel, may be tolerably clear from such annoyances, however the *Woods* and *Wildernes* abound with them: They that are of such *ferie pragmaticall restless spirits*, that they content not themselves to keep the *Farne* and *House* of the *Church of Christ* free from such *Infection* & *annoyance*, but rage that such *vermin* are suffered in the worlds *Wood*, &c. It is pity but they had their full *employment* and *taske*, to catch and kill even all the *swarmes* and *Heards* of all the *Musketoes* and *Wolves*, which either the *Wildernes* of *America*, or the *whole World* can afford them.

Mysticall
Wolves and
Musketoes.

4. *Peace*. Accordingly the *Fourth Argument* was from *Christs* tolerating of *soule-killers* to live in the *field* of the *World*, though not in the *Garden* of the *Church*: Mr *Cotton* replies, this hath been largely and fully refeld above.

Truth. It is true, the *Discusser* alledged, and Mr *Cotton* refused the *Exposition* of this *Parable*, but whether of them according to the minde of *Christ Jesus*, let every reader uprightly judge with feare and trembling at the word of the *Lord*.

Peace. The *Fifth Argument* was from the *Impossibilitie* of killing any soule by a *Heretick*: Mr *Cotton* answers, this is against *Paul* himselfe, *1 Cor. 8. 11*.

Truth. As I spake unto the *Argument* of the *Impossibilitie* of the perishing of any of *Gods Elect*, to here, the using of such an *Argument* is far from *undervaluing* or *neglecting* of any of the *meanes* or *Ordinances*, *naturall* or *spirituall*, which *God* hath graciously appointed, but to condemne the *over-wise* and *over-busie* *Heads* and *Hands* of *Men*, adding their *Inventions* to *Gods Appointments*, as if *weake* and *insufficient*: whereas *Gods* number of *living* and *dead* are certaine, and though the *meanes* which he hath appointed for *life* should faile, and notwithstanding all other *meanes* in the *World* used by men as *helps* and *hindrances*, yet his holy *End* shall not be disappointed, but fulfilled.

Beside the *Difference* between *soule-killing* and *body-killing*, is but (as Mr *Cotton* here useth the word) *so much as in us lieth*, that

that is, by attempt or endeavour, which may be many wayes frustrated, and disappointed by the holy hand of God, and the soule yet saved and live in the day of the Lord *Jesus*.

Touching
State Religi-
ons.

Peace. Whereas you said, that the *imprisoning* of Men in a *Nationall* or *State Religion* is *guiltie* of their *Destruction*, together with the *monstrous sword* of *Civill Warres*, which cuts off Men from all meanes of *Repentance*.

Mr *Cotton* answers; If the *Religion* be good, it is no *Imprisonment*: If it be naught, then there should be no *Imprisonment*.

To the second (sayth he) this *Feare* is *causeless*, for if Men belong to *God*, he will give *Repentance*, and how ever (sayth he) *Gods* revealed *Will* is fulfilled in their just *Executions*.

Gods children
Gods Citie,
Nation and
Kingdome.

Truth. I could here ask Mr *Cotton* where (amongst all the *Religions* and *Worships* of the *sonnes* of men) he ever met in the *whole World*, with above one *Nation*, which *Nationally* profess a true *Religion*; and where ever, since *Christ Jesus*, ending of the *shadomes*, any *State*, *Religion*, or *Nationall Worship* can be found true; notwithstanding Mr *Cotton* knowes I grant *Gods* people, in *Kingdomes*, *Nations*, *Cities*, *Townes*, &c. to be *Gods Kingdome*, *Nation*, *Citie*, &c.

A State Reli-
gion a prison.

Peace. And since Mr *Cotton* speakes thus of *Imprisonment*, me-thinkes that every *peaceable man* and *woman* may bring in here against him, at the *Tribunall* of *Christ Jesus*, an *Action* of false *Imprisonment* (indeed false every way) not onely of the sensible and *outward* man, but of the most noble and *inner part*, the *minde*, the *spirit*, and *Conscience*; for who knowes not that *Jerusalem* it selfe may be a prison to false-hearted *Shimei*? Who hath not found a *pallace* a *prison*, when forc't to keepe within it? yea *confine* a man to his own *house* and *home*, though deare and familiar, and most intimate to him, his owne *house* during that *force* and *restraint*, is a *prison* to him.

A forc't Re-
ligion.

Truth. Yea it is most wofully found evident, that the best *Religion* (like the fairest *Whores*, and the most *golden* and *costlie Images*) yea the most holy and pure and onely true *Religion* and *Worship*, appointed by *God* himselfe, is a *Torment* to that *Soule* and *Conscience*, that is forc't against its owne *free love*, and *choice*, to embrace and observe it: And therefore whether the *Religion* be good or naught (as Mr *Cotton* here distinguisheth) there ought to be no forcing, but the *soule* and *minde* and

conscience of man, that is indeed the man, ought to be left free, as in his Earthly marriage-choise, so here ten thousand times rather in his heavenly and spirituall.

Peace. But what say you to his unmercifull conclusion, in the bloodshed and destruction of so many thousands and millions, formerly and lately slaine and muribered by this bloudie Tenent of persecution? Yea the late and lamentable streames of English blood, and the blood of our neighbours, friends, Brethren, Parents, powdered forth by these late Episcopall or Bishops Warres? Mr Cottons conclusion is, The revealed will of God (sayth he) is fullfilled in their just Execution, whether they belong to God or no.

Of the late Warres.

Truth. I wish Mr Cotton more mercy from God, and a more mercifull minde toward the afflicted, and I say as the Lord Jesus said in the case of offence: Great offences, Nationall offences will come for Religions sake, for Nationall Religion sake, but woe unto those that beare the guilt of so many thousand slaughters, muribers, ravishings, plunđerings, &c. The Pope, the Bishops, the Presbyterians, the Independants, so farre as they have been Authors or Actors in these horrible Calamities, out of the perswasion of the bloudie Tenent of persecution for Religion and Conscience; the voyce of so many Rivers of blood cry to Heaven for vengeance against them.

The bloudie Tenent guilty of the Rivers' of Blood, &c.

Peace. But may not (blessed Truth) the sword of Civill power which is from God (Rom. 13.) be drawne and drunke with blood for Christ his sake. What say you (among the many Examples of Religions Warres) to the most famous Battles of Constantine against the bloudie persecutour Maxentius? Was not Constantine Christs Champion, as once that valiant Scanderbeg cald himselfe against the bloudie Turks?

Warres for Religion.

Truth. Sweet Peace, the sword of Civill power was Gods sword committed by Gods most wise Providence into the hands of that famous Constantine: Doubtles his warre was righteous and pious, so farre as he broke the James of the oppressing persecuting Lyons that devoured Christs tender Lambes and sheepe: And famous was his Christian Edict (wherein Licinius joyned with him) when he put forth that imperiall Christian Decree, that no mans Conscience should be forced, and for his Religion (whether to the Romane Gods, or the Christian) no man should be persecuted or hunted: When Constantine broke the bounds

Constantines warres for the Christians.

Constantines Edict against forcing in Religion.

of

of this his owne and Gods Ediēt, and drawes the sword of Civill power in the suppressing of other Consciences for the establishing of the Christian, then began the great Mysterie of the Churches sleepe, the Gardens of Christs Churches turned into the Wilderneffe of Nationall Religion, and the World (under Constantines Dominion) to the most unchristian Christendome.

Never any true Nationall Religion in the World but one.

Peace. I am unquestionably satisfied, that there was never any Nationall Religion good in this world but one, and since the Desolation of that Nation, there was never, there shall be never any Nationall Religion good againe: and this will be most evident to such as hould the Truth of the continuance of Christs visible Church in the way of particular Congregations.

Touching Pauls blasphemy before his Conversion.

6. But now to the Sixt Argument, which Mr Cotton thus repeats from the possibilitie of a false Teacher, & a spirituall Wolves recoverie from the estate of a soule-killer to become a soule-Saviour, as it was in the case of Paul: And thus he answers; If men be such Blasphemers, and such Wolves, as Paul was before his Conversion, neither the Law of God nor man would put such a Man to death, who sinned of Ignorance, and walked (as himselfe professed) in all good Conscience, even in his former evill times, Acts 23. But as for such as apostate from the knowne truth of Religion, and seeke to subvert the foundation of it, and to draw away others from it, to plead for their Tolleration in hope of their Conversion, is as much as to proclaime a generall pardon to all malefactours (save onely such as sin against the Holy Spirit) for he that is a willfull muritherer and adulterer now, may come to be converted, and die a martyr hereafter.

Truth. I see not why Mr Cotton should passe a more charitable censure on Pauls Conscience, then on other Mens professing Conscience also and the feare of God: nor an harder censure upon other Men (to wit, that they are convinced, and sinne against their owne Conscience) more then upon Paul himselfe: Heard he not that famous powerfull Sermon of Stephen? Saw he not his glorious and most heavenly Death? and having so much to doe with the Saints, could he otherwise choose, but heare and see many heavenly passages tending to his soules conviction?

Peace. Yea why should Mr Cotton pinch upon Apostates from the truth of Religion and Seducers? he cannot choose but know how

how many thousands and millions of men and women in the world, are *Hereticall, Blasphemers, Seducers*, that never yet made profession of that which he accounteth *True Religion*?

True. Yea and (to plead thy case *Deare Peace*) why should Mr Cotton couple *Murderers and Adulterers* with *Apostates and Seducers*? Doth not even the naturall *Conscience and Reason* of all men put a *Difference*? Doe not even the most bloudie *Popes and Cardinalls, Gardiners and Bonners*, put a difference between the crimes of *Murder, Treason, Adulterie* (for which although the offendour repent, &c. yet he suffers *punishment*) and the crimes of *Heresie, Blasphemie, &c.* which upon *Recantation and Confession*, are frequently *remitted*?

Fallacious mixture and confusion.

Peace. I remember it was high *Treason* in *H. 8.* his dayes to deny the *Kings spirituall Supremacie*, as well as to *kill his person*, and yet upon *Confession and Recantation* we finde, that the very *Conscience* of those bloudy men could distinguish between these *Treasons*.

Truth. 'Tis true this bloudie *Tenent* of *persecution* was lamentably drunke with *bloud* in the dayes of that *Henry*, as well as afterwards in the dayes of his bloudie daughter *Marie*, and yet in *Henry* his dayes we finde *John Haywood* recanting his (so cald) *Treason* against the *Kings Supreamacie* in *spirituall* things, and is cleared. When famous and faithfull *Cromwell*, for words pretended to be spoken by him against the *Kings person*, must pay his noble *Head*. But to End this Chapter, most true it is, that multitudes of people in all parts of *bloudie Christendome*, and not a few in *England* in *Henry the 7.* and *Henry the 8.* his dayes, have escaped with a *Recantation and Abjuration*, for *spirituall Treasons*, when principles of *Reason and Civill Government* have taught men, for their common safetie, to thinke of other *punishments* for *Murderers, Adulterers, Traytours*.

Spirituall *Treason* recanted, forgiven: but not so (by way of course) the *Civill*.

An Instance from *J^s: Haywood* and the *Lord Cromwell* in *King Henry* the 8. his dayes.

Exam: of Chap. 73. replying to Chap. 76.

Discussing the *Testimonie* of *Optatus*.

Peace. **M** After Cotton having alledged *Optatus*, justifying *Macarius* his putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the Example of *Moses, Phinebas, and Elijah*; it was answered, that

M m

these

these shafis were drawn not out of *Christs*, but *Moses Quiver*: Mr *Cotton* replies; did ever any *Apostle* or *Evangelist* make the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Life* and *Death* ceremoniall and typicall?

Of *Moses* Judiciall.

Truth. What ever the *Apostles* of *Christ* did in this matter, yet sure it is evident, that Mr *Cotton* himselfe makes some of *Moses Lawes*, which he calls *Judiciall*, to be but ceremoniall and typicall.

Peace. Me thinks Mr *Cotton* should never grant that, who layes so much waight upon *Moses practices*, and the morall and perpetuall ground of them.

Truth. Well take for an Instance this very case of putting to *Death*, *Idolaters* and false *Prophets*, he grants this in this very Chapter to be typicall in the State of the *Jewes*; for *Israell* (sayth he) being the *Church* of *God*, and in Covenant with *God*, their *Example* will onely extend to the like *Execution* of all the false *Prophets* in the *Church* of *God*.

Peace. Such a *Candle* lighted up in the *Conscience* and *Judgement* and *Confession* of Mr *Cotton*, may (if the *Father* of *Lights* so please,) light up many *Candles* more, to Mr *Cottons* owne and the eyes of others.

Truth. Yea if the *Father* of *Lights* so please, Mr *Cotton* will looke back and see, that if the *Example* of *Israell* extend no further then to the *Church* of *God*, then those *Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Religion*, cannot but be typicall and ceremoniall; for, what is morall and perpetuall, none can deny to concerne all *Men* in all *Nations*, where no *Church* or *House* of *God* was ever erected.

2. *Peace*. If Mr *Cotton* say it extends but to the *Church* of *God*, what *Church* of *God* can Mr *Cotton* meane, but a particular *Congregation* (for he professeth against *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, &c.) And yet how can he meane a particular *Church*, since he grants the *Church* of *Christ* armed with no other *weapons* then *spirituall*, like unto the *Head* and *King* thereof *Christ Jesus*?

3. *Truth*. If Mr *Cotton* will grant the *Church* of *Christ* to have been extant upon *Earth* during the first three hundred yeares of her fiery tryalls, he must grant that then the *Church* of *Christ* was furnished by *Christ Jesus* with no other *weapons* but *spirituall*, for all the *Civill powers* of the *World* seemed to be against them.

The first three hundred yeares after *Christ*.

All

All which time by Mr Cottons Doctrine, the Church of Christ his heavenly Garden must needs be over-growne with Hereticks, Idolaters, false Prophets, for want of a Civill Sword, &c. Or if they were not (as sure it is, the Spouse and Garden of Christ was never fairer since): As Mr Cotton grants the Example typical, and extending onely to the Church of God, so muil he then also grant these falie Prophets and Idolaters to be put to Death by the Churches power, which is onely spirituall, and Israels materiall Sword will then appeare to be a type of the two-edged sword of Christ Jesus in the Goffel.

The Primitive Church the purest, and yet without a Civill Sword.

Peace. It is true (sayth Master Cotton,) what the Discusser sayth, that Christ Jesus gave no Ordinance, Precept or President in the Goffel for killing men for Religion, and no more (sayth he) for the breach of Civill Justice: Civill Magistrates therefore must either walke without Rule, or fetch their Rules of Righteousnesse from Moses and the Prophets, who have expounded him in the Old Testament.

Christ no Author of Civill violence for Religion.

Truth. If Mr Cotton please more awfully to observe & weigh the minde of Christ Jesus his New Testament in this point, he will not onely heare himielte subscribing to Caesar, Right in Civill matters, but also by his servant Peter establishing all other formes of Civill Government, which the peoples or Nations of the World shall invent or create for their civill being, Common-weale or wellfare. Yea he may remember that Christ Jesus by his Servant Paul commandeth the Magistrate, to punish Murther, Theft, Adulterie, &c. for he expressly nameth these Civill Transgressions together with the civill Sword the Avenger of them, Rom. 13.

Peace. I cannot well conceive what Mr Cotton meanes by saying, that Moses and the Prophets expounded Christ Jesus in the Old Testament.

Truth. Nor I: They did speake or prophetic of Christ, they did type or figure him to come, with his sufferings and Glory, but (as John sayth) Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ, that is, the fullfilling, opening, and expounding came by Jesus Christ.

Peace. Hence indeed I remember that Christ Jesus (Luc. 24.) expounded to his Disciples, out of Moses and the Prophets, the things written of him. But more particularly touching Mo-

ses : *Macarius* did well (sayth *Mr Cotton*) in putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the Example of *Moses* putting *Idolaters* to Death, *Exod* 32. and the *Idolater* to Death, *Levit.* 24.

The Levites
killing 3000.
Exod 32. ty-
picall.

Truth. These *Instances* (by *Mr Cottons* Confession) extend no further then the Church of God, and then I desire my above-said *Answer* may be uprightly weighed. And I adde the former *Instance* of putting Death the three thousand *Israelites* about the *Goulden Calfe* by the hand of the *Levites*; may most lively seeme to typifie, the zealous Execution of *spirituall Justice* in (the *Israel* of God) the Church of *Christ*, by the true *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus*, the true *Antitype* of that zealous *Tribe* of *Levi*.

Phineas his
Act.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas*, whereas it was said that the slaying of the *Israelitish Prince* and *Daughter* of *Midian*, was not for *spirituall* but for *corporall filthinesse*, *Master Cotton* answereth and urgeth the *Israelites* eating of their *Sacrifices*, and joyn- ing to *Baal-peor*: Also that single *Fornication* was no *capitall crime*.

Truth. It is most true, the people committed both *spirituall* and *corporall Filthines* (as very often they goe together) but the *Justice* of God reckoned with these two sinners, for and in the midst of their *corporall Filthines*, which although it were not *capitall* in *Israell*, yet the committing of it with so high an hand of *presumption* (and *small finnes* committed *presumptuously* in *Israell* were Death) was enough to make it worthy of so sharpe and sudden a *Destruction*.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas* his act *Mr Cotton* acknowledgeth that it is no *president* for *Ministers* of the *Gospel* so to act, but withall sayth it is *presidentiaall* for *Magistrates*.

The spirituall
& Civill State
vastly different
in their frame,
Lawes, Offi-
cers, &c.

Truth. *Phineas* his Act (whether of *ordinarie* or *extraordi- nary Justice*) how can it be *presidentiaall* to the *Civill Magi- strate* in a *particular Church*, where the *weapons* are onely *spiritu- all*? And *Mr Cotton* grants these *Examples* extend no further then the Church: Such as maintaine a *Nationall Church* (which *Mr Cotton* doth not) have some colour to urge this *Example* for a *president*: for in a *civill State*, *civill Officers*, *civill Lawes*, *civill Weapons*, *civill punishments* and *rewards* are proper, as are also (and onely) *Spirituall Officers*, *spirituall Lawes*, *spirituall punishments* and *Rewards* in a *spirituall State*.

Peace.

Peace. Concerning *Eliab*, Mr *Cotton* excepteth against the number eight hundred and fiftie, as too many by halfe.

Truth. It is true, the number of *Baals Prophets* were foure hundred and fiftie (false Prophets enough to one poore true) but yet *Eliab* numbers *Jezebells* foure hundred trencher-Chap-lins with them; for, sayth he, Now therefore send and gather unto me all *Israel* unto *Mount Carmel*, and the *Prophets* of *Baal* foure hundred and fiftie, and the *Prophets* of the *Grove* foure hundred, which eate at *Jezebells* Table.

Elijah and the *Baaltes.*

Peace. But how ever (sayth Mr *Cotton*) here was no type nor Figure for *Actions* of morall Justice, (though sometimes extraordinary) yet they are never figurative, but with such as turne all the *Scripture* into an *Allegorie*.

Truth. To make the shadowes of the old Testament and the Substance or Body of the New, all one, is but to confound and mingle Heaven and Earth together, for the state of the Law was ceremoniall and figurative, having a worldly Tabernacle with vanishing and beggarly Rudiments: And I believe it might not onely be said, that *Abrahams* lying with his handmaid *Hagar*, was an *Allegorie*, but that the whole Church of *Israell*, Roote and Branch, from first to last included figurative and Allegoricall *Kernels*, were the *Husks* and *Shells* disclosed with more humbly diligent and spirituall teeth and fingers.

The types and figures of the old Testament

Peace. I cannot but assent unto you, that to render the old Testament Allegoricall in an humble sobriety, your *Justice* with many more give sufficient warrant.

Truth. Yet I adde (in answer to Mr *Cottons* charge of turning all *Scripture* into an *Allegorie*) that to deny the *Historie* of either Old or New Testament, or to render the New Testament (which expounds and fullfills the ancient figures) Allegoricalls are both absurd and impious.

Peace. But how (sayth Mr *Cotton*) can an Act of morall righteousness be figurative?

Truth. There is a Fallacie in this tearme [morall Righteousnesse] for Mr *Cotton* himselfe hath acknowledged a Righteousnesse two-fold; A Spirituall Righteousnesse of the Church, and a civill of the Common-weale: Mr *Cotton* also acknowledgeth *Israel* to be a Typical people, their land a typical Land, their Ministry and Worship typical! How can Mr *Cotton* then deny, but

Righteousnesse two fold.

The state of *Israel* typical!

that

that the *weapons* of this people, their *punishments* and *rewards*, &c. (so far as concerned this their mixed *figurative* and *typicall* state) were *figurative* and *ceremoniall* also? And so not parts of *morall civill Righteousnesse*, or common to all other Nations and peoples in the World.

Peace. I cannot readily assent to Mr Cotton, that *morall Actions* of *Civill Righteousnesse* could not be *figurative* with this *ceremoniall, typicall* and *figurative* people: for their *warre* it selfe (which if lawfull, is an *Act* of *civill morall Righteousnesse*) Paul seemes to make *figurative* of the *spirituall Warres* of the *Christian Israel* and *Church of God*.

Not only morall but naturall Actions of the Israelites typicall.

Truth. Yea and it is easie to observe that not onely their *spirituall Worship*, &c. not onely *Acts* of *morall* and *civill Righteousnesse* in *peace* and *warre*, &c. but even their very *naturall Actions* and *Excrements* (in *warres* against their *Enemies*) were *figurative* and *typicall*, full of *heavenly* and *spirituall Instruction*, which the *unbelieving Jewes* then saw not, but the *believing* saw, as they saw *Christ Jesus* in the *Sacrifices*, and all their *observations* leading to the *blessed Son of God*, the *Messiah*, the *Anointed*, or *Christ* to come, and his *Eternall Kingdome*.

Peace. Mr Cotton in the next place takes offence that the *Fact* of *Elijah* should be called *miraculous*, and asks if it be a *miracle* for *Elijah* with the aide of so many thousand *Israelites* to put to *Death* *four hundred and fiftie men*?

Whether *Elijahs* procuring the slaughter of the *Baalites* was *Typicall* or *Morall*.

Truth. Mr Cotton mistakes the word, for the word is not *fact* but *passage*, which compriseth not onely the *slaughter* of these their *Priests*, but the whole *matter* and *business*, as the putting of the *Worship* of the *true God*, to the *Tryall* of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the descending of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the *devouring* of the *Sacrifice*, and *licking* up of so much *water*, and upon this so great a number of their *Priests* (the *Fathers*, *Shepheards*, and *Gods* of the people) so *thunder-smitten* as from *Heaven*, with so sudden and dreadfull a *slaughter*, what can these be but an *extraordinary Inspiration* in the *Prophet*, a *supernaturall descent* and *operation* of *Fire*, yea and an *extraordinary* and *wonderfull change* in the heart of the *People*? And I doubt not but Mr Cotton doth sometimes give an *heavenly* and *spirituall signification*, to all these *figurative* and *miraculous Mysteries*.

Peace. But I wonder at the next words; Though *Christ*
(sayth

(sayth he) gave no such *Commission* to *Ministers* of the *Gospel* to put *false Prophets* to Death, as *Elijab* did, yet the *Act* of *Dutie* was an ordinary *dutie* of *morall Righteousnesse*, belonging to such as beare the *Sword*. Anon againe he writes ; This *Example* will not extend to the *Idolaters* of the *World*.

“ First, Because many thousand thousand of them are exempt from the *civill Magistracie* of *Christians*.

“ Secondly, They were never in *Covenant* with *God*, to whom only the *Law* of *Moses* concerning the *punishment* of *Idolaters* extended.

“ Thirdly, Though the *Israelites* were *Idolaters*, yet *Elijab* spared them, because of their *simplicitie* and *Ignorance*.

Truth. I answer, first, if *Christ Jesus* gave no such *Commission* (as is confessed) then woe to all those *Papish* and *Protestant Priests*, who have (by *theft*, or *flatterie*, or other *evill meanes*) got *Commissions* from the *Civill powers* of the *World*, whereby (to maintaine their own *honours*, and *profits* of *Bishopricks* and *Benefices*, &c.) they smite with the *fist* and *sword*, of *wickednes* : or under a *pretence* of *holy Orders* in themselves, put over the *drudgery* of *Execution* to their *enslaved Seculars* !

No Commission from *Christ* for corporall punishment in religious matters.

Secondly, If these need no *Commission*, because to put to Death the *false Prophets* and *Idolaters*, is an *Act* of *morall Righteousnesse*, how agrees that *Position* and these three together.

First, only *Christian Magistrates* (said *Mr Cotton*) must act in these cases.

Secondly, They must act against such only as are *Church-members*.

Thirdly, They must not act against such *Church members* as commit *Idolatrie* out of *simplicitie* or *Ignorance*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, if it passe your *capacitie* to reconcile these in point of *Truth*, it must needs passe mine to see how such *Doctrines* can stand with any *civill peace* or *order* in the world.

Truth. To affirme such *Actions* to be ordinary *duties* of *morall Righteousnesse*, belonging to such as beare the *Sword*, and yet not to be practiced but by such *Magistrates* as are most rarely found in the *World*, and on such a *people* in such an *Order* as is most rare in the *Nations* of the *World*, is to me all one, as to call all *Fathers* and *Masters* in the *World* to such ordinary *Duties* as belong to every *Father* and *Master* of a *Familie* : Or to call

Strange and monstrous duties of *Morall Righteousnesse*.

Masters

Masters and Commanders of Ships to such ordinary duties as belong to all Masters of Ships in the World: Or Captaines and Commanders in Warre to such ordinarie Duties as belong to all Captaines and Commanders in the World, and then at last to tell them: It is true, the Duties are ordinary and common, to all Fathers, Masters, Comananders, Captaines, but these Duties are to be performed onely by such Fathers, Masters, Captaines and Comananders, and in such Families, Ships, and Armies as are not ordinarie to be found in the World.

Gods children
are wonders
and monsters
accounted.

Peace. I see not but the Similitude doth fully reach, for indeed although such a people so and so in Covenant with God, according to Mr Cotton, were true visible Churches according to Christs Institution, and so consequently their Magistrates truly Christian, yet compare such Magistrates with the rest of the Magistrates of the World, who as lawfully beare the Sword as Themselves, and compare such a people so and so in Church-Covenant, with the rest of the people and Nations of the World, and we shall not finde them ordinary and common, but rather as six fingers, wonders and monsters to all other parts of the World, yea even to the very Popish and Protestant parts of the World also.

But to end this Chapter; The other fact of *Elijah* in slaying the Captaines with their fifties, Mr Cotton acknowledgeth not to be alledged by any other Authour in this Controversie, but onely by the Discusser, to make himselfe work in such Cobweb-Evasions.

Elijah his slaying
the Cap-
taines and
their fifties.

Truth. Mr Cotton forgetteth, for *Elijah* his Act (from *Luc. 9.*) hath been mentioned by others, and answered too by Master Cotton in this present Booke and Controversie. And for the Cob-webs, let the poore Witness of Christ be esteemed as Spiders, and their Testimonie and Wines but as Cob-webs, yet let them not be discouraged, but lay hould (like *Solomons Spider*) with the hand of spirituall Diligence, and let all such their heavenly Cob-webs be in Kings Pallaces. And let them know their Cob-webs be of such a strength, that how ever the cruell Beezome of persecution may sweepe them downe, out of this World, yet in point of Truth and true Christian power and worth, neither Pope nor Prelate, neither Presbyterian, nor Independent persecutour, nor *Baalzebub* himselfe (the God of Flies) shall ever be able to sweepe them downe, or breake through them.

Wonderfull
Spiders and
Cobwebs.
Prov. 30.

Exam:

Exam: of Chap. 74. and 75. replying to
Chap. 77. and 78.

Peace. **I**N Chap. 74. One passage cannot be past by, to wit, [God hath laid this charge upon *Magistrates* in the *Old Testament* to punish *Seducers*, and the *Lord Jesus* never tooke off this *Charge* in the *New Testament*: *Who is this Discusser*, that he should account *Paul* himselſe, or an *Angel* from *Heaven* accursed, that should leave this *Charge* upon *Magistrates*, which *God* laid on, and *Christ* never tooke off?]

Touching
Seducers, and
their punish-
ments.

Truth. This is but a *Repetition* of what hath formerly been examined: unto which therefore I briefly say, It will never be found true, that *God* hath laid this charge upon all *Magistrates* in the *World*, as he did upon the *Magistrates* in *Israel*, to punish *Seducers*.

Secondly, *God* laying this charge upon the *Governours* and *Magistrates* in *Israel*, the *Church of God* (in the type) lays it still upon *Christ Jesus* and his *Governours* spirituall under him in his spirituall *Israel*, which *Kingdome* he administreth, with *Lawes*, *Punishments* and *Weapons* Spirituall. All this *M^r Cotton* in this *Controversie* hath acknowledged.

Thirdly, When he saith, *Christ Jesus* never tooke off this *Charge*.

First, I answer, let that *Parable* which he mentioneth be the *Tryall* of it in the feare of *God*.

Secondly, *God* having now in these last times declared his will by his *Sonne*: Where hath his *blessed Sonne* spoken to us, to build no more *Temples*, to erect no more *Altars*, to offer no more *Sacrifices*? And yet these and the whole *frame* of that *typicall State* we justly *abrogate*, both from the words of *Christ* and his first *Messengers*, which are plaine and easie enough to such whose eyes it pleaseth *God* to open, although (in expresse *Termes*) *Christ Jesus* hath not given an expresse *Catalogue* of all such *particulars* to be abolished.

Christ Jesus
abolished former
figures,
though he
name not each
of them in
particular.

Peace. In the next passage *M^r Cotton* deeply chargeth the poore *Discusser* with *partialitie* & *falsehood*; upon which *Grounds* he turnes off all the *Consequences*, which the *Discusser* observed to follow upon *M^r Cottons* *Conclusions*.

Truth. It is true, the *Authour* of the *Letter* expresseth *Liber-*

tie of Conscience to such as feare God indeed: M^r Cotton subscribes, but presently razeth out his *Subscription* in these words following, which he hath againe now reprinted, to wit,
 “ But the Question is whether an *Heretick* after once or twice
 “ *Admonition* (and so after *Conviction*) and any other *scandalous*
 “ and hainous *offendour*, may be tollerated, either in the
 “ *Church* without *Excommunication*, or in the *Common-weale*
 “ without such *punishment*, as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable *Infection*.

The Myserie
of the Bloody
Tenent.

Peace. Who sees not but this *bloudie Tenent* (I meane these words now recited) doth not onely restrain *Libertie of Conscience* to such as feare God indeed, and speakes fire and fagot to all the world beside: But also (under the name of *Heretick* and *Seducer*) throwes into the *Furnace* (most commonly and ordinarily) all such as feare God (*Christ Jesus* and his *Messengers* and *Ministers* not excepted) who have alwayes been and are accounted, the chiefest *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Deceivers* and *Seducers* in this World?

The bloudie
consequences
of the bloody
Tenent.

Truth. I adde the *Consequences* therefore remaine good, that either All the *Inhabitants* of the World must come into the estate of men *fearing God*: Or else *dissemble Religion*, and fearing God, in *hypocrisie*: Or else, be driven out of the World. Then also the *Civill State* must judge of the *Spirituall*, and of *Magistrates* fearing or not fearing God: The *People* must judge (I say) who feare God indeed, and are by them to be *permitted*, and who are the *Hereticks*, and to be *punished*, which who may not see to be the driving of the world out of it selfe, and the bloudie routing up of all Societies of Men?

The sad Effects
of the
bloudie Tenent
on M^r
Cottons owne
Spirit.

Peace. This charge of *partialitie* and *falsbood*, you have (*Deare Truth*) to my understanding shielded the poore *Discusser* from, Can you now helpe his *Forebead*, and his *Heart*, which M^r Cotton in the next passage chargeth with another *notorious* and *impudent falsbood*, in relating out of a printed booke an *Answer* of the *New English Ministers* to *Questions* sent unto them from their *Brethren* in *old*, which answer M^r Cotton sayth he cannot finde.

Truth. So much *Gall* and *Vinegar* hath M^r Cotton powred forth in this whole passage from the first to the last of it, that no sober minded man fearing God, and knowing M^r Cottons former

former temper of *Spirit*, but will confesse two things :

First, that this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* hath infected and inflamed his very *naturall Temper* and former sweet peaceable disposition.

Secondly, his *Eye* (being thus *bloudshot*) is so weakened in its former (and otherwise excellent sight) that it now questions no *Difference* between the *Mountaines* and the *Molehills*, for at the *worst*, in *common probabilitie* of *Reason*, there can be but a mistake in the *Discusser* concerning this passage.

Peace. If the *Discusser* have no sparke of the feare of *God*, yet if but *common civilitie* and *honestie*, or least respect of *common credit* among men, it were impossible for him to forge so grossely in *matters lately printed*, publike and obvious to every eye.

Truth. The truth is, whether there be different *Editions* or different *Copies* printed, let *M^r Cotton* and whom it concerns take care of it, for the *Discusser* is confidently resolved that if this passage (for the *substance* of it) be not *printed* and to be read in *print* of all men, in their *names*, he will then willingly beare and lye under the charge of a *false forehead* and *heart*, which *M^r Cotton* in such heate and anger imputes unto him.

A lamentable
Character of
the change of
M^r Cottons
Spirit.

Exam: of Chap. 76. replying to Chap. 79.

Peace. **I**N this short Chapter the *Discusser* is charged with *Ignorance* and *uncharitableness*, for thinking amisse of the *Penmen* of the *Answer* to the *Questions*, to wit, that he should conceive that the *passage* to *New England* should change the *Judgement* or *Conscienc*es of *Men*.

Truth. The *Discusser* professeth (and I know in truth) to bewaile his *Ignorance* and *uncharitableness*, yet upon a second review of the words, it will be found there was not an *Imputation* of such a *conceit*, to those worthy *Authors*, or any man, but an *Item* unto all men, occasioned by the *Confidence* expressed, that they doubted not, but those godly brethren of *old England* should agree with them here in *New*, if they were in *New England* together. This *Item* or *Caveat* will appeare to be

Differences
of Gods own
children in
Old and New
England.

given, not by way of positive Charge, nor in the least derogating from the holy and blessed use of free and humble *Confesrence*, but to take off the *Edge* of such *Confidence* of agreeing in *New England*, when the *Differences* of Gods people have been and are yet so great in *Old* and *New*, and so many *Conferences* and *Disputations* of *Truth* and *Peace* have not yet raised that blessed *Agreement* of which the *Answer* to the *Questions* would make no doubt.

Peace. Me-thinks there should be little hope of their coming to *New-England* when the *New-English Ministers* had got the *Advantage* of the higher ground, and *Carnall Sword* for their *Religion* to Friend, and had exprest their *Judgement* of their conceiving it not safe, that, (if they should not agree,) their severall wayes of *Worshipping God*, should be permitted in one *Common-weale*.

Truth. Yea and I believe still the *Consequence* was truely gathered by the *Discusser* (how ever Mr *Cotton* hath so charged his *Forehead* and *Heart* for it) to wit, That the *New English Ministers* could not (as their *Conscience* stood) advise the *Magistrates* of *New-England* to permit that which their *Consciences* and *Judgements* taught them was not safe, &c.

Peace. These passages occasion me to remember a serious *Question* which many fearing *God* have made, to wit, Whether the promise of *Gods Spirit*, blessing *Conferences*, be so comfortably to be Expected in *New-England*, because of those many *publike sinnes* which most of *Gods people* in *New-England* lye under, and one especially, to wit, the framing a *Gospel* or *Christ* to themselves without a *croffe*, not *professing* nor *practicing* that in *Old* (except of late in times of *Libertie*) which they professedly come over to enjoy with *Peace* and *Libertie* from any *croffe* of *Christ* in *New*.

Truth. I know those thoughts have deeply possessed, not a few, considering also the *sinne* of the *Pattents*, wherein *Christian Kings* (so calld) are invested with Right by virtue of their *Christianitie*, to take and give away the *Lands* and *Countries* of other men ; As also considering, the *unchristian Oaths* swallowed downe, at their coming forth from *old England*, especially in superstitious *Laud* his time and domineering.

And I know these thoughts so deeply afflicted the Soule and
Con-

Profession of
Christ Jesus in
New-England,
not so like to
be true as that
(which was
persecuted)
in Old.

The great sin
of New-Eng-
lands former
Pattents.

Conscience of the Discusser in the time of his Walking in the Way of *New-Englands* Worship, that at last he came to a perswasion, that such finnes could not be Expiated, without returning againe into *England*: or a publike acknowledgement and Confession of the Evill of so and so departing: To this purpose before his Troubles and Banishment, he drew up a Letter (not without the Approbation of some of the Chiefe of *New-England*, then tender also upon this point before God) directed unto the King himselve, humbly acknowledging the Evill of that part of the Patent which respects the Donarion of Land, &c.

The Authours tryalls about the Patents of *New-England*.

This Letter and other Endeavours (tending to wash off publike finnes, to give warning to others, and above all, to pacifie and to give Glory unto God) it may be that Councell from *Flesh* and *Blood* suppress, and *Worldly policie* at last prevailed: for this very cause (amongst others afterward re-examined) to banish the Discusser from such their Coasts and Territories.

Peace. But from *Violence* to the Discusser, or any other, Mr Cotton (in the next passage) protests his *Innocencie*, and insinuates the Discusser to be no other then (a *Devill*) an *Accuser* of the Brethren, for imputing to them any such Evill, &c.

Truth. He that reads how hard the Heart of holy David grew, in the sinne of *Whoredome* and *Murther*, untill the Lord awakened him, will lesse wonder, that *Spirituall Whoredome* and *murtherous violence*, may possesse the Heart of Gods Davids and holiest Servants now, and that without blush, or shame, or least appearance of *Relewing*: Doth not all this whole *Traverse* of Mr Cotton maintaine a *persecution* even unto Death, of such whom the *Civill State* shall judge *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, &c.

Gods children may be guilty of bloody persecution for the hiding of their spirituall uncleannesse.

Doth not this very Chapter expressely justifie *persecution* upon the *Subverters* of the *Christian Faith*, obstinate after *Conviction*? upon *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*? And is Mr Cotton not informed, what successe his *Doctrine* hath had, that (if a mercifull God had not prevented) not *Courting*, nor *Fining*, nor *Imprisoning*, nor *Whipping*, nor *Banishing* had been *punishment* sufficient, to men and women, for cause of *Conscience* in *New-England*, but even Death it selfe, (according to the *Principles* of *persecution*) had been inflicted.

Gods mercy in stopping *New-Englands* persecution, by the mercy of *old England*, the mother to dissenting Consciences.

Peace. Mr Cotton will urge that Gods people will not be such *Hereticks*, &c.

Truth.

Truth. I might urge Mr Cottons owne grant of such finnes in Gods owne people, for which they may be justly *Excommunicated*; but I will rather produce an *Instance* in our Nation of *England*. None fearing God will easily deny the Eminent Godlines of *Cranmer & Cromwell* in King *Henry* the eight his dayes; At that very time when King *Henry* himselfe disputed in so famous an *Assembly* against the blessed witnessse of *Christ Jesus, John Lambert*! Finde we not also holy *Cranmer* disputing before the King and that *Stately Assembly*, against this poore Servant of God, for that horrible and monstrous *Idoll of Transubstantiation*?

Peace. Finde we not then also holy and zealous *Cromwell* (at the Kings command) reading that bloudie *Sentence of Death* against that blessed Lambe of *Christ Jesus*, who was thus worried to Death, not onely by the bloudie *Wolves* the *Bishops*, but even by those holy *Lambes* of *Christ, Cranmer* and *Cromwell* also!

Truth. This was that blessed *Lambert*, a true *Follower* of the *Lambe of God Christ Jesus*, who cryed out in the midst of the *Flames*, None but *Christ*, None but *Christ*: and well might he so cry: Not *Cranmer*, not *Cromwell*, who after so much *Light* in *Disputations*, yet persisted in their *Hereise* and *Idolatry*, and partaking with *violence* against this holy man, that he might well cry out, *None but Christ, None but Christ.*

Exam: of Chap. 77. replying to Chap. 80.

Peace. **A**S it is (Deare *Truth*) oftentimes in *Journies*, the worst way and saddest weather attends the *Journies* End: So here Mr *Cotton* (neere our close) chargeth upon the *Discusser* a threefold *wresting* of his words, and accordingly so much *false-dealing*.

Truth. It is sad on the *Discussers* part, if this be done by him, either by a *willfull* or a *negligent* hand.

Peace. Yea and it is sad on Mr *Cottons* part, if the *Charge* be not *reall* and *substantiall*.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth his words to be these
[The *Godly* will not persist in *Hereise* or turbulent *Schisme*,
when

Holy *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* joyning with persecutours of *Christ Jesus* out of great weakness in *H. 8.* his dayes.

The most famous passages of *Cromwell & Lambert* in *H.* the 8. his dayes.

when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfullnesse of their way] The first charge therefore against the Discusser is that he confoundeth *Admonition* with *Conviction*, for (saith Mr Cotton) *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced, untill the offendour be convinced in his own Conscience of the sinfullnesse of his Way.

Truth. For answer hercunto the Discusser to my knowledge humbly appealeth to the Searcher of all Hearts, that he hath not willingly nor wittingly falsified Mr Cottons words in a tearme or syllable. And indeed whether he hath wronged him at all, or be not rather unjustly trampled under the feete of weake and passionate charges, the Discusser appealeth to Mr Cottons owne Conscience, awaked (if God so please) out of this bloudie Dreame.

Peace. Yea but (sayth Mr Cotton) *Admonition* is one thing, and *Conviction* in their owne Conscience is another; for though sayth he, *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced till after *Conviction*, yet it may fall out that the Church (through mistake) proceedeth to *Admonition* before the offendour be convinced in his own Conscience of the sinfullnesse of his Way.

Of Admonit
on and Con-
viction.

Truth. Passing gently by the want of Equitie in Mr Cotton to the Discusser, in condemning him of falshood, for taking *Admonition* for *Conviction*, when he makes it but a mistake in the Church to practice the one for, or before the other :

I answer, I know not that sutable *Distinction* between *Admonition* and *Conviction*, as Mr Cotton carrieth it, saying, that how ever the Church may through mistake practice *Admonition* before *Conviction*, yet *Admonition* ought not to proceede, untill after *Conviction* in a mans owne Conscience, for finde we not the words of *Reprooving*, *Rebuking*, *Admonishing*, *Exhorting* a brother, indifferently used both in the *Old* and *New Testament* ? And doth not that very word *ἐλεγερον* (Matth. 18. Reprove him) imply *Conviction* as well as *Reproove* or *Admonition*, for doth it not signifie *Convincingly* reprove him ?

Peace. I have heard indeed, that *Conviction* is twofold :

Conviction
two-fold.

First, *Externall* and *legall* before men in *Civill* or *Spirituall* *Judicature*.

Secondly, *Effectuall* and inward in the *Court* of a mans own *Conscience* before *God*, which *internall*, alwayes followes not the *Externall*.

Truth.

Truth. No, such *Externall Conviction* may be *legall* before men, but not in the sight of *God*, and a mans owne *Conscience*, as we see in the case of *Naboth*, who was legally convicted of *Blasphemy*, when acquitted by *God* and his owne *Conscience*: As also in those *Consciences* (of which *Paul* speakes) seared with hot irons, which *Consciences* (notwithstanding the abundance of *Light* from heaven *convincing*, yet) are not brought from believing *Lyes*.

Of Conviction
of Hereticks.

Peace. Yea, but it seemes by *Mr Cottons words*, that the *Church*, that is, (according to his way) the *Major* part of the *Church* must judge that the *Heretick* is convinced in his own *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* of his way before she proceedeth to *Admonition*.

Truth. For my part I cannot reconcile these three *Propositions*, comprized by *Mr Cotton* in these few lines.

First, the *Godly* will not persist in *Heresie*, or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* thereof.

Secondly, The *Church* is to judge of the *Conviction* of such a *Godly mans Conscience*.

Thirdly, Although such a *Godly* man be convinced of the *sinfullnesse* of his way, yea although he will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when he is thus *convinced* in *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* thereof, yet then is the *Church* to proceede to *Admonition*. For thus he sayth, *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced till after *Conviction*.

Peace. If *Mr Cotton* spake of the first *Conviction*, to wit, the *Externall*, I could subscribe, but now speaking of that *internall* in a mans owne *Conscience*, I see it pleaseth *God*, most holy and onely wise to permit the best and wisest of his Servants, to intrap, intangle, and bewilder themselves, that they may learne to confesse him onely and infinitely wise, and be more humble in themselves, as *fooles* and *lyars*, and lesse bitter in their Judgements and Censures on the poore *Underlings* and *Outcasts*.

Truth. O that *Mr Cotton*, who grants the *Godly* may fall into such fowle finnes of *Heresie* and *Schisme*, may also be godly jealous over himselfe and others fearing *God* in *old* or *New England*, that also possibly they may fall, into the very sinne of *persecuting* the Sonne of *God* himselfe, especially since it is the

Conviction
sufficient, ex-
ternall by the
word, and ef-
ficient inter-
nall by Gods
Spirit.

Lot of *Christ Jesus* (beyond all compare) both in *Himselfe* and his *Followers*, to be accounted the greatest *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* and *Deceiver*.

Peace. To the second and third Charge *Mr Cotton* complains of false dealing, in that the *Discusser* should render his words, as if he charged such to be *obstinate persons*, that yielded not to once or twice *Admonition*, and that for every *Errour*, when he speaks onely of persisting in *Herese*, or turbulent *Schisme*.

Truth. For answer, let *Mr Cottons Conclusions* in the beginning of this Booke be remembred. Wherein he maintaines that a *Man* of an *Erroneous* and blind *Conscience* in *Fundamentall* and *weighty points*, and persisting in the *Errour* of his way, is not persecuted for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*. Whence it followes that the *Civill Courts* of the *World* must judge: whether the matter be *fundamentall* and *waighty*: whether the partie have been rightly once and twice *admonished*: and whether he persist in the *Errour* of his *Way*: that is, whether he be *obstinate* after such *Admonition*, and must then be *persecuted*, though (as the *Conclusion* wofully concludeth) not for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Peace. Yea but the *Discusser* (sayth *Mr Cotton*) dealeth fallly, in carrying my words, as if I had said, that *Godly persons* in whatsoever *Errour* they hould, if they yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition*, they must needs be *obstinate*: whereas (he saith) he speaks not of every *Errour*, but of persisting in *Herese* and turbulent *Schisme*.

Truth. The *Discusser* did not so say, or so carry it as *Mr Cotton* insinuates, but this he saith, that even in the place of *Righteousnesse* and *Judgement* (as *Salomon* saith) *Iniquitie*, and such *Iniquitie* (in all *civill Courts* of the *World*, and in all *Ages* of the *World*) usually hath been found, that as in multiplying glasses a *Flea* is made an *Elephant*, &c. So the *poore witnesses* of *Christ* have been *proclaimed* and *persecuted* for *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. not onely for not houlding the *Popes Transubstantiation*, *Auricular Confession*, *Purgatorie*, and those waightier points of the *Beasts worship*: but reading a piece of a *Leafe* of *Scripture* or any *good booke* is *Herese*: Eating a piece of *Flesh* in *Lent*, yea the slight breaches of the *smallest Traditions* of the

Christ Jesus (accounted) the greatest *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer*, and *Deceiver* that ever was in this world.

Small matters accounted *Heresies*.

Elders and State Worshipp, accounted *Hereſie*, *Blasphemie*, &c.

Peace. Hence was it I think, that the *Naturalist* could tell us in the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Lyon*, that the *Fox* ran not away in vaine upon the *Proclamation* of the departure of all *horned Beasts*, as knowing that if the *bloudie persecutours* of the *World* shall say, the *plaineſt Ears* are *hornes* (that is, the *smallest Errors*, yea the *plaineſt Truths* are *Hereſies*) it is in vaine for any *Innocent* to plead they are but *Eares*, &c.

The barbarous usage of *John Hus* in the *Councell* at *Conſtance*.

Truth. Yea hence it was that in that famous, or rather most infamous *Councell* of *Conſtance*, the blessed *Servant* and *witnes* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, *John Hus*, was as it were stobd to *Death* (before his burning) with tearmes of *Hereſie*, *Heretick*, *Hereſiarck*, yea though he held as the *Pope* and the *Councell* held, even in those points for which they condemned him, because (beside their hatred of his *Holines*, witnessing against their *Filthines*) themselves would say from his *writings*, that he did hould so and so against their *Popish Tenents*, which he himſelfe profest he never did.

Peace. In the next place (*Deare Truth*) are two *Passages* related by the *Diſcuſſer* from *New England*. To which *Mr Cotton* gives no credit.

2. He sayth, If such words were spoken, they might be spoken upon such *wights* as might hould *waight*, &c.

Truth. For the *Stories* and the *Diſcuſſers* mistakes (willing mistakes, as *Mr Cotton* seemes to insinuate) I know the *Diſcuſſer* humbly desires like a true *Traveller* to his heavenly *Countrey*, to heare of, and see and acknowledge, and forsake every *false path* and *step* (by the helpe of *Chriſt*) that the poorest *childe*, though but a *naked Pagan* shall hint him of : But why should the *Stories* seeme incredible that suite so woefully fit with the *Common Tenents* ?

Peace. It may be *Mr Cotton* will not believe it, nor approve it : But there are not two, but ten witnesses, to testifie such *Stories*, were it seasonable to relate and inlarge such *particulars*.

Truth. Let *Mr Cotton* then please to understand (to passe by particular names of the former *Stories*, which are ready to be declared to any *charitable* and *loving Enquirie*) that his *bloudie Tenent* is a bitter *Roote* of many *bitter branches*, not onely bitter

to *spirituall* taste, but even to the taste of *Civillitie* and *Humanitie* ic selfe. But since the names of persons are so desired, I shall relate (not out of any personall disrespect to Mr *Streete* and the people of *Cobannet*, aliàs *Taunton*, my loving friends) what many testifie, that the said (reputed) *Minister* Mr *Streete*, publicly and earnestly perswaded his *Church-members* to give Land to none but such, as might be fit for *Church-members*: yea not to receive such *English* into the *Towne*, or if in the *Towne*, yet not to Land, that if they lived in the *Towne* or place, yet they might be knowne to be but as *Gibeonites*, *hewers* of wood, and *drawers* of water for the service of them that were of the *Church*.

The bloudie Tenent destroying civillitie and humane Societie out of the World.

Peace. I know what *troublesome Effects* followed in the same place, and what *Breaches* of *Civill* and *humane Societie*? What *Departures* of divers, and *Barres* to the *comming* of others, to the *spoile* and *hindrance* of a most likely and growing *Plantation*.

But to proceede (Deare *Truth*) you cannot more faithfully and carefully labour to discharge the *Discusser* of *falsehoods*, then Mr *Cotton* endeavours to lay them on: For to the former three, behold in the next passage foure more.

“ For, first the *Discusser* is charged to report Mr *Cotton* as expressing Confidence in this cause, which Mr *Cotton* sayth he expressed not.

“ Secondly, He reports Mr *Cotton* to say, that he (to wit, Mr *Cotton*) had removed the grounds of this *Errour*, whereas Mr *Cotton* (saith he) said not so, but that he had spoken so much for that *End*.

“ Thirdly, He foisteth in the name of *great Errour*, which though it be so, yet Mr *Cotton* did not so stile it.

“ Fourthly, That Mr *Cotton* should conclude, that to be a *great Errour*, that persons are not to be persecuted for cause of *Conscience*, when he states the *Question* so, that none ought to be persecuted at all for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against their *Conscience*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, he that hath a minde to beate a *Dog*, will soone finde a cudgell, &c. If Mr *Cotton* had not esteemed the *Discusser* as a *Dog*, and had not had as great a minde as a *Dog* to use him, he would never have so catcht at every line and word, to finde out (such) the *Discussers Lyes* and *Falsehoods*.

For, first, it is apparant that the Discusser here undertooke not to repeate Mr Cottons words, but upon such and such words of Mr Cottons (compared with all former Agitations) to collect according to his understanding such a Conclusion.

All Men are confident in their owne opinions.

Peace. But whether he hath rightly and without breach of Truth or Love so and so collected, let it be (briefly) in the feare of God examined.

Truth. First then, hath not Mr Cotton through all this discourse, exprest a Confidence (some have called it imperious and insulting) against the poore Hereticks, Blasphemers, Seducers? And do not these words [for avoyding the grounds of your Error] import so much?

Secondly, Doth not Mr Cottons words imply that in his opinion such a Tenent is an Error, and that by speaking so much against it, he hath removed it, what ever his opponent thinks to the contrary?

Thirdly, Why may not the Discusser, or any man say, that Mr Cotton counts that a great Error, which Mr Cotton endeavours so to represent to all men?

Peace. But the fourth (sayth Mr Cotton) is an evident falshood in the Discusser to say, that Mr Cotton should conclude this to be the great Error, that persons are not to be persecuted for cause of Conscience.

Truth. The Father of Lights hath of late been graciously pleased to open the eyes of not a few of his servants to see that Mr Cottons Distinction [of not persecuting a man for his Conscience, but for sinning against his Conscience] is but a Figleafe to hide the nakednes of that bloudie Tenent, for, the Civill Court must then judge when a man finnes against his Conscience, or els he must take it from the Cleargie upon trust, that the poore reputed Heretick doth so sinne.

Peace. Mr Cotton adds that it is an Aggravation of sinne to hould or practice Evill out of Conscience.

The persecutour of Turke, Pagans, Jewes, or Antichristians, is in a greater errour then any of them.

Truth. True, but I also aske, Doth not that persecutour that hunts or persecuteth a Turke, a Jew, a Pagan, an Antichristian (under pretence that this Pagan, this Turke, this Jew, this Antichristian sins against his owne Conscience,) doth not this persecutour, I say, hould a greater Error then any of the foure, because he hardens such Consciences in their Errours by such his perse-

persecution, and that also to the overthrowing of the *civill* and *humane Societie* of the *Nations* of the *World*, in point of *civill* peace?

Peace. Well you may (deare *Truth*) enjoy your owne holy and peaceable *Thoughts*, but Mr *Cotton* ends this Chapter with hope that the reputed *bloudie Tenent*, appeares now whited in the *bloud* of the *Lambe*, and tends to save *Christs sheepe* from devouring, to defend *Christs truth*, and to maintaine and preserve peace in *Church* and *Common-weale*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, that which hath in all Ages powred out the precious *bloud* of the *Sonne* of *God*, in the *bloud* of his poore *sheepe*, shall never be found whited (as Mr *Cotton* insinuates) in the *bloud* of this most heavenly *Shepherd*: That which hath maintained the *workes* of *Darknes* 1600 *yeares* under the *bloudie Romane Emperours*, and more *bloudie Romane Popes*, hath never tended to destroy, but build and fortifie such *hellish workes*. That which all *Experience* (since *Christs* time) hath shewen to be the great *Fire-brand* or *Incendiarie* of the *Nations*, hath powred out so many *Rivers* of *bloud* about *Religion*, and that amongst the (so called) *Christian Nations*. That *Tenent*, I say, will never be found a preserver, but a *bloudie destroyer* both of *Spirituall* and *civill* peace.

The bloudie
Fruits of the
bloudie Tenent.

Exam: of Chap. 78. replying to Chap. 81.

Peace. **W**E are now (Deare *Truth*) through the *mercie* of the *Father* of *mercies*, arrived, at the last Chapter of this *Sorrowfull Agitation*: Mr *Cotton* finds nothing in this worth the while to speake to: yet thinks he it good to finde time to blame the *Discusser* for selfe-*Applauses*, vaine-glorious *Triumph*, and *confident perswasion*, which before he had noted Mr *Cotton* for.

Touching
confidence in
opinions.

Truth. That which was noted in Mr *Cotton* was not meerly a *perswasion* or *confidence*, but indeed an *imperious* and *insulting confidence*, over the poore and oppressed, and an adding of *Vinegar* to the *Gall* of the *Sonne* of *God*, persecuted in his poore *Saints* and *Members*.

Peace.

Peace. But may there not seeme to be too in the Discusser, too great a confidence of the converting and turning of the bloudie Storme of Warres about Conscience, into mercifull calmes of peace, and of the returne of Christs dove, with Olive branches of civill peace?

Truth. Then let thousands and ten thousands, French, Polonians, Hungarians, Transilvians, Bohemians, Netherlanders, and others, and now at last (through Gods gracious smiling upon this holy Truth of his) I say, many thousand English men set to their seale and witnes, to wit, that Freedome to the Consciences of men, (from all other but spirituall opposition) hath stuck many Millions of Browes and Houses with Olive branches, that were before beblubbered and overwhelmed with teares and blood.

Peace. I cannot but confidently see and say, that doubtles, had not the prudent and zealous care of Englands Parliament and Armie subscribed to this blessed meanes of peace, restored to Lands and Countries embroyled in bloudie civill Warres about Religion, doubtles, the streame of Warre which hath run so long with blood between the Prelates and the Puritans (so called) had run as fresh and furious in all devouring flames between the Presbyterians and the Independents.

Truth. Oh blessed be the God of peace, who hath more pitie upon the unpeaceable Sonnes of Men, then they have on themselves.

Peace. Mr Cotton in the next place addeth, that one passage he may not let passe, because the name of Christ is interessed in it, and dishonoured by it, to wit, [Christ delighteth not in the blood of men, but shed his own blood for his bloudest enemies:] Mr Cotton answers; It is true that Christ delighteth not in the blood of men, while they gainsay and bloudily persecute him and his, out of Ignorance: but he delights in the blood of such, who after the acknowledgement of his Truth, doe tread the blood of his Covenant under-foote, and wittingly and willingly reject him from raigning over them: The contrary whereof he sayth Proclaimes the Gospel to the seede of the Serpent: Sows pillowes under all ellbowes, makes the Heart of the Righteous sad, strengthens the hand of the wicked, and proclaimes peace to Jezabell, and her whoredomes and witchcrafts, and concludes with prayer against

Freedome of Conscience hath ever been a Peacemaker in all Natiōs where it hath appeared.

And especially at this houre in England.

How Christ delights in blood.

against such a bewitching of the *Whores Cup*, where, by open profession she is rejected, but let in by the back-doore of *Tolleration*.

Truth. I perceive (*Sweet Peace*) that in the winding up of this *Discourse* M^r Cotton winds up, resolveth and reduceth his former pleaded for persecuting of *Hereticks, Blasphemers, Idolaters, Seducers*, into the persecuting onely of *Apostates*, who after the acknowledging of the *Truth*, doe tread the blood of *Christs Covenant* underfoote, &c. To which I answer: If so then the discerning & judging between such as gainsay *Christ*, and blasphemate him out of *Ignorance*, (such as M^r Cotton makes the *Jewes*, who put him to Death) and such as willingly and wittingly reject him: I say, the judging of this must then rest at the *Barre* of the *Civill Courts* and *Judicatures* of the *World*, which necessarily implies a supposition of power of *Judging* in all the *Nations* of the *World*, and so consequently in *Naturall* men contrary to the *Scriptures*, which conclude all *Mankind* (while in their *naturall estate*,) incapable of the things of Gods Spirit.

Of persecuting Apostates.

Peace. Yea and also (to my understanding) it implies, a submitting and subjecting of the *Crowne* and *Scepter* and *affaires* of *Christ Jesus*, to the *Civill* and *humane* *Crownes* and *Scepters* and *Tribunalls* of the *Nations* of this *World*, and that in *spirituall* and *heavenly* things, the proper *affaires* of his owne *Spirituall Kingdome*, in the which, the wisest of this world are ignorant, and extremely opposite.

Truth. For this, you know M^r Cotton hath a broken *Refuge*, to wit, [the *Nations* of the *World*, & *Naturall* men must not judge untill they be better informed] In which, what a wonderfull and monstrous suspension doth he put upon the *affaires* of *Christ Jesus* all the world over, and leaves the *matters* of *Christ Jesus* in worse case, and more poorely provided for by *Christ Jesus*, then the *matters* and *affaires* of any *King* or *Kingdome* in the *World*, beyond compare and *Imagination*.

A monstrous suspension or hanging up of Magistrates.

Peace. Yet, me-thinks those *Scriptures* quoted by M^r Cotton *Luc. 17*. Those mine *Enemies*, &c. and *Revel. 16*. *Bloudie vengeance* upon *Antichristian Emissaries*, are very considerable.

Truth. Doubtles all *Scripture* seriously alledged by the most ignorant and unworthy (how much more from so learned and conscientious) ought seriously and awfully to be pondered in the

Allegations of *Scriptures* ought seriously to be made and answered.

the holy presence of God: The *Warrants* and *Authorities* of *civill powers* (though but pretended) are not without due respect to be examined, although rejected (in the end) as insufficient, &c. But consider in the *Examination* of those *Scriptures*: Is it credible that all that resist *Christ Jesus*, his *Kingdome* and *Government*, are *Apostate* and *Antichristian Emissaries*, against whom he powres out that *Vioill*? Have they first acknowledged the *Covenant* of *Jesus*, and then trod the *precious blood* of that *High Covenant* under-feete?

Millions of *Turks*, *Jewes*, and *Antichristians* are far from the due charge of *Apostasie*.

Peace. The *East* is not so farre from the *West*, as those *Scriptures* from such a *Conclusion*.

Truth. Yea how many hundreth thousands of *Jewes* and *Turkes* and *Antichristians* perish *temporally* and *eternally*, and that for refusing *Christ Jesus* to be *King*, and for shedding his *blood* in his *servants*, who can never be brought under this guilt of *Apostasie*, after they have once acknowledged the truth of *Christ's Government* and *Kingdome*.

Peace. Me-thinks to understand the *Scriptures* in *Mr Cotton's* sense, were a wonderfull penning up and *straighlining* the holy *Scripture*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, as soone may we *immure* the *glorious Sun* in a *darke dungeon*, as confine those bright *Scriptures* in the dark *Cells* of *Apostasie*: but I further observe, that *Christ Jesus* not only *praid* and *dyled* for his *Enemies*, who *bloudily persecuted* him and his out of *Ignorance*, but gave this reason against *bodily Death* to be inflicted on any for his *cause* and *sake*, *Luc. 9.* The *Son of Man* is not come to *destroy Mens lives*: and I might returne the *Question* to *Mr Cotton*, not unfitly, Are not these the words of *Him* that delighteth not in the *blood* of his *bloudest enemies* and *Gainsayers*?

Peace. It will be said, What *slaughters*, what drinking of *Bloud* is that which *Christ Jesus* in these *Scriptures* intendeth?

Truth. I answer, although the *Sword* of *Christ's Kingdome*, that sharpe *Sword* with two edges is a *Spirituall Sword*, and is carried in his *Mouth*, yet all power in *Heaven* and *Earth* being given into his hands by his *Father*, he ruleth and over-ruleth in a way of *power* and *providence*, all the *powers* of the *World*.

The mysterie of the red Horse of War.

There is therefore a great *Sword* given to him that rideth upon the *white Horse*, (*Revel. 6.*) by which, for the resisting

of

of him that rideth upon the *white Horse*, (in the *gain saying* and *persecuting* of *Christ* in his *Members*) *Christ Jesus* takes *peace* from the *Earth*, and suffers the *Turkes* to plague the *Anti-christian World*, (*Papists* and *carnall Protestants*) to plague each other, and to fill *Cups* of *Bloud* each to other, while they contend and fight, first against *God*, and then one against another, for their severall false *Prophets* and *Religions*.

Peace. Me-thinks then *Mr Cotton* might have spared to charge the *Discusser* with proclaiming of *peace* to *Jezebell*, &c.

Truth. There is a *Spirituall peace* in the matters of *Christs Kingdome* and *Worship*, and in the particular *Consciencs* and *Soules* of his *Servants*. There is a *Civill peace* in the quiet enjoyment of each mans *proprietie*, in the *Combination* of *Townes*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, &c. But neither of these three will *Mr Cotton* prove the *Discusser* proclaimeth to such *Antichristians* or *enemies* of *Christ Jesus*, who *persecute* and *opresse* *Jew* or *Gentile* upon any *civill* or *spirituall* pretence.

A spirituall
and Civill
peace.

'Tis true, the *Consciencs* and *Worships* of all men *peaceable* in their way, he affirms ought not to be molested, and though not *approved* yet *permitted*, and (although no *spirituall*, yet) a *civill peace* proclaimed to their *outward man* while *peaceable* in *civill commerce*.

To *persecutours*, he not onely proclaimes *Gods Judgements* *spirituall* and *eternall*, but *temporall* also, and affirmeth that all *persecutours* of all *sorts* (and especially the *bloudie Whore* of *Rome* (who hath so long been *drunk* with the *bloud* of the *Saints*,) ought by the *Civill Sword* to be *restrained* and *punished* (as the *Destroyers* of *Mankinde* and all *civill* and *peaceable* being in the *World*,) according to the *hight* of their *cruell* and *murtherous Oppressions*.

Peace. But *Tolleration* of her (sayth *Mr Cotton* brings) her in at the *back dore*, and so we may come to drink deeply of the *Cup* of the *Lords wrath*, and be filled with the *Cup* of her *plagues*.

Truth. There are two opinions which have bewitched the *Nations* professing the name of *Christ*.

First, That a *Nationall Church* or *State*, is of *Christs* appointing.

P p

Secondly,

Two wofull
opinions be-
wicheing the
Nations.

Secondly, That such a *Nationall Church* or *State* must be maintained pure by the *power* of the *Sword*. While *Mr Cotton* prays against the *bewitching* of the *Whores cup*, O that the *Father of Lights* might graciously please to shew him the depth of her *witchcrafts*, and his owne most *wofull Delusions* in both these.

The 3 great Causes of the downfall of the Church of Rome.

In vaine doth *Mr Cotton* feare *partaking* of her *sinnes* and *plagues* by a *tollerating* (meerly) of her *Worship* in a *civill State*, while he forgets the *three great causes* of her *downfall* and *desolation*, and partakes of any of them (*Revel. 18.*) to wit, Her *worldly pompe* and *pleasure*: Her *spirituall Whoredomes* and *invented Worships*, and her *crueltie* and *bloodshed*, more especially against the *Consciencs* of the *Saints* or *holy ones* of *Jesus*.

Exam. of Chap. 79. Touching the Modell of Church and Civill power, Examined in the first part of the bloudie Tenent, but not defended by Mr Cotton, or any, that the Discussor knowes of.

Touching a New English Modell of Church and civill power.

Pea**c**e. I Had hoped (*Deare Truth*) that we had gained a *peaceable* and *quiet barbour*, after all our *tempestuous Tossings* in the *boysterous Seas* of this *bloudie Tenent*, yet now behold a *sharpe* and *cutting winde* of *Mr Cottons* *continuall Censures*; For I was not (*sayth Mr Cotton*) of those that composed the *Modell*: and secondly, the *Ministers* say it was not sent by them to *Salem*, and therefore the *Discussor* is left of *God* to a *double falshood*.

Truth. Sweete Peace, till *sweete Death*, in and (often) for *Christ*, close up the *Eyes* of his *servants*, they must not expect to rest fully from their *Labours*, and expect their *workes* to follow them.

Once againe therefore let us heare the *Discussors* plea for himselfe against this blustering charge of *double falshood*. *Master Cottons* owne words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoners Letter*, are these; I forbear *adding Reasons* to justify the *Truth*, because you may finde that done to your hand in a *Treatise* sent to some of the *Brethren*, late of *Salem*, who *doubted as you doe.*

* Writing to one Mr Hall.

Truth.

Truth. To my knowledge it was reported (according to this hint of M^r Cottons) that from the *Ministers* of the *Churches* (pretended) such a *Modell* composed by them was sent to *Salem* : Hereupon it was that the *Discusser* wrote on purpose to his worthy friend M^r *Sharpe* (*Elder* of the *Church* of *Salem*, (so called) for the sight of it, who accordingly sent it to him.

Peace. If this *Modell*, of such consequence, were so composed and so sent to *Salem*, if M^r *Cotton* directs others thither to re-*paire* to make use of it, if he thus approve and promote it, I see not why it might not probably be collected, that M^r *Cotton* (not the last in such great and *publike* matters) was amongst, if not *chiefe* amongst the *composers* of it, and that he and they were not ignorant of the *conveyance* of it to *Salem*.

Truth. But grant M^r *Cotton* should have been imagined to have been left out in this so great and *publike* a *service*, and that all the former *probabilities* faile : yet doubles M^r *Cotton* will be cast at the barre of *Christian Love* and *Moderation*, for so bitter a charge upon the poore *Discusser* for so easie and harm-*les Mistakes*.

Deepe Cen-
sures for none
or innocent
mistakes.

Peace. Such fierce *flashes* might well issue from the bloudie *French Cardinals* against the poore *Huguenots*, from the *English* bloudie *Bishops* against the poore *Lollards*, from the bloudie *Popes* against the *Hereticks* and *Lutherans* : but a gentler *Breath* and *stile* might well beseme a *Protestant* to a *Protestant*, engaged in *common principles* and *Testimonies* and *sufferings* of *Jesus* against those bloudie *Tyrants*.

But to the *Modell*, M^r *Cotton* seemes highly offended, that the *Discusser* should say, that the *Modell* awaketh *Moses* from his *unknowne Grave*, and denies *Jesus* yet to have seene the *Earth*. For, *Moses* his *Lawes* were of force (sayth he) to the *Israelites* in the Land of *Canaan*, when *Moses* was dead : and againe, *Christ* came not to destroy the *Law* of *Moses*, not the *Morall Law*, nor the *Judicialls*, such as are of *common Equitie* : Or els (sayth he) the *Conscience* of the *Civill Magistrate* could never doe any act of *civill Justice* out of *Faith*, because he should have no word of *God* to be the *Ground* of his *Act*, if the *Lawes* of *Judgement* were abrogated, and none extant in the *New*.

Truth. I answer; that speech of the *Discusser* was neither

Touching
Moses his
Judicialls.

unreasonable, nor untrue, as Mr Cotton alledgeth: for grant Christ came not to destroy the *Morall Law* of the ten *Commandes* (for the *Substance* of it, for all *materiall circumstances* therein Mr Cotton will not urge nor practice). Nor secondly, the *Judicialls* of *Morall Equitie*, that is, such as in deed concerne *Life and Manners*, according to the *Nature and Constitution* of the severall *Nations and Peoples* of the *World*.

Peace. Pardon me (*Deare Truth*) before you proceede, a word of *Explication*: your *Addition* [according to the *Nature and Constitution* of the *Peoples and Nations* of the *World*] will not be allowed of.

Israel in a
kinde a mira-
culous peo-
ple.

Truth. Without this I cannot allow of *Moses* his *Judicialls* to binde all *Nations* of the *World*, then before, or since *Christ Jesus*: my reason is: That people of *Israel* (to which those *Judiciall Lawes* and *punishments* were prescribed) was as I may say, a *miraculous people* or *Nation*, miraculously brought from one *Nation*, (the *Land of Ægypt*) into another (the *Land of Canaan*) both types, a people furnished with *miraculous food* and *cloathing* during their fortie yeares *Travell* through the *Wildernes*: The seven *Nations* of *Canaan* wondrously and miraculously destroyed before them; Their *Lawes* and *Institutions* miraculously delivered to them, &c.

Beside (not to wade deeper into this *Controversse*, as in the *Examination* of the *Modell* I have done) their *Land* was typically *holy*, and that people the *Church of God*, the onely *Church of God* in the *World*. And therefore being a people of such *miraculous considerations*, *Meanes* and *Obligations*, the breach even of *Morall Lawes* concerning *Life and Manners* and *civill Estate*, might be more transcendently *hainous* and *odious* in them, then in the other severall *Nations* and *peoples* of the *World*, many *thousands* and *millions* whereof never so much as heard of the *Name* of the *God* of *Israel*.

Peace. If men see cause to ordaine a *Court of Chancerie*, and erect a *Mercy-seate* to moderate the *rigour* of *Lawes*, which cannot be justly executed, without the moderate and equall consideration of *persons* and other *circumstances*! Me-thinks, the *Father of Mercies* (though he be *Justice* it selfe, yet) cannot be justly imagined to carrie all *Judiciall* or *Civill Lawes* or *Sentences*, by one *univerfall strictnes* through all the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

Truth.

Truth. The Lord *Jesus* tells us of a more tollerable *Sentence*, (even for the *Sodomites* in the day of *Judgement*, then for the *Jewes*, who were the people and *Church* of *God* : and *Paul* his servant layes heavier load (*Rom. 2.*) upon such *Adulterers*, *Thieves*, as professe to be *Teachers* unto others, &c. of the contrary *Graces* and *Vertues*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, the *Scriptures* are full, and many *Arguments* might be drawne out this way, but please you to pitch upon an *Instance*, whereby we may the sooner finish this *Digression*.

Truth. Take that great case of the punishment of *Adulterie*, and I confidently affirme, that the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate*, may out of *Faith*, execute other punishments beside (stoning to) *Death*, which was the punishment of that sinne in *Israell*. For although (as *M^r Cotton* sayth) That was the *Law* of *Judgement* in the *Old Testament*, and there is no other particularly exprest in the *New*, yet the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate* may know,

Touching
punishment
of Adulterie.

First, That the carriage of the Lord *Jesus* about this case, when the *Question* was precisely put to him, was extraordinary and strange : For (although unto other *Questions*, even of the *Pharisees*, *Herodians*, *Sadduces*, the *Higb Priest*, and *Pilate*, he gave more or lesse, first or last, punctuall *Resolutions*, yet) here, he condemnes the sinne, yet he neither confirms, nor didannuls this punishment, but leaves the *Question* (in all probability) and leaves the severall *Nations* of the *World*, to their owne severall *Lawes* and *Agreements* (as is most probable) according to their severall *Natures*, *Dispositions* and *Constitutions*, and their common peace and welfare.

Secondly, The Lord *Jesus* (*1 Pet. 2.*) approveth of the severall humane *Ordinances* (or *Creations*) which the severall peoples and *Nations* of the *World* shall agree upon for their common peace and subsistence. Hence are the severall sorts of *Governments* in the *Nations* of the *World*, which are not framed after *Israels* *Patterne*. And hence consequently, the *Lawes*, *Rewards* and *Punishments* of severall *Nations* vastly differ from those of *Israell*, which doubtles were unlawfull for *Gods* people to submit unto, except *Christ Jesus* had (at least in generall) approved such humane *Ordinances* and *Creations* of *Men* for their common peace and welfare.

All Civill
Government
Gods Ordinance.

Peace.

Peace. Me-thinks M^r Cotton, and such as literally stick to the punishment of *Adultery*, *Witchcraft*, &c. by *Death*, must either deny the severall *Governments* of the *World* to be lawfull (according to that of *Peter*) and that the *Nature* and *Constitutions* of peoples and *Nations*, are not to be respected, but all promiscuously forced to one *common Law*, or els they must see cause to moderate this their *Tenent*, which else proves as bloudie a *Tenent* in *civill affaires*, as *persecution* in *affaires religions*.

True Republics & Common weales without Kings.

Truth. Yea, of what wooll consequence must this prove to the state of *Holland* and *Low-Countries*, to the *State* of *Venice*, to the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, to our owne deare *State* of *England*, and others who have no *King*, as *Israells* last established *Government* had, especially no *King* immediately designed, as *Israells* (in the *Roote*) was ? Yea what becomes of all *Christianitie*, and of *Christs Church* and *Kingdome* in the *World* for ever, if it want the *Government* of a *King* : for sayth *Bishop Hall* (in his *Contemplation* on *Michaels Idolatrie*) in plaine and expresse words : No *King*, therefore no *Church*.

A wonderful saying of Bishop Hall.

Peace. To end this passage, upon the former grounds, me-thinks the *Conscience* of a *New English Magistrate* (being calld to be a *Magistrate* in *Old England*) may in *Faith* execute any other punishment (according to *Law* established) beside *Death*, upon *Adulterers*. And the *New English Colonies* may be exhorted to rectifie their wayes, and to moderate such their *Lawes*, which cannot possibly put on the face of *morall Equitie* from *Moses*, &c.

The State of Israel.

Truth. Your *Satisfaction* (*Deare Peace*) now presupposed I proceed and grant (with that *Limitation* forementioned) that *Christ Jesus* neither abrogated *Moses Moralls*, nor *Judicialls*, yet who will deny that *Moses* established, (beside the two former) a third, to wit, *Lawes* meerly *figurative*, *typicall* and *ceremoniall*, proper and peculiar to that *Land* and people of *Israel* ? Those *Lawes* necessarily wrapt up that *Nation* and people in a *mixt constitution*, of *Spirituall* and *Temporall*, *Religious* and *Civill*, so that their *Governours* of *Civill State* were *Governours* of the *Church*, and the very *Land* and *People* were by such *Governours* to be compelled to observe a *ceremoniall puritie* and *Holines* : But *Christ Jesus* erected another *Common-weale*, the *Common-weale*

weale of Israel, the Christian Common-weale or Church, to wit, not whole Nations, but in every Nation (where he pleaseth) his Christian Congregation, &c.

Peace. Deare Truth, I cannot count him a peaceable childe of mine, that rests not herewith satisfied: Mr Cottons next Exception is against your excepting against a Magistrates Membership in a Church-estate, joyned with an Head-ship over it, to establish, reforme, &c. (as being impossible that a Magistrate should sit Head and Supream on the spirituall Bench, & yet stand as a delinquent at the spirituall Barre of Christ Jesus) Mr Cotton answers, that in severall respects, a Magistrate may be a nursing Father and Judge in causes Ecclesiastiall, and yet be subject to Christs censure in the offensive Government of himselfe against the Rules of the Gospel. And where it might be said, that the Church is subject to the Magistrate in civill causes, and the Magistrate is subject to the Church in spirituall cases, Mr Cotton answers, this caseth not the Difficultie, for suppose, sayth he, the Magistrate fall into Murther, Adulterie, &c. which are civill Abuses, shall the Church tollerate him herein? And he concludes, Let the like Power be granted to the civill Magistrate to deale faithfully with the Church in the notorious Transgression of the first Table, as is granted to the Church to deale with the Magistrate in the notorious Transgression of the second Table, and the Controversie is ended.

Of Magistrates being nursing Fathers, &c.

Of Magistrates Power in Spiritualls.

Truth. This Answer and instance of Mr Cotton carries a seeming Beautie with it, but bring it to the Triall of the Testament of Christ Jesus, and it will appeare to be, but a vanishing Colour. For, there is a vast Difference: The sins of each Church-member, whether against the first or second Table, are proper to the Cognizance and Judgement of the Church, as the sinne of the Incestuous person was punished by Christs Ordinances (in the Church at Corinth) as well as the Abuse of the Lords Supper. But it is not so with the civill Magistrate, whose Office is essentially civill, one and the same, all the world over, among all Nations and people: For, having no spirituall power (as the Authours of the Modell afterwards acknowledge) he cannot possibly act as a Civill Magistrate in spirituall matters, thought as a Church-member, he may in Church-estate, as also may the rest of the Members of that spirituall Body.

Of the sins of Magistrates.

A case touching the Magistrates punishing the Sin of Church-members.

Peace. Me-thinks it it cleare as the Light, that if that incestuous person in the Church of Corinth had beene a Magistrate of the Citie of Corinth, the Church might justly have proceeded against him, because all sinne is directly opposit to the holy Kingdome of Christ. But in that abuse of the Lords Supper (which was meerly unchristian) neither that Magistrate, nor all the Magistrates of Corinth, or the World to helpe him, could justly punish the Church, because that Supper (in the Institution, and Spirituall use of it) was not onely of the Nature of the Suppers, of the meates and drinks of the Citie of Corinth, but also of a divine and spirituall Institution, of a heavenly and mysticall Nature and Observation. But to Conclude this piece and the whole, Mr Cotton corrects himselfe for putting in his Sickle into the Harvest of his Brethren, unto whom he refers the defence of their Modell, and for himselfe ends with desires that Christ Jesus would blast that peace which he sayth the Examiner proclaimeth to all the wayes of false Religion, to Herese in Doctrine, &c.

Truth. If Christ Jesus shall please (for the further manifestation of his holy Truth and Glory) to permit those able and worthy men, to proceed to fortifie and defend their Modell: I hope he will also please to assist the Discussor, or some other of his poore servants, to batter downe (with the Spirituall Artillerie of his Word and Testament) such weake and loose and unchristian Fortifications.

Peace. But with what a deepe and unrighteous charge doth Mr Cotton end against the poore Discussor, as a Proclaimer of peace to all the wayes of false Religion, to Herese in Doctrine, &c.

Truth. Grant Mr Cotton (in many excellent Truths of Jesus) a sweet sounding Silver Trumpet: Grant the Discussor as base a Rams-horne harsh and contemptible: Grant that (for the peace of the Civill State, the being of the Nations, and the World, the safetie of the good Wheate the Righteous, and the calling home of the Elect to God, Jewes and Gentiles!) the Discussor proclaimes a civill being, and civill peace to Erroneous Consciences, 'not sinning against humane and civill Principles: Yet what Peace hath this Rams-horne proclaimed (as Mr Cotton insinuates) when throughout this whole Booke, from first

first to last, the Proclamation foundeth out open warre against all false Worshippers.

Peace. I am a joyfull wimes of warre proclaimed from the God of Truth, from the Sun of Righteousnesse, from the Spirit of Holines, from the flames of Fire, those mighty Angells, from all the Saints and Witnesses of Jesus, from all his holy Truths and Ordinances. Warre to their Consciences, Preachings, Writings, Disputations, a warre present, a warre perpetuall, and (without Reparaunce) a warre eternall and everlasting.

The direfull
state of false
Worshippers.

Truth. Deare Peace, our goulden sand is out, we now must part with an holy Kisse of heavenly Peace, and Love: Mr Cotton speaks and writes his Conscience: Yet the Father of Lights may please to shew him that what he highly esteemes as a Tenent washt white in the Lambes blood, is yet more black and abominable, in the most pure and iust eye of God.

Peace. The Blackmores Darknes shewes not in the darke from the faynest white.

Truth. Christ Jesus the Sun of Righteousnesse hath broke forth, and dayly, will, to a brighter and brighter Discoverie of this deformed Ethiopian: And for my selfe I must proclaime, before the most holy God, Angelis and Men, that (wert ever other white and heavenly Tenents Mr Cotton should) yet this is a fowle, a black, and a bloudie Tenent.

The Portrai-
ture of the
Bloudie Tenent.

A Tenent of high Blasphemie against the God of Peace, the God of Order, who hath of one Blood, made all Mankind, to dwell upon the face of the Earth, now, all confounded and destroyed in their Civill Beings and Substances, by mutuall flames of warre from their severall respective Religions and Consciences.

A Tenent warring against the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus, denying his Appearance and Comming in the Flesh, to put an end to, and abolish the shadowes of that ceremoniall and typicall Land of Canaan.

A Tenent fighting against the sweete end of his comming, which was not to destroy mens Lives, for their Religions, but to save them, by the meeke and peaceable Invitations and persuasions of his peaceable Wisdomes Maidens.

Luc. 9.

Prov. 9.

The Portrai-
ture of the
bloudie Tenent.

A *Tenent* sowlly charging his *Wisidome*, *Faithfullnes* and *Love*, in so poorly providing such *Magistrates* and *Civill Powers* all the *World* over, as might effect so great a charge pretended to be committed to them.

A *Tenent* lamentably guilty of his most precious *bloud*, shed in the *bloud* of so many hundreth thousand of his poore *servants* by the *civill powers* of the *World*, pretending to suppress *Blasphemies*, *Heresies*, *Idolatries*, *Superstition*, &c.

A *Tenent* fighting with the *Spirit* of *Love*, *Holines*, and *Meeke-nes*, by kindling fiery *Spirits* of *false zeale* and *Furie*, when yet such *Spirits* know not of what *Spirit* they are.

A *Tenent* fighting with those mighty *Angels* who stand up for the peace of the *Saints*, against *Persia*, *Grecia*, &c. and consequently, all other *Nations*, who fighting for their severall *Religions*, and against the *Truth*, leave no *Roome* for such as feare and love the *Lord* on the *Earth*.

The Portrai-
ture of the
bloudie Tenent.

A *Tenent*, against which the blessed *Soules* under the *Altar* cry loud for *vengeance*, this *Tenent* having cut their *Throats*, torne out their *Hearts*, and powred forth their *Bloud* in all *Ages*, as the onely *Heretickes* and *Blasphemers* in the *World*.

A *Tenent* which no *Uncleannes*, no *Adulterie*, *Incest*, *Sodomie*, or *Beastialitie* can equall, this *ravishing* and forcing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) the very *Soules* and *Consciences* of all the *Nations* and *Inhabitants* of the *World*.

A *Tenent* that puts out the very eye of all true *Faith*, which cannot but be as free and voluntarie as any *Virgin* in the *World*, in *refusing* or *embracing* any *spirituall offer* or *object*.

A *Tenent* loathsome and ugly (in the eyes of the *God* of *Heaven*, and serious sonnes of men) I say, loathsome with the palpable *filths* of *grosse dissimulation* and *hypocrisie* : *Thousands* of *Peoples* and whole *Nations*, compelled by this *Tenent* to put on the fowle *vizard* of *Religious hypocrisie*, for feare of *Lawes*,

Lawes, losses and punishments, and for the keeping and hoping for of favour, libertie, worldly commoditie, &c.

A Tenent wofully guiltie of hardning all false and deluded Consciences (of whatsoever Sect, Faction, Heresie, or Idolatrie, though never so horrid and blasphemous) by cruelties and violence practiced against them: all false Teachers and their Followers (ordinarily) contracting a Brawnne and steellie hardnesse from their sufferings for their Consciences.

The Portraiture of the bloudie Tenent.

A Tenent that shuts and bars out the gracious prophesies and promises and discoveries of the most glorious Sun of Righteousnes, Christ Jesus, that burnes up the holy Scriptures, and forbids them (upon the point) to be read in English, or that any tryall or search, or (truly) free disquisition be made by them: when the most able, diligent and conscionable Readers must pluck forth their own eyes, and be forced to reade by the (which soever predominant) Cleargies Spectacles.

A Tenent that seales up the spirituall graves of all men, Jewes and Gentiles, (and consequently stands guiltie of the damnation of all men) since no Preachers, nor Trumpets of Christ himselfe may call them out, but such as the severall and respective Nations of the World themselves allow of.

A Tenent that fights against the common principles of all Civillitie, and the very civill being and combinations of men in Nations, Cities, &c. by commixing (explicitly or implicitly) a spirituall and civill State together, and so confounding and overthrowing the puritie and strength of both.

The Portraiture of the bloudie Tenent.

A Tenent that kindles the devouring flames of combustions and warres in most Nations of the World, and (if God were not infinitely gracious) had almost ruind the English, French, the Scotch and Irish, and many other Nations, Germane, Polonian, Hungarian, Bohemian, &c.

A Tenent that bowes downe the backs and necks of all civill States and Magistrates, Kings and Emperours, under the proud feete of that man and monster of sinne and pride the Pope, and all

Papish and proud Cleargie-men, rendring such Laicks and Seculars (as they call them) but slavish Executioners (upon the point) of their most imperious Synodickall Decrees and Sentences.

The Portraiture of the
bloudie Tenent.

A Tenent that renders the highest civill Magistrates and Ministers of Justice (the Fathers and Gods of their Countries) either odious or lamentably grievous unto the very best Subjects by either clapping or keeping on, the iron yokes of cruelllest oppression. No yoke or bondage comparably so grievous, as that upon the Soules necke of mens Religion and Consciences:

A Tenent, all besprinckled with the bloudie murthers, stobs, poysonings, pistollings, powder-plots, &c. against many famous Kings, Princes, and States, either actually performed or attempted, in France, England, Scotland, Low-Countries, and other Nations.

A Tenent all red and bloudie with those most barbarous and Tyger-like Massacres, of so many thousand and ten thousands formerly in France, and other parts, and so lately and so horribly in Ireland : of which, what ever causes be assigned, this chiefly will be found the true, and while this continues (to wit, violence against Conscience) this bloudie Issue, sooner or later, must breake forth againe (except God wonderfully stop it) in Ireland and other places too.

The Portraiture of the
bloudie Tenent.

A Tenent that stunts the growth and flourishing of the most likely and hopefullest Common-weales and Countries, while Consciences, the best, and the best deserving Subjects are forced to flie (by enforced or voluntary Banishment) from their native Countries ; The lamentable prooff whereof England hath felt in the flight of so many worthy English, into the Low Countries and New-England, and from New-England into old againe and other forraigne parts.

A Tenent whose grosse partialitie denies the Principles of common Justice, while Men waigh out to the Consciences of all others, that which they judge not fit nor right to be waighed out to their owne : Since the persecutours Rule is, to take and persecute all Consciences, onely, himselfe must not be touched.

A *Tenent* that is but *Machevilisme*, and makes a *Religion*, but a *cloak* or *stalking horse* to *politic* and *private Ends* of *Jerobams Crowne*, and the *Priests Benefice*, &c.

A *Tenent* that *corrupts* and *spoiles* the very *Civill Honestie* and *Naturall Conscience* of a *Nation*. Since *Conscience to God* violated, proves (without *Repentance*) ever after, a very *Jade*, a *Drug*, loose and *unconscionable* in all converse with men.

Lastly, a *Tenent* in *England* most unseasonable, as *powring Oyle* upon those *Flames* which the high *Wisdom* of the *Parliament*, (by *easing the yokes* on *Mens Consciences*) had begun to *quench*,

In the sad *Consideration* of all which (*Deare Peace*) let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge of the *washing* and *colour* of this *Tenent*. For thee (*sweete heavenly Guest*) goe lodge thee in the *breast* of the *peaceable* and *humble Witness*es of *Jesus*; that love the *Truth* in *peace*! Hide thee from the *Worlds Tumults* and *Combustions*, in the *breasts* of thy *truely noble children*, who *professe* and *endeavour* to *breake* the *irony* and *insupportable yokes* upon the *Soules* and *Consciences* of any of the *sonnes* of *Men*.

Peace her
Repose and
Tabernacle.

Peace. Me-thinks (*Deare Truth*) if any of the least of these *deepe charges* be found against this *Tenent*, you doe not wrong it when you *stile* it *bloudie*: But since, in the *wofull* *proofe* of all *Agess* past, since *Nimrod* (the *Hunter* or *persecutor* before the *Lord*) these and more are *lamentably* *evident* and *undeniable*: it gives me *wonder* that so many and so *excellent eyes* of *Gods* servants should not *espie* so *fowle* a *monstr*, especially *considering* the *universall opposition* this *Tenent* makes against *Gods* *Glory*, and the *Good* of all *mankinde*.

Truth. There have been many *fowle opinions*, with which the *old Serpent* hath *infected* and *bewitched* the *sonnes* of *men* (touching *God*, *Christ*, the *Spirit*, the *Church*, against *Holines*, against *Peace*, against *civill Obedience*, against *chastitie*) in so much, that even *Sodomie* it selfe hath been a *Tenent* maintained in *print* by some of the very *pillars* of the *Church* of *Rome*: But this *Tenent* is so *universally* *oppoite* to *God* and *man*, so *pernicious* and *destructive* to both (as hath been declared) that

The Bloudie
Tenent of per-
secution com-
pared.

like

like the *Powder plot*, it threatens to blow up all *Religion*, all *civilitie*, all *humanitie*, yea the very *Being* of the *World*, and the *Nations* thereof at once.

Peace. He that is the *Father* of *Lies*, and a *murtherer* from the beginning, he knowes this well, and that this ugly *Blackmore* needs a *maske* or *vizard*.

The masks
and vizards of
the *bloudie*
Tenent.

Truth. Yea the *bloudines* and *inhumanitie* of it is such, that not onely *Mr Cottons* more tender and holy *Breast*, but even the most *bloudie Bonners* and *Gardiners* have been forced to arme themselves with the faire *shewes* and glorious *pretences*, of the *Glory* of *God*, and *zeale* for that *Glory*, the *Love* of his *Truth*, the *Gospel* of *Christ Jesus*, *love* and *pitie* to mens *soules*, the *peace* of the *Church*, *uniformitie*, *Order*, the *peace* of the *Common-weale*, the *Wisedome* of the *State*, the *Kings*, *Queenes*, and *Parliaments* proceedings, the *odiousnesse* of *Sects*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, *Nyrties*, *Seducers*, and their *Infections*: the *obstinacie* of *Hereticks*, after all *Meanes*, *Disputations*, *Examinations*, *Synods*, yea and after *Conviction* in the poore *Hereticks* owne *Conscience*: Add to these the flattering sound of those glosing *Titles*, the *Godly Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Nurcing Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*, *Christian Kings* and *Queenes*. But all other *Kings* and *Magistrates* (even all the *Nations* of the *World* over, as *Mr Cottor* pleads) must suspend and hould their hands, and not meddle in *matters* of *Religion*, untill they be informed, &c.

Peace. The dreadfull righteous hand of *God*. the *Eternall* and avenging *God*, is pulling off these *markes* and *vizards*, that *thousands*, and the *World* may see this *bloudie Tenents Beautie*.

Truth & Peace,
their meet-
ings seldome
and thort in
this world.

Truth. But see (my heavenly *Sister*, and true *stranger* in this *Sea-like* restles, raging *World*) see here what *Fires* and *Swords* are come to part us! Well; Our *meetings* in the *Heavens* shall not thus be interrupted, our *Kisses* thus *distracted*, and our *eyes* and *cheekes* thus *wet*, *unwiped*: For me, though *censured*, *threatened*, *persecuted*, I must professe, while *Heaven* and *Earth* lasts, that no one *Tenent* that either *London*, *England*; or the *World* doth harbour, is so *bereticall*, *blasphemous*, *seditions*, and *dangerous* to the *corporall*, to the *spirituall*, to the *present*, to the *Eternall Good* of all *Men*, as is the *bloudie Tenent* (how ever wash't and whited) I say, as is the *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.



The Copie of a Letter of *R. Williams* of *Providence* in *New England*, to Major *Endicot*, Governour of the *Massachusetts*, upon occasion of the late persecution against *Mr Clarke* and *Ooadiah Holmes*, and others at *Boston* the chiefe Towne of the *Massachusetts* in *New England*.

S I R,



Having done with our transitorie Earthly * Affairs (as touching the *English* and the *Indians*) which in Compariton of heavenly and Eternall you will say are but as dung and droffe, &c. Let me now be humbly bold to remember that *Humanitie* and *pietie*, which I and others have formerly observed in you, and in that hopefull Remembrance to crave your gentle audience with patience and mildnes, with ingenuitie, equanimitie and candour, to him that ever truely and deeply loved you and yours, and as in the awfull presence of his holy Eye, whose dreadfull hand hath formed us to the praise of his mercy or Justice to all Eternitie.

Sir, I have often feared and said within my Soule, Have I so deeply loved and respected? Was I also so well beloved? Or was all counterfeit, and but gilded ore with earthly Respects, Worldly ends, &c. Why am I silent? my Letters are not Banished! may be wellcome, may be seene and heard, and if neither, yet will back againe (together with my prayers and cries) into my Bosome.

Thus while I have sometimes mused and resolved! *Objections*, *Obstructions*, and a thousand hindrances (I feare from *Sathan* as *Paul* said) have prest in, held my hand, &c.

Sir, It hath pleased the Father of *Spirits* at this present to smite my heart in the very breaking up of your Letter: This * *Deaths Head* tells that loving Hand that scald it, and mine that opens your Letter, that our Eyes, our Hands, our Tongues,

* Matters touching the peace of the *English* and *Indians*, about which the said Governour did write to *R.W.*

Great love formerly betwixt the said Governour *Endicot*, and *R.W.* before his Banishment.

* The Seale wherewith the Governours Letter to *R.W.* was sealed.

our

our Braines are flying hence to the hole or pit of Rottennes : Why should not therefore such our Letters, such our Speeches, such our Actions be, as may become our last minnies, our Deathbeds ? &c.

If so, how meeke and humble, how plaine and serious, how faithfull and zealous, and yet how tender and loving should the Spirits and Speeches be of dying and departing Men ?

Sir, While something of this Nature I muse over your Deaths head, I meete (in the Entrance of your Letter) with this passage [Were I as free in my spirit as formerly I have been to write unto you, you should have received another manner of Saluation then now with a good Conscience I can Expresse ; However God knoweth who are his, and what he is pleased to hide from sinfull man in this life, shall in that great Day be manifested to All.]

Sir, At the reading of this Line, (I cannot but hope I have your leave to tell you) The speech of that wise Woman of Tekoah unto David came fresh unto my Thoughts : Speakes not the King this Thing as one that is Guiltie ? For will my honoured and beloved friend not know me for feare of being disowned by his Conscience ? Shall the Goodnes and Integritie of his Conscience to God cause him to forget me ? Doth he quiet his minde with this ; [God knoweth who are his ? God hides from sinfull man, God will reveale before All ?] Oh how comes it then that I have heard so often, and heard so lately, and heard so much, that he that speakes so tenderly for his owne, hath yet so little respect, mercie or pitie to the like conscientious persuasions of other Men ? Are all the Thousands of millions of millions of Consciences, at home and abroad, suell onely for a prison, for a whip, for a stake, for a Gallowes ? Are no Consciences to breath the Aire, but such as suit and sample his ? May not the most High be pleased to hide from his as well as from the eyes of his fellow-Servants, fellow-mankinde, fellow English ? And if God hide from his, from any, who can discover ? Who can shut when he will open ? and who can open, when he that hath the key of Davids will shut ? All this and more (honoured Sir) your words will warrant me to say, without any just offence or straining.

Object. But what makes this to Heretickes, Blasphemers, Seducers, to them that sin against their Conscience (as Mr Cotton sayth)

Persecutours
conclude no
Conscience in
the whole
World but
their owne.

sayth) after Conviction? What makes this to stobbers of Kings and Princes, to blowers up of Parliaments out of Conscience?

First, I answer, He was a Tyrant that put an Innocent Man into a Beares-skin, and so caused him as a wild Beast to be baited to Death.

Secondly, I say, this is the common cry of Hunters or persecutours [Hereticks, Hereticks, Blasphemers, &c.] and why, but for crossing the persecutours Consciences, (it may be but their superstitions, &c.) whether Turkish, Popish, Protestant, &c.

This is the Outcry of the Pope and Prelates, and of the Scotch Presbyterians, who would fire all the world, to be avenged on the Sectarian Heretickes, the blasphemous Heretickes, the seducing Heretickes, &c. had it not pleased the God of Heaven who bounds the insolent Rage of the furious Ocean, to raise up a second Cromwell (like a mighty and mercifull Wall or Bullmark) to stay the Furie of the Oppressour, whether English, Scottish, Popish, Presbyterian, Independent, &c.

Lastly, I have said much and lately, and given particular Answers to all such pleas, in my Second Reply or Answer to Mr Cottons washing of the Bloudie Tenent in the Lambes blood, which it may be is not yet come to your sight and Hand.

'Tis true, I have to say elsewhere about the Causes of my Banishment : As to the calling of Naturall Men to the exercise of those holy Ordinances of Prayers, Oathes, &c. As to the frequenting of Parish Churches, under the pretence of hearing some Ministers : As to the matter of the Patent, and King James his Christianitie and Title to these parts, and bestowing it on his Subjects by vertue of his being a Christian King, &c.

At present, let it not be offensive in your eyes, that I single out another, a fourth point, a cause of my Banishment also, wherein I greatly feare one or two sad evils, which have befallen your Soule and Conscience.

The point is that of the Civill Magistrates dealing in matters of Conscience and Religion, as also of persecuting and hunting any for any matter meerly Spirituall and Religious.

The two Evills intimated are these ; First, I feare you cannot after so much Light, and so much profession to the contrary (not onely to my selfe, and so often in private, but) before so many Witnesses ; I say, I feare you cannot say and

All persecutours render the most innocent most odious.

Cromwell the second, a Refuge of the oppressed.

This Rejoynder was sent to England long since, and hoped to have been published.

act so much, against so many severall *Consciences*, former and later, but with great *Checks*, great *Threatnings*, great *Blowes* and *Throwes* of inward *Conscience*.

Abuse of light
most dange-
rous.

Secondly, If you shall thanke *God*, that it is not so with you, but that you doe what *Conscience* bids you in *Gods* presence, upon *Gods* warrant, I must then be humbly faithfull to tell you, that I feare your underprizing of holy *Light*, hath put out the *Candle*, and the *Eye* of *Conscience* in these particulars, and that *Delusions*, strong *Delusions*, and that from *God* (by *Sathans* subtletie) hath seafd upon your very *Soules* believe, because you priz'd not lov'd not the indangered persecuted Son of *God* in his despised *Truths* and *Servants*.

Sir, With Man (as the *Lord Jesus* said of the *Rich man*) I know it is impossible for the (otherwise piercing) eye of your understanding to see into these things, for it is *discoloured*, as in some *Diseases* and *Glasses*; It is impossible for your *Will* to be willing to see, for that's in a thousand chaines resolved (as once you spake *heroically* and *heavenly* in a better way) to spend your dearest *Heart bloud* in your way, &c. Yet with *God* all things are possible, and they that laughed the *Lord Jesus* to scorne when he said, the *Damsell* is not *dead* but *sleepeth*, were afterwards confounded, when they saw her raised by his heavenly voice.

His holy pleasure I know not, nor doe I know which way the *Glory* of his great Name will more appeare, either in finally suffering so great a *fall* and *ruine* of so strong a *pillar*, that *Flesh* may not *Glory*, but that his *strength* and *Glory* onely may be seene in *Weaknesse*. Or else in your holy *Rising* and *Reviving* from the *Bed* of so much spirituall filthines, and from so *bloudie* a *minde*, and *lip*, and *hand*, against all *withstanders* or *Disturbers* in it. That so the short *Remainder* of your *Candle* may hold out to the *World*, the *Riches* of his *Mercy*, at whose words the holycst of his *Servants* ought to tremble, and to work out their *Salvation* with feare and trembling: I say (I desire to say it, tremblingly and mournfully) I know not which way he will please to raise his *Glory*) onely I know my *Dutie*, my *Conscience*, my *Love*, all which inforce me to knock, to call to cry at the *Gate* of *Heaven*, and at *Yours*, and to present you with this loving, though lowd and faithfull noyse and sound of a few

few Grounds of deeper Examination of both our *Soules* and *Consciences* uprightly and impartially at the holy and dreadfull *Tribunall* of Him that is appointed the *Judge* of all the *Living* and the *Dead*.

Be pleased then (honoured Sir) to remember that that thing which we call *Conscience* is of such a Nature (especially in *English-men*) as once a *Pope* of *Rome* at the suffering of an *English-man* in *Rome*, himselve observed) that although it be *groundles*, *false*, and *deluded*, yet is it not by any *Arguments* or *Torments* easily removed.

I speake not of the streame of the multitude of all *Nations*, which have their *ebbings* and *flowings* in *Religion*, (as the longest *Sword*, and strongest *Arme* of *Flesh* carries it.) But I speake of *Conscience*, a *perswasion* fixed in the minde and heart of a man, which *inforceth* him to *judge* (as *Paul* said of himselve a *persecutour*) and to *doe* so and so, with respect to *God*, his worship, &c.

The power of
Conscience
though Erroneous.

This *Conscience* is found in all mankinde, more or lesse, in *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Papists*, *Protestants*, *Pagans*, &c. And to this purpose let me freely without offence remember you (as I did Mr *Clarke* newly come up from his sufferings amongst you) I say, remember you of the same *Story* I did him, twas that of *William Harly* in *Queene Elizabeth* her dayes, who receiving the Sentence of *hanging*, *drawing*, &c. spake confidently (as afterward he suffered) what tell you me of *hanging*, &c. If I had ten thousand millions of *lives*, I would spend them all for the *Faith* of *Rome*, &c.

Sir, I am far from glancing the least Countenance on the *Consciences* of *Papists*, yea or on some *Scotch* and *English* *Protestants* too, who turne up all *Rootes*, and lay all *levell* and in *bloud*, for exaltation of their owne way and *Conscience*. All that I observe is, that *Boldnes* and *Confidence*, *Zeale* and *Resolution*, as it is commendable in a kinde when it seriously respects a *Dietie*, so also, the greatest *Confidence* hath sometimes need of the greatest *Search* and *Examination*.

I confesse, that for Confidence no *Romish Priest* hath ever exceeded the holy *Martyrs* or *Witnesses* of *Jesus*. *Witnes* (amongst so many) that holy *English Woman*, who cryed out, that if every *haire* of her head were a *life* or man, they should burne

True & false
Witnesses
both Confident.

for the Name of the Lord *Jesus* : But Sir, your *Principles* and *Conscience* binde you, not to respect *Romish* or *English*, *Saints* or *Sinners* : *William Heartly*, and that *Woman*, with all their *lives*, you are bound by your *Conscience* to punish (and it may be) to hang or burne, if they transgresse against your *Conscience*, and that because (according to *Mr Cottons* monstrous *Distinction* (as some of his chiefe *Brethren* to my knowledge have called it) not because they sinne in matters of *Conscience*, (which he denies the *Magistrate* to deale in) but because they sinne against their *Conscience*.

Secondly, It is so notoriously knowne, that the *Consciences* of the most holy men, zealous for *God* & his *Christ* to *Death* and *Admiration*, yea even in our owne *Countrey*, and in *Queen Mariés* dayes especially, have been so grossly mislead by mistaken *Consciences* in matters concerning the *worship* of *God*, the comming out of the *Antichristian Babel*, and the *Rebuilding* of the spirituall *Jerusalem*, that I need but hint who were they that pend the *Common prayer* (in its *Time*, as glorious an *Idoll*, and as much adored by *Godly persons*, as any *Invention* now extant) I say, who they were that lived and dyed (five in the flames) zealous for their *Bishopricks*, yea and some too too zealous for their *Popish Ceremonies*, against the doubting *Consciences* of their *Brethren* : At which and more, we that now have risen in our *Fathers* stead, wonder and admire how such piercing eyes could be deceived, such *Watchmen* blinded and deluded. But

Thirdly, We shall not so much wonder when we lift up our trembling eyes to *Heaven*, and remember our selves (poore dust) that our *Thoughts* are not as the *Thoughts* of our *Maker*, that, that which in the eyes of man (as the *Lord Jesus* tells us, *Luc. 16.*) is of high and sweet esteeme, it stincks and is abomination with *God* : Hence such *Worshipp*s, such *Churches*, such glorious *professions* & *practises* may be, as may ravish themselves and the beholders, when with the piercing eyes of the most *Highb*, they may looke counterfeit and ugly, and be found but (spiritually) *Whores*, and *Abominations*.

Fourthly, *Wise men* use to inquire, what *Motives*, what *Occasions*, what *Suares*, what *Temptations* were there, which mooved, which drew, which allured, &c. This is the *Apologie* which

The Common
Prayers & the
Composers of
it.

What's sweet
with man,
stinks (often)
in Gods no-
strills.

which the five *Apologists* (Mr *Goodwin*, Mr *Nye*, &c.) made to the *Parliament*, to wit, That they were not tempted with the moulding of *New Common-wealths*, after which they might be mooved to frame their *Religion*, &c.

Surely Sir, the *Baits*, the *Temptations*, the *Snares* laid to catch you, were not few, nor *common*, nor laid to every foote. *Saul* pretended *zeale* to the Name of *God*, and love to *Israel* in persecuting the poore *Gibeonites* to death, but Honour me before the people, was the maine *Engine* that turned the *Wheeles* of all his *Actions* and *Devotions*. What set *Jeroboams* braines to consult and plot the *Invention* of a new *Religion*, *Worship*, *Priests*, &c. but *Honour*, & the feare of the losse of his gained *honour*? What mooved *Jehu* to be false and halting with *God* after so much glorious *zeale* in *Reformation*? Yea I had almost said, what mooved *David* to rob *Uriah* (the fire of *God*) with his pen, but the feare of dishonour in the *Discovery* of his sin, though doubtles there was some mixtures of the feare of his *Gods* displeasure and dishonour also?

Sathans policie in proposing Motives and Baits to wife and excellent Sainrs.

Sir, it is no small offer, the *choice* and *applause* and *Rule* over so many *Townes*, so many *holy*, so many *wise*, in such a holy way as you believe you are in: To say nothing of *strong drinkes* and *wines*, the *fat* and *sweet* of *this* and other *Lands*: These and others are *snares* which without abundant strength from *God* will catch and hold the strongest feete: Sir, I have knowne you strong, in repelling strong *Temptations*, but I cannot but feare and lament, that some of these and others have been too strong and potent with you.

Fifthly, We not onely use to say proverbially, but the Spirit of *God* expressly tells us, that there is a *minde-bewitching*, a *betwitching* of the very *Consciences* and *spirits* of men. That as in *Witchcraft*, a stronger and supernaturall power layes hold upon the powers of *Nature*, with a suppressing or elevating of those powers beneath or above themselves: So is it with the very *Spirits* and *Consciences* of the most *Intelligent* and *Conscientious*, when the *Father* of *Spirits* is pleased in his righteous displeasure and jealousy, so to suffer it to be with ours.

Spirituell Witchcraft.

Sir, I from my Soule honour and love the persons of such, whom I, you, and themselves may see have been *Instrumentall* in your *bewitchin*: Why should it be thought inconsistent with

the

the holy wisdom of God to permit *wise* and *holy* and *learned* persons to *wander* themselves and *mislead* others; when the holy *Scripture* and *Experience* tells us of the dangerous *Councells* and *ways* of as *wise* and *learned* and *holy* as now breath in either *Old* or *New English* aire?

Sir, I had thought to have named one or two, who may justly be suspected (though otherwise worthily beloved) but I have chose rather to present an hint, for thats enough to fo *intelligent* a *Breast*, if but willing to make an *Impartiall Review* and *Examination* of *Passages* between the most *High* and your *inmost Soule* in *secret*.

Therefore sixthly, for a sixth ground of suspecting your *Soule* and *Spirit* and *Conscience* in this particular of *persecution*, which I now instance in, may you please, Sir, without offence to remember, that as it is in such as have exceeded in *Wine*, their *speech* will bewray them: So it is in *Spiritual Cupps* and *Intoxications*.

Mysticall
Drunkennesse
and the drunken
Language
of it.

The language
of persecu-
tors.

The *Maker* and *Searcher* of our hearts knowes with what *Bitternes* I write, as with *Bitternes* of *Soule* I have heard such *Language* as this to proceed from your selfe and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutors! [you will say, this is your *Conscience*: You will say, you are *persecuted*, and you are *persecuted* for your *Conscience*: No, you are *Conventiclers*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*: You deserve to be *hanged*; rather then one shall be wanting to *hang* him I will *hang* him my selfe: I am resolved not to leave an *Heretick* in the *Countrey*; I had rather so many *Whores* and *Whoremongers* and *Thieves* came amongst us:] Oh Sir, you cannot forget what *Language* and *Dialect* this is, whether not the same unfavourie, and ungodly, blasphemous and *bloudie*, which the *Gardiners* and *Bonnors* both former and later used to all that bowed not to the *State* goulden *Image* of what *Conscience* soever they were. And indeed, Sir, if the most *High* be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy *Majestie* his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted *Confessions* and *Supplications*, you will then proclaim to all the *World*, that what profession soever you made of the *Lambe*, yet these *Expressions* could not proceed but from the *Dragons* mouth.

Oh remember, and the most holy *Lord* bring it to your *Remem-*

membrance, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great *Glory* to his holy Name, great *Rejoycing* to so gracious a Redeemer (in whom you professe is all your *Healing* and *Salvation*) great *Rejoycing* to the holy *Spirit* of all true *Consolation*, whom yet so long you have grieved and sadded, great *Rejoycing* to those blessed *Spirits* (attending upon the *Lambe*, and all his, and terrible to his persecutors) great *Rejoycing* and *Instruction* to all that love, the true *Lord Jesus* (notwithstanding their wandrings among so many false *Christs*) mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the World where his Name is sounded: Your *Talents* are great, your *Fall* hath been so: Your *Eminencie* is great, the *Glory* of the most *High* in *Mercy* or *Justice* toward you will be great also.

A price and a Heart blessed Companions.

Oh remember it is a dangerous Combat for the *Potshards* of the Earth to fight with their dreadfull *Potter*: It is a dismal *Battle* for poore naked feete to kick against the *Pricks*; It is a dreadfull *voice* from the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, *Endicot*, *Endicot*, why huntest thou me? why imprisonest thou me? why finest, why so bloudily whippest, why wouldest thou (did not I hould thy bloudie hands) hang and burne me? Yea Sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the *may be*, to the *venture* or *hazard*, to the *possibilitie*: Is it possible (may you well say) that since I hunt, I hunt not the *life* of my *Saviour*, and the *bloud* of the *Lambe of God*: I have fought against many severall sorts of *Consciencs*, is it beyond all *possibilitie* and *hazard*, that I have not fought against *God*, that I have not persecuted *Jesus* in some of them?

The horrible & dangerous path which all persecutors or Hunters walke in.

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any Man or Men to maintaine their *Christ* by the *Sword*, and to worship a true *Christ*! to fight against all *Consciencs* opposite to theirs, and not to fight against *God* in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*: Oh remember whether your *Principles* and *Consciencs* must in time and opportunitie force you. 'Tis but worldly *politic* and *Compliance* with Men and Times (*Gods* mercy over-ruling) that houlds your hands from *murthering* of thousands and ten thousands, were your *Power* and *Command* as great as once the bloudie *Roman Emperours* was.

The least sparke of persecution tends to bloud, and will proceed, except God mightily stopp

The truth is (and your selfe and others have said it) by your

Prin-

Principles such whom you count Hereticks, Blasphemers, Seducers, ought to be put to Death; You cannot be faithfull to your Principles and Consciences, if you satisfie them with but imprisoning, fining, whipping and banishing the Hereticks, and by saying that banishing is a kinde of Death, as some chiefe with you (in my case formerly) have said it.

Sir, 'Tis like you knew or have heard of the man that said he would never Conforme publikely, although he did subscribe in private for his Libertie sake of Preaching: That, although he did conforme in some things, yet in all he never would: That, although he did himselfe yeeld, yet he would not molest and inforce others: That although he yeelded, that others did molest them, yet himselfe would never persecute, and yet did all.

But oh poore dust and Ashes, like stones once roling downe the Alpes, like the Indian Canoes or English Boats loose and adrift, where stop we untill infinite mercy stop us, especially when a false fire of zeale and Conscience drives us, (though against the most holy and eternall himselfe?)

Oh remember the black Catalogues it hath pleased the most jealous and righteous God to make of his fierie Judgements and most dreadfull stoakes on Eminent and remarkeable persecutours even in this life. It hath been his way and course in all Countries, in Germanie, France and England, (especially) what ever their pretences have been against Hereticks, Rebels, Schismaticks, Blasphemers, Seducers, &c. How hath he left them to be their owne Accusers, Judges, Executioners, some by hanging, some by stobbing, some by drowning and poysoning themselves, some by rinning mad, and some by drinking in the very same Cup which they had filld to others?

Some may say, Such persecutours hunted God and Christ, but I, but we, &c. I answer, the Lord Jesus Christ foretold how wonderfully the wisest of the World, should be mistaken in the things of Christ, and a true visible Christ Jesus! When did we see thee naked, hungry, thirstie, sicke, in prison, &c. How easie, how common, how dreadfull these mistakes?

Oh remember once againe (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray haire now on both our heads, is a Boarmerges, a sonne of Thunder, and a warning piece

Gods most
dreadfull
Judgements
against perfe-
cutours.

Death is a
Boarmerges.

to prepare us, for the waighing of our last *Anchors*, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

'Twas mercy infinite, that stopt provoked *Justice* from blowing out our *Candles* in our youths, but now the *feeding Substance* of the *Candle's* gone, and 'tis impossible (without repentance,) to recall our *Actions!* nay, with *repentance*, to recall our *minutes* past us.

Gray hayres
are Gods
Alarums.

Sir, I know I have much presumed upon your many waighy *affaires* and *thoughts*, I end with an humble cry to the *Father of mercies*, that you may take *David's Counsell*, and silently commune with your owne heart upon your *Bed*, reflect upon your owne *spirit*, and believe Him that said it to his overzealous *Disciples*, You know not what *spirit* you are of: That, no sleepe may seize upon your *eyes*, nor slumber upon your *eye-lids*, untill your serious thoughts have *seriously*, *calmely*, and *unchangeably* (through helpe from *Christ Jesus*) fixed

First, On a *Moderation* toward the *Spirits* and *Consciences* of all mankinde, meerly differing from or opposing yours with onely *Religious* and *Spiritual* *opposition*.

Secondly, A deepe and cordiall *Resolution* (in these wonderfull searching, disputing, and dissenting times) to searh, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearefully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy *pleasure*, and the holy *mysteries* of the most *Holy* are; In whom I humbly desire to be

Your poore fellow-Servant, unfainedly,
respectiv and faithfull,

R. VWilliams.



An APPENDIX:

To the *Cleargie* of the four great
Parties (professing the Name of *Christ Jesus*)
 in *England, Scotland, and Ireland, viz. The Po-
 pish, Prelaticall, Presbyterian, and Independent.*

WORTHY SIRs;



Have pleaded the Cause of your severall and respective *Consciences* (against the bloudie *Doctrin* of *Persecution*) in my former Labours, and in this my present *Rejoynder* to *Mr Cotton* :

And yet I must pray leave without offence to say, I have impartially oppos'd and charg'd your *Consciences* also, so farre as *Guilte* of that bloudie *Doctrin* of persecuting each other for your *Consciences*.

The seameles
 Coat of *Christ
 Jesus* torne
 into four pie-
 ces, and the
 three *Nations*
 torne into
 Thousands.

You four have torne the seameles Coate of the Son of *God* into four pieces, and (to say nothing of former *Times* and *Tearings*) you four have torne the three *Nations* into thousands of pieces and *Distractions*.

The two former of you, the *Popish* and (*Protestant*) *Prelaticall*, are *Brethren* : So are the latter, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* : But, oh, how *Rara est, &c?* What *Concord*, what *Love*, what *pitie* hath ever yet appear'd amongst you, when the *providence* of the most *High* and onely *wise* hath granted you your *Pattent* of mutuall and successive *Dominion* and *precedencie* ?

The Battells
 of the *Cleargie*.

Just like two men, whom I have knowne breake out to *Blowes* and *Wrastling*, so have the *Protestant Bishops* fought and wrastled with the *Popish*, and the *Popish* with the *Protestant* ! The *Presbyterian* with the *Independent*, and the *Independent* with the *Presby-*

Presbyterian ! And our *Chronicles* and *Experiences* have told this *Nation*, and the *World*, how he whose *Turne* it is to be brought under, hath ever felt an heaive wrathfull hand of an *unbrotherly* and *unchristian persecutour* :

Meane while, what *outcries* for a *Sword*, a *Sword* at any price, on any *Termes*, wherewith to take finall *Revenge*s, on such their *Blasphemous* and *Hereticall* Adversaries and *Corrivalls* ?

Hence is it, that the *Magistrate* hath been so courted, his person adored and *Deified*, and his *Religion* magnified and *Exalted*.

Amongst the *People*, some have thought and said, How hath the shining of the *Magistrates Money* and *Sword*, out-shin'd the *Nobilitie* of his person, or the *Christianitie* of his *Conscience* ? For when the person changes and *Religion* too, how grossely notorious have been the *Cleargies* Changes also ? For Instance, how have they *Pernisied*, tack't and turn'd about (as the wind hath blowne) from *Poperie* to *Protestanisme*, from *Protestanisme* to *Poperie*, and from *Poperie* to *Protestanisme* againe, and this within the *Compasse* of about a dozen yeares ; as the *Purse* and *Sword-Bearers* were changed, what ever the persons of those *Princes* (male or female, *Men* or *Children*, or their *Consciences*, *Popish* or *Protestant*) were.

Yea, how justly in the late *Kings* book (if his) are the *Cleargie* of *England* charged with horrible breach of *Vows* and *Oaths* of *canonicall* obedience to their *Fathers* the *Bishops*, against whom (in the *Turne* of the *Times* and the *Sword-Bearers*) they turned to the *Scotch Presbyters*, their fathers dreadful *Enemies* and *persecutours* ?

Now as to the *persecuting* each of other, I confesse the *Wolfe* (the *persecutour*,) devoures the *Goate*, the *Swine*, yea the very *Fox*, and other *Creatures*, as well as the inoffensive *Sheepe* and *Lambe* ? Yet (as the *Lord Jesus* made use of that excellent *Fable* or *Similitude* of a *Wolfe* getting on a *Sheepes-skin*, so) may I not unseasonably make use of that of the *Wolfe* and the poore *Lambe* coming downe to drinke, upon the same *Brooke* and *Streame* together : The *Wolfe* cruell and strong drinks above and aloft : The *Lambe* innocent and weak, drinks upon the *Streame* below : The *Wolfe* questions and quarrells the *Lambe* for corrupting and defiling the *Waters* : The *Lambe*

All Court
the Magistrate
for his Sword,

&

his Money.

For which,
any person
and Religion
hath serv'd
the Turne.

The late K.
charging his
Cleargie, &c.

The *Wolfe* in
plea with the
Lambe, will be
alwaies Judge.

(not daring to plead how easly the *Wolfe* drinking higher might transfer *Defilement* downward, but) pleads *Improbabilitie* and *Impossibilitie*, that the waters descending could convey defilement upwards: This is the *Controversie*, This the *plea*: But who shall judge? Be the *Lambe* never so innocent, his plea never so just, his Adversary the *Wolfe* will be his *Judge*, and being so cruell and so strong soone teares the *Lambe* in pieces.

Thus the cruell *Beast* arm'd with the power of the *Kings* (*Revel. 17.*) sits Judge in his owne *Quarrels* against the *Lambe*, about the drinking at the *Waters*. And thus (sayth Mr *Cotton*) the Judgement ought to passe upon the *Heretick*, not for matter of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Object. Me-thinks I heare, the great charge against the *Independent* partie to be the great pleaders for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, &c.

Answe. Oh the horrible *Deceit* of the hearts of the sons of Men! And, what Excellent *Physick* can we prescribe to others, till our Soule (as *Job* said) come to be in their soules cases? What need have we to be more vile (with *Job*) before God, to walke in holy sence of selfe. *Insufficiencie*, to cry for the blessed *Leadings* of the holy *Spirit* of *God*, to guide and leade our *Heads* and *Hearts* uprightly?

The wonder-
full Mysterie
of *Libertie* of
Conscience.

For (to draw the *Curtaine*, and let in the *Light* a little) doe not all *persecutours* themselves zealously plead for *Freedome*, for *Libertie*, for *Mercie* to Mens *Consciences*, when themselves are in the *Grates*, and *Pits*, and under *Hatches*?

Which all
persecutours
themselves (in
their turnes)
plead for.

Doth not *Gesner* tell us of a Gentleman in *Germanie*, who fitting his *Pitfall* for *Wilde Beasts*, found in the morning a *Woman*, a *Wolfe*, and a *Fox* in three severall *Corners*, as full of *Feare*, and as quiet, and as desirous of *Libertie* one as well as another?

K. *Charles* and
his *Chaplains*
forced to sub-
scribe to *Li-
bertie* of *Con-
science*.

Thus bloudie *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (prisoners, during *King Edwards* dayes) yea and that bloudie *Queene Mary* her selfe, all plead the *Freedome* of their *Consciences*. What most humble *Supplications*, and indeed unanswerable *Arguments* for *Libertie* of *Conscience* have the *Papists* (when in *Restraint*) presented, (and especially) in *King James* his time? Yea what excellent *Subscriptions* to this *Soule-Freedome*, are interwoven in many passages of the late *Kings Booke* (if his)? Yea and one of his

Chaplaines

Chaplaines (so call'd) Doctor *Jer. Taylour*, what an Everlasting Monumentall Testimony did he publish to this Truth, in that his excellent Discourſe, of the *Libertie of Propheſying*? Yea the (formerly) Non-conforming *Presbyterian* and *Independent, Scotch* and *English, Old and New*, what moſt humble and pious Addreſſes have they made before the whole World, to *Princes* and *Parliaments*, for juſt mercy (in true Petitions of Right) to their *Conſciences*? But, let this preſent Diſcourſe, and Mr *Cottons* Fig-leave *Evaſions* and *Diſtinctions*: Let the *practices* (of the *Maſſachuſets*) in *New England*, in twenty yeares *perſecution*: and this laſt of Mr *Clarke*, *Obadiab Holmes*, and others be Examined: Yea let the *Independent Miniſters* late Propoſalls be waigh'd, with the double waight of *Gods Sanctuary*, and it will appeare what *Mercy* the poore Soules of *all Men*, and *Jeſus Chriſt* in any of them, may expect from the very *Independent Cleargie* themſelves.

About Twenty years perſecution in *New England*.

Object. But doth not their *Propoſalls* provide a *Libertie* to ſuch as feare *God*, viz. that they may freely preach without an *Ordination*? and that ſuch as are not free to the publike *Aſſemblies* may have *Libertie* to meeete in private.

Anſw. It may ſo pleaſe the *Father of Lights* to ſhew them that their *Lines* and *Modells*, and *New-Englands* Copie alſo (after which they write and penſill,) are but more and more refined *Images*, whereby to worſhip the *Inviſible God*: and that ſill (as before) the *Wolfe* (the *perſecutour*) muſt judge of the *Lambes* drinking!

The perſecution of the *New and Old English Independent Cleargie*.

For inſtance; *New Englands Lawes* (lately publiſhed in Mr *Clarks Narrative*) tell us how free it ſhall be for people to gather themſelves into *Church-eſtate*? how free to chooſe their owne *Miniſters*? how free to enjoy all the *Ordinances* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, &c? But yet, provided, ſo- and ſo (upon the point) that the *Civill State* muſt judge of the *Spiritual*, to wit, *Whether* perſons be fit for *Church-eſtate*, *Whether* the *Gathering* be right, *Whether* the peoples choice be right, *Doctrines* right, and what is this in truth, but to ſweare that blaſphemous *Oath* of *Supremacie* againe, to the *Kings* and *Queenes* and *Magiſtrates* of this and other Nations in ſtead of the *Pope*, &c? :

Into theſe *Prifons*, and *Cages*, doe thoſe (otherwiſe worthy and excellent Men, the) *Independents*, put all the Children of *God*,

God, and all the Children of Men in the whole World, and then bid them *ſie* and *walke* at *Libertie* (to wit, within the Conjured Circle) ſo far as they pleaſe.

A briefetouch upon the 15 Propoſalls of the (ſo calld) Independent Miniſters.

The Independents implicitly and ſilently challenge the power of Ordination.

To particularize briefly: When they have in their ſix ſeverall Circuits ejected (according to their Propoſalls) it may be hundreths, it may be thouſands (if impartiall) of *Episcopall* and *Presbyterian Miniſters*, and that without & againſt their *Peoples conſent*, to the preſent Diſtreſſing of thouſands, and inraging (through ſuch *Soul-oppreſſions*) the whole *Nation!* Then, ſay they, it ſhalbe free for all that be able, &c. to be *Preachers*, though not ordained, &c. But, provided, that two *Miniſters hands* (at leaſt, which upon the point, is inſtead of an *Ordination*) be to their *Approbation*, &c. Upon this *lock* any ſhall be free to preach *Chriſt Jeſus*, upon this *point* of the *Compaſſe* (as I may in humble reverence, and with ſorrow ſpeake it) the *Spirit of God* ſhall be free to *breath* and *operate* in the *Soules of Men!* By this *Plummet* and *Line*, *Rule* and *Square*, and (ſeeming) *Goulden Reede* and *Meete-wand*, the *Sanctuary* muſt be built and meaſured, &c.

But further, if any ſhall be of tender *Conſciences*, and that the common ſize will not ſerve their *foote*, if they ſhall thinke the *Independents Foundations* too *weake*, or it may be too *ſtrong* for their *weake Beliefe*, if they cannot bow downe to their *Goulden Image*, though of the fineſt and lateſt *Edition* and *Faſhion*: Why *God* forbid they ſhould be forc'd to *Church* as others, they ſhall enjoy their *Libertie*, and meeet apart in private: But, provided, they acquaint the *Civill Magiſtrate*, that is, as it may fall out (who knows how ſoon?) and too too often hath faln out, the *poore Sheepe* and *Deere of Chriſt* muſt take *Licence* of and *betray* themſelves unto the *pawes* and *jawes* of their *Lyon-like perſecutors*.

The Danger of pawning ſpirituell Liberties to Civill powers.

The Dutch Attempts, and the Independents, on their Friends, compared.

Heare Oh *Heavens*, give Eare O *Earth!* What is this but like the *Treacherous Dutchmen*, who *Capitulate* of *Leagues of Peace* and *Amitie*, with their *Neighbour Engliſh*, and in the miſt of *State Complements* (ſome ſay, out of *malicious wrath*, others ſay twas out of drunken *Intoxications* at the beſt) thunder out *Broad-fides* of *Fire* and *Smoake* of *perſecution?*

Object. Some poſſibly may ſay, Your juſt ſuffering from the *Independents* in *New England* makes you ſpeake *Revenge* againſt them in *Old*.

Anſw.

Answ. What I have suffred in my Estate, Body, Name, Spirit, I hope through helpe from Christ, and for his sake I have desired to beare with a Spirit of patience and of respect and love, even to my persecutors. As to particulars, I have, and must (if God so will) further debate them with my truly honoured and beloved Adversarie Mr Cotton.

But as to you, worthy Sirs, (men of Learning, and men of personall Holines many of you) I truly desire to be far from envying your Honours, pleasures, and Revenues, from whence the two former Popish & Prelaticall are ejected, unto which the two later Presbyterian and Independent are advanced: Nor would I move a Tongue or pen that any of you now possessed, should be removed or disturbed, untill your Consciences by the holy Spirit of God, or the Consciences of the people, to whom you serve or minister, shall be otherways (then as you are yet) perswaded:

The Authours desire as to the Ministrie of the Land now possessed.

Much rather would I make another humble plea (and that I believe with all the Reason and Justice in the World) that such who are ejected, undone, impoverished, might some way from the State or you receive reliefe and succour: Considering, that the very Nations Constitution hath occasioned parents to traine up, & persons to give themselves to studies (though in truth, but in a way of Trade & Bargaining, before God) yet, 'tis according to the Custome of the Nation, who ought therefore to share also, in the fault of such Priests and Ministers who in all changes are ejected.

And as to that Ejected.

I end with humble begging to the Father of Spirits, to perswade and possesse yours with a true sence of three particulars:

The Authour begs three things of God for the Clearing of England.

First, of the yokes of Soule-oppression, which lye upon the necks of most of the Inhabitants of the 3 Nations, & of the whole world: as if Chams Curse from Noah were upon them, Servants of Servants are they, and that in the matters of the Soules Affection unto God, which call for the purest Libertie: I confesse the World lyes in wickednesse, and loveth darknesse more then light: but why should you helpe on those yokes, and force them to receive a Doctrine, to pray, to give thanks, &c. without an Heart? yea and (in the many changes and cases incident) against their Heart and Soules Consent?

Soule-Bondage the greatest.

Secondly, of the bloudines of that most bloudie Doctrine of perfection for cause of Conscience, with all the Winding Staires and back dores of it, &c. Some professors true and false, Sheepe and

and Goats, are daily found to differ in their *Apprehensions*, *perswasions*, *professions*, and that to Bonds and Death.

What now, shall these be wrackt, their *Soules*, their *Bodies*, their *parts*, &c? Yea if they refuse, deny, oppose the *Doctrine* of *Christ Jesus*, whether *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, why should you call for *Fire* from *Heaven*, which suits not with *Christ Jesus* his *Spirit* or *Ends*? Why should you compell them to come in, with any other *Sword*, but that of the *Spirit of God*, who alone perswaded *Japhet* to come into the *Tents of Shem*, and can in his holy season prevaile with *Shem* to come into the *Tents of Japhet*?

Thirdly, Of that *Bias* of selfe-love which hailes and swayes our minds to hould so fast this bloudie *Tenent*: You know it is the *Spirit of Love* from *Christ Jesus*, that turns our feete from the *Tradition* of *Fathers*, &c. That sets the *Heart* and *Tongue* and *Pen* and *Hands* too (as *Pauls*) day and night to work, rather then the *progresse* and *purity* and *simplicitie* of the *Crowne* of *Christ Jesus* should be debased or hindred.

This *Spirit* will cause you leave (with joy) *Benefices*, and *Bishopricks*, *Worlds* and *Lives* for his sake: the *Heights* and *Depths*, *Lengths* and *Breadths*, of whose Love you know doth infinitely passe your most knowing *Comprehensions* and *Imaginations*. There is but little of this *Spirit* extant, I feare will not be, untill we see *Christ Jesus* slaine in the slaughter of the *Witnesses*: Then *Joseph* will goe boldly unto *Pilate* for the slaughtered bodie of most precious *Saviour*: and *Nicodemus*, will goe by day, to buy and bestow his sweetest *spices*, on his infinitely sweeter *Soules beloved*. The full breathings of that heavenly *Spirit*, unfeinedly and heartily wiseth you,

Your most unworthy Countryman,

R. Williams.

E I N I S.

The Bloudi-
nesse of the
Bloudie Tenent.

Little of the
Spirit of Love
from Christ
Jesus yet ex-
tant, and our
selfe-love bi-
asseth us to
Inventions,
Traditions,
and Doctrines
of persecuti-
ons.



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