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*Nos quoque stornuimus, sed fias fuit ille caducus
Flammaque de stipula nostra brevisque fuit. Dv.*



*Farewell Vaine World; as thou hast bin to me
Dust and a Shadow; those I leave with thee:
The vnseen Vitall Substance I committ
To him that's Substance Life Light Love to it.
The Leavs & Fruit are dropt for soyle & Seed,
Heavens heirs to generate to heale and feed:
Them also thou wilt flatter and molest
But shalt not keep from Everlasking Rest.*

Cain and Abel

MALIGNITY,

That is

Enmity to Serious Godliness,

That is,

To an Holy and Heavenly State of
Heart and Life :

Lamented, Described, Detected, and unanswerably proved, to be the Devilish Nature; and the *Militia* of the Devil against God, and Christ, and the Church and Kingdoms, and the surest sign of a state of damnation.

By *Richard Baxter, or Gildas Salvianus,*

Who earnestly beseecheth all Enemies, Scorners, Opposers and Persecutors of serious Obedience to God, not to refuse so small a matter as the Reading this short undeniable Evidence, to save their Souls, while yet there is hope, from so damnable a state of Sin and Diabolism. Especially Magistrates and Clergy-men, who are Sacrilegious and Blasphemous, if in the name of Christ's Ministers, they turn those Sacred Offices against him.

L O N D O N, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst* at the Bible and Three Crowns, at the lower end of *Cheapside*, near *Mercers Chapel*. 1689.

THE HISTORY OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH
FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1700
BY JOHN HANCOCK
ESQ. F.R.S.

LONDON: Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Sun in Pall-mall, 1751.

Price 10s. 6d. per Volume. Sold by all the Booksellers in Great-Britain.

R E A D E R,

T*HIS reprehensivè Lamentation of English Malignity, or hatred, and scorn, and persecution of serious Godliness, by them who profess to believe in God, and to be Christians, was written in prison (but without any provoking sense of my suffering) in Anno 1685. or 1686. And by one that was not wholly ignorant, how much of the Papists counsel and power, was causal in our change since the return of K. Ch. 2. 1660. And therefore it grateth so much upon the Papists, though they were professed Protestants who were the open Agents.*

It was written by one who can remember, at least since 1627. that the serious practice of Godliness was the common scorn of the vulgar rabble; and he that did but read the Scripture, and Books of Piety, and pray in his family, and catechize Children or Servants, or hear a Sermon at the next Pa-

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rish Church from a Godly Conformist, when he had none at home; yea that did but seriously talk of Christ or Scripture, or the Life to come, or preparation for Death and Judgment, went under the name of a Puritane, which was a reproach in the mouth of drunkards, swearers, fornicators, and all the sensual, worldly sort, both high and low. And that Conformable Ministers (yea and Gentlemen) that were but seriously Religious, no more scap't this scorn than Nonconformists (who were then so few, that they were in most places unknown.) He sadly remembreth how greatly this malignant rabble triumphed in the Bishops Visitation Articles, and in the Preaching and Talk of many Priests, who sharpened their Sermons with Invectives against Puritans as dangerous Hypocrite, though they had not a Nonconformist within many miles. He heard the Godly Conformable Ministers lament, that the Bishops and Ecclesiastical Courts by their jealousy and heat against the Nonconformable Puritans, became the strength and encouragement of this malignant vitious rabble; and that the young worldly Ministers took it for the way to preferment,

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preferment, to Preach against Puritans, while they treated the multitude of Prophane prayerless families that had no favour of serious Religion, as their good and peaceable Flocks. He lived to see the Godly Learned Conformists, so grieved for this, that they long'd for a Reformation; and many Conformists (as Bishop Robert Abbot, Bishop Downname, & divers others published their Reproof and Lamentation for it: And good Robert Bolton (in his Directions for walking with God) thinks that since Malice entred into the heart of man, there was never a word tossed with more Malice in the mouths of drunkards and prophane men, than the word [Puritan.] Hundreds and thousands of these wicked scorers of Religion, were either admitted (or driven) to the Sacrament, or lived quietly in great Parishes while they despised it, while these poor Puritans were strictly hunted after! And if they fasted and prayed with a dying or sick friend, without getting a License for it from the Bishop, the Church-warden must enter them into their Inquisition, or be forsworn.

These Puritans having the greatest

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averseness to Popery, in some things were too suspicious of all that they thought smell'd of it: And when they heard that in Ireland the Papists had most barbarously murdered the Protestants (two hundred thousand) and that they boasted that they rose by the King's Commission, and threatned to invade England, and that the English Papists were against the Parliament; this made them think that the Protestant Religion was not safe, but in the Parliaments part and care: Upon which the next year when our odious Civil War began, many of them went into the Parliaments Armies: But the generality would fain have lived quietly at home, but the debauched rabble and their Patrons would not suffer them: But they turned the name Puritan into [Roundhead] and [Down with the Roundheads,] was the common Cry. I have my self by that Cry been in present danger, in passing through a City where no man knew me, because I wore not long Hair. If their Neighbours did but pray, and sing a Psalm in their houses, the rabble would (like the Sodomites at the door of Lot) set up a Cry against them in the streets,

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streets, and say, [Down with the Roundheads] the Rebels, a Gowry, a Conspiracy, &c.] Even where I lived they assembled with weapons, and sought my life, and knockt down (mortally by the issue) even strangers in the streets that medled not with them, because they were accounted friends to the Puritans. By this means the Parliaments Garrisons and Armies were fill'd with Religious men, that were forced to flie from their houses by the malignant, ignorant drunkards, to save their lives: And this, even this was the ruine of K. Charles, and his Army, and of the persecuting Bishops and Clergy. Necessity made thousands to be Souldiers that could not live at home: And most were moved by an Argument, that was not cogent, still saying, [We cannot believe that God would suffer the generality of the most Religious to chuse the wrong side, and the generality of the Papists and ignorant drunkards and malignants to be in the right.]

O what shame and pity is it that the Antipuritan Clergy no better remembered from 1660. till now, by what means they

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fell; and that they no more understood, nor yet understand, what a torrent of sin, of danger, and of shame, is come upon them, by their strengthening themselves by sheltring (to say no worse) the sensual irreligious malignant rabble (Rich and Poor) that they may tread down the Puritans, that by their own doings are brought into a dislike of them. Will God ever bless a prophane rabble (or Gentry) to be the honour and strength of the Church, against the Religious that desire a Reformation?

It is not their new foolish names and scorns, (as Whigs, Trimmers, Presbyterians, &c.) that will prove that it is not serious Piety that they hate: As long as the most filthy wicked livers are the Enemies and Accusers, and in their own Party and Companions, the vilest debauchery passeth for sufferable, and a small disgrace, and thousands of such live at ease, when preaching the Gospel, and praying without their Fetters or Book, must cost men ruine, and imprisonment, and scorn. And Sulpitius Severus his sharp Invective against Ithacius, Idacius, and the rest of the Bishops in their Synod was,
that

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that in prosecuting the Priscillian Gnosticks, they brought the matter to that pass, that if Godly men did but fast, and pray, and read Scripture, the Bishops made them suspected as Priscillianists (even St. Martin himself.) Woe to them that turn the sacred Offices of Magistracy and Ministry against God that did ordain them, to be used as in his name, and in some representation of himself, sacrilegiously blaspheming him as an Enemy to himself. Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowship with God, that frameth mischief by a Law, to make sin common and allowed?

By this the Reader may see that there is a double History needful to the full understanding of this Book; and of the nature and causes of Malignity; that is, 1. The History of Adam's fall, and the great depravation of humane nature thence arising; and the true meaning of the Enmity thence put between the Womans and the Serpents seed, exemplified in the two first Brothers born into the world; as also in Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob; and frequently mentioned by Christ and his Apostles.

*2. The History of the advantages that
Malignity*

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Malignity hath got in England since the Reformation; and especially since the return of Charles the second. This must contain the sad differences begun at Frankford in Q. Marys days; the errours and extreams of both the differing Parties; the byassing determinations of Q. Elizabeth; the difference between the first Bishops that had been exiles, and their Successors; the Presbyterians provocations by over-opposing Episcopacy, and the Bishops design to root them out; and the making of the Canons to that end: The rise of a new sort of Bishops, begun in Laud, Neile, Howson, Corbet and Buckeridge, with Mountague, and their growth under Buckingham against the old Churchmen: The design of a Coalition with Rome, and the French and English attempts thereto: The interruption of this design by the first Long Parliament, and the Wars: The Scots forcing the Parliament (that in their straits asked their help) to take their Covenant: The imposing that Covenant on the whole Ministry, and making it a dividing Engine on pretence of Unity: The Parliaments casting out (with a multitude of flagitious Ministers) some
Doctōrs,

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Doctōrs, for being against them, for the King, contrary to the desires of Peacemakers: The Presbyterians under Monk restoring King Charles the second: The return and preferment of his Doctōrs, and their revengeful resolutions: Their design to get all Church-power and Preferment, and Academick Rule into the hands of them that most hated Puritans, or would endeavour their extirpation, and would educate Youth in bitter prejudice and hatred of them: The vulgar hatred of serious Godliness in Conformists and Nonconformists, under the name of Puritans: The power that a few returned Doctōrs had with the King and Chancellor in the dispose of Preferments, and thereby to over-rule the Parliament, and to procure the Acts of Uniformity, Corporation Oaths, Vestry and Militia Oaths, and the Acts for Banishments, Confinements, Imprisonments, Fining, Ejecting, Silencing and Ruining such whose Consciences pleaded Gods Law and Authority against any of their Oaths, Impositions, and silencing Prohibitions to preach the Gospel: The great difference in the Wars (I meddle not with the Cause) between the Adherents and Souldiers of the

K.

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K. (Ch. I.) and the Parliaments in point of Piety and Sobriety: The Animosity and implacable heat, by which the before Conquered, and now Ruling Party, proceeded towards the ruine of those that they took for Enemies to the Cause Civil or Ecclesiastick, which they had owned: The unhappiness of the then present Ministry, that being young, then, had never medled with Wars, that they must equally suffer as Enemies, for fearing the Imposed Oaths, Subscriptions, Covenants and Practices: The rejoycing of the common sort of the luxurious, drunkards, whoremongers and Infidels, that they had got so many of the Religious into contempt, and scorn, and ruine: The woful increase of Whoredom, Luxury, and Impiety and Sadducism hereupon: The great numbers of Religious people, who before hoped for Peace and a pious Prelacy, that fell hereupon into an hatred of Prelacy, and a great disesteem of the Conforming Ministry; and so our Divisions are grown to a fixed factious Enmity, and malice and worldly interest will bear no motions or petitions for Peace; and yet madly plead all for Love and Peace, while they implacably fight against them, and accuse

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cuse those as the Enemies of Peace, who beg Peace of them, and cannot obtain it.

This is the sum of the doleful History which this Book presupposeth: But should I write it, the rage would be increased. The foregoing Narrative is as much as is fit for this brief Discourse, which, if you will, you may style Acris correptio, with Gildas; or Planctus Ecclesiæ, with Alv. Pelag. Or the Groans of the Church, with a late Conformable Divine. It hath been cast by four years, at first because it would not be endured, and after in a vain hope that our Church Reformation would make such a complaint less necessary. But now I perceive the Devil will be the Devil, and Mankind will be born blind, sensual and malignant, till there be a new Heaven and Earth in which dwelleth Righteousness. Come Lord Jesus.

August 24. (1689.) The fatal Day of Silencing in England in 1662.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the English language, tracing its development from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day. It discusses the influence of Old English, Middle English, and Modern English, and the role of various dialects and foreign borrowings. The second part of the book is a detailed study of the English lexicon, examining the formation of new words through processes such as derivation, compounding, and coinage. It also explores the historical changes in the meaning of words and the influence of social and cultural factors on language use. The book concludes with a discussion of the English language in the world today, highlighting its status as a global lingua franca and the challenges it faces in the face of globalization and technological change.

London: The Language Press, 1985.
Selling in England is a book.

Chap.

Chap. I. *A Lamentation for the case of the
Deluded, Malignant, Militant World.*

§ I. **T**HE depraved and miserable condition of Mankind, hath long been the astonishing wonder of the sober and inquisitive part of the world: Philosophers were puzzled with the difficult questions, *whence it first came?* and *why it is no more remedied?* Christians are taught by the sacred Scriptures how to answer both, by laying it on mans *misusing of his free will*, supposing Gods permission of his tryal and temptations; and on his *resistance and rejection of remedying grace*, in the degree that it is vouchsafed or offered. But still there are difficulties, and our understandings are dark, and hardly satisfied. And whence ever it comes, the case is doleful, and we cannot but think of it with astonishment and lamentation. When we saw an hundred thousand made dead corps by the *London Plague 1665*. it did not take off the terrour to know *how it begun*. And when we saw the City on a dreadful flame, which none could stop, it cured not the general astonishment to conjecture *how it was kindled or carried on*: No doubt but Hell it self proclaimeth that God is *Holy, Wise and Just*, and

B

Devils

Devils and Men are the cause of their own everlasting punishment. But yet if we had a sight of it, amazement and dread would overwhelm us. And, alas! what a Map of Hell is the greatest part of Earth? Hell is a place of *Lying, Malignant and murderous, hurtful Spirits, miserable by and for their wickedness*: And is not this in a lower degree, a true description of most of the Earth?

§ 2. Nineteen parts in Thirty of the Earth are Idolaters and Heathens: And do I need to say, how ignorant, wicked and miserable they are? Many of them publicly worship the Devil, as Witches do with us; and he deludeth them, and appeareth in divers shapes to them, and ruleth them as he doth Witches. And those that are more civil are strangers or enemies to Christ: Six parts of the thirty are Ignorant Mahometans, destroyers indeed of Heathenish Idolatry, and such as take Christ for a great and true Prophet, but know him not as a Saviour, but equal or prefer a gross Deceiver, and live under barbarous Tyrants who by violence keep them in the dark. The other five parts that are called Christians, alas! consist most of people bred up in lamentable Ignorance, mostly barbarous or debased by the oppression of Tyrants; such as the Moscovites, most of the Greeks, the Abassines, Armenians, and many Eastern Sects and Nations. What Ignorance the vulgar Papists are bred in, in
Italy,

Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, France, and other Countreys, and what enmity to true Reformation prevaileth in Princes, Priests and People; and by what *Lying* and *Cruelty* they fight against Truth, and what Inquisitions, Murders and inhumane Massacres have been their powerful means, I need not use many words to tell.

And are the Protestant Reformed Churches free from fleshly, worldly, wicked men? from ignorant malignant cruel Enemies to Truth, and Piety, and Peace?

§ 3. Our Kings Dominions are the best and happiest Nations on Earth. Here is most Knowledge of the Truth, and most proportionably that truly Love it, and live in a holy obedience thereto, and fain would live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness, honesty and sobriety: But, alas! they must be contented with their own personal uprightness and reward, and the peace of their Consciences in Gods acceptance. But with men there seemeth to be no hopes of common *Wisdom, Piety, Love and Peace.*

We are all baptised with one Baptism; we all profess to be the servants of one God, and the faithful followers of one Christ, and to believe in one Holy sanctifying Spirit, and to believe the same Canonical Scriptures as the Word of God, indited by that Spirit; and to be of one Holy Catholick Church, which is all the Members of Christ on

Earth; and to hold the Communion of Saints: We mostly in *England* and *Scotland* agree in the Protestant Reformed Doctrine, and Sacraments; Our concord in profession is so great, that if some men had not devised some Oaths, Professions, Covenants, Practices and Knacks, and Engines of their own (which they dare not say, God made) to become the matter of our unavoidable dissent, they could hardly have known how to pretend any difference in religion among us, and hell would scarce have found any Cloak for malicious accusations, enmity and discord.

You shall scarce meet with a man that will not speak well of Love and Peace, and say that *we must Love God above all, and our Neighbours as our selves, and do as we would have others do to us.* And yet is there any Enmity or Disagreement? Alas how great, and how uncureable?

§ 4. Who would think that knew us not by our Profession, but only by our Actions, but that the three Kingdoms consisted of the deadliest Enemies to each other? Of Turks and Christians; of Wolves and Sheep, that I say not of Devils and Men? Yea Turks and Christians can live together in *Hungary* and all the Eastern Countreys; *Orthodox* and *Hereticks* can live together, in *Poland*, *Helvetia*, *Holland*, &c. But Protestants and Protestants cannot live together in *Britain*. Cities and Corporations, Countreys and Churches, if not

not Families also, are distracted in enmity and more than mental feuds and war. *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, party against party, studying Accusations against each other, as if they were Scholars daily exercised in the School of him that is the Accuser of the Brethren. All their Learning and Wit is called up, and poured out, to render others as odious as they are able. All their power, interest, friends and diligence are used to ruine and destroy each other. No lies or perjury with some seem unlawful to accomplish so desired an effect. In all companies, the discourse and converse that should be to edifie each other in Love, and comfort each other by the hopes of dwelling together in Heaven, is taken up with slanders, backbitings, scorning, railing and plotting the overthrow of the best of their neighbours. Innocency never wants odious or scornful names: As if they were acting their part that called Christ and his Apostles, and the ancient Christians, *Deceivers*, *Blasphemers*, *Enemies to Cæsar*, *Ring-leaders of Sédition*, that taught men to worship God contrary to the Law. Every drunkard and wicked liver can as easily make his conscionable neighbour a Rogue, or a Traitor, or a Schismatick, or an Hypocrite, as he can open his mouth and speak. And to justifie all this malice is become a virtue; hating the most religious, is Zeal for Government and Order; destroying Christs Members, is standing up

for the Church; hunting them as Dogs do Hares, or as Hawks do the lesser birds, is a meritorious work, of supererogation no doubt, and will not finally lose its reward: God is served by hating and scorning them that are serious in his service. It is Religion to make Religion odious, and call it Hypocrisie, and to be for that which is uppermost, and befriends their worldly Interest, and to make him suspected of Disloyalty, who is for obedience to God. Conscience, and fear of sinning, and of damnation, is the mortal enemy to be conquered or driven out of the Land, as if there were no quietness to be expected in mens minds, no concord in the Church, no obedience to the Clergy, or the Laws, no safety from Sedition, till Conscience be silenced or banished, and men give over fearing God; or as if Christ and *Cæsar* could not both reign, but God or Princes must be dethroned.

And O that the sacred Tribe were innocent, and none of them were the leaders in such hypocritical malignity! Their Canons *ipso facto* excommunicate all (not excepting Princes, Parliaments or Judges) that do but say, *that any of their Ceremonies, Liturgy, or Officers in Church Government, (not excepting the lowest or Lay-mens power of the Church Keys by decreeing Excommunications and Absolutions) are repugnant to the Word of God.* And when they have *ipso facto* Excommunicated

cated them all, they call them Separatists for not coming to their Communion : Think not the contradiction and hypocrisy incredible : read but the 5, 6, 7, and 8. Canons, and judge. They have a Law, and by their Law he is cut off from the Church or Christ, that doth but call any of these the Inventions of Prelates, sinful, or say that God forbids them ; And the Jail must be his dwelling till he die there, who in ten cases remaineth Excommunicate, and doth not openly profess that he repenteth, and judgeth that to be sinless, which he is utterly unable so to judge. When we have preached seven and seven years, to perswade a Drunkard, a Liar, and Profane swearer, an Atheist, to Repent, he liveth quietly out of the Jail though he repent not : But if a man repent not (when he cannot) of judging that God forbids such humane inventions and impositions in Religion, take him Jaylor ; He that will not be for our humane Offices, Ceremonies and Impositions, shall not be of our Church ; And when we have cast him out, we'll say, He separateth : and if he be not of our Church, he shall be in Jail ; As if the Church and the Jail would hold all the land, except his sin be such a Peccadillo as Atheism, Sadduceism, Bestiality, Hobbism, Popery, Man-slaughter, Adultery, Drunkenness, Swearing, &c. not aggravated by the crimes of breaking the

Canons in point of conformity ; Or if many thousands cannot or will not come within the Doors of the Parish Church, so they will go to no unlicensed preacher, nor worship God in House or Church at all, they live quietly out of Prison. But if the mote of an Oath or Ceremony scrupled be in their eye, that eye must be pulled out (if the mote cannot) or else the whole body be cast into their Hell. And if the Preacher be but a Candidate of Domination, his way is oft to call to the Magistrate to execute the Law upon such as dare presume to worship God openly, till they hold all such imposed Oaths, Covenants, Professions and Practices to be lawful : He is to make his auditory believe that such men are dangerous, intolerable persons, and that their meeting to worship God and learn their duty, is to cherish Sedition, Heresy and Schism, and that Rebellion is in their hearts ; and that the Preachers that even to a thing indifferent are not of their mind and obedience, are deceivers, and factious, and it is no sacrifice, but a duty to forbid them to preach the Gospel. If the People dare not trust the Parson, Vicar or Curate of the Parish, (be he what he will, whom a — Patron chooseth for them) with the Pastoral Ordinary conduct of their Souls, or if he Preach not at all, if they go to the next Parochial conformist for the Sacrament, he is to be driven home, and used as disobedient.

Through

Through the great mercy of God while the Bible is Licens'd, a Preacher in *England* knoweth not how to spend his hour, if he say not somewhat for Faith and Godliness, Love and Peace: And when they come down, none are so hated by some of them, as those that believe and do to their utmost what they for fashion sake perswaded them to believe and do. Their neighbours who have not a word with the Priest of any thing but this World, nor read a chapter or put up a prayer in their families, these are good and quiet neighbours; But if any seriously prepare for their everlasting state, and mind their Salvation above the World, especially if he pray without-book, and dislike the ignorance and scandalous lives of sorry Priests, these are the dangerous troublers of the land, away with them, and give us those that trouble us not with the talk of God and of death, and Heaven or Hell, of Scripture or of Conscience, and that scruple nothing that we would have them say or do. If such pray, it is but in hypocrisy; If they go to hear any other Preacher, it is in faction. If they speak any words to God which are not written down for them to read, they sawcily prate to God and speak but nonsense; If they be earnest as knowing what they pray for, they do but whine and cut faces, and speak through the Nose, or are a pack of groaning Hypocrites. It is confest that the spirit of Adoption and Suppli-

Supplication is Gods Gift; and that this Spirit taught the Bishops and Convocation in what words to pray to God: But if the most holy or learned man besides them pretend to it, and think that any may pray by the Spirits help but the Convocation, there are reverend men that will deride that Spirit or that prayer. I would at least they would let men pray by reason and the sense of their Souls necessities (as a Child will beg pardon of an offended Father,) if they will not give them leave to pray by that Spirit (which all must live by that will be saved.)

Physicians use their patients with some humanity, and will not say to him that saith, [*My stomach cannot take down this Potion; I shall cast it up*] You shall take it or die, or go to Prison: Or if one say, [*This Pill is bigger than my Throat can swallow,*] They will rather say, *It shall be made less* than they will cut his Throat wider to get it down. And sure the reason is because the Law doth make them Physicians to none but Volunteers, and give them no compelling power: If it did, I know not what inhumanity they might come to: For I will not believe that there is any thing in Divinity which tendeth to make men more inhumane than Physicians. I have seen Jews and others that will eat no swines flesh; And I have known many that a tast of Cheese would cast into a swoond near death: And I never knew any say, *you shall*

shall eat this, or die: Nor that ever motioned the making of a Law that all men should be imprisoned, or forbidden all other meat who refused to eat Swines-flesh, for fear of tolerating Jews.

But we have Priests too many, that will say, *Take every Oath, Promise or Ceremony required of you, or preach not, nor worship God openly at all*: Take me for your Pastor, or you shall have none: Hear me, or hear no man: Receive the Communion from me, or from none: Deny not the lawfulness of a Ceremony, or be Excommunicate.

§ 4. And is it now any wonder that the people say as they are taught? And these are lessons easilier learnt than a Catechism, or the Creed, or the meaning of Baptism. How quickly can a man learn to call his Neighbour Whig, or Tory! Or to hate a Godly man, or in a Tavern or Ale-house to scorn them, or drink and curse to their confusion, and to say, I hope to see them all hang'd or banished out of the Land: As a Priest that knows not what Divinity or the Priestly Office is, may before he taketh many degrees, attain the ability learnedly to call his Godly Neighbours, Schismatics, or Hypocrites or worse; So no doubt a few such Sermons, if not a Tavern, can quickly teach them that never knew what Religion is, yea that can scarce speak sense, to revile the wisest and best men, as if they were sinners against the
true

true Religion, if they will be serious in any true Religion at all.

§ 5. O sinful ! O miserable Land ! Who kindled all the hellish flames of thy malignity and mad divisions ? And who continueth them, and for what ? What cloven foot hath entred, and expelled concord ? What Spirit ruleth thee ? Were it the Spirit of Christ, it would be for healing, Love and Concord ; It would set men on studying to promote Love to all, even unto enemies, but much more to the most holy. It would make men zealous of good works, and if it were possible as much as in them lieth to live peaceably with all men, to bless those that curse them, to pray for those that hate and persecute them, forbearing and forgiving one another, even as God for Christs sake forgiveth us. It would teach them while they have time to do good to all men, but especially to them of the household of Faith ; Mens hearts would be constituted of Love : It would become a nature in them. Their Speech and Converse would be the Savoury breath of Love : Their dealings towards all men would be the works of Love : Their sharpest reproofs would be but to do the sinner good.

But alas another Spirit hath possessed thee which rageth and teareth thee ; and is blind and deaf ; It calleth for Fire from Heaven, and it kindleth a fire of Hell : And sure his name is *Legion* ; for there are many. It passeth

passeth under the names of *Wisdom*, and *Hatred* of some evil : But it must needs be Earthly, Sensual and Devilish, for it is neither Pure, nor Peaceable, Gentle, or Merciful and Impartial, but foameth with bitter envy and strife, unto confusion and every evil work: And yet thou knowest not what manner of Spirit thou art of.

Is it God that setteth rulers and people against each other. Doth he divide his own Kingdom, against it self, when he tells us that the Devil will not do so by his. Is it God that sets the parts of the same body in a hatred and War against each other? As if it were the interest of the nobler and the Servile parts to weaken or destroy each other? And it were an addition to the health and welfare of the one, which is gotten by Conquest from the other? Is it God that maketh people despise or dishonour their lawful Governours, or any Rulers to hate the best Subjects, and desire more to be feared than to be loved, and rather to have power to do hurt, than actually to do good? Is it God that sets Corporations, and Churches and Neighbours and Families, in a state of Malice, Vexation, Strife, and a kind of War against each other? Doth the Spirit of God indite the malicious Pamphlets, which exercise the utmost of Wit and Hatred, to destroy Love, and to call the Nation into the Devils Camp, by mutual hatred to live as

Enemies,

Enemies, and Fight against the Lord and the ways of Peace. And if any endeavour a reconciling healing of our wounds, it's turned into scorn, and his healing motions are represented as the grand causes of division; and to beg for peace is heinous Schism, and next Rebellion against the Church, and a crime sufficient to forfeit that mans Peace and Reputation: And he that tells men of the only possible terms of Concord, is made the chiefest cause of discord. To serve and worship God no otherwise than *Peter* and *Paul* did, and than God prescribeth is enough to render us unworthy to live on *English* Earth? And if *England* may not suffer such, why should any other nation suffer them? There are men that keep holy days for *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*, and dedicate Churches to them, and their bellies are maintained at *Dives* rates, and their Wealth and Revenues and Grandure held up, by that which is dedicated to these Churches, (and to alienate any of this superfluity from their flesh were worse Sacrilege than to cast out and silence a thousand faithful Preachers;) And yet if *St. Paul* were a Preacher now in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy* or *England*, and would worship God but as he did when he was on Earth, and would not swear, say and do as much more as the Bishops Canons bid him, I think we should again hear those words, *Acts* 22. 22. *Away with such a fellow from the Earth, for it is not fit that*

that he should live (here :) Unless he wrought miracles to convince men : And whether those would prevail is a doubtful case ; or whether he would not pass for a Deceiver and Fanatick.

§ 6. As in times of War, all broken, beggarly and idle fellows, turn Souldiers, as the easiest trade to live by, and are never after good for any other trade, but to kill and rob men ; So the *Love-killing Regiments*, have forsaken other trades, and this is like to put down all. Booksellers complain that they can sell few Books but News and Scorning or Invective Libels. And what is the subject of our (formerly weekly and now daily) News Books ? Why, they tell us that such a City or Corporation are altogether by the Ears as Enemies, some choosing one Mayor and some another ; Some called *Whigs*, and others *Tories* ; Some seeking the ruine and Blood of others, and some hardly escaping the power of false Witnesses and Oaths ! One Jury acquitting a man whose life is sought, and another condemning him : In such a Town or City so many fined, and so many distreined on, and so many crowded into Jails, and such and such Preachers cast into Prison, and such a one dead there, for praying to God and openly worshipping him without-book, or by no book but his own. In such and such a Country the people prosecuting each other on such accounts, and some

some flying into other parts, and some into *America* to seek that peace among Savages and Wolves, and Serpents, in Wilderneses, which they could not have under sacred Protestant Prelates and their Clergy. In *France* the poor Protestants hunted like Hares, neither suffered to live at home, nor to flie naked to beg their bread in other Lands; and all this for the concord and peace of the holy Catholick Church; a pattern so worthy of imitation, that even such excellent men as *Grotius* think, that it's worth all hazards, labour and cost, to reduce *England* and the Lutherans to the French-Church-Consistence, and to silence and ruine all as Calvinists that are against it. From *Hungary* we must read, how the persecuted Protestants, after their utmost suffering and patience, are fain to call in Turks to save them from the cruelties of Christians. And that those parts that are under the Turks have far more prosperity and freedom in Religion, than those that are under the Emperor & Papists.

And Protestants under them are kept in continual fear, as knowing that it is their Law and Doctrine, that Princes are bound to do their best to exterminate or destroy them, on pain of Excommunication, Deposition and Damnation: And remembering the Inquisitions, the *Piedmont*, French, Dutch, Irish, &c. Massacres: So that they are brought to this hard dilemma, *Chuse whether*

you will be Dead men, or be proclaimed Rebels.
 If whole *Countreys* will not lie down and die
 patiently without self-defence, they are odi-
 ous Rebels.

These and such other are the subjects of
 our News-books, which have broken the
 poor *Bookellers*, who were wont to live by
 selling Books of Learning, and of practical
 Divinity. And too many Preachers are fain
 to be short as well as formal in their Ser-
 mons for Christian Love, because they spend
 so much time in Preaching up hatred and
 destruction. Were there but any Art that
 could devise any Engine that could reach the
 heart, and turn it into the hatred of those
 that never did them wrong (as they say some
 Philters and Charms will make men mad
 with Love;) Or if any Apothecary had an
 effectual Medicine against brotherly Love, I
 doubt these would become the most accu-
 stomed Shops and prosperous Trades in all
 the City: But for want of such, some Pul-
 pits, Printers, Bookfellers, Clubs, Drinking-
 houses, and Play-houses (to pass by fouler)
 must serve the turn. But if God have not
 mercy on the Land by restraining them,
 Gunpowder-makers, Gun-smiths, Sword-
 fellers, Souldiers, Swearers and Executio-
 ners, will swallow up most other Trades in
 the Land. It's worth enquiry whether in
 foresight of this, they set not their Sons to
 such Trades as these, or Apprentices to such
 Lawyers

Lawyers as are best at preparative Accusations, and have learnt *Tertullus's* Art: Or to such Schools and Tutors as can teach them the Learning of *Zedekiah's*, and the four hundred Prophets, 1 *King. 22.*

§ 7. And all this is the more unexcusable and lamentable, because they came but lately out of the fire, which this same malignant Spirit kindled; The very same causes cast the three Kingdoms into dreadful Flames and Blood. The Histories of the bloody murder of many hundred thousands called *Albigenses*, *Waldenses* and *Bohemians*, in *Piedmont*, *Germany* and elsewhere, and of the *Netherland* cruelties, the *Spanish* Inquisition and Invasions, the murder of thirty or forty thousand at once in *France*, and of two of their Kings, the Powder Plot here, as well as the Bonfires in *Q. Marys* days, and much more their Councils and Doctors defending and commanding such usage of Protestants, did set all our Parliaments one after another into a vehement unwillingness to be so used, and to fall into their hands that will do it if they can: And when the evil Spirit had raised cross interests and distrusts between King and Parliament, the Papists seeming to be for the War and King, and suddenly murdering in *Ireland* no fewer than two hundred thousand, and pretending the Kings Commission, and threatening the like in *England*; affrightned the People into the Army,

Army, after raised by the Parliament. And though I think all that War in *England* kill'd not the fourth part so many as the Papists had murdered in *Ireland*; yet so dismal and odious was it, and had so direful an end, as loudly told us how bad the causes and beginnings were. Few parts of the Land were free from spoil, plunder and poverty; yea or from terrible Sieges and fields of blood: English-men labouring to destroy each other, and some hiring Forreigners to help them; And Lads running from their Parents to be as Apprentices to the Man-killing Trade. Counties were against Counties, Cities against Cities, Neighbours against Neighbours, single persons flying from Men as from Bears and Tygers, as after in the Plague-time, afraid of almost all that they met. And at last the very Armies falling out among themselves: The first raised for the Parliament, were mastered by a second Party, that brought in (as Auxiliaries) a new Imposition; and that Party after mastered and cast down by a third that brought in a new Cause; and that prevailing, pulling down their Masters, an Usurper odiously destroying the King, and setting up himself with another Title, and subduing and ruining those that were against it, even both the Parties that began the War: And yet when he was dead, to shew the World what divisions can do, that same Victorious, rebellious Army, fell all into pieces by its

own discord, and was totally dissolved as by a miracle, without one drop of blood that ever I could hear of; and the Victorious leaders many of them hang'd, drawn and quartered, and their heads and quarters hang'd up on the City Gates.

And would not one think that a Nation of men in their wits, should after so long and sad experience of the mischiefs of hatred and division, be willing of the reviving of Love and Concord, and hate all motions of dividing any more? But alas, they hate them that would heal our wounds; and if any one lay on a healing Plaister, there are hands too many both Lay and Clergy, ready with rage to pull it off, and yet it's all on pretence of healing us, that they will not suffer us to be healed; for the way of peace they have not known. Unhappy Surgeons, that know no Balsom but Corrosives and Distilled Vinegar, yea no way of healing but by dismembering, even the usefulest members of the Body. Having learned of the Romish Leeches that live on blood, when they are for exhausting the vital Stock, and cast the Kingdom into a Palsy or *Marasmus*, they tell you it was all but corrupt or hæmorrhoidal blood, and the loss of it necessary to cure the madness of the Land.

The beginning of some reconciliation between the first contending Parties, began to flatter us with the hopes of Restored Love
and

and Quietness: Secret consultations prepared the way: Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Print their Protestations for Oblivion and Reconciliation, and against Revenge. Hereupon those that by Land and Sea, in the three Kingdoms had fought against the King, restore him: The land rejoiceth in the smiling hopes of reviving Charity and Concord: The King chiefly causeth these hopes by his Declarations and Act of Oblivion, and especially his healing Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs. The house of Commons and the City Ministers give him thanks for it: Who would have thought now but such Experience, such Protestations, such Obligations, such Authorities should have put the whole Kingdom into a longing desire to perfect the work of Love and Peace? But it proved clean contrary: Some had other things in their Heads and Hearts; outlandish Fashions, especially *French*, have long been the Badge of *English* folly! There are men in *Spain* that trade much in the fire, and Queen *Mary* brought the trade into *England*: There are men in many other Forreign Lands, who are so devout that their Canons and Religion rule their appetites; And they love no meat like a Carbonado'd Protestant, nor are pleased with any Perfume or Incense so much as with the smell of a roasted Saint, first call'd a Heretick or Schismatick: Like the Roman Tyrant that gloried in the sweet-

ness of the smell when he smelt the stink of the Carcasses which he had laid to dung the Field. And there were men abroad that learnt these Fashions, and Contracted such a familiarity and Love to Forreigners, as that for obtaining Union with them, all the Divisions, Distractions and Calamities of *England* and *Scotland*, are not thought too dear a Sacrifice: And as some Sons of Nonconformists must be doubly virulent to expiate the guilt of their Original sin; So some *English* men must like *Sampson* and *David*, bring double Testimony of their real enmity to the Philistines, from their Skins, before they can be trusted abroad as real reconcilers: And they say that there are some things that will be closely united, by no cement so well as by humane blood. Doubtless the Gospel as used in *English*, and Preached by true Protestants, (such as the *Pseudo-Bellarmie* in *Philanax Anglicus* hatefully calleth Protestants off Sincerity,) goeth not with many beyond Sea, for the same Gospel which they believe. And therefore no wonder if the Preachers of it be displeasing to them; and he that will please them, and unite with them, must silence or oppose those that they would have to be silenced and disgraced. And some think that Union with many Kingdoms of Christians, which call themselves the Catholick Church, is much to be preferred before the Love and Concord of a hated party in our Island.

Island. And as Dr. *Saywell* (the Master of a Colledge and Bishop *Gunnings* Chaplain) saith (to prove that there is a Universal Legislative and Judicial power in the Clergy, over Kingdoms as well Persons ;) [“ *If more persons or particular Churches give offence by Heresy, Schism, &c. The CHURCH UNIVERSAL, or the rest of the Bishops may reprove them for it, and then there is no Reason why one man should be censured and many should go free, and consequently our Saviour hath established the Authority of his Church over all Christians as well particular Churches as private men: Churches of Kingdoms and Nations have a SOVERAIGNTY over them to which they must yield obedience, Isa. 60. 12. The Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee, shall perish: yea those Nations shall be utterly wasted,* pag. 343.

Though Kings have no Civil Universal Sovereign over them but Christ, yet it seems all the world both Kings and Kingdoms have an Ecclesiastical Sovereignty over them all: Communion of equals and Christian Counsel and Reproof is not enough, such as all Neighbour Princes may use towards one another; Nor the denial of such Communion to the uncapable! But all Kings and Kingdoms must be under one Church Sovereignty, which hath a Legislative & Judicial power over them all, to excommunicate, absolve them, &c. And how much more *in ordine ad Spiritualia* the common exposition of Ecclesiastical Power tells

you : As experience long told many Kingdoms what the Excommunicating of a King, and Interdicting a Kingdom the worship of God, do signify towards their Dethroning or Invasion.

And all this must be done, not as for the Pope, but under the name of a General Council, and the poor Pope shall have no power but, say some, to call that Council, and call it General when there is no such thing, and preside in it, and rule us as chief Patriarch and *St. Peters* Successor, in the Intervals of General Councils (that is, continually) and that not *Arbitrarily*, but by the Laws of the Church or Councils, (and no mortal man can tell which those Authorized Legislative Councils are, among the hundreds of erroneous or contradicting ones.) So that Popery in *England* is an abhorred thing; for it is nothing with some but the *Popes absolute Government of the whole Church, as without or above Laws and Ecclesiastick Parliaments.*

And can you reconcile all this to our Oath of Supremacy, and the Canons that establish it, *renouncing all forreign Jurisdiction?* Yes easily, we have been told it meaneth only *forreign Civil Jurisdiction which belongs to the King, and not forreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, (which is all that the sober Popes do claim, save indirectly *in ordine ad Spiritualia*) To Command a Nation on pain of Excommunication and Damnation (according to divers Councils) to renounce their Allegiance to

to their Excommunicate Prince, and to depose him, and set up another, is no act of Civil, but of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which yet hath dethroned Emperours and overthrown Dominions.

And saith *A. Bishop Laud* (in *Dr. Stillingfleet's* defence of him, p. 540. [*It doth not follow, because the Church may err, therefore She may not Govern. For the Church hath not only a PASTORAL Power, to Teach and Direct, but a PRETORIAN also, to controul and censure, &c. And for external obedience to General Councils when they err, [Consider whether it be not fit to allow a General council that honour and priviledge which all other Great Courts have: Stillingfleet, p. 524.]*]

So that instead of a Council of equals for concord (as Princes use for peace with their neighbours,) We have an *Universal Sovereign Court* set up with *Pretorian Power*, to make binding Laws, and pass Judgment to all the *Christian World*, and (say some) They are *Schismatics* that obey not these *Universal Laws*, and obedience to them, and suppressing all forbidden *Assemblies* for Gods worship is the only way to *Christian concord*.

And where this forreign Jurisdiction is made of such absolute necessity, that without subjection to it by Kings and Kingdoms, there is no concord to be had, nor any avoiding of the guilt of Schism, what wonder if some can wish that silencings, reproaches, ruines,

ruines, and confusions may be thought no dear price to obtain an universal union; for which Christ and his Law are insufficient. They that have read *Grotius, Cassander, Baldwin, Hoffmeister, Erasmus, A. Bishop Laud, Dr. Heylin* of his Life, *Bishop Sparrow, A. Bishop Brombal* and the Prefacer *Bishop Parker, Thorndike, Bishop Gunning* and his Chaplain *Dr. Saywell*, and such others, and against them all have read *Dr. Isaac Barrow* of the *Supremacy* against *Thorndike, &c.* may understand where our difference and danger lyeth.

§ 8. And is *Englands* self destroying disease uncureable! God hath in wonderful mercy given us peace from forreign Enemies? And is there no hope of prevailing with English men to live together in peace? Must that of *Isa. 49. 36.* be our case, to eat our own Flesh, and be drunken with our own Blood as with sweet Wine? Alas, no counsel, no petitions, no tears, no experience, no judgments of God by Plagues and Flames, have hitherto one jot prevailed; But the Ulcer of mens minds grows more and more putrid and malignant!

Two ways are by some proposed: First that all the Consciencious worshippers of God in the Kingdom, should bring their judgments to a full conformity, in every particular to their rulers: Whenas first they cannot tell us who these must be: some say to the King or Law? Some say to the Bishops in a National Convocation: Others say,

say, to the foresaid forreign universal Sovereignty of General Councils, (with the Patriarchs.) If the first be the way, what Kingdoms must it be in? Is it no where but in *Britain*? Or also in *France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland*? And must there be as many Religions as Kings and Laws will make? And how far must this go? And where must we stop? Must Kings choose us a God? Or choose whether we shall have any God, any Christ, any Bible, any worship of God, and so any Heaven?

If it be the Bishops that must be the common rule of our Religion, what Countreys and Ages doth this rule serve for? Was it the rule where Princes and Prelates were Arians, or Nestorians, or Eutychians, or Monothelites, or Papists? Is it the rule now in *France, Spain, Italy, &c.* Or was it so in the Popes Catholick Church, from *An. 700* till the Reformation.

If it be General Councils, I am weary of repeating the Proofs that there never was one, nor ever is like to be one, or ought to be. If it be an *European* Council, who shall call them, and who shall judge whether it be equal, and so far General? And are not the greater number of *European* Bishops known Papists? And will they not then be the Major Vote? And so we must be as bad as they? And if the rest of the Christian world be not bound by them (in *Greece, Ethiopia, Armenia, Syria, &c.*) Why are we? Is it the Council of *Ariminum,*

Ariminum, Sirmium, Milane, &c. or of *Ephesus 2, Nice 2d* many at *Constantinople*, at the *Laterane*, at *Lyons*, at *Florence*, at *Constance*, at *Basil*, at *Trent*, that are our Rule! Must all that will be Catholicks and saved, hold all the Heresies, Contradictions, and Corruptions that Councils have held, and obey all their load of Canons? If the *Italians, French, English, &c.* are all disagreed, how many and which Councils we must obey, can all poor people know which is in the right? And hath Christ left Religion so uncertain a thing? Or so mutable that General Councils of Prelates may be still increasing it? If he was the maker of it, by himself and his Apostles, we may know more certainly where to find it: Most Christians may say, *Christ we know*, and *Peter and Paul, &c.* we know: But your Councils are too many, too voluminous, too uncertain, for us to know. But if they are such an absolutely necessary rule as you pretend, why do not teachers preach them to us daily as they do the Sacred Scriptures?

If any would come down to confine these universal Laws only to *Things Indifferent*, alas, must the world be confounded and divided about things indifferent? Are not things indifferent variable as *Countreys and Ages* are? And must the world have one Sovereignty to make Laws for them? Cannot we have *Life, Liberty, Peace and Love* without things indifferent? Or without agreeing in them.

them. Are there any two in the whole world, that are not ignorant, and that differ not about many greater matters than things indifferent? Doth he know himself, or know what a man is, that thinks all tolerated Christians must be so Skill'd in all things indifferent, which men may impose, as to know them to be such? When it is so hard to teach the people things necessary, few and plain? Alas, Lord, why must the Churches be left in such hands?

§ 9. But some have found out another remedy for our divisions; and that is, That only the Bishops shall be engaged to a Foreign Jurisdiction, or profess the necessity of obeying them, (under the name of a General Council, and in the intervals, of a Colledge of the Bishops of the whole world, as one Aristocracy;) And that this shall not be imposed on any Lay-Communicants, but their Consciences shall be left at liberty; Nor at the first on the inferior Clergy, till they are prepared to receive it: But only that the People obey the Priests and Prelates, and the Priests obey the Prelates and all their Governing Officers, and the Prelates only profess obedience to the Pretorian Court called, *The Catholick Church*. Bishop Gunnings Chaplain tells us that the Laity are not required in order to Communion to declare for General Councils. Whether they use the like Moderation in France, Spain, Germany, I know

know not, viz. For the Bishops only to Profess obedience to the Pope, and the Priests to the Bishops, and the people to the Priests and Bishops. I hear they go further.

And if Conventicles (as they will call them) are also suppressed, we need not fear Religious Violence, Murder and Ruine, (upon a feared Roman Successour.) For saith the same Bishops Chaplain, pag. 283. [For matters may be so ordered, that all Officers, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and all that are employed in Power or Authority of any kind, be persons both of known Loyalty to the Crown, and yet faithful Sons of the Church, and firm to the established Religion, and the Laws that they act by may be so explained in the favour of those that conform to the publick Worship, and the discouragement of all Dissenters, that we must reasonably be secure from all violence that the Papists can offer to force our submission: For when all our Bishops and Clergy are under strict obligations and Oaths, and the people are guided by them; and all Officers Civil and Military are firm to the same interest, and under severe penalties if they act any thing to the contrary; Then what probable danger can there be of any violence or disturbance to force us out of our Religion, when all things are thus secured, and the power of External Execution is generally in the hands of men of our own persuasion.]

Ans. The Dr. says well: I am of his mind in this: When they have subdued and cast out all Dissenters (as they do in France) and the

The Bishops and Clergy are fetled under a Forreign Church-Jurisdiction, and the People fetled in Obedience to them, and all Offices Civil, Military and Ecclesiastick in their hands, I do not think they need to fear that the Papiſts will uſe violence to change their Religion, whoever reigneth.

But the Queſtion is, whether this ſuppoſe an *Union* with all in *England* that are now againſt a Forreign Jurisdiction, or only the *deſtruction of them*, or elſe the *forcing them to theſe terms*? As to a *deſtruction of them*, or *forcing them to ſuch terms*, ſurely *Violence* muſt do this. And what though the *Subjects of Forreign Power* fear no *Violence*, are all the reſt that is, the *Proteſtants*) of the Kingdom in- conſiderable? We ſuppoſe the old Church of *England*, and all our Parliaments ſince the Reformation, were againſt a Forreign Jurisdiction: And will it be no loſs to *England* to deſtroy ſo many, that is, the *Body of the Land*?

But the Queſtion is, Whether they may not be thus brought to concord by conſent? I anſwer, no, unleſs you ſuppoſe them to be men that indeed have no Religion, and therefore can eaſily part with the bare name. For they are ſworn by the Oath of Supremacy againſt *all forreign Jurisdiction*: And put the caſe that the Pope and a Council, or the King of *France* would bring the Emperours or the Kings Army to ſerve him, and be at his

his Command, and he would only desire that the General Officers and Colonels may be engaged to obey him, and the Captains and lower Officers to obey them, and the Souldiers to obey the Officers; but the common Souldiers shall be bound to no more, than this obedience to their Officers. Query, Whether all these Souldiers be not Traitors to the King or Emperour? *Cromwells* common Souldiers took no Commissions against King or Parliament; they did but obey their Officers that pulled down both! And were they therefore guiltless. Protestants will not thus follow such Prelates, against their Oaths, and against the known truth, and against their duty to God and the King.

§ 10. But though it be notorious that Domination and Jurisdiction be the things which cause the Papal *Clergy* to trouble and tear the Christian world, what is it that makes the *Laitie* so mad, & getteth this *Clergy* such a militant crowd against their own Tranquillity and Salvation? It's as visible as any moral thing, that the Churches Divisions and Wars, and Miseries have about a thousand years risen, from *Satans* thrusting such worldly, fleshly, unholy men into holy Offices, who seek them but to serve their Pride and Covetousness, and Fleshly Appetites, and Ease, and who are Enemies at the heart to the serious obedience to Christ, which formally they preach. Christs own Apostles in their time of ignorance

rance, began to strive which of them should be greatest; of which we have recorded his sharp rebuke; which *St. Peter* himself did after second, in *1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.* in words so plain, that if his pretended Successours had not first claimed a power (as the Church) to be the determining expounders of all the Bible, they had lain under the Condemnation of *Christ* and *Peter*, Naked, without a Defence or Cloak: But this *Church-expounding authority* sets them above all the Word of God, which is now but what they please to make it, and an instrument to execute their wills: And indeed it is now rather the Pope and his Prelates and Councils than *Christ*, that are the Law-makers to the Church: For it is not he that maketh the *words* only that makes the Law, but he that giveth them their *sense*. The *words* are but as the *body*, and the *sense* is the *Soul* of the Law. The Ministerial Church now scorn the name of Ministers, and being become *Pretorian* and *Magisterial*, they give *Christ* and his Spirit in the Apostles leave to make the words and body of the Scripture or Divine Law, as God formed *Adams* body of the dust, so that they may give it the breath of Life, and also may make far more Voluminous Laws of their own, and cut off and condemn all the Children of God, that cannot believe that it's lawful to obey them.

And though the Ignorant think that the
D claim,

claim of universal Legislation and Judgment, in the universal Church and General Councils, be no Service to the Domination of particular Clergy men, no nor to any, seeing there will never be a General Council,] They understand not the *mystery of iniquity*, and mistake. We have *English Writers* that have told them, 1. That indeed *Power is first given to the body*, (fine doctrine for *Royalists*) but by the *Body* it is given to the *Prelates* to use for them. 2. That as a *General Council* hath the *Supream power*, so the *Prelates* under them have the *Inferior Ruling power*, and the executive in the intervals of Councils: 3. That as Councils represent the Church in *Soveraignty*, so every *Bishop* is by his office, the true *Representative* of the Clergy of his *Diocess*, and every *Metropolitan* the *Representative* of his *Province*, and every *Patriarch* of his *Patriarchate*; And then are not the *Patriarchs* (at least with the *Metropolitans*,) *Universal Rulers* in such *Intervals*? 4. And the *Pope* is the *Patriarch* of the *West*, and hath a *primacy* in the Church universal, and must be confest to be *principium unitatis Catholicae*, and say some. to be the *President* of Councils. 5. To which others add, that it *belongs only to the president to call Councils*, and to *Judge* which are *Lawful*, without whose call they are so far from *binding us*, that they are themselves but *unlawful Routs*. And what would you have more?

But what's all this to the poor Priests? What? Why, 7. The people know not what the volumes of Councils say, and it is the Priests (or no body) that must tell it them, (both what their exposition of Scripture is, and what their own additional Laws are) without which they cannot be obeyed: so that indeed the peoples Faith is ultimately resolvedly into the authority of the Priest, who tells them what the Bishop saith, who tells them what the Metropolitan and his Synod saith, who tells them what the Patriarch and his Synod saith, who tells them what the chief Patriarch and a General Council saith, who tell them determinatively what Christ and the Scripture saith and meaneth.

But what's this to Councils when there are none? Yes, 8. Those that are past and gone, have left all those binding Laws by which the present Bishops as an Aristocracy must govern all the Christian World.

But are not they for *Monarchy in the state*? How come they then to plead for a *Sovereign Aristocracy* over the Catholick Church, and how come even the French Clergy to be for the power of a Church Parliament above the Pope? I cannot answer that; let the Pope and they debate it.

But I wonder that *A. Bishop Land* should be for the derivation of all power from the *Body*, as *Richard Hooker* is: See *Dr. Stillingsfleets*

Defence of him p. 544. 545. &c. [*No Body collective, whensoever it assembled it self, did ever give more power to the representing body of it, than a binding power upon it self and all particulars; Nor ever did it give this power, otherwise, than with this Reservation in nature, that it would call again and reform, and if need were, abrogate any law or ordinances upon just cause made evident, that the representing Body had failed in trust or truth. And this power no Body collective, Ecclesiastical or Civil, can put out of it self, or give away to a Parliament or Council, or call it what you will, that represents it — The power which a Council hath to order, settle and define differences arising concerning faith, it hath not by any immediate institution of Christ, but it was prudently taken up by the Church from the Apostles example.*] See Dr. Stillingfleets Defence.

I confess that the generality of Politicians and Lawyers, Heathens, Papists and Protestants go much this way, as to Civil Government, and say that the *Majestas personalis* is in the King or Senate, but the *Majestas realis* in the Body which giveth the Organical power, and on just cause may take it away. It is no honour to be singular in Politicks, and I have said enough of this elsewhere (*Christ. Direct.* p. 1.) But if it be the Body of the whole Church on Earth that must give Church Officers and Councils their power, and recal it when there is cause, if
 ever

ever the whole Christian World meet together to vote it, when it cometh to Poling, we will give both the Monarchical and the Aristocratical Conciliar Papists three for one, to try who hath the power given by the Body. But while two or three parts do already disown almost all their Councils, the case is decided. But if an *old Councils* Heresies, Errours or Tyranny can be invalidated only by a *new one* that is *truly General*, or a new one as *Papal* as the last, we confess that *Trent* Canons are like to be the Law, to the end of the World.

§ 11. But again, what is it that maketh so many of the Laity serve the Popish Prelates universal claim, or keep up the destructive enmity and divisions of the Christian World? A stranger would think that it were chiefly caused by some great contrariety of real Interests, or that one party adhered to some principles or practices, which were really hurtful to the others rights? While both were serious for Christianity. But it is become by long experience notorious, that all the Christian Worlds calamitous divisions are principally from the old enmity between the *Womans* and the *Serpents Seed*, and that all is but the Prosecution of that which their first Patriarch *Cain* began: exemplified after in the discrimination of the Children of men and the Sons of God, and in *Esau* and *Jacob*, *Ishmael* and *Isaac*, and so down to the days of the

Apostles : And, saith *Paul*, *As he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the spirit ; even so it is now.* Among us it is notorious, that if we knew how to cure men of the radical Enmity of the flesh against the spirit, and of a carnal minds averneses to God and serious Godliness, the rest of our differences were never like to continue our Wounds and cruel Factions.

In Families you may hear that this is the fundamental difference. Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Master and Servants, upon the meer account of serious Godliness, do live like Enemies, that are impatient of each other. If the Husband be ungodly, the Wife, Children or Servants that have but a care of their Salvation, are still under his restraints, or frowns, or scorns : This praying (especially if it be without Book) so much preaching and hearing ; yea any serious talk of God, or Heaven, or Scripture, is a troublesom weariness to him ; and he tells them, it is but Hypocrisie, or more ado than needs : If any compassionately tell him of the evil of his swearing, or tipling, or prophaneness, he tells them they are precise Puritanes or Fanaticks, and worse than he. If they will needs hear Sermons, he will have them go but to some cold or ignorant Preacher, or one that will please him with a calumny or scorn at Puritans, or that will say as he doth, that this stir for Salvation,
and

and meddling so much with Scripture and Religion, is but proud, self-conceited Fanaticism. In a word, it is serious Preaching, and Hearing, and Reading Gods Word, serious Praying, and Preparation for the Sacrament, serious Discourse of the state of their Souls, and Preparation for Death, Judgment and Eternity, serious fearing and avoiding sin, and speaking against the sin of others, that is the common eye-fore and trouble of the world, which they secretly hate, and cannot bear with in their Families, in their Neighbours, in Magistrates, in Ministers or People.

And because it easeth their minds by vent, and by keeping up some hopes that they may be saved without this serious Godliness themselves, they cherish a conceit that the persons that herein differ from them are as bad, if not much worse than others; and gladly hear those that slander and deride them: Such Company, such Pamphlets, such Sermons please them. And to make them odious, they have for them some contemptuous, scornful Nickname; which, though it be of no signification, is as effectual as the truest charge. Among the Roman Sects, do but call a man a Heretick, or Schismatick, a Lutheran, a Calvinist, a Zwinglian; and elsewhere do but call him a Sectary, a Schismatick, a Puritan, a Calvinist, a Nonconformist, an Independant, a Presbyterian, a Round-head, a Fanatick, a Whig, and it serveth the

turn as well as if you had proyed him a proud Hypocrite, or a Rebel. And there be among the real Schismaticks also some persons, that if you do but call a man Episcopal, a Conformist, an Arminian, a Church of *England* man, that goeth to the Common-Prayer, they think that he must needs be a Temporizer, Graceless or Dangerously unsound.

And thus the miseries of the Land are continued and increased. But because the spirit of *Cain* is the Grand Incendiary, and the Enmity against *serious Holiness* throughout all the world, is the principal cause of Divisions, Hatred, Wars and Blood-shed, I will here annex many Reasons which, with men that have any Reason left them, should cure this *Malignant Enmity to Holiness*, if men will but soberly consider them.

I have said so much to such already, especially in my *Saints Rest; Now or Never; my Family Book;* and a *Saint* or a *Brute*, that I cannot do this work again without repeating much that's said. But seeing all that doth not serve, and the Ulcer breaketh out more dangerously than ever, till it come to a *Noli me tangere*, we must continue some hope and use of means; and if we lay on fresh Plaisters of the old materials, while only New Books are by such regarded, we are bound to do our best: It is but so much labour lost; and it is not utterly lost to our selves, while we have peace of Conscience in Gods acceptance. But

But being sure to be misreported when I have done my best to be understood, that I be not guilty of it, I will first shew what I mean by *serious Godliness*; and next what I mean by *Malignity* or *Enmity* to serious Godliness.

Chap. II. *Whom I mean by Godly Persons, and whom by Malignant Enemies to Godliness.*

§ 1. **B**Y GODLINESS I do not mean, I. Any *Superstition*, or making Religions, or Religious Duties which God never made, and extolling *these*, and the Party that are for them. God hath made us Religious work enough: Could we do that well, we need no more. Religion, so far as it is made by men, is no *Religion*, but a *contradiction* or *equivocation*; for *Religion* is our *Obligation* and *Duty to God*, and *Conscience* of it. Could I be for *Superstition*, or more Religion than God hath made us, I might be for all the New Religions of *Rome*, *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, *Carthusians*, *Jesuits*, *Oratorians*, and all the rest: And I might be for their Works of *Supererogation*, their *Massings*, *worshiping Bread*, *Angels*, *dead Saints*, *Images*, their *Pilgrimages*, *Relicks*, and all their pretended *Traditions* and *Councils*, their new made
Church-

Church-Laws ; and I should know no end.

§ 2. And 2. By *Godliness* I mean not any *singular*, odd Opinion differing from the Scripture, and making a Sect, or any Error whatsoever ; nor any Opinion which is contrary to any thing which the whole Church on Earth did ever hold as necessary to Salvation or Communion.

§ 3. Nor 3. Do I mean any *Truth* or *Duty* of inferiour moment, which only makes to the well-being of a Christian, though this be an *Inferiour part of Godliness* ; at least not that which a godly willing person knows not to be his duty.

§ 4. Much less 4. Do I mean any proud false conceit of a mans own Godliness, and becoming one of an unwarrantable Sect, that he may be conspicuous to others, or cherish this presumption in himself ; and say to others, *Stand by, I am holier than thou* : Or as the Pharisee, *I thank thee Lord that I am not as this Publican* : (Though yet all that will be saved must greatly differ from the ungodly, and must with thankfulness own Gods grace.)

§ 5. Nor 5. Do I mean any unlawful practice, which on the pretence of Godliness may be done, whether unjust censures, backbiting, unwarrantable separations from others, divisions, disobedience to Authority, Sedition, Rebellion, &c. These are all contrary

to Godliness and true Religion. Christ is the strictest condemner of them, and Godliness the best cure. If any Godly or Religious person, be guilty of any one of these, 1. It cannot be as known and in a predominant degree; 2. And it is his Disease (as a Leprosie to a man) and not his Godliness.

§ 6. But by **GODLINESS** I mean only the serious Consent to, and Performance of the Covenant which we made with God in our Baptism: That we seriously believe that there is One only God, of most perfect Power, Knowledge and Goodness, our Creator, Maintainer, Governour and End; whom we must Obey, and Serve, and Love above all Creatures whatsoever; and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him, and will give everlasting blessedness to the faithful, and everlastingly punish the ungodly. That we seriously believe that Jesus Christ is the Redeemer and Saviour, who Teacheth, Ruleth, Pardoneth, Sanctifieth and Saveth all true penitent Believers; who is our Intercessor, Head and Judge. That we seriously believe that the Holy Ghost indited and sealed by his Gifts and Miracles the Doctrine and Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, now recorded in the Scriptures, and that he is sent from the Father and the Son to Regenerate, Sanctifie, Comfort and Strengthen those that shall be saved.

And that we seriously consent to Love and Obey God our Father, Saviour and Sanctifier as
his

his Creatures, Subjects and Children in these Relations, that we may be pardoned and saved by him. And that we be willing to forsake the Devil and his Works, and the World and Flesh, so far as they would tempt us to break this Covenant against God, and our Obedience and Salvation.

And lastly, That we seriously or sincerely (though not perfectly) endeavour in our lives to keep this Covenant, preferring God in our Love and Obedience, and our Hopes of Life everlasting before all the pleasures and treasures of this World, and resisting the temptations of the Devil, World and Flesh, which would turn us from him, and from our Obedience and Hope: And that we truly (though not perfectly) trust God and our Redeemer for the Heavenly Glory which he hath promised.

This is plainly, distinctly and fully what I mean by *Godliness* or *Holiness*: And such are the persons (though all imperfect, and of divers degrees) which I call *Saints* or *Godly*: He that feigneth me to mean any thing else, doth but abuse himself and me: If there be none such, there are no Christians, and all the Word of God is vain.

But every Duty commanded by God is a part of the matter of our Obedience and Religion, *viz.* As according to the first Commandment to take God for our God, to be absolutely Obeyed, Loved and Trusted, and to renounce all Idols, and neither to Obey,
Love

Love or Trust our selves or any creature before him ; So also according to the second Commandment, to renounce all scandalous symbo-
lizing with Idolaters, in the outward wor-
ship of God in their sinful way ; especially
by Images, and other apearances of Idolatry :
And that we worship God, according to his
Word.

And according to the third Command-
ment, that we avoid all Prophanation of holy
things ; All Perjury, false Vows, and father-
ing falshoods upon God or his Words, and
ash Swearing and Unreverent using of Gods
Name, and turning his worship into a life-
less form.

And according to the fourth Command-
ment, that we worship God publickly in so-
lemn assemblies, and devote the Lords day to
holy exercises ; that we search the Scrip-
tures, pray for what God hath promised, or
commanded ; Meditate and Confer of holy
things, and celebrate the Sacraments in the
Communion of Saints.

And so according to the second Table that
we honour and obey our Parents, and (as far
as their right of Government reacheth) all
other that God sets over us : And dishonour
them not, nor obey Civil, Ecclesiastical or
Domestical Usurpers against them.

That we do our best to save our neigh-
bours Life and Bodily welfare, against Mur-
derers or Usurpers ; and hurt no mans life or
health

health either violently or by *Jezebels* pretence of Justice.

That we keep our Senses, Thoughts, Affections, Passions and Actions, from all unchastity and immodest lasciviousness.

That we wrong no man in his estate, but to our power help them.

That we avoid all Injustice, Lying, false Witness, false Judgment and Oppressive, Unrighteous Government; And promote Truth and Justice to our power.

And lastly that we love our Neighbour as our selves, and take his *welfare* and his *sufferings* as our own, and do as we would have others do by us, and covet not to draw from him to our selves.

So that he that pretendeth to love God and Godliness, and obedience to Christ, and yet loveth not such a life as this, he lieth, or says he knows not what.

And he that hateth men or opposeth them, for any one of all these duties, (for reading or hearing Gods Word, for praying for things promised, for holy Conference and Meditation, for sanctifying the Lords day, for desiring a Shepherd and not a Wolf; for abhorring prophaneness, and other great sins) doth thereby declare that it is so much of Godliness or Obedience which he abhorreth, and it is through Ignorance doubtless if he seriously love and practise the rest of Gods Commands.

§ 7. II. By *Malignant Enemies of Godliness*,
 1. I do not mean every one that hath any backwardness to any duty, which he overcometh in the practice: Nor every one that is guilty of some omissions: The spirit is willing, and the flesh is weak.

§ 8. 2. I mean not those that are Godly in the main so far as they can know, but through education or otherwise are ignorant of some Integral Truths or Duties, and have an opposing contentious Zeal against them by mistake; and by factious company are taught therefore to speak evil falsely of those from whom they differ. I hear some revile all even with terms of enmity and unchristian threatnings, yea seeking their ruine, who do not swear, say and practise all that is required to English Conformity. I do not conclude them therefore Malignant Enemies of Godliness, if they live *soberly, righteously and godly* in their way, and prefer God before Men, Heaven before Earth, the Soul before the Body, and a Holy life before the pleasures and profits of the flesh. If they are uncharitable against all that are not for Dioceans, Lay-Chancellours Excommunications, Symbolical Crossing of Children as a Covenanting sign of Christianity, and all the rest; I wish them more Charity, but I call them not *Malignant Enemies*.

I find Bishop *Gunnings* Chaplain thinks that he doth say well, when he saith, that [Not
 only

-only Murderers, Adulterers, Drunkards, but such
 “ Schismatics as disturb the peace, and weaken
 “ the authority of the Churches Discipline (theirs)
 “ are to be excommunicated and reckoned among
 “ Heathens and Publicans; and Enemies to the
 “ Gospel of Christ (if they preach it without a
 “ Diocesanes license.) p. 214. And that it is
 “ already our case, that it’s a very difficult mat-
 “ ter to find a Jury and Witnesses especially a-
 “ mong the Dissenters, upon whose credit we may
 “ rely.) All this signifieth how little blind
 Faction is to be believed, and how far it
 conquereth even humane modesty and vera-
 city : But yet I difference it from the *Enmity*
 to *Godliness* which I speak of. And that you
 may see that he is no *Papist*, though for a
Forreign Jurisdiction, he tells you of *Cromwell*
 that [*There is too great, reason to suspect that*
he intended to settle Popery in the Nation, when
matters had been ripe to go through with it.]
 I confess this is news to me : I have roundly
 told him to his face of his *Disloyalty* in de-
 posing our *English Monarchy*, and told the
 world then of his treacherous *Usurpation*,
 but it never came into my thoughts that he
 intended to *settle Popery in the Nation*. But
 if these words come from *Clergy Truth* and
Modesty, they are very considerable. I hope
 the old *Royalists* will be against *Popery* the
 more if *Cromwel* was for it : And the *Papists*
 I hope will be no more angry with *Dr. Moulin*
 that answereth *Philanax Anglicus*, for mak-
 ing

ing the Kings death to be caused and concluded by the Papists, if *Cromwel* was for them. But Faction will face men down, that Snow is black.

So on the other side, I hear some that are against Infant Baptism, sharply censure all that are not of their mind; And some over-sharply censure the Prelatists and Conformists; And almost all the Christian world is divided into parties, that too little stick at the injurious censuring of others; The Papists, Greeks, Abassines, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. And among the Papists, the Dominicans and Molinists, and Jansenians, &c. And among the Protestants, too many. This is no small sin, but it is not that enmity to Godliness it self which I mean.

§ 9. 3. And I mean not by *malignity*, mens Differences in Civil and Political Controversies. Though I take Popery to be half a Civil Controversy, and to be unsufferable by such Princes and People whom they bind themselves to depose and destroy: And that to Subject all the Christian world to the Legislative, Judicial and Executive Government of one Pope, or one *Pretorian Court*, is no better than to proclaim such a Pope or Court, to be publick enemies and usurpers to all Christian Princes and States: But yet abundance of Political differences may consist with serious Piety: My reason is, because

God hath not made Political Controversies so clear as that all good Christians can resolve them. Neither the Light of Nature, nor the Bible, nor Tradition endeth them. Nor hath he put them into our Creed or the ten Commandments, nor laid mens Salvation on them, as he hath done on the Essentials of Religion: Nor commanded all men to be so well Skill'd in Statute Books and Common Law as to be able to know which party is in the right. And therefore I joyn not with those Clergy or Lay-Gentlemen, who damn all that are not of their mind and side, in differences of that nature.

I often hear some say that Kings and States do all receive their Authority from the Body of the Nation who are the chief seat of it. So *Hooker*, so *Laud*, and indeed as aforesaid, so Heathen, Papist and Protestant Politicks ordinarily hold: I call not all these *malignants*, though I am fully satisfied, 1. That God is the Instituter of Magistracy *in genere*. 2. And that he hath so far specified it as to determine of its unchangeable Essentials (that they shall as his Officers promote obedience to the ten Commandments.) 3. And that he never gave this governing power to the people. 4. But that all that the people do is, 1. To specify it as to the number of persons (a Monarchy, Aristocracy or, mixt of these and some Democracy.) 2. To limit it by determining of the Degrees of power,

power, about Property and Liberty, and all things which Gods Law hath left undetermined, and mutable. 3. And to determine of the persons and Families that shall receive the immutable power from God and the mutable from men.

I often hear some most magnify Democracy, and some Aristocracy, and some Monarchy, and some a mixture; and some *English* Clergy men are for a Civil Monarchy Subject to a Catholick Clergy-Aristocracy: I call none *Malignants* for any such differences.

I find some Papists and Protestants Politick writers saying that when it proveth hurtful to the Common-wealth, the people may retract the power given the Prince, and change the Government, and *Hooker* saith, *No doubt in such a case a Prince will part with it*: And *A. Bishop Laud*, before cited, saith of the like, and abrogating Laws, *This power no Body Collective Ecclesiastical or Civil, can put out of it self and give away*, And I find many that extol *Hooker* and *Laud*, call this a principle of Rebellion. It is neither of them that I call *Malignants*.

I find most writers of Politicks agreed that the Law of nature Alloweth and Commandeth Kingdoms and Commonwealths *self-defence against any publick Enemies that seek to destroy them*. And that no man on pretence of Right to a Crown hath any right to destroy

stroy the body of the people, or the *Bonum publicum* which is the Effentiating end of Government, nor can be *simul rex & publicus hostis*. I hear others take this for an unchristian doctrine of Rebellion, and say, that if a King would destroy all the people of a Kingdom (in revenge, or in siding with another Kingdom of his own or anothers,) they ought not to resist him, or any that he Commissioneth to do it: And that if he should Commission a few men to kill all the Parliament as they sit, or to burn the City, it is Rebellion to resist by self-defence. I hear Lawyers themselves at great difference on such matters, some for more power, and some for less: I find the great Defenders of Monarchy, such as *Barclay* and *Grotius de Jure Belli*, naming many cases in which Kings may be resisted, yea and forfeit all: And I find others among us of a contrary mind. Yea I find the *Conformable* and *Diocesane* Pillars quite differ in such cases, Bishop *Bilson* naming many cases in which resistance is no rebellion, (*To Subject his Kingdom to a Forreign Realm, or to change the form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws Established by common consent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleasure; In these and other such cases which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons joyn together to defend their ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment & Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels, saith*

he,

he, of *Obedience*, pag. 520.) But I hear many now say the contrary, and Condemn such Doctrine as disloyal.

I find some joyn with the Papists in accusing the Reformation as caused by Rebellions, in *Germany, Geneva, France, Belgium, &c.* And I find Bishop *Jewel, Bilson*, and other Bishops defending the *French* defence, and Dr. *Peter Moulin* of *Canterbury* in his answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, Contradicting their accusers, as false in Point of History.

Abundance of such Political Controversies are now lately agitated, some charging their adversaries with Rebellion, and some with Tyranny : Some saying, they are guilty of Treason against the King ; and others, They are Traitors against the Kingdom : And too ordinarily damning one another ; as if these matters were Articles of our Creed.

What a dismal difference is there now about those words in the Declaration in the Corporation Act ; [*There is no Obligation on me or any other person, from the Oath called the solemn League and Covenant : Some say there are none but Rebels will refuse it ; And that if any obligation had been granted to things lawful or necessary some would have extended it to Rebellion or Schism.* And therefore all Obligation is to be renounced. Others say, that National perjury is a forerunner of National Calamity or ruine ; and that where Oaths bind not, there can be no Trust ; and

no Trust, no Commerce: And they think as *Dr. Sanderson*, and *Casuits*, *Papists* and *Protestants* do, that though an Oath or Vow be unlawfully Imposed and Sinfully taken, and part of the matter of it be unlawful, and the Imposers and Takers are bound to repent, and no one is bound by it to the unlawful part, yet the taker is bound to that part of the matter which is lawful or necessary: And they take it to be lawful and necessary to *Repent of sin*, to oppose *Prophaneness*, *Schisms*, *Heresy* and *Poperly*, to defend the King, and therefore that it obligeth them to these.

I meddle not with the Roman opinion that it is the *Henrician Heresy* to say that Kings have a power of investing Bishops, and disobeying the Popes Excommunication; and of such as *Cardinal Perron* that dare not question or deny the power of the Pope and Councils to Excommunicate and depose Kings, because then they must condemn approved General Councils, which are their religion itself, and (saith he) must grant that the Pope is Antichrist, and the Church erroneous that hath so long used this.

I name all these Political Controversies,

1. To tell you that it is not factious and passionate enmity to each other on such accounts, which I mean by enmity to Religion.

2. And to remember men, that if in so many and great points of Politicks and Government

vernment, the Learned and Christian World, have so great difference, what reason is there that we should Damn or Excommunicate, or hate each other about a hard opinion in Religion, or a Ceremony.

3. And to tell the Popish Church, that if it were a good argument that there must be one Pretorian Court or Church, to oblige all the World by an universal determination in what sence to expound the Scripture, because it is abused to errour by mens mistake, and there must be an end of Controversies; by the same reason there must be an universal Pretorian Court to expound all human Laws, and end the controversies of Lawyers; Yea and to master all mens Reason; for Scripture is no more commonly controverted and abused than Law is; And not half so much as *Reason* is, which is pleaded for almost all the fallshood and wickedness in the World.

§ 10. Moreover it is not personal feuds between Man and Man that I mean by *Enmity* to Godliness: No though any such be against an Innocent and Godly Man, where it is not for his Godliness, but some other difference.

§ 11. I will say more though some dislike it, it is not a Papist as such that I mean by a *Malignant* Enemy of Godliness: I know that Education, and Temptation, and want of hearing the confutation of their errours judiciously made, may cause Godly persons

to think that the universal Church must be united in some humane Head or Sovereign power ; and that there is no other way to end controversies and schisms, and that (as *Dr. Saywell* saith) there must be some over Kingdoms or National Churches, as well as over particular persons, that many may not escape while a few are punished : It is easy to be deceived by the pretences of Unity and Concord, while men see the divisions and discords of others : And the false pretences of Antiquity are so confidently uttered by their Clergy, that men unacquainted with the history may verily believe them : And the plea for an uninterrupted succession of Ministerial ordination, and that a Superior must give power to the Inferiors, deceiveth many. If there must be a Dioce-
sane to ordain and rule all Presbyters, and a Metropolitan to ordain or rule the Dioce-
sanes, and a Patriarch to rule them, from whom shall the Patriarchs receive their power, or commands, but from a Pope ? The poor reasoning which the French now use with the Protestants puzzleth unskilful persons ; *viz.* Was there any Church before your reformation ? If yea, where was it ? And had not you your Ministerial power from it ? It was Rome or none : And if it was the true Church then, it is so now. We answer them, there was and is one only Catholick Church : Of this Christ only is the Head or Univer-
sal

sal governour, and no man or men; Of this all Lawful Pastors are his official guides in their severall Provinces, as many Justices and Mayors of Corporations under one King: That all these having one King (Jesus) and one Law (of Christ) and one Spirit, and one Faith and Hope, are to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and to use Synods when needful to that end, but not as a Pretorian or Regent Aristocracy or Court. That the Church before *Luther* was all over the World where ever there were Christians: in *Ethiopia, Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Georgia, Circassia, Asia*, and where ever the Greek Christianity is, in *Moscovy*, and in all *Europe* where there were true Christians. That the envious man having sowed Tares, this Church is unhappily fallen into many corruptions, diseases, and factious sects, almost all censuring one another: no part of it is perfect: That the Papal part is in Doctrine, Worship and Government one of the most corrupted parts! Yet so far as their diseases or errours nullify not their profession of Christianity, they are parts, though leprous. And therefore though they are the most uncharitable and schismatical part, as they cut off or unchurch all the Christian World save themselves, yet being as *Christians* united to the rest in the common faith, their Baptism & Ordinations are not nullities as they invest men in the Christian

Christian Society and Christian Ministry; though that part of them is a nullity which engageth men in a schism and in sin. That the Ministerial power is not the gift of Man, but only of Christ, who by the Charter of his recorded Word, giveth the power and the obligation to that person who is duely chosen and called thereto: As the Kings Charter giveth the power to the Mayor of a Corporation duly qualified and chosen: that the ordainers are but partly Judges of due qualification, and partly Ministerial Investors, and not at all the Donors of the Power: that ordination is for order sake needful, when it may be had to keep men from being Judgers of their own sufficiency: But *order* being only for the *thing ordered*, (as the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath) is not necessary against the end. That there is no necessity that a Superior must ordain: but as the Colledge of Physicians, Philosophers, &c. make Physicians, Philosophers as approved, so may equals in the Ministry: Do not Bishops make or consecrate Bishops. If this were not so, who makes the Pope? If he did not pretend that his power is given him immediately from Christ, he must grant that there are some men above him to give it him, and so he is not the Sovereign. If they say that the power of Popes (and Kings) is given by the whole body (the Church)

he is then no Pope: for it's known that three parts of the Christian World are against him. If he will say, None are the Church but those that are his party, any sect or rebels may say the like, and appropriate authority to themselves.

Nothing more cheateth the ignorant, than ambiguous words, and confusion: And explaining those words, and needful plain distinction, would save the writing of many volumes, and would make truth easily meet the seeker, and unravel all the spider Webs of deceivers.

Do but well use these few distinctions and all Popery vanisheth into smoak. 1. Distinguish between a Catholick Church as headed by Christ; (This we are all members of;) and a pretended Catholick Church, headed by the Pope or any men: This is another Church as to the denominating form, having another informing, unifying head: And this is it which we deny.

2. Distinguish visibility: Christs Church is so far visible as to have a Head who was visible on Earth, is visible in Heaven, and will visibly come to Judgment, and visibly reign for ever. It hath visible Laws, Protection and Officers; The subjects bodies and their profession are visible; And it is no farther visible; no not as to the *Souls* or *real faith* of the subjects. The Papists Church hath an Usurping Visible Humane Head on earth.

3. Distinguish of Baptism and Ordination as into Christs Catholick Church, and done by Papists as Christians; And as into the Popes Catholick Church and done by Papists as Papists.

4. Distinguish of *Subjection*, and *Communion*: We owe Communion when we owe no Subjection, and where men have no right to be our Governours.

5. Distinguish between Communion in Christianity, and that in Essentials, Integrals or Accidents; and Communion in errors and corruptions, or defects. We have Communion with Papists and all Christians in Christianity, (if they be Christians indeed :) But we renounce Communion in the errors and sins of them and all others, as far as we are able to avoid them. All Christians have Union and Communion in the Essentials of Christianity: No Christians have Union and Communion in all the Integrals (on Earth) all being imperfect: But the more such Union and Communion, the better. No Christians have, or ought to have Communion in all the Accidents. All should avoid Communion in sin.

6. Distinguish between Communion of Hearts, Communion of Profession, and Communion in Local presence: We have Heart Communion in one Essential Faith, Hope and Love with all true Christians on Earth. We *profess* all one Faith in the Essentials:

We

We have nearer Communion, or fuller with the Reformed Churches which are soundest in the Integrals, than we have with the more faulty and corrupt. But we have Local presence but in one place at once; and we ought to avoid Local presence where we cannot have it without sin, though we have Communion in Faith, Love and Profession with the same men. If a Reformed Church will not admit our Local presence without subscribing some one untruth, we must be absent, when we may be present with a worse Church which excludeth us not by any such Imposition.

7. Accordingly distinguish of Separation: We separate not at all from *Union* or *Communion* with Papists as they are Christians, or as they hold any Truth: But 1. We separate from *Subjection* and *Obedience* to them, which we never owed them, or any other Church. 2. We separate from Communion with their Church, as it is a Policy informed by an Usurping Humane King or Head. 3. We separate from all their sins so far as we know them. 4. We deny Local presence in their Mass-worship, because of the sin imposed on us, both before it, and in it. 5. We are incapable of Communion in all accidents, or mutable indifferent things.

Understand and use well these few plain distinctions, and you need little more to answer all the Papists.

And

And I fear not to add, that were the Papists in my power (as I never did) I never would use any inhumanity or cruelty towards them; yea, I would use no *Offensive*, but only *Defensive* force against them; nor hurt one of them, further than they made it necessary for the Defence of the Land, or those whom they would hurt.

I knew not till a Book called *The Liberties of England* lately told me, how many very severe Laws are against them. I am no Judge of the times that they were made in, nor of their occasions: But I think that of late they have *done more hurt* than good: For 1. Some of them seem too severe. 2. Some I cannot prove to be justifiable; *viz.* Those which would compel them to come to our Sacramental Communion, when many a good Minister would not receive them if they came: And that which excommunicateth them that never were of our Communion: And that which layeth the Excommunicate as such in prison, &c. 3. It greatly tendeth to misinform Forreigners, who seeing these Laws, think they are all put in Execution; and so believe those that tell them, that the Catholicks here are under constant Cruelties, and frequent Martyrdoms; whenas I never in all my life knew of one Papist that suffered so much for his Religion, as I have done my self, within these few years past, though my sufferings are

are so small as to be no meet matter of very great complaint. 4. These Laws being a continual danger to them (should there be Governours that would execute them) doth put them on continual plotting and striving against them. Sufferings, or great dangers, put men by fear upon self-defence, and the utmost endeavours for deliverance, who would be more quiet if they found themselves in safety; and though their Clergy would be still plotting the recovery of the Papal power, to subject King and Kingdom to the Sacred King of *Rome*, yet the Laity would be less against the common Peace, when they found that it was their own Peace.

§ 12. I have told you what I mean not by *Malignant Enmity to Godliness*; I tell you now what I mean by it; *viz.*

When the blindness and ungodliness of corrupted Nature, increased by practice into Serpentine Enmity, and turning mens hearts by unbelief and disaffection from God and Heaven, doth possess them with a deep dislike of a holy, heavenly and spiritual life; first as to their own practices, and then as it is in others; and because it is against their worldly hopes and fleshly lusts, they hate it, and reject it themselves, and then hate and maliciously oppose it in others; yea though Law, Custom, and worldly Interest draw them formally to profess Christianity and Obedience to Gods Laws, and to Vow that in Baptism, they hate the serious performance of
their

their own Profession and Vows; and would be glad to drive it out of the world, and to set up Hypocrisie and Ceremony, or a Stage Religion and Mummery; or the toothless Mass and Formalities in its stead: And if custom or shame hinder them from persecuting or scorning Truth and Godliness in its proper name, they will shew their mind by these things following.

1. They will set up some worldly, fleshly Interest (like the Papal Kingdom) which is contrary to the Christian and holy Interest; and then they will persecute *Christians* not as *Christians*, nor as *Godly* in name, but as such indeed by pleading Conscience and Obedience to God, against their inconsistent interest and ways.

2. Among all that are against their carnal false interest, they will cull out the more serious godly persons to afflict.

3. Among all the faithful, they will cull out those who do Christ most service in the world; because Christs service is it that is their disservice, and opposite to their sin.

4. They will make a scorn of their very Religious duties, and take up mimical derisions, to make them seem ridiculous or contemptible.

5. When they can charge them with no crimes, they will purposely make Nets to catch them, as the Enemies of *Daniel* did by him, *Dan. 6.* And as the Spider makes her curious Webs to catch and kill the Flies.

6. Yea

6. Yea they will *make faults* by slander, and lies, if not by perjuries, if they can find none.

7. Yea their virtue, piety and innocency shall be all called Hypocrisie; and when they cannot accuse their actions, they will accuse their hearts and secret thoughts, and judge them as if they had a Casement into their breasts.

8. Yea if their innocency cannot be so stained, they will hate them so much the more, because they cannot tread down their reputation.

9. They will search after, and aggravate all the failings of Religious people, and turn them into crimes.

10. If any one of them, or an Hypocrite, that's like them, be guilty of any notable fall, they will perswade men that all the rest of their lives is like that crime; yea and that all that profess much seriousness in Godliness, are as bad as they; that all the rest of the life of *Noah, Lot, David, Solomon, &c.* were as bad as the criminal part; and that all the Servants of Christ are *Peter's*, or *Judas's*.

11. That it is not their sins, but their piety which they hate, you will see in that they live in far greater sin themselves, and take it to be no great harm, but hate those that reprove them.

12. And they make light of the common
F crimes

crimes of others. They can bear with an Atheist, an Infidel, a Drunkard, a prophane Swearer, a derider of Godliness, yea a Persecutor, a Fornicator, a man of no Religion, if he will but be for them, and serve their interest, and will not scruple Communion with such: But men never so sober, just and godly, that cross their wills and carnal ways, they cannot endure: And if they be such Clergy-men, as the world hath too many, such serious Godly men, for disliking their ungodliness, are made the common objects of their Pulpit and discouraging scorn or accusations, and perhaps are excommunicate *ipso facto*, for dissenting from their Opinions or Wills.

13. Such usually in former ages have been the chief Instigators of Princes and Rulers, to hate men of serious Religion, and to stir up Persecution against them, and to render such odious to the world as Hereticks or intolerable Villains. O what difference is there between the true narratives of the Lives of *Luther, Calvin, Beza*, and abundance such, and the odious lies and defamations written of them by some others. Yea, those who commend *Melancthon, Bucer*, and many such for Learning and Moderation, hate their Doctrine of Reformation and serious Piety.

14. And you may note, that in any slander of a Godly man, they will sooner believe one or two ignorant malicious Drunkards

kards against them, that never knew them, than the testimonies of hundreds of most faithful persons who praise and vindicate them, though they better knew them.

15. They seldom give the accused leave to speak for themselves before they believe Accusations against them; but conclude that they are as bad as back-biting malice reporteth them behind their backs.

16. They are glad to hear of any infamy of Religious persons, and loth to hear them praised without contradiction; and are glad to hear of any suffering which befalls them.

17. If there be any publick differences in a Church, City or Land, they are usually against that side, which most favoureth serious Godliness, be they who they will. If the King, Parliament, and Bishops will be for the persons and ways of soberness, justice and serious Godliness, they would be on the other side. And they will cry up any that will cry them down, or would oppress them.

18. Lastly, The quality of the Enemies may help with the rest to tell what it is that they are against: when it is the generality of worldlings, proud, ambitious men, sensual drunkards, gluttons, fornicators, profligate and irreligious, who hate Godliness so far, as to drive it from themselves and families, and rather venture on Hell fire, than be truly godly; it's easie to know what these hate in others.

I have told you who I mean by *Malignant Enemies of Godliness*, that the mistakers and slanderers of my words may have no excuse. Could we now but prevail against this Cainism, or Devilism, it would do much to recover the Peace of many Nations of the Earth: But Christ hath told us, that this Enmity between the seed of the Woman and the Serpent, of which *Cain* and *Abel* were the first specimen since the Fall, will never cease till Christ come, as is terribly described, *2 Thes. I. 6, 10, 11, 12.* and *Matth. 25.* But yet some *Sauis* may become *Pauls*, and for the hope of the recovery of such, I will adjoyn such Reasons as should convince any that have the use of Reason left.

Chap. III. *Undeniable Reasons against Malignant Enmity to serious Godliness.*

I. **T**O deny that there is a God who is the Supreme Governour of Man, is to be mad in despite of the whole world which proveth it: And it deposeth all Kings, who claim their Authority as given them by God, and as his Officers; for if there be no God, there's none to give them Authority. And to grant that there is a God, and yet deny him our love, honour and obedience, is to speak gross contradiction, or else profess open

open malice against God himself. If he be God, he is perfectly *Wise*; and should not perfect Wisdom govern us? If he be God, he is perfectly *Good*, and mans chief Benefactor; and should he not then have our chiefest Love? If he be God, he is of absolute Power; and should he not then be obeyed? If he be God, he made us, and still maintaineth us, and we live continually by his will, and have all that we have of his bounty; and we, and all we have are wholly his own; and is not then all our thanks and service due to him? If he be God, he is our Judge, and will be just in punishing and rewarding; and should we not then serve him with the greatest fear, and with the highest hopes? These things are undeniable.

Dare any man that believeth there is a God, say, that man can Love him too much? or too much honour him, or obey him? Can we return him more than his due? It is therefore no less than practical Atheism, or else a rebellious defiance of God, to blame or hate men, for loving, honouring and serving him to the very utmost of their power. And to deny God, or defie him, is a thousand fold more damnable sin and treason, than to deny and defie the King, or your own Parents.

2. God hath himself commanded man, to Love him with all his heart, and soul, and might; and to obey him with his

greatest fidelity and diligence, and to fear him more than any creature, and to place our chiefest hopes on his promised rewards, and to seek first his Kingdom and Righteousness, and not to sin wilfully to save our lives, or gain all the world, *Deut.* 6. 5, 6, 7. & 10. 12. & 11, 12, 13, 14. *Mat.* 22. 37. *Heb.* 11. 6. *1 Cor.* 15. 58. *Luke* 12. 4. *Heb* 12. 28, 29. *Mat.* 10. 39, 42. & 16. 25, 26. & 6. 33. *Luke* 14. 26, 33. *Mat.* 5. 19, 20. And the Law of Nature speaks no less. And if God command it, and you condemn it, do you not condemn God? If you command your Son, or Servant, or Subject any thing, he that blames him for obeying you, blames you more than him. If it be a fault of folly to love and serve God with all our heart, and mind, and might, the fault or folly would be Gods that requireth it, and not ours. And, is such a blasphemer meet for humane Society, who will accuse his Maker? If God be blame-worthy, he is not perfect: And if he be not perfect, he is not God: And so to be against our utmost obedience, doth amount to no less than Blasphemy or Atheism.

3. Do you think that Man is a creature that needs to be blamed for loving or obeying God too much? Do you not know that Nature is vitiated by sin, and Man is now backward to God, and all that's good and holy? You may as well blame a lame man for

for running too fast, as a sinful man for obeying God too much. It's more foolish than to blame a sick man for working or eating too much that can do neither? Or to hold a man in a Consumption from going up the Hill too fast? Do you find your own hearts so forward to a holy life, as that you need pulling back or hinderance, when no exhortation or necessity will perswade you to it? And if you need no such reproof or stop, why should you think others need it? Do you not use to say that all men are sinners? And do sinners need to be blamed for obedience? Do you not daily confess that you have done the things which you ought not to have done, and left undone the things that you ought to have done, and there is no health in you; And yet will you blame men for too much Obedience? It seems then that your Confessions of sin are Professions of it; and while you tell what you have done, you do but tell what you mean to do, and what you would have all others do: or else you blame your selves for sinning, and hate your Neighbours for not sinning.

4. If you hate men for holiness and avoiding sin, you hate Jesus Christ most: for he was most holy, and free from all sin: And you hate the Angels and all in Heaven, for they are holy and void of all transgression.

5. Have you any better Master to serve than God? or any better work to do than he commandeth, or any better thing to seek and hope for than he hath promised? If not, should not the best be preferred. What do you love and seek your selves? Is money or fleshly pleasure better than God and Heaven? Is Sin and Sensuality a better employment than his Service? Is your flesh and lust a better master? Compare them, and we are content that the best be preferred.

6. Why do you take on you to believe in Christ, if you be against holiness, and for sin? Christ came into the world to die for sin, to shew Gods hatred of it: And would you have us wilfully to commit it, and to despise his Blood? He came to destroy the works of the Devil; and will you plead for them? He came by his Doctrine, example and grace to bring man to holy obedience: And do you hate men for the same, and yet call your selves Christians?

7. How dangerously do you draw towards the sin against the Holy-Ghost, if you hate or blame men for being holy, or seeking to be such; when it is all the work of the Holy-Ghost on mens Souls to make them holy? It's a dangerous thing to hate the work of the Holy-Ghost; and as it were defy him, and do despite to him.

8. Are you not your selves in your baptism

tism Vowed and Devoted to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, renouncing the world, the Flesh and the Devil? And do you hate men for being such as you have vowed to be your selves? And do you think that God will not severely reckon with you for such Perjury and base Perfidioufness.

9. Do you not in your daily hypocritical devotions condemn your selves by your own tongues? Do you not pray that the *rest of your lives may be Pure and Holy*? And at the same time hate Purity and Holiness? Do you not pray that *Gods will may be done on Earth as it is done in Heaven*? And can we have a higher, purer pattern? Do you know any that doth Gods will better than it's done in Heaven? Or is it not damnable hypocri-
fy to pray for that which you hate, and hate all men that desire and endeavour it? When you say or hear all the ten Commandments, you pray, [*Lord have mercy upon us and incline our hearts to keep this Law* :] And do you hate men for endeavouring to keep it? If you come to the Lords Table, you confess your sins, and bind your selves in Covenant to forsake them, and to live a holy life, and you take the Sacrament upon it; And the Liturgy warneth you to take heed that you dissemble not, nor be *hinderers of Gods holy word, lest the Devil enter into you as he did into Judas, and fill you with all unrighteousness*. And if you hate or oppose that holy obedience to
God

God which you profess, after all this, what must be the portion of such hypocrites? And in your Creed you profess to believe in God, the Father, Son and Holy-Ghost, and to hold a Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints; And yet do you hate Saints that obey the Father, Son and Holy-Ghost, and hate their Communion?

10. Hath not God printed on mans nature such a sense of the difference between Good and Evil, as that all Laws and Government are founded in that sense? And no man loveth to be counted or called a bad or ungodly, or unconscionable man: A Lyar, a Knave, a Perjured man or a wicked man: And yet do you hate men for avoiding wickedness?

11. Do not you use to accuse Religious men of some sin or other. (Truly or falsely) and think by that to make them odious? And yet do you accuse them, and hate them most for not sinning? To be Sober, Just and Godly is but to avoid sins of Omission and Commission. And do you at once accuse them as sinners and hate them for obeying God, and sinning no more?

12. Doth it never affright you to find the Devils nature in you, as hating the Divine or holy nature which is in faithful Godly men? And to think how openly you serve the Devil, and do his work? No man that believeth

believeth there are Devils can doubt, but that the hatred of God, as holy, and the hatred of his holy Word, and Work, and Servants, is the Devils malignity, and the opposing of them his work. If he were to write you his Commandments, they would be contrary to Gods, and the chief of them should be, [*Thou shalt not Love God, nor serve him with all thy Heart, and Soul, and Might, nor Love those that do so; but hate, deride, oppose and persecute them.* And is it honourable openly to serve the Devil? Christ tells such men, *Joh. 8.* That the Devil is their Father, because they have his nature, and that his work they do, for he was from the beginning a Lyar, and a Malignant Murderer, and turned man from obeying God. And can you think that he loveth you, or that his Service against God is better than Gods; or his reward better?

13. Doth it never touch your Consciences to consider that you are the Children and followers of cursed *Cain*; and how punctually his case against *Abel*, and yours against Gods Servants is the same? *By faith Abel offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his Gifts; and by it he being dead, yet speaketh, Heb. II. 4.* *Cain* hated him because God more accepted him and his offering; *I Joh. 3. 10, 11, 12.* In this the Children of God are manifest, and the Children

dren of the Devil : Whoever doth not righteousness is not of God, nor he that loveth not his Brother : For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another : Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his Brother : And wherefore slew he him ? because his own works were evil and his brothers righteous.

14. Is it possible that any man can unfeignedly believe a Heaven as the reward of holy obedience, and yet think we can do too much to obtain it, or be too careful to make it sure ? Is not everlasting glory worth the cost of a holy life ? Or can it be too dearly bought ?

15. Or is it possible to believe Gods Judgment, and Hells Punishment, and yet to hate those that do their best according to Gods own Counsel to escape it ?

16. What monstrous cruelty is it in you to wish poor Souls to do that which God hath told us they shall be damned for ? God saith, *Without holiness none shall see God,* Heb.

12. 14. *Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,* Mat. 5. 20. *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,* Mat. 5. *If ye live after the Flesh ye shall die, but if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the Body, ye shall live,* Rom. 8. 7, 8. 13. *What manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy*

Conversation

Conversation and Godliness? 2 Pet. 3. 11. *We receiving a Kingdom which cannot be moved, let us serve God acceptably, with Reverence and Godly fear, for our God is a Consuming Fire,* Heb. 12. 28, 29. *Be stedfast, unmoveable always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your Labour is not in vain in the Lord,* 1 Cor. 15. 58. This is the very tenor of the Gospel: And would you wish men to damn their Souls for nothing? To lose Heaven, and suffer Hell for ever, and all to avoid a pure and holy life? What a bloody motion is this? Worse than if you intreated us all to cut our own throats. Let us try first whether you will do far less at our request? Will you give the poor all your Lands and Estates? Will you run into Fire or Water, or set your own houses on fire when any will but desire it? It's like you have heard of the Woman who being tempted to adultery, desired the tempter first to hold his Finger in the Fire for her; Which when he refused, she told him, it was less reason she should burn in Hell to Satisfy his lust. If you will not part with your Life or Estate when another desires you, why should we part with Heaven for ever, and choose Hell at your desire?

Yea we see that you will not leave an ill-gotten gain, or a Sport, or a Whore, or a Drunken Cup, for all the Love of God, the
blood

blood of Christ, and the hope of Heaven; And shall we part with God, and Heaven, and Christ to humour you?

And what is it that you offer us instead of all that we must part with? And to ease the pain which we must undergo? Nothing, or worse than nothing. If we should renounce God and our hope of Heaven, you cannot give us health or wealth for it: Much less can you secure these or life to us till to morrow. And will any thing that you can give us, be better than Heaven to us? Or will it make Hell tollerable?

Will you undertake to answer for it at the bar of God, if we are charged with an ungodly, fleshly life, or omitting our necessary duty? You cannot answer for your selves but by trembling confession: You cannot save your selves; Nor will all your wealth and honour get you one drop of Water to cool your tongues. And shall we trust that you can answer for us, or save us? When you would have any man wilfully to neglect that holy life which God enjoyneth, you would have him to be madder than one that would Burn his House, and Kill himself, if you did but require it. And what horrid cruelty is this? You are worse than man-eating Cannibals? But the best is you cannot force us to it; And if you think to hire or flatter us into Hell, you must have somewhat more to say, and to offer us than we yet

yet ever heard of; Much less are we so much below Bedlams, as to forsake our Salvation, lest you should call us Precifians, or Puritans, or any such nick-name or word of scorn, as doth but shew the folly and misery of the speaker: You will not be laught or mockt out of your Estates, or Lives; Nor we out of our Salvation. In short, Nature is not willing to lie in Hell, and Grace maketh us desire Heaven; And we never yet found that any thing else was more desireable.

17. And what is there amiss in the Word or Work of God, and in a serious godly life, that should make us be against it? Doth God make bad Laws? Are your wills and lusts and appetites a better law? Or could you have taught God to amend the Bible, or to govern better? God needs us not: His Laws are all made for our good? All his ways are pleasantness, and all his paths are peace. Speak true reason. Is it a better life to love a Whore, or to please Lust and Appetite, than to love God? What is there in Love and Obedience to God that should make it detestable, or make us miserable? Is it a greater trouble to live in hope of Heavenly Glory, than to live in the despair either of a Sadducee or a Rebel? You may wiselier tempt us to fall out with our food, or friends, or health. We know that Faith and Godliness, are not only

ly mans duty, but his interest, much more than health is to our bodies, food to our natures, and the converse of dearest friends to our delight.

18. We have had experience of both ways, and would you have us mad against our experience? We tryed the World and Sin too long, and found nothing in it but brutish pleasure and luscious Poyson: Nothing that will save Soul, life or health: And some tryal God in mercy hath given us of his love, and the life of obedient faith and hope: And the more we try it, the better we find it: Only we can reach to so small a degree as doth but tell us how good it is, and make us long for more. And whether the Devil would perswade, scorn or affright us from it, by his own mouth or by yours, we hope it shall be all in vain.

19. And who or what are you that would reason, mock or affright us from a life of obedience to God? Are you wiser than God, and dare you give him the lie, that we should believe you before him? Or are you better than God, that you can make a better choice for your selves and us? Are you more merciful than God, and would save us from some hurt that he would do us? Are you truer than God, and more to be believed? Are you greater than God, and more to be feared? Or are you not the most foolish, ignorant and damnably your selves deluded.

deluded by the Devil: And shall the words or mocks of such, drive us to forsake our Souls and God? Should we obey you and lie in Hell for it for ever, it would be no small part of the torment of our Consciences; to think that we came thither by regarding the threats or scorns of worms and fools before all the Word, and Love of God and our Redeemer.

20. And before we change our Obedience to God for another course, let us know what we shall change it for, and whether it be for something better: Hath your course made you better or happier than the faithful are? Do we not see and feel with sorrow, that the worldly, fleshly, ungodly sort, are in all Nations the Plagues of the Earth, and worse to mankind than Wolves and serpents? They will not let the world live in peace; striving and fighting for dominion and mastership, and more of the world, they are like Dogs about their Carrion, worrying and tearing one another: They turn Man into a more odious creature than Swine or loads, by filthy lusts, and horrid prophane-ss: They make their Countreys worse than *Bedlam*, raving against that which the God of Heaven hath commanded and made necessary to Salvation. And are these such good and pleasant fruits as should entice us to change our master, work and hopes, for this, and worse that followeth it?

And who shall be our Rule, if we forsake God and his Word? If Princes, how many minds are they of through the world? And are they all in the right? Or how shall we know which is right but by the Word of God? Or must all men be for the God and Religion of his King? If it were Prelates, of how many minds are they through the world, and how bitter in condemning one another? If it must be the major part, how shall obscure men know who those be that can have no just cognisance of the state of the Earth, whether Papists, Greeks, Jacobites, Nestorians, &c. be the major part? And how shall we know that the major part of the Clergy are the best and soundest, when we see that the major part of the Laity is usually the worst? Or is it certain that the Papists Bishops are sounder than our Protestant Bishops, because they are more? If we forsake our Concord in God and his Word, we can have none.

21. What mean you to do with *Conscience*, your own, and ours, and other mens? Conscience is Gods Officer in us, and judgeth of men and actions as they stand subject to God and his Judgment. To drive Conscience out of the world, and to drive all reverence and obedience to God out of the world, is all one. To subject Conscience to Lust or Man, is to subject God to Lust or Man in our estimation and practice. And is God so easily deposed?

deposed? And will he give up his Scepter to a scorner, a drunkard, or a persecutor?

And what shift will you make at home to quiet Conscience in your selves? You little know how deep it biteth, and how hardly it is quieted, when it is awaked, as shortly and certainly it will be: Then *Judas* will bring back his price, and say, *I have sinned in betraying innocent blood*; and all the comfort his companions will give him is, *See thou to that: What's that to us?* And hanging or precipitating himself is next. It's like he before thought as you do, that he could have better mastered his Conscience: But you may as wisely think to conquer pain and death.

But whatever you do with your own, if we should leave our obedience to God, to obey you, or any men, we know not what we should do with our own Consciences, nor how to quiet them. God hath brought us out of that Darkness and Lethargy which quieted them in sin heretofore: And we cannot now be ignorant of that duty to God, that self-interest, that danger to wilful sinners, and that evil of sin, which would begin Hell in us here: And are not your scorns and threatnings easier than this?

22. Do not most men at death see the madness not only of enmity, but of neglect of a holy life, and wish that they might die the death of the righteous, and that their last end might be like his? Had you rather

die a *Dives* or a *Herod*, or a *Lazarus* or a *Paul*? Is it not a shame to your devilish cause and you, to see men live in one mind and die in another? And scorn, hate and persecute serious Godliness till the Sentence of death is past upon them, and then to wish they were such themselves. Or if you be more hardened to the last, you are the more hopeless: But how quickly did such another change his note, and cry, *Father Abraham, send one to my five brethren to warn them, that they come not to this place of torment?* If you mock at these words, you mock at Christ that spake them, and sure you look not to be saved by a derided Christ. And it's base Hypocrisy to deride him, and yet call your selves Christians, and go to Church as if you served him. Live as you would die and be judged, for you shall be judged as you live and die. Either hold to the mind that you will never change, or change it quickly before it be too late.

23. If you know what a man is, you know that his Soul is better than his corruptible flesh; And if you think your Throats and Guts and Fancies worth all the Cost and Care and Labour which you bestow on them in the world, shall not we think our Souls worth more? What Godly man that you think makes too much a do for Heaven, doth bestow more time, and words, and labour for it, than you do for the Flesh and World?

Do we not see how men will labour at land, and venture through dangerous Seas, and Fight in Wars, and Plot against all that stand in their way, and this all day, from year to year, and all for Provision for Flesh and Fancy. And do those that you accuse do more for their Salvation? If you know not now, you will shortly know, which makes the better choice and bargain.

24. What harm doth Godliness and Conscience do you in other men? Had you not rather have a son that takes Disobedience, Whoredom, Gaming and Drunkenness for sin, than one that makes no Conscience of them? Had you not rather have a Wife whose Conscience restrains her from Scolding and Adultery, and a Servant that makes Conscience of robbing or deceiving you, than one that doth not? Sure unconscionable Servants and Debtors are more troublesome than they that fear God and believe that injustice is a damning sin? But the truth is, most wicked men are for so much Conscience and Religion in others, as restrains them from wronging or hurting them; but no more, nor for that much in themselves which may restrain them from hurting others.

But if you resolve rather to be damned than to be Sober, Just and Godly, and obey God against the flesh; Why cannot you bear with other men that make a wiser choice?

What hurt doth their praying do you ; or their preaching, while they are responsible for any ill Doctrine? What if they be reading the Scripture, or hearing Directions for a holy life, while you are Drinking, or Gaming, or reading a Romance, or Railing Libel, doth their Piety hurt you? What if they dare not Swear and Drink as you do, doth this do you any harm? What is it but the Serpentine enmity that maketh you hate those that never hurt you?

25. If you will believe God, it is for the sake of Godly men that God preserves the World from ruine : He would have saved *Sodom* had there been but ten such persons in it : He will not destroy the world, till he hath gathered all his chosen out of it: And do they deserve to be most hated?

26. How exceeding dear a love hath God and our Redeemer exprest, to all holy, obedient believers? God calls them his Jewels, his Treasure, in whom he delighteth; He gave Christ specially for them : He sealeth them to Salvation by his Spirit : he justifieth them, and will glorify them in Heaven : Christ calls them Flesh of his Flesh, his Friends, his Spouse, they are united to him, he washeth them in his blood, and feedeth them with his Flesh, and will make them equal to the Angels, and will condemn their Enemies : And are not you devilish enemies

to God and Christ, who cull out those for your malice and Enmity, whom God chooseth out to magnify the wonders of his Love on them for ever?

27. The Angels of Heaven rejoyce at the Conversion of a sinner, *Luke* 15. 10. And rejoyce to be Christ Servants for their defence continually: And is it not Devils then and their Servants and Souldiers that are against them? Take heed; Gods Angels that smote a *Herod*, may do execution on you ere long.

28. The Holy Ghost saith, *1 Cor.* 6. That the Saints shall judge the world, and even the Angels, that is, the evil ones: Did you believe this, you would be afraid to hate and persecute them now.

29. Even Heathens are for much honouring and worshiping their Gods; yea many offer them too costly Sacrifice: What praises doth *Julian* give to the Sun, and what strictness of life doth he Command his Priests? What great contempt of the Body and the World, did the Platonists, the Stoicks and the Cynicks profess? And shall profest Christians hate those that are obedient to the true God yea to shew that the War between Good and Evil goeth on in all the World; even among Heathens those that were for true virtue were despised and hated by the sensual.

30. And is it not a self-condemning thing

in those that accuse Gods Servants as making too much adoe in obeying the Law of God, and yet make (as the Church of *Rome* doth) abundance more Laws or Canons of their own, and require precise obedience to them all? Yea will burn men at a Stake for breaking their Laws; Doth God make too much work in the Judgment of them that think it not enough without much more, as if Gods Law were too narrow and insufficient? Yea learn by the Church of *England*, whose Canons (5, 6, 7, 8.) *ipso facto* excommunicate them that do but affirm any thing to be repugnant to Gods word in their Liturgy, Ceremonies or Church Governing Offices: And can you think that obeying God deserveth hatred, when disobeying men deserveth excommunication? Learn of our late Laws, which account all the Ministers of *England* worthy to be cast out and silenced if they dare not take the imposed Declarations, Oaths and Subscriptions, and do what the Act of Uniformity imposeth; And do you think it worthy of reproach to be as strict in obeying Gods known Laws, as is required to the Act of Uniformity and the Canons?

31. Even the Church of *Rome* applaudeth great Rigor and Strictness of life, in such as will obey the Pope; And they have allowed Orders of Fryars whose rules tie them to great abstinence, to much praying, and some

to much Preaching, so that Religion is all their calling. And shall the strict obeying of Gods known Laws render men odious among professed Protestants? Yea the Papists honour the very Bones and Relicks of their dead Saints? And you your selves keep holy days for many Saints: And will you at the same time hate and hurt those that endeavour to imitate them? Will you imitate those Pharisees whom Christ pronounceth Woe against, who at once honoured the dead Prophets with building them Monuments or Tombs, and murdered the living that succeeded them?

32. You can never come to Heaven, or be saved from Hell your selves, without serious Holiness, Justice and Sobriety: And will you hate that without which you cannot be saved?

33. Scarce any sin doth more certainly prove you to be ungodly, than hating godliness: What ever hope there may be of those that sin against Conscience, and wish to be better, and purpose Repentance, that man cannot be a truly Godly man, that is an Enemy to godliness, so that this is a dreadful death's mark on you.

34. You would extirpate the principle of self-love, which God hath made inseparable from us. There is somewhat in our nature which we cannot lay by, which makes us unwilling to be damned. If you that believe

lieve no Hell, dare venture into it, we can not do so, who do believe it. If you say that it is our folly to believe that none shall be saved without *Holiness*, and mortifying the deeds of the body by the Spirit, bear with that folly which doth you no harm: It is not Men or Devils that we had it from, but the Holy Ghost in Scripture. If it be your wisdom to give God the lie, and believe a Drunken sot, or the Devil, before him, it shall be none of ours.: Speed as you choose, and let us speed as we choose: we shall meet your Souls shortly in another mind and tune. Strive not to make us choose damnation now our Eyes are open: We were once too easily befool'd: but cannot now so hate our selves.

35. Moreover, he that would not have a man live a life of holy obedience to God, would have him lay by that which he was made for, and that which God continueth his life for, and that which he hath his reason and all his daily mercies for. What else have we to do in the World? Have men going to the Grave and Eternity, nothing to do but Eat and Drink, and Laugh, and Play, and run up and down like Ants with sticks and straws, and then die, and call all vanity and vexation too late? If we may not spend our time in making sure of a better World, we had rather we had never been born, or had died in infancy, or that we had a dose
of

f *Opium*, that would make us sleep out the best of our lives in quietness, rather than spend it as you do, and then give a sad account of all: we had rather we had been Birds or Beasts, Dogs or Swinethan Men, were it not for that life which you hate, and the hopes which depend on it. It had been a greater kindness to us to have murdered us at the birth, than to tempt us to live for our damnation.

36. What do you think it is that is Gods *image on mans Soul*, you know that it's said in scripture that God made man at first in his own Image, and that Christ by his Spirit re-eweth them to that Image. What is it think you, God hath not hands and feet, and bodily parts as we have? It is the Soul that hath his Image. And do you think it is the love of Money, and Lust, and Sport, or Gluttony, or Drunkenness that is his image? Scripture saith *Eph. 4. 23, 24. Colos. 3. 10.* it is *Holiness*: And this is called the *Divine nature*, as coming from God, and inclining nature unto God. Either Holiness, Wisdom and Righteousness is Gods Image, or else there is none such on man; And when you make Gods Word to be false. And if this be it, and this it which you hate, are you not haters of God? And is not that to be devilish and hated by God?

37. While you are angry at them that say few are saved, or that none but Saints
or

or serious godly obedient men are saved, you would sink all the World into utter despair, and make none or next none to be saved. One part of the haters of godliness believe no life to come; And these would have all men despair. For if there be none there is none to be hoped for: and they think men die but as Dogs & Swine do, must be expected to live like Dogs & Swine. The other part of you, labour by all means to make themselves and others believe that the profession of more godliness than worldly carnal men have, is but hypocrisy, and that such are at the heart as bad as others. And if this be so, what is the consequence but that *none are saved*? For unless you will give God the lie, or be saved in spite of him, you must believe that none are saved that are not sanctified by the Spirit of Christ, and live not after the Spirit, mortifying the flesh, *Job. 3. 3, 5. Heb. 12. 14. Rom. 8. 6, 7, 8, 9, 13. 2 Cor. 5. 17.* And that no man can be saved that loveth the world more than God and Heaven, and fleshly pleasure more than holiness. And therefore if there be none such, then none are saved. Hypocrisy will not save men: God tells us that Drunkards, Fornicators, Covetous, Thieves, Extortioners, Revilers, Effeminate, Idolaters, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, *1 Cor. 6. 9, 10. Eph. 5. 5.* And if any man love the world (best) the love of the Father

not in him, 1 Joh. 2. 5. And if all that pretend to be better are hypocrites, than one at all are saved.

It may be you have the kindness to except some few. But if those few be all that are not either carnal men (described Rom. 5, 6, 7, 9.) or hypocrites, how few then do you make to be saved, if God be true?

38. Who do you think it is that Christ meaneth, when he saith, *I send you as Lambs among Wolves? Ye shall be hated of all men for my names sakes; Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake? When they say all manner of evil of you falsely for my sake: The World will hate you as it hated me, because you are not of the World, but I have chosen you out of the World: Marvel not if the World hate you?*

As many as will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer Persecution, &c Who do you think all this is spoken of? It is not of you, that are fleshly, worldly, ungodly men; Who Persecuteth you for righteousness sake? Who hateth, revileth or imprisoneth, or fineth you, for living *godly in Christ Jesus*? Do you suffer as much for reviling Preachers, as we have done for Preaching? What suffer you for all the Oaths that be sworn daily in streets and Taverns, and the horrid profaneness, Atheism, Sadduceism, Infidelity that men are guilty of? If you did suffer for Whoredom, Drunkenness, Blasphemy & that for Christ or righteousness? When the

the Holy Ghost saith, *As he that was be-
after the Flesh persecuted him that was born
ter the Spirit, even so it is now, is it such as y
that he meaneth ?* When Peter saith, [*T
speak evil of you, and falsly accuse your ge
conversation in Christ, 1 Pet. 3. 16.* who
meaneth he ? When he saith, *1 Pet. 4. Th
think it strange that you run not with them to
excess of ryot (lasciviousness, lusts, excess
wine, revellings, banquetings and abominall
idolatry)* who do you think he meaneth
And when he saith, *1. Pet. 2. 9. Ye are
chosen Generation, a royal Priest-hood, a ho
Nation, a peculiar People, that ye should she
forth the praises of him that hath called you ou
of darkness into his marvellous light ;* who is i
that he meaneth ? You'll say, *It is Christians
True :* But is it Hypocrites ? Is it those
that will say at last, *Lord we have Prophecie
in thy Name, and Eat and Drunk in thy presence
to whom Christ will say, Depart from me, ye
workers of Iniquity, I know you not ?* Sure
false Christians are worse than Heathens.

39. The way which you take against Re-
ligious persons doth shew who it is that sets
you on work, and what it is that is the root
of your enmity. As Gods Image is in the
understanding, will and executive power of man,
so is Satans ; and he is accordingly described
by Christ, to be 1. A Liar and Deceiver ;
2. A Malignant, Hater of Goodness, or Ho-
liness ; and a cause of sin ; 3. A hurtful
murderer

murderer or destroyer. And these are the three ways by which Godly people are persecuted in the world. 1. Belying them is grown so common with their enemies, that there is nothing scarcely so notoriously false which they will not affirm of them, and it's well if some will not preach it, print it, or swear it: And they make one another easily believe it. Till experience proved it, I did not think that humane nature had been liable to such impudent, monstrous lying.

2. The daily business of many is, by wit and diligence to draw men to hate Religious men on false pretences: As plainly as Christ preacheth and urgeth *Love*, as his great Commandment; so plainly do these press and urge men to Hatred: But of this before.

3. And Hatred tends to *Hurtfulness*: What plotting and labouring is there in the world, to ruine and destroy each other? The malignant spirit is blood-thirsty. It's strange how the unclean Devils thirst to draw or suck some blood from Witches. Nothing more alienates me from the Papal Kingdom, than that it lives like Leeches upon blood. To read over the History of the Inquisition, and of their Massacres, would make Men take Toads, and Adders, and mad Dogs, and Wolves, for harmless things in comparison of some Men. If any would requite them (or others) with the like, I hate it in Protestant or Papist. The Turks conquered

conquered the Greek Empire, partly by the mutinous divisions of the Christians, and partly by promising them Liberty of Religion: And when the Christians thought they should have that, they yielded up the Empire with the less resistance. And that which was so advantageous to the Infidels, might, well used and limited, be more advantageous to the Christian Truth and Church.

But though good things may be used in an ill cause, it is a sign of a bad cause which needeth bad means. That cause which is carried on by Lying, Perjury and Deceit, by malignant Love-killing, endeavours, and by cruelty, and hurtfulness, and blood, is thereby made suspicious to all wise men. It is a wonder of impudency in *Baronius*, *Binnius* and other Papists, to justify *Martin*, a Canonized Saint, for renouncing Communion to the death with the Synods and Bishops who perswaded the Emperor to draw the Sword against the Gnostick Priscillianists; and themselves to defend a thousand-fold greater cruelties and murders in their own Church on the account of Religion: But sin is mad self-contradiction.

4. I conclude with this great truth: They that hate and oppose Godly mens obedience to God, do seek to silence the chief Witness of Christ, and to cast out Christianity from the Earth. Christianity cannot be proved

ved to be true, but by the *Spirit*, which is its Seal and Witness. This Witness of the Spirit was not only extraordinary in Languages and numerous Miracles, but also ordinary in the work of Sanctification. This Seal is set on all that shall be saved in all times and places. The Lord knoweth who are his: And let him that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. *He redeemed us to purifie to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works: Teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world: Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Tit. 2. 12, 13, 14.* By this sealing work Christ is known to be indeed our Physician, the real Saviour that saveth his people from their sins. As man generateth man, and the Father is known by the similitude of the Child; and as he is known to be a good Artist that can make others such. This is Christs standing Witness in all times and places. And when you would turn this into scorn, and cloud it with flanders, or the charge of Hypocrisie, and would have such judged an odious people, and have them driven out of the world, what do you in effect but spit in the face of Christ, and crown him with Thorns, and call him a Deceiver, and crucifie him afresh, and seek to expel Christianity from the

Earth? What reasonable man could believe Christ to be Christ, the Saviour of the world, if he did not sanctifie men, and make them much better and fitter for Heaven than other men?

So that in this you directly militate for the Devil, the World and the Flesh, against God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, against the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints, and the Hope of Resurrection and life everlasting; which if you did openly under the name of Infidels or Heathens, or rather as the profest Souldiers of the Devil, it were less disingenuous and hypocritical, than to do it in the Church, and under Christs colours, and in the Christian name.

And you must be sure that you are stronger than God and our Saviour, if you will prevail to the last. God hath undertaken the defence of the Just: Christ hath undertaken to present them triumphant before his Father, and cast their Enemies into Hell. Are you sure you can overcome him? Vile Worms that cannot fetch a breath without him! When began you to be stronger than God? Was it in the womb? or in Infancy when you could not go? Or was it when the Devil and the Flesh made you mad or drunken in ignorant malice? If so, the drunken fit will soon be over, and God will awake a tormenting Wit. If you can conquer

quer God, try your strength first on his works: Stop the Sun: change Night and Day: turn the Tide of the Sea: live without Meat or Air: resolve that you will never die: save all your Friends from death. Can you do none of this, and yet will you venture a War against God? Or do you think to fight against his Servants, and bribe him to be on your side, and forsake them to your rage? Did Christ take Mans Nature, and die to save them, and will he now turn on Satans side against them? He overcame the Devils temptation on Earth; yea called Peter Satan, *Mat. 16.* when he would have tempted him not to die for his chosen. Let Men or Devils go try him in his Glory, whether he will change his mind, and take your part against his own holy Truth and Servants.

Chap. IV. *Objections and false Accusations answered.*

BUT I know that as Christ and his Apostles were not hated, nor killed without pretended cause and reason, nor the Martyrs murdered without accusation; so none will now justify the scorning or persecuting an innocent person, or a Saint as such, but they will first make them odious,

and seem worthy of all that is done against them. They will say, *It is not godly men, but wicked Hypocrites that we hate and prosecute a false and odious sort of persons, who are unruly, and set up their own wit and will against the Laws and Governours of the several Kingdoms where they live : They are the very worst of men.*

Ans. If they are so indeed, they are none of the men that I am pleading for, nor you the men that I reprove. But before we come to particular Accusations, it is your wisdom to answer these few Questions.

1. Have you particular matter against them to make good this charge? Or is it only a general malicious Accusation?

2. Is it individual persons that you mean, by whom it's proved? or do you thus accuse whole companies of men? What if one said of Papists, Jews or Turks, They are Murderers, Adulterers, Perjured, &c. Do you think he were not an odious slanderer, to speak that of all or most, or the whole Party, which he can prove but by some few?

3. Do you know all the persons whom you accuse? And have you heard it proved? Or do you not say this of whole Congregations assembled to worship God, of whom you know not one of many? If this be so, it's inhumane calumny.

4. Have the particular persons been heard speak

Speak for themselves, and give the reason of their actions? and were they proved insufficient? Or were they condemned unheard? Or was Gods Word derided and taken for no reason?

5. Do you not know that the Devil is the great Accuser of the Brethren? and that he hath malice and craft enough to say as bad as you can say, by the best of men? and must he be believed?

6. Are you sure you can make God believe you, that these men are as bad as you affirm? If not, and if he find a man in prison for obeying his word, and ask who laid him there, will you undertake to prove that he was laid there for some crime? If God own him, and say, he is my Servant, will you confute him, and say, No, but he is a Schismatick, God knoweth a Saint from a Schismatick better than you do. Sheep-stealers use to sheer the sheep and cut out the mark: But they have to do with men: Gods mark is where man cannot take it away; And the foundation of God standeth sure. The Lord knoweth who are his.

7. Know you not that Christ, and his Apostles and all the Martyrs were as deeply charged, and put to death as Malefactors? We must then have better proof than accusation.

8. If they prove faithful Christians whom you thus accuse, Christ hath undertaken
 H 3 their

their Justification : It is his office. And do you think to baffle him ? Can he not answer you ? *Rom. 8. 32, 33, 35. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect ? It is God that justifieth : Who is he that will condemn them ?*

9. Have you not greater sins your selves than those whom you accuse ? If so, you condemn your selves. Would you have God judge of them as you do ? If so, do you not tell him how to judge of you, and even crave him to condemn you ?

10. Doubtless you know that you are sinners : And how think you to be justified at the Bar of God ? Is there any but Christ to judge and justify you ? And do you think he will justify his Enemies, that hated, accused and condemned his Servants ?

11. Those that dwell near godly Christians and should know them, are more unexcusable for their malice and slanders than forreigners and strangers are. Men of another land or age may be deceived by lying fame or history. But you that are their Neighbours are without excuse. I speak for none but persons fearing and obeying God : And you might easily have known that they are neither Fornicators, Drunkards, Perjur'd, swearers, Liars, Oppressors Thieves, nor suffer for any such crimes as these.

12. And if they are as wicked as you say why

why do you not prosecute them for such wickedness? What are the French Protestants now prosecuted and ruin'd for? Have any Judicatures proved them guilty of any such crimes against God or Man? Or is it not only for worshiping God contrary to the Kings and Prelates Laws? And how is that? As Christs Apostles did: They refuse nothing in Gods worship which God commanded, or any of Christs Apostles used, or any Churches in their days or long after. And did the Apostles offer God so odious a worship as deserved hatred and destruction? When *Daniels* Enemies designed his ruine, they said, *Dan. 6. We shall find no matter against this Daniel except it be concerning the Law of his God;* And so they got a Law made against praying to any God but the King for a certain time. *Daniel* must be cast to the Lions for breaking the Kings Law: The poor flies deserve death for coming into the Spiders Web: But did not the venomous Worm Spin it of purpose out of her own Bowels, or condensate air, to take and kill the flies by craft? In *England* there are many that worship God as the French Protestants do, and no better than Christs Apostles did: If this be their horrid wickedness that makes them unworthy to live out of Prison, say so, and pretend no other. But if it be Heresie, false Doctrine, Perjury, Fornication, Robbing, Treason, Se-

dition or any other crime, why are they not accused of these before the Judges? And why are those charged with them that never were so accused and proved guilty? Will not all wise men take those persons for malicious Liars, who by their published accusations thus odiously charge multitudes, and never offer to prove it against them at the Jádicatures? Their accusation shews they want not will, therefore their not prosecuting them for any such sort of crimes, shews that it is truth that is wanting.

13. And if they be such wicked persons, whence is it, that they are charged meerly with Hypocrisy, by such as say, that they live soberly and justly and demurely, but they are at the heart as bad as others. Their accusers commonly confess that they are most free from all immoralities, and have an outward shew of righteousness, but these heart-searchers see that their hearts are bad. And do they not by this confute their own accusations?

14. And why is it that they that know them best can see none of the wickedness which you accuse them of, (beyond those humane infirmities of which they most accuse themselves). As I have oft done, I again solemnly profess, as one that cannot be far from my account before the judge of all the the World, that having now lived to the 68th year of my age, and been most familiar since

since the age of sixteen or seventeen, with that sort of men whom the Vulgar then called Puritans (described by Mr. *Bolton* and such other Conformists) though I have met with many that had their mistakes and frailties, and troublesome differences in lesser things, and some Hypocrites intruded among them, yet I never knew any other sort of men comparable to them in Christian Knowledge, Faith, Obedience to God, Hatred of sin, Care of their duty to God and man, Sobriety, Temperance, Chastity, Truth, Heavenly desires, endeavours and hopes: And that they so far excelled the rest of my acquaintance, as made their grace amiable to me, and confirmed my belief of the Sacred Scripture: Yea more, if I had not had the happiness of knowing such a sort of men that in holiness, Justice and Love excelled the rest of my acquaintance, or at least credibly heard of such, I could not have believed in Christ, as a Saviour of men whom he made no better than Turks and Infidels; Nor could I have believed a Heaven for men no better prepared for it. And that now near my end, I see so great a difference in Holiness, Justice and Charity, between those commonly reviled for worshiping God but as the Apostles did, and those that hate and persecute them, as greatly helps me in believing that there is a Saviour and Sanctifier, and Heaven for the faithful, and a Devil

vil that deceives the rest, and a hell that will receive them, which is even visibly begun on Earth.

Accus. *But (say they) it is not for their Godliness or Sobriety that we accuse them, but for their sin, and wickedness.*

Ans. Still this is but General, and signifieth nothing. But, 1. What is that odious sin? 2. It's Gods merciful Providence that keeps sin in general under such shame, as that the actors of it speak against it, even in their slanders. 3. But if this be the true cause why do you cull out those that have least sin to fasten your accusations of sin upon? If there be a conformable Minister that is more Holy, Charitable, and Zealous against sin than the rest, he is one of those that is called a *Puritan* and accused of sin? Why do we hear none of your furious charges against the common Drunkards Revellers, Gamesters, Whoremongers, Persecutors, Profane Blasphemers, Lyars, and the Families that call not upon God, shew no serious regard of any Religion at all? You can live among these, and Swear and Drink, and Play with them, and never cry out against them as bad men.

Accus. But religion, being the best thing, the Corrupters of that are worse than Drunkards, and Swearers, and Adulterers.

Ans. Such corrupters there may be as are worse indeed: But what is it that they corrupt Religion in? They subscribe to all the Bible, and the ancient Creeds? And if need be to the *English* Articles of Religion. Is not all that enough? Their many large published writings tell the world their Judgment in Religion; Such as Mr. *Arthur Hildershams*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Greenhams*, *Dods*, *Anthony Burges*, *Richard Alleins*, and abundance such: What errors are in these?

2. Why are they not these twenty years accused of Preaching false Doctrine, and proved guilty and punished for it, if they are such?

3. If it be not in Doctrine what is it?

Accus. They worship God contrary to the Law; in not using the *Common-Prayer* book.

Ans. 1. Those that constantly joyn in the Parish Churches in the *Common-Prayer* are as much hated, Reviled and Prosecuted as the rest. Therefore this charge is but hypocrisy.

2. What do they that for matter or manner

ner is positively contrary to Law in Gods worship: They read Scripture, Pray, Preach, Praise God with Psalms, Communicate in the Lords Supper: Doth the Law forbid any of this?

3. Not using the rest of the Liturgy is a Negation, and no Act at all, and therefore no act of worship, and therefore no unlawful act, no more than silence is: He that is silent, and he that omits the rest of the Liturgy, worships not God by using it; but he doth nothing contrary to it, or forbidden by it.

4. If *Peter* and *Paul* were unknown in *England*, and worshipt God but as they did on Earth, would you therefore call them Rogues or Rebels, or lay them in the jail? Did they worship God in an odious, intolerable manner? Did the Holy-Ghost by them write an infallible Rule for all things necessary in Religion? and yet are they unsufferable rogues that worship God but according to that rule?

5. Are they wiser men than they that have made us another rule or worship? or have they more of Gods Spirit, and more authority in religion?

6. Do not the Imposers say that all which they add is *no part of Religion*, but *things indifferent*? And are they odious corrupters of Religion, who omit no part of Religion, but only humane indifferent things?

7. Do you not reverence the Church for some hundred years after Christ, which imposed no Liturgies, but left every Pastor to use his own Prayers?

8. Do you not harden the Papists that call our Religion new, and ask where it was two hundred years ago, if you make the Liturgy as now formed and imposed, our Religion, when it is not two hundred years old.

9. The Godly Bishops of *England* have ever owned the other Protestant Churches, and their Communion, who have none of our Liturgies, nor any like it.

10. If this be the odious crime, why do you never Revile or Prosecute the Atheists, Infidels, Sadduces, Hobbists, and those many thousands that seldom if ever go to any Church, or worship God publickly at all? Is the worship that *Peter* and *Paul* used worse than irreligiousness and infidelity?

11. Who can believe that you are sincerely zealous against misworshipping God, when you can ordinarily your selves be in a drinking house or playing house, at the time of publick worship? And when so few of you ever so much as worship God in your Families, by Prayer, or read the Scripture, or Catechise your families?

12. Is it not a strange thing to hear men accuse others for not using the Liturgy in Gods worship, and at the same time would have

have them that refuse it, to be forbidden all publick worshiping of God at all? Doth this signify any dislike of their omitting Gods worship? Which is the more ungodly omission? to omit all worship of God and live like Atheists, or to omit only so much of the Liturgy as the Apostles used not? I have known many that could not eat cheese, as is said before (nor scarce smell it without danger of Death:) If you would have a Law made that such shall eat no other meat, few wisemen will believe that it is their health and life that you desire. If a man fail in paying his Landlord some odd act of Service, will you make a Law that he shall pay nothing at all? If a Subject neglect paying some excise, or using Bow and Arrows, will you forbid him paying any thing, or serving the King at all? Sure they that forbid men all publick worship, be offended at somewhat else than that men do not rightly worship God, unless they think that not to worship him at all is better than doing it without their Book.

Obj. But he shall be Compelled to better worship.

Ans. How? when he lieth in jail he cannot publickly worship God at all. Is that better worship? I know it is banishment which some would have executed. And will men worship God any better among Heathens or Infidels, or others? Or why should other Countries

Countries endure them, if they be not to be endured in their own?

Are not English-men that worship God only by their own Book, as much Nonconformists when they are in other Lands, *France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, &c.* as those are here that do not use it: And are they there intolerable and worthy of ruine?

Did the Apostles or first Churches banish any on such accounts? Will Christ banish them from his Kingdom? Hath he made any such Laws? And is not he the absolute Sovereign? Hath he left his Servants to the will of man, to use them how they will, or cast out of his Church whom they will? Are you sure these are none of the number of whom Christ saith, I was hungry and ye fed me not, &c. In as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these my Brethren, you did it not to me, *Mat. 25.*

Accus. But they are Schismatics, and Separate from the Church; and is not that a damnable sin?

Ans. I. Being speaking only to malignant enemies of serious Godliness, I say; It is not only Separatists that you hate, but Godly Conformists yea perhaps most of all, because you are more restrained from hurting them. How oft hear we Curses and Revilings against
Conforming

Conforming Puritanes, or as some call them [*Church Whigs.*] If they are not haters of their brethren, but Friends to Love and Peace, you nickname them [*Trimmers.*] And cursing those whom Christ bleſſeth, when he ſaith, [*Blessed be the Peace-makers, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*] You ſay, [*Cursed be the Trimmers, and would the Kingdom were rid of them.*] It is any that are for a holy life, and obedience to God, that you abhor.

2. As I ſaid before, you ſpare thoſe that come to the Pariſh Churches no more than others : The old Nonconformiſts wrote more againſt Separation than any elſe in *England* did. And yet were hated as intolerable. The reconcilers who are ſince made Nonconformiſts, did publickly offer to be Subject to Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, to uſe the Liturgy themſelves if reformed, and if it were not, yet never pleaded for ſeparation : And yet are never the more endured.

2. But *who* is it that they *ſeparate from* ? Do they not profeſs Union and Communion with the whole Catholick Church on Earth ? What ſeparation do you mean ? Is it their *Local abſence* ? And are not you ſuch Separatiſts from all the world, ſaving the Aſſembly where you meet ? One cannot be in two places at once.

Or is it that they *diſlike* ſomewhat in your

your *Forms* of Worship? so they may in others *Forms*, with whom yet they profess Communion: And *in what* is it that they shew dislike or separation? They hold Communion with you as Christians, and as reformed from Popery: They separate not from Papists as Christians: And from you it is only for that which you say is no part of your Worship or Religion, but things indifferent; which they think to be sin. And are those Separatists from *your Church*, who only separate from that which is *no part* of *your Church* or *Worship*?

3. Are the French and Dutch Churches in *London* Schismaticks or Separatists, who profess Communion with our Churches, though they use not our Oaths, Subscriptions or Liturgy? Liking their own mode better, and preferring it, is no Separation. If I like your Liturgy better than any in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is that separating from all Churches that use the rest?

4. Who are the Schismaticks in *France*, *Italy*, *Poland*, &c. Those that are called so, and persecuted as such; or those that impose on them the things which they judge sinful?

What if you were in a Presbyterian Land, where the Liturgy and Prelacy are forbidden, and another Form set up by Law; and you should contrary to that Law use the Liturgy and Ceremonies; or at least refuse

subscribing against Prelacy, and for Lay Elders? If they excommunicated or ruined you for this, who do you think were guilty of the Schism?

5. Do they forsake the Assemblies before they are *excommunicated*? Or is it not an odd thing for to excommunicate men first, and then accuse them for not coming to Church? I have known Ministers stop in the midst of Publick Worship, and refuse to go on, till an excommunicate person went out. The whole representative Church of *England* do in their 5, 6, 7, and 8 Canons *ipso facto*, without tryal or sentence, excommunicate all in *England*, who affirm any thing to be sinful or repugnant to Gods Word, in the Church Governing Offices whatsoever, in the Liturgy, Ceremonies or Articles. And shall they after this be called Separatists for not coming in? Doth not the Canon shew that the Church would not have them come in, when they cast them out?

Obj. *But the Church and Canon bid them repent of that their wicked error, and publicly confess it, and so come in.*

Ans. 1. Is a mans Judgment absolutely in his power? Can a man believe a thing to be a *wicked error* meerly because the Canon saith so? He that can believe what his list, believeth nothing truly. If this Belief be necessary to Church Communion, and to escape damning Schism, it is necessary to
Salvation:

Salvation: Why then is it not in the Creed, Ten Commandments or Bible? Do you call them the *things Indifferent*, and then call it a *wicked error* to hold them *sinful*? Is not this to make it necessary to Salvation or Communion, to have so much Learning or Knowledge, as to *know all Indifferent words and things in the world to be indifferent*, which men will impose? I would all Church-Members with your and others knew all *necessary* things. Do you believe in your heart that all, or half the Parishioners do know these things to be lawful, or understand any more of them than those that think otherwise? when thousands cannot answer a necessary question of the Creed or Catechism; nor know who Christ is, and how he saveth us?

Why is there not a Catechism made containing the sound proof that *Lay-Chancellors* power of the Keys, and Diocesan Bishops that have no Bishops under them, and our present Court-Church discipline, and all the Rubrick, Ceremonies and Forms are lawful, if all must be excommunicate that think and say otherwise?

Obj. *If they are so ignorant that they cannot know Church Orders to be lawful, they are not fit to communicate with the Church.*

Ans. Make no Church Orders necessary to Communion, but what Christ and his Apostles have made necessary to it; and

then cast out and spare not all as ignorant that refuse them.

2. But again, do you believe that most, or all that you keep in, are wiser and more knowing than those that you cast out? How shall such as I believe you, who know that in all the Parishes which my cohabitation allowed me to know, it is the most knowing and religious part that most dissent, and the generality of the grossly ignorant that understand few Articles of the Creed, do conform. As ignorant as I am, and hundreds of my calling and mind, I would I were not only silenced and imprisoned, but put to death, on condition that all that you now receive as Members of the Church, had no more ignorance than we have. But it's our lot, to tire our selves with teaching poor people to understand their Baptism, Christianity, Creed, Lords Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and leave most ignorant when all's done, and yet our selves after our hardest and longest study, to be judged so ignorant about some Indifferent things, as to be unfit for Ministry or Communion.

Accus. If men will not obey Church Governours and Laws, they are Rebels, and unfit for Christian Society. If every man shall follow his own fancy, what Order will there be? Do not

Q. *All Churches require obedience to their Orders?*

Ans. 1. The Church hath One Universal King, who hath made Universal Laws for all; which must be first obeyed, and against which no man hath power. And yet his own *Laws* have things *necessary* to all, in which they must unite, and *Integrals* and *Accidents* which all know not, in which they must bear with one another. No man understandeth all the Bible: And are *many Laws* and *Books* more necessary than *Gods*?

2. Whoever depraveth the necessary points of Religion by his own fancies, should be rejected. But all men living err in many lesser things.

3. In what Countreys is it that your Rule holds, that Rulers must be thus far obeyed in Religion? Is it in *China*, or *Pegu*, or *India*, or *Turky*? Or is it in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Silesia*, *Bavaria*, or *France*? Or is it in *Geneva*, *Holland*, or the *Presbyterian* Countreys? Or is it only in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*? And was it so here before *Henry* the 8th. or only since? And how shall any know where it is, unless he obey and judge his Rulers Commands by the Laws of God? Will you follow this Rule in *France* or *Spain*? Or shall all Subjects judge of Kings capacities?

Accus. *But, they hold unlawful Assemblies of their own, and worship God contrary to Law, and yield not so much as Passive Obedience.*

Ans. 1. You know the Ministers are forbidden their Office, unless they will take those Oaths, Subscriptions, Professions and Practices, which they dare not take, for fear of sin and damnation: And they would be thankful if their reasons may be heard, and if any will instruct them better: And they are confirmed in their Opinion by the answers, or no answers rather, made to the reasons already given in. And they are devoted or vowed to the sacred Ministry in their Ordination: And if there be such a sin as *Sacrilege* in the world, they are confident it were *Sacrilege* in them to alienate themselves from the Office which they have undertaken. As it is *Apostacy* from *Christianity* to violate our *Baptismal Vow* though men should command it, they doubt not but it is *perfidious Apostacy* from the *sacred Ministry*, to violate the *Ordination Vow* though Bishops silence them: As it is *Adultery* to violate the *Conjugal Contract*, though a Bishop should require it; seeing he that married them hath no power to unmarry them, unless they do it first themselves, and prove Desertors or Adulterers.

2. And the people that are excommunicat

ate, or forbidden to worship God publickly, unless they will do that which they think is sin, are still under Gods command to worship him, and not to forsake Church-assembling for his worship. What would you have these Ministers and People do? They study and pray to God to convince them, if they take these Oaths, Subscriptions, Professions and Practices to be sin, and they be no sin: They resolve to be ruled by Gods Word: They are willing to hear any thing that may better inform them: They wonder that men accuse them that have no more to say to change them. If they desert the Ministry, they fear Gods vengeance: If these poor people give over all Gods Publick Worship, and live like Atheists, Conscience living or dying will torment them. If they do that which they are perswaded is sin, when the Imposers call it but Indifferent, *Paul hath antidated their Sentence; He that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin, Rom. 14.* Change their Judgment they cannot: sin they dare not: To give over worshipping God, is to renounce Salvation: Change the Law or Canon, men will not. It seems to me a strange penalty to forbid men to worship God at all, because they think some Subscriptions or Forms to be sin: More strange than to say, *All that will not wear Crape shall go naked: Or, all that will*

not eat Anchovies shall eat nothing. If a man think the use of a Crucifix in Worship sinful, sure to give over all Worship is more sinful: But men have their ways.

3. What Worship is it that they offer God contrary to Law? They are willing to do all required in Scripture by Christ and his Apostles: And were they Rebels and Rogues? Or is their Worship intolerable?

4. What harm will it do their Neighbours, or any, if they only read the Scripture, and praise God with Psalms, and preach and pray as God prescribeth, without Subscriptions or Ceremonies? Are any hurt by this? Doth the same Liberty to the Dutch here hurt any body, or break Peace? Doth the difference of Cathedral and Parish Worship break Peace; or of those Churches that have Organs and Altars, and those that have none?

The Papists are the greatest pretenders to Unity, and most cry down Schism; and yet if all will but be Servants to the Pope, he will License multitudes of Orders that more differ from one another than we from you: Jesuits, Benedictines, Dominicans, Carthusians, and abundance more.

5. Dare any man of Self-knowledge and Conscience say, that all your Worship is not more faulty, than is the omission of a Form or Ceremony? Will not all the world be forbidden to worship God, if all as
bad

bad as this be forbidden? And how many worshippers of God, think you, will be left in *England*, if all must give over that have greater faults than the omission of a thing called but Indifferent?

6. As to what you talk of *Passive Obedience*, though the phrase be a contradiction, yet the thing meant is a meer cheat of one that hath devised that absurd phrase: And calls *Omissive Obedience* by the name of *Passive*; *Omitting* an Action is not suffering. *Daniel* was forbid to pray, and the Apostles to preach: They would not yield this *Omissive Obedience*, but they yielded that which is commonly called *Passive*. They patiently suffered.

7. Do you not know that about two hundred thousand in and near *London* cannot come within the doors of the Parish-Churches, (nor hundreds hear that can croud in;) shall all these be made Atheists, or taken for Rebels if they will not forbear to worship God?

8. I suppose you know that many thousands stay at home in their Houses, Shops, Taverns, in sin or idleness: Are these thought worthy of a Jail or Banishment? Or is their course better than to worship God as *Peter* and *Paul* did? O the difference between Gods Judgment and some mens! But Gods Judgment shall determine all.

9. Are there no unfaithful and unskilful Ministers?

Ministers? Will no Patrons chuse such? Is not the Ministers skill and faithfulness of great importance to mens Salvation? What if Bishops or Laws imposed an unskilful or untrusty Physician on you, and forbad you to chuse a better, would you die obediently, or rather say, no one hath power so to betray my life? No nor your Soul neither.

10. If you have the hearts of Christians consider this undeniable consequence: If you will have no union or concord among Christians till they agree in all things that are of no greater weight and evidence, than your forms and ceremonies are, you would have no concord in the world, no not between any two persons: And you may as well say, none shall be endured that are not just of the same visage and complexion: And then all the doubt will be, who is the man that will be the strongest and longest liver, to possess all *England* himself alone.

Accus. But they shew that they are Perjured, false, unconscionable Rogues, that took on them to scruple Oaths and our Church Communion till now, and now can do all rather than be out of places of trust.

Ans. 1. As to your Church communion, can you blind mens eyes, that they shall not read, what the old Nonconformists have writ-

written to perswade men to it? See Mr. *Hildersham, Bradshaw, Gifford, Paget, Ball,* and abundance more. And did not the present Nonconformists shew the same judgment 1660 and 1661 in their treaty? And do not many come to your assemblies? And would they not all that are Ministers Preach there if they could have leave? And have you not, as is afore proved, Excommunicated them by your Canons 5, 6, 7, 8. And is the *Oxford Act* (which imprisoneth them all six months if they be seen within five miles of a Corporation or any place where they have preached within 20 years) an invisible thing? Do you lay men in Jail by it, and yet think it must be unknown? And he that knows it knows that it Sentences all such to Jail if they be seen in your Churches? And is it the course of humane converse, to say, *If you come into any Church within five miles &c. you shall lie in Jail six months; And if you do not, you are Rogues and shall lie in Jail for not coming?* Just when the Ministers agreed to come more frequently than before, this act came out, and drove them back. You'll say, *They can appear in their own assemblies.*

Ans. 1. His Majesty encouraged them by granting them Liberty by his Declaration.
 2. They have more hope there of escaping out of your hands, than they have in your own Churches.

And do you not see in Print what Mr.

Tombes

Tombes the Anabaptist wrote long ago to perswade his followers to your communion? And what Mr. *Nye* wrote to perswade the Independants to come to your Churches? what great change is here of their judgments?

Obj. But why did not the people do so all this while?

Ans. Because their own Teachers did, as they thought, more profit them. Many a man thinks it lawful to wear rags that yet had rather wear whole and comely cloaths; and lawful to eat brown bread, and drink water, that will fare better when they can, and yet take these when they cannot. The people that had good houses before the fire, did without any change of their judgments, get into any poor rooms or cottages after it.

2. But suppose they lately change their judgments, (as many no doubt have) you that think it is for the better are strange Christians that reproach men for repenting and amending. Do you call them to Church and reproach them for not coming, and seek to ruin them for it, and now accuse them for coming? Doth not this shew that some men desired the present Impositions, not for concord of all, but to drive some away, lest they should come in, and the land have concord? And doth not this shew what men we have to do with; and that it is somewhat else than non-conformity which such men hate? Your Justice is

[Come

[Come to Church, or lie in Jail as Schismatics: And if you come you are perfidious rogues.] Whether they do or do not, all's one to such judges: who have some other hateful matter in their Eye.

Obj. *But their doing it just now to keep their Charter, and keep from suffering, proveth that they are perfidious Rogues.*

Ans. 1. I pray tell men of brains and sense, for what it is that you would have men Excommunicated, and laid in Jail or Fined, if they Conform not? Do you do all this without any purpose or hope to drive them to conformity? And do you do it only to make them *perfidious Rogues*. If suffering may not alter them, why do you use it on them?

2. But who knows not that some things are lawful to avoid suffering which else would not be lawful. It is lawful to cast your goods into the Sea to save the Ship and mens lives; Which else were a sin: It's lawful to give a Thief your purse to save your life, which else were unlawful: It's lawful to blow up neighbours houses to stop a fire; Christ proved it lawful to break the Sabbath in cases of necessity; he withdrew into the Wilderness and far from *Jerusalem*, to avoid the pharisees persecution. And *Paul* was let down by the Wall in a basket; Which without danger of suffering, had not been lawful: Though no sin must be done

to avoid suffering, yet that may and must be done, which self-preservation makes no sin, but a duty; To kill a man that assaults you in your own defence is not the same crime as unnecessarily to kill him.

But as to the other case of taking the Corporation Oath and Declaration, if you know the case (as you should do before you accuse men) you know that it is the true sense of them that is all the controversy: No body scruples swearing Loyalty, and renouncing Rebellion and Sedition, and all unlawful means of reformation: That which makes it difficult is that on one side, the proper universal sense of the words seems to them unlawful, and Oaths must be taken in the usual sense, unless our Rulers give another, yet on the other side, learned, sober Conformists profess that they take such words in the limited sense, or else they would not take them; And they argue subtilly to prove that to be the true sense; And our Law-makers to whom it belongs will not end the controversy by an exposition. And can you wonder here if men fluctuate in uncertainty? And a late writer having given subtler arguments for the limited sense than were published before, did persuade many. And in that limited sense twenty Nonconformist Ministers took the oath long ago in *London* at one time.

But I justify none that mistake in so great

great a matter. And doubtless if they sinned God will not bless it to their good ; It will prove their snare : And I am glad that we are agreed that Perjury is a heinous sin : I beseech you then to consider, 1. Whether those men are fit to accuse them who drive them to it, and say to Ministers, *Swear or lye or Fail* : 2. Or those who are of the mind of *Grotius*, *Bishop Taylor* and such others, that Lying is Lawful when it saves our selves, and wrongs no other : And of those Divines that say, It's as lawful to defend my self from pernicious Imposers with my tongue as with my hands.

3. Let us all with fear (who believe there is a God) avoid the dreadful crime of perjuring the whole land. This whole Kingdom is sworn against all *Forreign Jurisdiction* by the Oath of Supremacy ; and against all endeavours to *alter the Government of Church State*, by 1. the Corporation Act, 2. The Vestry Act, 3. The *Militia Act*, 4. The *Oxford of Confinement*. 5. And obliged by the Act of Uniformity. Is it not perjury to endeavour any alteration of it ?

What shall we then think of them that would bring in Popery ? would they not perjure the Kingdom ? 2. What shall we say of them that write for a *Forreign Church Jurisdiction*, under the name of *General Councils*, or a *Colledge of Bishops*, or of *Forreign Patriarchs*, of whom the Pope is chief, and

and the *Principium unitatis*, to the universal Church. Is it no change of our Church Government to bring us under a forreign Jurisdiction? Is it no change of State Government to make the King and Kingdom, Subject to that forreign Jurisdiction, who may excommunicate him, and so bring on him all the evil which Excommunication inferreth? And what man in his wits knoweth not that Prelates and Priests are much at the will and power of the Princes under whom they live? Doth not our King expect that his Bishops obey him? And those that must have this Universal Jurisdiction over our King and us, are the Subjects of other Princes, of which the far greatest part are Papists, Mahometans, Infidels, Heathens, or such as are called Hereticks; And if our King and we be made Subject to the Subjects of the Turk, the Pope, the Kings of *Spain, France, Poland*, the Emperor, the *Moscovite*, the Dukes of *Bavaria, Tuscany* and such like, is he not made a Subject to their Lords and Masters, and much worse? Will not this project perjure *England*?

3. Whether it be any alteration of Government by them that would change the Power and use of Parliaments, I leave to Lawyers.

4. But I would fain be satisfied of another case. These Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotlan*

land took a Covenant and Vow, some Voluntarily, some at their Compositions, who had been sequestred for the King: This Vow contained divers matters, of which some are notorious duties, as to repent of their sins, to oppose Popery, Schism, and Prophaneness, to defend the King, &c. It's not denied by most that I meet with, that this Oath or Vow was unlawfully imposed, and unlawfully taken, and many think some of the matter was unlawful, *viz.* to oppose Prelacy, &c. But seeing Casuists are agreed, that an Oath unlawfully both imposed and taken, bindeth to that part of the *matter* which is lawful and necessary, notwithstanding the Conjunction of the rest. And the Corporations of *England* are all formed by a Declaration taken by all in power and trust, that [*There is no Obligation, (without the least exception) on me or any other person from the Oath called the Solemn League and Covenant ;* The doubt is whether every man may declare that, of all the thousands of three Kingdoms (whom he never knew,) no one is bound by that Oath, or Vow, to repent of his sins, or in his place and calling to oppose Schism, Popery, or Prophaneness, or to defend the King? and whether all may declare that the *Londoners* and Ministers, and the restored old Parliament, and General *Monks* Army who restored the King, as supposing they were bound to it by that Oath, were

all deceived, and were under no such obligation thence? And whether I am not bound in charity to think that the sequestred Royalists put a good sence on it, when they took it? And so whether all the Corporations of *England* are free from — And for what it is that God hath singled them out for Judgment?

If you be agreed with us (and with mankind) against so great a sin as Perjury, especially national, let us help one another with Love and Patience to resolve such doubts.

Accus. But they have been guilty of Rebellion in a Civil War, and therefore are justly suspected to Preach or hold Rebellious Doctrine.

Ans. 1. Are those men lovers of Love and Concord who purposely make use of pardoned acts to keep the Kingdoms wounds still open? Did not the King tell you in his Declarations and Act of Oblivion, that the putting up of all (save to the excepted persons) and closing for the future in mutual love, was the only way to the Nations peace? You would tempt men to think that you desire to see such days again, by trying whether destroying men will tempt nature to a self-defence.

2. But you have oft had it proved (by *Henry Fowles*, *Bishop Barlow* and abundance more) that no Protestants come near the Principles

Principles and Practices of the Papists, as to King-killing and Rebellion. And if yet you know not that the War began between two parties of Episcopal conformists, here among the English, you are unfit to judge of that which you know not: And by reading *Rushworth*, *Whitlock* or any true Histories of such times and matters, you may be better informed: As you may of their different principles if you read *Jewel*, Bishop *Bilson*, and *Richard Hooker* on one side, and *Mainwaring* and *Sibthorp* on the other.

3. But how few men are alive that had any hand in those miserable Wars? You have oft been offered a thousand thanks if you will silence and hunt no other that are as innocent as you, and more than many of of their accusers. And shall thousands suffer for other mens deeds? 3. What will wise men think of such a sort of men, as charge multitudes in general with Rebellious and Seditious Doctrine, and have accused so few of any such these twenty years, that I know not of one publickly Accused, Tryed and Proved guilty, of all called Presbyterians in all this Land? If they are guilty prove it, and let the guilty suffer, and not the innocent: Only had I my wish I would Bar Perjury, and Condemning men unheard.

Accus. *They are an unpeaceable sort of people.*

Ans. That's soon said. Who hath these

22 two years manifested most desires of Peace? They that have beg'd for it again and again: Plead'd and written for it: Offer'd their Oaths that they would obey any lawful Commands for it, and do any thing which they did not believe that God forbids? Or those Bishops that would not have one Form or Ceremony, or needless Subscription forborn, to save thousands of Ministers from being silenced and laid in Common jails, nor to save many thousand of the people from suffering, and to heal the divisions of the Church. One would think this should be as easie a Controversy, as when Soldiers are plundering the Country, and the people on their knees intreating for their goods and lives, to determine which of them is most against War.

Accus. But what need they make such a stir with their Religion: What need they any more than go to Church and live obediently and be quiet? Why will they be righteous over much; will not less ado bring men to Heaven? Why do they differ from their Neighbours, and judge all carnal that be not as Scrupulous as they? God is merciful; and will he save none but Puritans, or precise zealots?

Ans. Now you come to the real matter of your distast: I did not meddle with the case of Nonconformity as it is a Controversy between Godly men, but only as you make

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a pretence of it, to exercise your enmity against serious Godliness, and a handle to lay hold on many whom Christ will justify and save. To all before said I add,

1. If you think they do too much, search the Scriptures, and see whether it be not less than God commandeth? And if so, is it not God whom you accuse and reproach?

2. If they do too much in obeying God, why do Canon-makers impose such abundance on them, as if God had not imposed enough?

3. Why do you never find fault with men for being too strong, too healthful, too rich, too great, but only for being too obedient to God? When Christ saith; If we did all that God commandeth we must say, we are unprofitable Servants, we have done no more than was our duty, and the best on Earth come short of duty. But this which is the Core I answered before. And conclude, that all that be in their right wits can easilier bear all your accusations and persecutions of us, as if we did too much in obedience to God, than the accusation of Conscience and the displeasure of God for doing too little: Which alas when we have done our best would sink us into despair, had we not the merits of Christs suffering and perfect righteousness to trust to.

Chap. V. *An humble Expostulation with the English Papists who by Information and Prosecution seek our ruine.*

THOUGH it be not Popery as such that I am here reasoning against, the course that many Papists take in seeking our destruction, giveth me cause of this humble expostulation: And I speak now of no other, but of them. I mean, 1. Those that write so hotly and ragingly to provoke Superiors to ruine us. 2. Those that make a trade of being delators against us for worshipping God as we do. 3. Those of them that break in upon us with greatest haughtiness and fury, to take away all our goods, and seek our imprisonment. 4. Those that seek to ruine us by those Laws which were made against themselves. 5. Those that would make Superiors believe that our Doctrine is more rebellious than theirs. To these I offer a few modest questions.

Qu. 1. There are some among you that profess great Spirituality and strictness in Religion: *Serenus Cressy* wrote to me (commending *Baker's* book which he published) that he forsook the Church of *England* because he found no Spiritual contemplation and devotion among us. Such as *Nerius, Sales, Kempis, Gerson Borromæus, Renti, &c.* are really the chief honour of your Church. Much of that for which I am hated by the Enemies of

serious godliness, I acknowledge to Gods praise, I was first chiefly awakened to by a book written by one whom *Watson*, and others of your party grievously accuse, I mean Parsons Book of Resolution corrected by *Bunny*. True Christianity and Godliness is the same thing in all that have it. Your Priest Mr. *Hutchinson, alias Berry*, writeth that the most of serious Godliness among Protestants is found among those called Puritans: So that I was fain to defend the Conformists against his charge: All this being so, is it the Spirit of God that engageth and enrageth you with the most destructive bitterness against those men whom you confess to be the most Religious, meerly because they are stiffest against your Church Government and way of worship? And do you not know that it tendeth more sensibly than disputes, to perswade the people whom you thus hate and profecute, that your Religion is malignant, and enmity to real Godliness?

Qu. 2. Do you think it is prudent for you, as soon as ever you get up and before you dare openly own your name and cause, to begin with Malice, Rage and Cruelty, and that against the most religious (as you say?) Will not this perswade the people that all is true that is said of your intended cruelty, and make them fear you, as so many Leopards or Wolves? Will they not say, if the young Serpents can so easily sting, what will the

old ones do? And if your infancy here begin with such destructive zeal, what will you do when you are at full growth?

Qu. 3. You cannot be ignorant what cause to accuse your Church with Cruelty and Blood, hath been given the world by your Church Laws and Practices: By the Council at the *Laterane* under *Innocent 3d* the Council for damning *Henrician* Hereticks, even Kings that claim Investiture of Bishops, and those that decree the burning of all that you call Hereticks: By the murder of so many thousand *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, *Bohemians*, &c. By the Inquisitions more inhumane cruelties in *Belgium* and *Spain*, &c. By the Massacres in *France*, and the murder of *Henry III.* and *IV.* By *Queen Maries* flames; By the two hundred thousand murdered in *Ireland*: And there be many among you who disown all this, and say it is not from the principles of your Religion (when yet General Councils approved are your Religion it self.) This being copiously opened (as I said before by *Henry Fowlis*, Bishop *Barlow*, &c.) had it not been more prudent for you to have begun with Lenity and Love, to have drawn men to think that you are better minded, than to perswade them that you are of your rulers and forefathers mind, and mean to imitate them?

Qu. 4. Have you not observed that all parties have fallen by forcing multitudes to be their

their enemies by seeking to destroy or hurt them? Most men love quietness, and will live in peace, if others will give them leave: But when they see that they must offend others, or not defend themselves, it sets all their wit and power on work against their intolerable enemies: There are few creatures in the world that have not some power and inclination to hurt others for their own defence. The Bee hath a Sting to defend her Hive and Honey. And do you not remember that your sufferings in *England* came most by Queen *Maries* flames, and the *Spanish* Invasion, and the many Treasons against Queen *Elizabeth* and by the Powder Plot? And how the *French* Massacre and Murders of Kings, and the horrid Inquisition set all our Parliaments against you? And how the Murder of 200000 in *Ireland* drove many thousands into the Parliaments Army that else would not have gone? And will you yet stir up all the Land to fear and hate you?

Qu. 5. Is it not both imprudent and unrighteous for you of all men to turn those Laws against us, which were made against you, and have so much slept, and little troubled you? You will by this call people to take notice of them, that did not before. For my own part, as I never hurt any of you, so I know not that any of the Ministers did, whose ruine you endeavour. We hear of none of your sufferings by any such. In-
deed

deed these late years many have died as for the Plot so much talkt of. But by whom did they die? Was it not by the accusation and witness of Papists? Were not *Oats, Bedlow, Dugdale, Turberville, France, Dangerfield, Fenison, Smith, alias Barry*, the York-shire Witnessees, and the rest besides the Irish, all men of your selves, that came out of your own Bosoms? whether the men died justly or unjustly I leave to God; But sure it was men of your own selves that did it. And will you be revenged for this on such Protestants that medled not in it?

And you should remember that you and we have a Protestant King, who hath sworn all his Kingdom against all forreign jurisdiction, and all endeavour of any alteration of Government in Church or state, and so much abhors Popery that he hath made a law severely to punish all that shall but raise any suspicion that he is a Papist. And you must in reason take heed of dishonouring and defaming him, by defaming Protestants in general.

And sure since Queen *Elizabeths* days we have had no Kings whom you can justly accuse of cruelty towards you. No not King *James* when the Powder Plot had provoked him; if half be true that the Bishop of *Ambrun* saith of his conference with him, or that *Rushworth* and others say of the Oath of the King, Prince and Council for Toleration,

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you are disingenuous if you accuse them of cruelty or rigorous severity.

In your *Philanax Anglicus* (as formerly in the *Image of both Churches*) you make all called *Protestants* of *sincerity*, to be of *Rebellious* principles, and their Religion introduced by it; and yet profess that you honour the King, as if you would have men doubt whether he be a *Protestant* of *sincerity*, or else were as bad as you describe. Had the severe Laws been executed against you, especially for meer Religion, no one could wonder if you desired relief: But while you live quietly, and Words and Paper hurt you not (that I fear of) to begin with so much hurtfulness to them that medled not with you, will misserve your cause.

Qu. 6. And is it consistent with reasonable modesty to go about to make the World believe that the Protestant Doctrine is less loyal than yours? Do you think your books are invisible, & all your practices forgotten: It is none of the business of this writing to accuse you herein, of any thing but unjustly accusing others, and seeking to destroy us on such accusation. Though you may thus deceive the ignorant that know no more of you than what you tell them, that will but turn to your dishonour at last. Are not your foresaid Council Canons which are your Religion, visible? Have not the forecited writers truly cited them and multitudes of
your

your Doctors which may better inform men? Are all the Wars of *Italy, Germany, &c.* against Princes and Emperors, for the Pope, forgotten? Was it not a Council of your Bishops that decreed that all the carcasses of those Bishops that were for the *Henrician* Heresy (that is, for the Emperors power of investing Bishops and his exemption from being excommunicated and deposed by the Pope) should be digged out of their Graves, and Burnt? Was it not a council that deposed *Ludovicus Pius*? How many more such acts have they done? And are not your most learned Doctors allowed to publish the justification of the Popes power to excommunicate & depose Kings if they deserve it (in his judgment?) Do not your politick Writers, Casuists and Divines ordinarily hold that the people give Kings, their power, and may take it away when they forfeit it, and that tyranny is such a forfeiture? And that the people should not suffer a Heretick to reign? And that subjects may be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, according to the fore-said *Laterane* and *Greg. 7.* Roman Councils? But too much is said of this by many, and the case is past a modest denial.

Even those Protestants that were in Arms for the Parliament, and restored the King were so far from thinking that their Oaths of Allegiance may be dispensed with, that I knew any thing of those men and times, I

was principally the Conscience of two Oaths (the Oath of Allegiance, and the Oath called the Covenant) that by them overcame the opposition of the other Army, and brought home the King. It was this that engaged the Ministers of *England* against both *Cromwel* and a Common-wealth: and the Ministers were followed by most of the religious people of the land, which broke the adversaries strength: It was this that engaged the excluded members of the (then) long Parliament: It was this that engaged the City of *London*: It seems it was this that engaged Gen. *Monk's* Army, when they say in their address to him, (see it, in *Englands Triumph* for K. *Charles* the 2d p. 85.) [“ We hope to evince to his Majesty
 “ and all the world, that we and all those that
 “ have been engaged in the Parliaments cause,
 “ are his Majesties best and most real subjects;
 “ and that your Excellency and the Armies under
 “ your command, have complied with the obligations
 “ for which they were first raised, for the preservation
 “ of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity
 “ of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty
 “ and Property of the Subjects, and the Fundamental
 “ Laws of the land.]

I am not justifying all that I recite; I doubt not but they were much mistaken. But if they had then been told that shortly all the Corporation Offices and Trusts in *England* shall be constituted by a personal Declaration of every

every one, that [*There is no obligation on any person from the Oath called the Solemn Covenant*] to restore the King, oppose Schism, or to any thing whatever, the effect would have been such, as makes me wonder that the Royalists (as then called) should be very eager to make all such declare, that all these Souldiers, Ministers, Parliament and Citizens that restored the King as bound to it by that Oath, were therein mistaken, and no such obligation thence was on them.

Qu. 7. I need not name to you the sorry fellows out of the Jails, where they lay for inhuman villanies that have been our zealous, ranting, tearing, prosecutors? And do you think such actors are an honour to your cause? If it be good, use good men in it.

Qu. 8. Why do you play your game under board, and behind the Curtain? If you are not ashamed of your cause, openly own it. Is falshood, lying and dissembling befitting them that say they are of a Church out of which none can be saved? I remember when *Terret, alias Johnson*, had seduced the eldest Daughter of the Countess of *Balcarres* (whom they stole away and made a Nun in *France*), and she was after askt, why she did so long go to our Churches, join in family worship, read Protestant Books, and talk against the Papists, and deride them, after she was a Papist her self, she answered that they had leave to do all that as long as they did not openly profess

Profess their Religion, and were not detected. But when once they were discovered and openly professed themselves Roman Catholics, they must then suffer any thing rather than conform to us.

Gods cause needeth not such juggling and lying.

Qu. 9. Why do you not ingenuously plead your cause against us, so as may satisfy an understanding Conscience, before you seek our destruction? 1. Your arguings are commonly fitted only to cheat the ignorant by ambiguities, and confusion, and equivocal terms; Your queries or methods to the French sufferers, are only a formed cheat, by confounding, 1. Subjection to Governours, and Communion with neighbour Churches. 2. Communion with your Church in Christianity and Communion with its sins. 3. A Catholick Church informed only by the soveraignty of Christ, and a pretended universal Church informed by the soveraignty of Man (a Monarch or a Church-Parliament.) 4. The office of keeping, delivering and teaching men Gods Laws, and an absolute power to Judge of their offence, and to make more as a supplement to their defects, obliging all the world on pain of Excommunication and Death: And more such.

2. Any writings which undeniably open your frauds, you take no notice of; nor vouchsafe to answer upon the importunity of Mr.

Johnson,

Johnson, and divers others ; I have lately written; 1. A reply to *Johnson*. 2. A small book in answer to one of your Papers, to prove that we have a certainty of Christianity without Popery.

3. In answer to another, a small Book called, *Full and Easy satisfaction which is the true Religion*. None of them will you answer, nor those before written : But instead of a sober investigation of the truth, some of you raise odious slanders of my life, and threaten and seek my destruction. I never hurt any of you, as I said before, nor ever persuaded any to severity against you. I have long ago publickly proposed terms on which we might live together as neighbours in peace. But destruction and misery are in your way (that I have observed) and the way of peace you have not known.

There are three things which alienate common Christians from you more than all other disputes. 1. That you can go so openly against the plainest words of God (as in blotting out the Second Commandment, in notorious contradicting 1 *Cor.* 12. and *Rom.* 14, and 15. about the terms of Church Union and Communion ; about Latin Prayers and Worship to the ignorant, denying the Cup to the Laity, denying sense in Transubstantiation).

2. That you befriend Ignorance so much, by the said Latin Worship, forbidding most
to

to read the Scripture translated, and accuse Gods Spirit of writing obscurely, to cover this.

3. That your Religion liveth by cruelty and blood, and cannot stand without it : Which at least in prudence you should hide as long as you can ; Or at least not design to make the ignorant and vicious Protestants, your Profelytes and Agents conjunctly to ruin those whom your Consciences know to be the most Consciencious and seriously religious.

By which already the flock of Christ do (under your Sheeps cloathings) so judge of you by your fruites, that if any man that is called a Protestant Clergy-man, do but Write and Preach for cruelty and ruin towards serious Conscionable Christians, people by this very mark do presently suspect that he is either a Papist or so near them as that he is ready to pass over to them, whom he so assisteth in destructive work.

Qn. What must be the cure of Malignity ?

Ans. When the heel of the holy seed is sufficiently bruised, the Serpents Head must be broken. I. The War in Heaven which formerly cast down the Dragon, must break the supream Serpentine Head. II. Then his Heads military on Earth will be broken. I. The usurping universal Head called Ecclesiastical : II. The national Serpentine
L Heads :

Heads. I. Exterior ; Mahometan and Hea-
then. II. Interior ; called falsly Christian :
I. Serpentine Monarchs, that War against
Christ. II. Serpentine Prelates and their Pa-
trons, that fight against Christ as in his own
name, and by his pretended commission.

And all this by Christ, and not by sinful
means.

Reformation is begun à *Minoritis* at the
lowest, for personal Salvation of the Elect :
But a *Majoritis*, at the *Heads* for publick
welfare : And God must raise Reforming
Princes and Pastors to that end.

FINIS.





