4)

c

~~1750~~
8 –

650

No 47.

# A DEFENCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF LOVE,

Which are necessary to the *Unity* and *Concord* of Christians; and are delivered in a Book called

## *The Cure of Church-Divisions.*

I. Inviting all sound and sober Christians, (by what name soever called) to receive each other to Communion in the same Churches.

II. And where that (which is first desirable) cannot be attained, to bear with each other in their distinct Assemblies, and to manage them all in Christian Love.

Written to detect and eradicate all Love-killing, dividing, and Church-destroying Principles, Passions and Practices, and to preserve the weak in this hour of manifold temptation.

By *Richard Baxter* one of the Mourners for a self-dividing and self-afflicting Land.

Psal. 120. 6, 7. *My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth Peace. I am for Peace: but when I speak, they are for War.*

*Didicerat enim* (*Rex Edilberth*) *& a Doctoribus auctoribus; suæ salutis, servitium Christi Voluntarium, non Coactitium, debere esse.* Beda Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 26

*London*, Printed for *Nevil Simmons*, at the Sign of the three Crowns near *Holborn* Conduit. 1671.

CAlvinus in Matth. 13. 35, 36, 37, &c. *Hoc porro multis valde absurdum esse videtur, in Ecclesiæ sinu foveri vel impios homines, vel profanos vel sceleratos: Adde quod plerique zeli prætextu plus æquo morosi, nisi omnia ad eorum votum composita sint quia nusquam apparet absoluta puritas, tumultuose ab Ecclesia discedunt, vel importuno rigore eam evertunt & perdunt. Quare hic meo judicio simplex est parabolæ scopus: Quamdiu in hoc mundo peregrinatur Ecclesia, bonis & sinceris in ea permixtos fore malos & hypocritas, ut se patientia arment filii Dei, & inter offendicula quibus turbari possent, retineant infractam fidei Constantiam———Est quidem hæc valde molesta conditio, quod reprobis oneratus Ecclesia usque ad finem mundi: hoc tamen tempus nobis ad patientiam ideo Christus præscribit, ne vanâ spe nos lactemus.——Graviter quidem Pastores incumbere decet ad purgandam Ecclesiam; Et hac in parte ab omnibus piis adjuvandi sunt, quatenus fert cujusq; vocatio. Verum ubi omnes in commune mutuas operas contulerint, non tamen eo usq; proficient, ut penitus ab omni sorde purgent ecclesiam.——Deinde etiam eorum Zelum frænare & moderari, qui fas esse non putant societatem nisi cum puris Angelis colere. Qui ad extirpandum quicquid displicet præpostere festinant, antevertunt quantum in se est, Christi judicium, & ereptum Angelis officium temere sibi usurpant.———*

*Et in* Mat. 6. [ *Quod Johannes privatam orandi formam tradidit suis discipulis, id feciſſe existimo prout temporis ratio ferebat. Res tunc valde apud Judæos corruptas fuiſſe notum eſt : Tota certe Religio ſic collapſa erat, ut mirum non ſit precandi morem à paucis ritè cultum fuiſſe. Rurſus quum inſtaret promiſſa redemptio, fidelium mentes precando ad ejus ſpem & deſiderium excitari oportuit. Johannes ex variis Scripturæ locis certam aliquam precationem conficere potuit quæ tempori congrueret, ac propius accederet ad ſpirituale Chriſti regnum——*

*Et in* Rom. 14. 3. *Prudenter & appoſite utriuſq; vitiis occurrit. Hoc enim vitio laborant qui ſunt firmiores, ut eos qui inanibus ſcrupulis detinentur, tanquam ſuperſtitioſulos deſpiciant, atq; irrideant : Contra hi vix ſibi cavere à temerariis judiciis queunt, ut non damnent quod non aſſequuntur : Quicquid fieri contra ſuum ſenſum cernunt, illud malum eſſe putant : Illos ergo à contemptu dehortatur, hos à nimia moroſitate.* ]

*Calvin* on *Matth.* 13. This ſeemeth very abſurd to many, that ungodly, or prophane, or wicked men, are cheriſhed in the boſome of the Church : And very many being over moroſe under pretence of zeal, unleſs all things be compoſed to their deſires, becauſe abſolute purity is no where to be found, do tumultuouſly depart from the Church, or by unſeaſonable rigidneſs do overthrow and deſtroy it. Therefore in my judgement, this is the ſimple ſcope of the Parable : that as long as the Church ſojourneth in this world, bad men and hypocrites will be mixt with the good and ſincere in it ; that Gods Children may arm themſelves

selves with patience, and among the offences that might trouble them, may retain unbroken faith and constancy :———Indeed this is a very troublesome condition, that the Church is burthened with Reprobates to the worlds end : But this is the space that Christ prescribeth us for patience, lest we flatter our selves with empty hopes———The Pastors indeed must diligently labour to purge the Church : And in this all godly men should help them, as far as their Calling doth allow. But when all men have done their best, they shall not so far have success, as to purge the Church from all defilements.———And Christ would bridle and moderate their Zeal, who think it unlawful to have Communion ( or fellowship ) with any but pure Angels---They that preposterously make haste to root out all that displeaseth them, do as much as in them is prevent Christs judgement, and snatch and usurp the Angels work.

*Calv.* on *Mat.* 6. That *John* delivered a private form of Prayer to his Disciples, I suppose he did it in suitableness to the time. That matters were then very corrupt with the Jews, is known. All Religion was so collapsed, that it is no wonder that the manner of praying was rightly observed but by few. And when the promised Redemption was at hand, it was meet that the minds of the faithful should by prayer be stirred up to desire and hope for it. *John* might from several places of Scripture make up one certain prayer, which should be agreeable to the time, and might come nearer to the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ.

*Here I desire the Reader again to note, that*

*though Prayer was then so corrupted by the Pharisees, yet Christ usually joyned in their Synagogues,* Luke 14. 17. *and never medled with our Controversie, about the Lawfulness of set Forms.*

*Calv.* on *Rom.* 14. 3. *Paul* doth prudently and fitly meet with the faults of both sides: For this is the fault of the strong, that they despise and deride them as superstitious folk who are detained with vain scruples: On the contrary these can hardly forbear censorious condemning that which they understand not: And they think that to be evil, which is against their own sense. Therefore *Paul* dissuadeth the one sort from contempt, and the other from overmuch moroseness.

THE

# THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST PART.

Page 1

A *Preface to those Readers who are of the Excepters mind, and are offended at my Book, called* The Cure of Church-Divisions, *Expostulating with them that have made my perswasions to Love and Communion, the occasion of their displeasure, backbitings and slanders; and proveing the necessity of Union among all real Christians, and in particular between the Non-conformists and Conformists.*

1. *The General Part, or Introduction.*

Chap. 1. *A Narrative of those late Actions which have occasioned mens displeasure of both sides against me: The Reasons of my omitting the Narration of those former Actions, which* Mr. Durel Page 28 *and*

*and many others have reported falsly, because they wrote of that which they knew not: The Reasons of my earnest displeasing endeavours with the Bishops for Reconciling and Uniting terms in 1660. Our Common Profession about a Liturgie at that time, and about this Liturgie, and my practice ever since. How the Non-conformists must be united among themselves. Of our judgement about Communion in the Liturgie and Sacrament with the Parish Churches in* an. 1663. *My ends in opening this.* 27. *Reasons for the writing and publishing my Book called* The Cure of Church-Divisions. *A word of the Debatemaker. Of the false reports that have been vented of my Book and me, and of some Inferences to be noted by the Reporters.*

Page 72 Chap. 2. *The state of the Controversie which I specially managed in that Book, with those that I called Dividers.*

Page 80 Chap. 3. *Objections and Questions about this subject.*

Page 82 Quest. 1. *Doth not the second Commandment and Gods oft expressed jealousie in the matters of his Worship, make it a sin to communicate in the Liturgie?*

86 Quest. 2. *Doth not the Covenant make it now unlawfull?*

88 Quest. 3. *Whether the case be not much altered since the Old Non-conformists wrote against separation*

Page ration, then called Browniſme? *And whether we have not greater Light into theſe Controverſies, than they had?*

90 Queſt. 4. *Is it not a ſhameful receding from our Reformation, now to uſe an unreformed Liturgie? and a pulling down what we have been building?*

91 Queſt. 5. *Will it not ſtrengthen and encourage the adverſaries of Reformation?*

93 Queſt. 6. *Will it not divide us among our ſelves, while one goeth to the Pariſh Churches, and another doth not?*

94 Queſt. 7. *Shall we not countenance Church Tyranny, and harden Prelates in their uſurpations, and invite them to go further, and make more burdens of Ceremonies or Forms to lay upon the Churches? The manifold danger of feigning the Scripture to be a particular Rule, where it is none.*

---

The

# The Contents of the Answer to the Exceptions.

Except. 1. *False Worship distinguished and opened: Whether I speak very little against persecution?*

Exc. 2. *Whether I was as guilty as any one whatsoever in stirring up and fomenting the War. Whether it be unbecoming a Minister to blame the sin which he hath been guilty of? or to blame the Effects, if he encouraged the Cause? Whether nothing of the late Military Actions, be to be openly repented of? Whether I never mention the prophane, but with honour?*

Exc. 3. *Of partial tenderness as to Reproof? Whether my prayer was jesting? &c.*

Exc. 4. *Of the supposed Expressions of my Pride.*

Exc. 5. *More of the Excepters mistakes.*

Exc. 6. *What separation Scripture calleth us to, and what not?*

Exc. 7. *Of the Corruptions in the primitive Churches, and of Imposing.*

Exc. 8. *Whether I be a Revealer of mens secrets?*

Exc. 9. *Whether the Universality of Christians ever took the Pope for their Head? Of my Dispute with Mr.* Johnson (*alias*, Terret) *on that point. Whether all History be uncertain? Whether it be intolerable to say, that the Papists understand not that answer which is Christian sense and reason.*

Exc. 10. *Of Local Communion: of separating from the particular Churches which we were never members of.*

Exc. 11. *Of Censurers requitals. Whether a Papist can go beyond a Reprobate?*

Exc. 12. *Of Scandal; and of* Pauls *case*; 1 Cor. 8. *explained.*

Exc. 13. *More of my revealing secrets, and other of the Excepters mistakes.*

Exc. 14. *Whether by Separatists, I meant the Independents as such?*

Exc. 15. *Whether I speak slightly of Prayer in comparison of Study? Whether it be a slighting of Christ, to say that he increased in wisdom? which is opened. Whether Christ needed not prayer, but as a pattern to us? &c.*

Exc. 16. *Of expounding Scripture by the Impressions set upon our minds, in Melancholy. How the Spirit cureth our fears, and giveth us comfort, by twelve acts.*

Exc. 17. *Whether my saying, that God hateth neither extemporate prayers nor forms, be as if I could never speak meanly enough of prayer? Whether I be a Trifler, that neither believe the Scripture or my self, for saying that in Christs time, both Liturgies by forms, and prayers by habit were used, and that Christ yet made no question about them?* Seldens *words upon the Jews Liturgies.*

Exc. 18. *Whether I did ill in dissuading men from jeering and jesting at other true Christians manner of Worship? And whether I purposely justifie persecution?*

Exc. 19. *Whether all be Idolatry which is used in the Worship of God without a Command of God to make it lawful. The unhappy consequents of making so many Christians and Churches Idolatrous.*

Exc. 20. *More of the Excepters mistakes.*

Exc. 21. *Whether our presence at the prayers of every Church, be a professing of consent to all that is faulty in those prayers?*

Exc. 22. *Of not silencing any truth for peace.*

Exc. 23. *Of imprudent speeches to superiours.*

Exc. 24. *Whether there be any weak, ignorant and injudicious Christians; and whether they hereby have been any cause of our divisions? And whether these be vile Epithets, not to be given to Christians, but instead of them all Christians are to be told, that they have the anointing and know all things? Twenty proofs of such ignorance: And the greatness of their sin (especially Ministers) that would hide it or deny it, at this time, manifested in forty aggravations.*

Exc. 25. *Whether any hearers use to be more moved with the affectionate delivery of meaner than with a colder delivery of more excellent things? Of my forsaking the Lords work.*

Exc. 26. *Whether there be any Article necessary to salvation unknown to the universal Church? Whether in points of difficult speculation, one clear judicious well studied Divine be not to be more hearkened to, than the Major Vote? Whether the perfection and plainness of the Scriptures prove all Christians to be of equal understanding, or to need no others help?*

Exc. 27. *Whether honest people be not in danger of following others into error and sin? And whether to say so, be enough to make people afraid of being honest?*

Exc. 28. *Whether it be new or intolerable, to advise men not to imitate Religious people in the sins which they are most prone to? What it is to flatter Professors of Religion; and what it is in them to expect it.*

Exc. 29. *Of the name of a Sect.*

Exc. 30. *Whether we must avoid that good which is owned by bad men?*

Exc. 31. *Of his accusations of my unsetledness in the point of Church Government, and suspectedness in the point of Justification.*

Exc. 32. *Whether we can speak bad enough of corrupted Nature. Twenty instances of speaking* too bad *of it. Whether I understand by the* [*flesh*] *only the sensitive Appetive? Whether I be strongly inclined to deny Original sin? Of free-will.*

Exc. 33. & 34. *Of other mistakes of the Excepter.*

Exc. 35. *Whether no persecution may consist with love?*

Exc. 36. & 37. *Of the fewness of believers, &c.*

Exc. 38. *More of his mistakes.*

Exc. 39. *Whether the same Spirit may not now use the ancient Prayers and Responses which first brought them in, or used them?*

Exc. 40. *Of my comparing* Ol. Cromwell *to* Maximus, *and whether I dedicated a flattering Book to his Son?*

Exc. 41. *Of his imputation of levity. The Conclusion,*

*sion, with some advice to the Excepter, and a lamentation for the decay of Love.*

## A POSTSCRIPT.

*SHewing how far, as Mr.* Jacob *and the old Independents, so the* New England *Pastors and Elders (and Magistrates) are from approving of the Principles of Separation. Reasons why I am against the new terms of Church-membership, and the approaches of some Independents toward Separation. Reasons why the Independent Churches should as much fear the principles of Separation as any.*

THE

THE

# PREFACE

TO THOSE

# READERS

Who are of the Excepters mind, and are offended at my Book called,

THE

# CURE

OF

## Church-Divisions.

BRethren, *why should I wonder at the fruits of those weaknesses which we are all subject to (some more, some less) in this state of imperfection? and which I so lately told you of, at large, in my* Character *of and* Directions *for* Weak-Christians. *If a spirit of* Infallibility *and* Miracles *in* Paul *and other the Apostles of our Lord, could not overcome these lamentable failings, in their hearers and followers, in the Primitive*

*mitive Church, why should such as I look for more success. If* Paul *thought his* Galatians *foolish and bewitched* Gal. 3. 1. *and his* Corinthian *Christians to be* babes, yea Carnal *and* not Spiritual, *because there were among them* ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις καὶ διχοστασίαι, envying, strife, *and* divisions, *or as the words signifie,* zeal *or* emulation, strife *and* separations *or* factions, *or* dividing into several parties, *while one saith, I* am of Paul, and another I am of Apollos; *what wonder if we are no better now. But our sins are not the less because that others had the like, but the* greater *because we take not warning by them, when the spirit of God hath so smartly reprehended them.*

*I have as little reason as you to be ignorant what provocations the present militating and exasperated parties do give each others; and how fair pretenses uncharitableness hath obtained. And I know but few of you that have either more openly put themselves into the breach, and attempted more to have prevented both* severities against you, *and the present* divisions among us, *than I have done; or that have undergone more* wrath *and* calumny *(to mention no other kind of sufferings) for such attempts than I have done: you cannot justly think that it is for want of your provocations and temptations to discontent, that I am not of your mind. I have had as many and great provocations as most of you all: And I am not naturally without those passions, which would take advantage by such usage. A multitude of fierce and reproachful Volumes are written against me, many of them abounding with gross untruths in matter of fact; to all which I have for peace sake been silent to this day.*

*And*

*And none that know me do think, that it is to escape mens wrath that I have been more for peace and unity than you. I will do that right to them that have done me but little, as to testifie that I verily believe, could my Conscience comply with their Opinions and wills, I could as soon have their favour as most among you. But God is still the God of* Love, *and* Peace, *and* Concord; *and so must all his servants be: He changeth not, and* we must not change *from this which is his Image.* This is my Religion; *and if any mens provocations must change me from this, they must change my Religion. I am not for such fruits of suffering as some late eminent prisoners in* London *were, who turned Quakers in prison, and lost their Religion with their liberty; nor will I pretend Conscience for the defiling of my Conscience, and the forsaking of the sacred life of Love. Do you not your selves condemn a* Carnal state? *Remember then that they are* Carnal *who are* contentious dividers *in the Churches,* 1 Cor. 3. 1, 2, 3. *You will I doubt not joyn with me in disallowing of a* fleshly mind *and* life: *Remember then that the* workes of the flesh are these, *as* adulteries, formications, &c. *So also,* hatred (*or* enmities) variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions (διχοστασιαι, Dividings into parties) heresies, envyings, &c. *I know you will confess that* if any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, Rom. 8. 9. *Remember then that the* Spirit *of Christ is the spirit of* Love; Love *to* God *and* man *is that* Divine nature *which God indueth all Christs members with.* The fruit of the spirit is Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness,

temperance, Gal. 5. 20, 21, 22. *When we think our selves* wiser *than those we differ from, let us not shew it by* masterly censoriousness *or* contempt, *but by being as much* more Loving *and* peaceable *than they are.* My brethren be not many Masters, knowing that ye shall receive the greater condemnation. *And when other mens faults rise up before you, watch both your passions and your tongues, remembring that* In many things we all offend: And if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man, and able to bridle the whole body. Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? Let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom: But if ye have a bitter envious zeal and strife in your hearts, glory not and lie not against the truth: This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devillish: For where envying zeal (ζῆλος) and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work, Jam. 3. 1, 2, 13, 14, 15, 16. *Brethren no change of times will allow me to change from this which is my Religion: No injuries from men will excuse me if I forsake it. I hope I shall not be such a changeling in this which is the Great Command of the Gospel, and the fulfilling of the Law, and the very* Heart *of all Religion, as to turn from it for a prison or a voluminous calumny and reproach. I confess I must change, but I hope it will be, to turn still to more and more Love and Concord, and not to Less. It is not thank worthy to Love those that Love us, nor to speak well of those that use us well, nor to take it patiently when we are buffetted or punished for our faults: But if we suffer for well doing,*

*and*

*and lose none of our Love or patience or integrity by our sufferings, happy are we. Alas how sadly do many mistake, that fear only yielding to those whom they suffer by, and do not fear those passions, which would quench their Love, and turn them unto sects and heresies, in meer opposition to their afflicters.*

*I know that the great objection is*, That under pretence of Love; I would bring ungodly persecutors into reputation, and tempt men to unlawful Communion with them, and that I make an ill application of good principles, to hide the odiousness of their sins, that care so little for the souls of men, as their usage of Ministers and people doth openly declare. If I had only perswaded you to unite in Love to one another, and not to think better of the destroyers of the Church, nor to comply with them in their Idolatrous way of worship, you could have born it.

*Brethren, will you, that take it for injustice in a Judge, who will condemn a man before he hear him speak for himself, be intreated but to repress your passions for a little while, till you have calmely considered these things following.*

1. *Did I ever perswade you to think well of the faults of other men, while I perswaded you to love their persons? (unless you call the Communion a fault of which we are to speak anon) Did I ever seek to abate your dislike of the sins which you most speak against? Either malignity, cruelty, persecution, or any other.*

2. *The thing which I perswaded men to in that book, was Communion with all Christians, (but differently as they differ in degrees of purity.) That*

*which I motioned and pleaded for, I summed up in the latter end, with the contrary extreams; which you may there read in five propositions,* 1. To adhere to the primitive simplicity, and make nothing necessary to our Concord and Communion which is not so. 2. To love your neighbours as your selves, and receive those to Communion whom Christ receiveth, and that hold the foresaid necessary things, be they Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independents, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Arminians, Lutherans, &c. so they be not proved heretical or wicked. *Peruse the rest. When you come to your selves you will confess that this was no unreasonable nor unchristian motion? Which of all these* Parties *is it that you are angry with me for perswading you to Communion with? Must* every one *of the Parties renounce Communion with all the rest? O how unlike is this doctrine to that of the Holy Ghost?* 1 Cor. 1. 10. & 3. 1, 2, 3. Rom. 14. & 15. &c. *If not* every one, *which of them is it? Is any one of all these* Parties, *the whole* Church *of God? who dare say so? Why should I refuse Communion with* any one *of these, while I scruple not Communion with* all the rest. *Or if it must be but with* one sort, *how shall I know which of them it must be?*

*I know some men judge of others by their* Own opinions *and* self interest: *But is that indeed the Christian Rule? Some of the Episcopal way are angry with me for including the Independents; when I doubt not but the far greater part of them are the sincere servants of Christ: And since their Synods late moderation, I know not many Churches in the world, besides the* Waldenses *of the* Bohemian,

an, Polonian *and* Hungarian *Government, who are neerer to my own judgement, in Order and Discipline than those in New England are, and none that for Piety I prefer before them. Some are angry with me for taking in the Anabaptists: when it is not such as the* Munster *Anabaptists that we have to do with, but godly men, that differ from us in a point so difficult, that many of the Papists and Prelatists have maintained, that it is not determined in Scripture, but Dependeth on the tradition of the Church. I am not of their mind, and I have given them my reasons in my book for Infant Baptism: But having had more invitation to study the point throughly, and treat of it largely, than most of those that are offended herein, let them give me leave to say, that I know it to be a very difficult point; And I know as good and sober men of that mind, as of theirs that are most against them; And I know that in the dayes of* Tertullian, Nazianzene, Augustine, *men had liberty to be baptized, or to bring their children, when and at what age they pleased, and none were forced to go against their Consciences: And I know not that our Rule or Religion is changed, or that we are grown any wiser or better than they. I once motioned terms of Concord to the Anabaptists, and was in as hopeful a way for Peace with them, as with most others, till* ——

*Some are offended that I put in the Arminians; when I am confident that there is not one of many hundreds, who are against Communion with them that know what Arminianisme is, and truly understand the difference. And the same men refuse not Communion with those* Anabaptists *who are* Arminians. *And it hath been the work of not only*

Mr. Dury, *but many other excellent men, for many years, to reconcile the Lutherans with the Calvinists! and it hath justly been thought a blessed work to draw them to Communion with each other! And yet the Lutherans are not only of most of the Arminan opinions, but also have superintendents, liturgies, ceremonies, exorcisme, Church-images,* &c. *When so much labour hath been bestowed in this work, and so many excellent Treatises written for it, by pious* Dury, Junius, Paræus, Calixtus, Ludov. Crocius, Joh. Bergius, Conrad. Bergius, Hattonus, Amyraldus, Hall, Davenant, Morton, &c. *When all sober Protestants have prayed for their success, or approved this design, are we now come to that pass, that those that seem the zealousest for the Church and mutuall Love, shall think it to be a sin, either to hold Communion with the Lutherans, or to write for it?*

*But the great offence is that I put in the* Episcopal, *as fit for our Communion; which I suppose is principally because of their* manner of worship, *in which we must have Communion with them. Which foreseeing, I answered more objections* against this *than against the rest, which hath occasioned some falsly to affirm, that I write only to draw men to Communion with the* Church *of* England. *I will therefore here proceed to some further expostulations of this point.*

3. *Is there ever a word in all my Book, perswading you to Communion with a Diocesan Church, as such?*

4. *Is there one word in it for your Communion with a national Church, that hath one political spiritual Constitutive Head under Jesus Christ; (though*

*the*

*the Kings Supremacie none of us queſtion ) Do I once* meddle *with any ſuch thing ?*

5. *Is there a word to perſwade you to Communion with* Perſecutors *? Though I am forced to diſpleaſe you by anſwering that objection, and telling you that we ſhould be* Impartial, *and remember what moſt parties or many have done to others ; which you were not able it ſeems , to bear, though it was plainly neceſſary to the due reſolution of the Caſe in queſtion , whether any Perſecutors may be Communicated with ?*

6. *Is there one word to perſwade you that* every Pariſh *is a true Church, and fit to be Communicated with ? If none of all this be there , I hope your Patience is not very hard put to it, if I do but intreat you to repent , if you have ſaid that of it which is untrue, whoever told you ſo, or at leaſt, not to proceed in untruths when you are ſo often warned of them.*

7. *Do you think that it was done like tender conſcienced Chriſtians , for ſo many to ſay, that I write againſt* your meetings , *yea that* I conformed my ſelf *? And this before ever they ſaw my book , or ever ſpake with man that ſaw it ? And that men dare yet continue ſuch ſayings while the book is viſible to prove them falſe ? and revile againſt it when they confeſs that they never read it ? Is this the fruit of the ſpirit of Chriſt ?*

*But give me leave after theſe expoſtulations , to come a little nearer to your objection, and to tell you openly where we differ.*

1. *You would have me ſpeak for Love and Unity among the Nonconformiſts : ( And I know no man that hath done it more frequently and more openly than*

*than I have done; having these 24 years been offering or publishing terms of peace.) But God forbid that ever I should be of their opinion (if there be any such) who think that our union must be only with a Party, and not with the whole Church of Christ; or that we must Love none, or seek peace with none but those, that are in such points of our own opinion? I am united first to Christ and the universal Church, and consequently to all the parts as such; though in divers degrees as they differ themselves in their Conformity to Christ.*

2. *I beseech you endure me with patience to tell you, that I never took either the Non-conformists alone, or the Conformists to be the whole Church of Christ, or to be his only people in this Land: nor the only faithful Ministers of the Gospel. Brethren, let not* wrath *and the* faults of some, *deceive us to become injurious to others; or to deny them Love and Justice, because that many of their opinion are bad. Where in all the world, do you know a Kingdom, where the greater part are not too bad, and where those that are of the Rulers Religion, be it never so right, do not comply with it to serve their flesh? The Low Countries have no Bishops nor Ceremonies, nor no such Liturgie as most are offended at with us, but are under the Presbyterian Government: And yet what the Common sort are there, and in other such Countries, I need not tell you. Forgive me for telling you; that if you know no godly persons (Ministers or others) of the Episcopal way, I do, and long have done: And as my acquaintance increaseth I know more and more. You that take me to be so bad, as the Antidote describeth me, will think it no great commendation to them, that I pro-*

*fess*

*fess to know those of them, whom I take to be much better than my self: Therefore I will say a greater word, that I know those of them whom I think as godly and humble Ministers, as most of the Nonconformists whom I know. I doubt not but there are many hundred Parish Ministers, who are no Persecutors, nor ever consented to Persecution! who Preach holily, and live holily, though I could wish that they were more. And what reason have you to charge any other mens sins on them? I am not ignorant what may be said to make them* consequentially *partakers. But I must say this in answer to all; that if God will charge* undiscerned consequences *upon them and us, there will none of us all be found meet for Church Communion, or for heaven.*

*I am judged by your selves to be too* censorious of you, *and too sharp in telling* you *of that which I doubt not to be your sin: why then are you so offended with me for being* no more censorious *and* sharp *towards others? was I ever thought to be kinder* to them *than* to you? *Is not every man* naturally *most favourable to those of his* own opinion? *Is it* Conformity *or* Non-conformity *which I have most* defended? *Is it as a* Conformist *or a* Nonconformist *that I have been* judged *and used these* 33. *years? It is they that have lately written reproachfully against me: It is they that have ——— I need name no more. But for the Non-conformists I must bear witness of their kindness to me, that they never rejected me, never forbad me to preach (but one Sermon,) nor, (except particular angry parties whom I wrote against,) they never denyed me their good word. What then can you think should draw me to be* too sharp against them, *and too favourable*

*ble* to the other? *I look for no worldly advantage or benefit from them. Surely he that is apt to be* too sharp, *is liker to be so against* dissenters *from whom he* suffereth, *than against those that have ever been his friends? But truth is truth, and the* wisdom from above is without partiality and without hypocrisie. *Do but mark how both parties* justifie *me, while both condemn me, (though I am too Conscious of my faultiness to justifie my self) The one side think that I am not half* sharp enough *against the Anabaptists, Separatists and Independents: And you that I now write to, think that I am not half* sharp enough *against the* Conformists: *so that one side doth not only justifie me from the charge of censoriousness or sharpness against the other, but blame me for the contrary, and are angry with me that I am no* sharper. *But Gods judgement of us all is right, and his seal is sure,* The Lord knoweth who are his *whoever shall deny it. God will not judge of upright Christians as they judge of themselves, when they unjustly accuse themselves; Much less according to the judgement of their adversaries.*

*Brethren, I think verily that I have as much to say against conformity, as it is required of us Ministers, as most of you that are most angry have: And yet I tell you again, that I believe there are many hundred Godly Ministers in the Parish Churches of* England, *and that their Churches are true Churches, and that I think not my self worthy to be compared with Mr.* Bolton, Whately, Fenner, *Dr.* Preston, Sibbes, White, Field, Usher, Jewel, *and abundance other old Conformists: And you might forgive me, if I compare them with* your selves,

selves, *and if I again profess to you, that if they were all alive, and used now the same Liturgy and Ceremonies as they did then, I could not find in my heart to think their Communion in Prayer and Sacrament to be unlawful, nor to censure that man as injurious to the Church, who should write to perswade others not to separate from them on that supposition. I am sure the Assembly of Divines that sate heretofore at* Westminster, *were so conformable when they went thither, that I never heard of five Non-conformists among them, besides the five dissenting brethren: Their judgement was (as Mr.* Sprints) *that Conformity was lawful in case of necessity, rather than to be deprived of liberty to preach the Gospel; but that it was a burden which they should cast off as soon as they had liberty so to do; And I knew some who urged them to declare their Repentance for their former conformity, and to have confessed it to have been their sin. But I never heard of any considerable number of them that ever did it, or that changed their minds: And though* Ministerial Conformity (*as to* Engagements) *is now much altered, many* of them *that are* yet living *do again conform. And though I then was not, nor yet am of their mind my self, yet I would not shun Communion with the Reverend members of that Assembly* (Twisse, Gataker, Whittaker, *and the rest*) *if again they were users of the Liturgie among us.*

3. *But what if in all this I be mistaken, and if Communion in the Liturgie prove unlawful? should you be so impatient as not to bear with one that in such an opinion differeth from you? As I write for my opinion, so do you for yours? And why should*

not

*not you bear with my dissent, as well as I do with yours? My judgement commanded me*, First *to* exhort all sober Christians, to draw neerer, and to lay by those principles, which drive them from each other as not to be Communicated with: And Secondly, where that cannot be obtained, to bear with one another in our several Assemblies or Churches, *and to* manage them with Love and peace. *This was my exhortation, And the time once was (even when the five Dissenting brethren pleaded their cause with the Assembly at* Westminster,) *that this motion would have been accepted, or at least not judged so great an injury as now it is. O brethren, do not expose your selves and cause, so much to the censure of impartial men, and of posterity, as to let them know that you are grown so high, or that in the very day of our humiliation these terms seem so injurious to you, as these exceptions intimate. Mr.* Nye *and Mr. Tho.* Goodwin *were so friendly with Dr.* Preston, *as to publish his works when he was dead. And I verily think if you had been acquainted with such Conformists heretofore, as he was, and Dr.* Stoughton, *and Dr.* Taylor, *and Mr.* Downam, *and those forenamed, and abundance more, you could not choose but have thought them both* tolerable *and* lovely, *if you had not thought it lawful to Communicate with them: Much more you should have endured such as the* Non-conformists *of that age, who used* Parish Communion, *and pleaded for it against the Separatists, in* far sharper *language than ever I used to you (as their books against* Johnson *and* Cann *and* Brown *and* Ainsworth *do yet visibly declare.) If you think* their Reasons *and* mine *for the Lawfulness*

*fulucſs of* Pariſh Communion *to be inſufficient, ſo do I think of yours againſt it.*

*I have read divers that charge the Liturgie with* Idolatry. *Did I ever lay ſo heavy a charge* on you? *Did I ever ſay that it is unlawful to have Communion* with you, *as you ſay it is to have Communion with* others? *Why then ſhould you not bear with* leſſer *Contradiction, when others muſt bear with far* greater from you? *Will you proclaim your ſelves to be the more impatient? You will then make men think that you are the moſt guilty.* You *ſay of ſuch men as thoſe before named* [ your worſhip is Idolatry, *and* it is unlawful for any Chriſtian to hold Communion with you in it, *and* all that are preſent *and* joyn with you are guilty of the Idolatry ] *I do but ſay, that* [ you make the Caſe more odious than it is, *and* injure others by this charge ] *What a world are we come to; when thoſe that you count unworthy of your Communion, muſt not take your charge of* Idolatry *as* too ſharp, *and yet* you *that ſhould be moſt patient, take it for a heynous crime and injury, to be told that you* wrong them, *and that you judge too hardly of them? and that their Communion is not unlawful!*

*Nay, is it ſeemly for th ſe men that have ſaid and done* ſo much, ( *I ſay,* ſo much, ) *for* Liberty of Conſcience, *and would never conſent to the* Weſtminſter *Aſſembly to declare againſt it, even as to thoſe parties, whom you counted very erroneous your ſelves, to be yet ſo impatient of* our liberty *to tell the Church* our judgement *about the* Lawfulneſs *of other mens Communion? Is it meet for them who are offended with thoſe that ſilence us and reſtrain*

*us*

*us of our liberty, to be so tender, as to shew by such language as this Excepter useth, and by such unjust fames as some others have dispersed, how little themselves can bear dissenters?*

*I know that displeasure and impatience in the divers parties,* is expressed *different wayes; But O that yet you would consider, how near of kin the* principles *are, and how much defect of* Love *and* Patience *there is* in you *as well as* others.

4. *And I intreat you to mark but what your own objection intimateth: You could endure it if I had only pleaded for* Peace *and* Concord *among the* Non-conformists: *But doth not this intimate, that* Peace *and* Concord *in it self is desirable, among all those that* should agree *and be* united? *Why, I am as well able to prove that* all true Christians *should have* Peace *and* Love *and* Concord *for the strength of the Universal Church, as any of you all are able to prove, that any one Party should have Concord in it self. The Episcopal part would have all possible Concord among those that are Episcopal; and the Presbyterians among Presbyterians; and the Independents among Independents, and the Anabaptists among Anabaptists; no party is for Divisions among themselves, till the particular temptation doth prevail. And yet I am not* pardonable *for motioning, that all sober Christians, as Christians, may have all possible Love, Peace and Concord among themselves.*

*Brethren, I am sure that Christs body is but one: I do not despise all those words of Christ and the Spirit which I cited in my book: I know that the diversity of knowledge and gifts among true Christians, should not make* diversities of Churches,

1 Cor. 12.

r. 12. *When I* know *this, and* cannot choose *but know it, why should any be angry with me* for knowing it? I know *that the Godly Conformists and Non-conformists in* England should be united, *as well as each party among themselves; I know that our division gratifieth the Papists, and greatly hazardeth the Protestant Religion, and that more than most of you seem to believe or to regard;* I know *that our division advantageth Profaneness, and greatly hindereth the success of Ministers on both sides: I* know *that it greatly pleaseth Satan, and buildeth up his Kingdom, and weakneth the Kingdom of our Lord: His own mouth hath told us so: And shall I not believe him? As in our* Worcestershire *Agreement heretofore, we proceeded on terms which excluded not the* Episcopal; *so in our desires and terms of Concord, we must still go the same way, and shut out none from our Love and Communion, whom Christ receiveth and would have us receive. If* they *shut out* us, *that is not* our sin *but* theirs. *The hurt and loss is farr more to the* excluder than the excluded; *to him that* loseth his Charity, *than to him that loseth but* Communion *with others. And I know that as none shall take out of Christs hands, those that are given him by the Father, and he himself will in no wise cast them out; so he will at last give no more thanks either to* Diotrephes *or to any* separating parties, *that would rob him of his own, and say that his* Children *are* not his Children, *and that his* Churches *are* not his Churches, *and that his* Worship *is* not his Worship, *but* Idolatry, *than* you *will give to him that will turn out your Children and servants, and take away your*

goods and lands, and say that they are not yours.

Brethren, it grieveth me to the heart, that neither party Conformable or Non-conformable is more sensible of the sin and danger of our distance. (Though I know that in both parties there are many wise and holy persons, who I suppose lament it more than I do.) It layeth my soul in daily lamentations, to see how we run further and further from each other; to the apparent danger of the Protestant Cause, and of the Kingdoms welfare, and of all the hopes of our posterity; And that in stead of repenting of those sins which every party is guilty of, and taking warning by our former experiences, or by the dreadful judgements of God upon us all, that yet we are daily losing the little Love that is left, and still flying further into more and more exasperations and distast; As if all the Church and Kingdoms hopes consisted in overcoming one another. When our long experience telleth us, that subduing those that must still be members, is no Cure of a divided body; and that treading men down doth but alienate them the more.

And I know that it is Concord and Union upon such terms in which we are all agreed, that must be our Cure, if ever we be Cured. And that no Covenant nor partial interest, can possibly justifie us; if we will stablish our union on such terms, as shall either exclude such on one side as Jewel, Grindal, Downam, Hall and other such Bishops, or such on the other side as Ames, Hildersham, Cartwright, Bayne, Egerton, and other such worthy persons that were Nonconformists:

For my part, my terms should neither exclude, Episcopal, Independent, nor Anabaptist. But one that

*that* will ſeparate *and* exclude himſelf, *or one that will* tyranize *and exclude* all others, *we cannot any otherwiſe have Concord and Communion with, than diſtantly by Chriſtian principles and patience. But at long running they ſhall be all convinced, that the Cure of the Church is not by meer* Conqueſt *or* Contempt *of others; Nor by the Union and Concord of* ſome Parties *only, but of the* whole; *And that the ſound and ſober Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts, are the parts in* England, *that muſt be united; And that neither* Violence *nor* unjuſt ſeparating Cenſures *are the* healing way; *And that which party ſoever it be that contriveth and endeavoureth a Union, by the extirpation and ruine of the other part, is ſchiſmatical, and taketh the way of deſolation; And that it is the Devil, the Infidels, and the Papiſts, that will be the gainers by our continued diviſions. And therefore though I know not the man alive, in* England *who hath more fair pretence, from the ungrateful uſage of the differing parties, to deſiſt from any more ſuch conciliatory attempts, yet, let my hopes be never ſo low, ſeeing it is a thing that* muſt be done, *or we are* undone, *I will imitate honeſt Mr.* Dury, *and chooſe rather to waſt my daies in vain attempts for Peace, than to go quarrelling and contending to the grave, as I have ſeen too many others do.*

*And if both parties in this exaſperated age, ſhould never ſo much revile and ſlander me, (though a ſurviving name be little of my intereſt) I make no doubt but our* poſterity, *will be* conſtrained by experience, *to think better of* Peace-makers *than of* Contenders. *The names of* Melanchthon, Bucer, Calixtus, Bergius, Burroughs, Hall,

 Davenant,

Davenant, &c. *are far more grateful and honourable to after times, than the name of* Flacius *(though an excellent learned man) or of* Schlusselburgius, Calovius, *or any of our fiery Contenders or destroyers.*

*To all this I add, that even the separated Churches themselves do find a necessity of Union and Concord for their preservation. Division else will pursue the several pieces, and the same principles which I write against, if they go along with them, will crumble them all to dust. The separated Churches in* Holland *(of the English) fully proved this. Even those members in* New-England, *which Mr.* Norton *sadly told Mr.* Ash *and me, did withdraw and gather themselves to an unlearned Pastor, and would not be intreated by Magistrates or Ministers, yet when they were separated, would fain keep Concord among themselves. And if half of that separated body, should again have separated from the rest, that fragment would fain keep themselves in Unity. And still nature teacheth them to feel that their Unity is their strength and life, and that their Division is their dissolution.*

5. *And I must needs tell the world, that though I Conform not, it is greater things than the matters of Conformity, which are the chief parts of my Religion; And therefore it is not* Non-conformity *that we must all Unite in, so much as* Christianity, *and soundness in the Faith. And I doubt not but the Independents who offer to subscribe to the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *will say that they differ far more from the Quakers, and Seekers, and Familists, than they do from the Conformists. And*

so

*so do I, though I would have Love and Gentleness exercised to them all.*

*6. And if the present Conformable Ministry were more to be blamed than they are, yet they may* learn *and* profit *while they teach. Many of them are young, coming lately from the University; and may yet grow up to ability and piety, and greater usefulness in the Church: And many of them are prejudiced against their brethren, for want of acquaintance: And a Christian prudent Loving familiarity and Conversation with them, may make them in time become more serviceable to the truth, than we are: whereas a continued distance, estrangedness, and censorious aversation, will feed their mistakes and uncharitable censures of us, yea and their sharp severities against us, and will keep up a heart-war, and a Church-war in the land. And alas who knoweth either* when *or* how, *or in whose calamity it will End. For he that puts on his armour should not boast as he that puts it off.*

*I do therefore conclude with this repeated profession, that it is the Conformists and the Non-conformists that constitute the English protestant body; And it is the Conformists and Non-conformists that must at last, (when they are wearied with tearing and opposing one another) be brought together, and the faithful of both partyes must build up the Church in Love and Peace. And therefore the interest of the* Protestant Religion, *must be much kept up by the means of the* Parish Ministers, *and by the* doctrine *and* worship *there performed; and not by the Non conformists alone. And they that think and endeavour that which is contrary to this (of which side soever) shall have the hearty thanks and concurrence of the Papists.*

Him therefore that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not. And let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: For God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another mans servant? —— The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but Righteousness, and Peace, aud Joy in the Holy-Ghost: For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace and the things wherewith one may edifie another. And blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.

# THE GENERAL PART OR INTRODUCTION TO THE DEFENCE OF MY CURE OF Church-Divisions.

Being a Narrative of those late Actions which have occasioned the Offence of men on both Extreams; with the true Reasons of them, And of these Writings, which some account Unseasonable: with the true stating of the Case of that Separation, which my opposed Treatise medleth with; And an Answer to several great Objections.

Printed in the Year. 1671.

# I. THE GENERAL PART, OR INTRODUCTION.

## CAP. I.

*The Narrative of those late Actions, which have occasioned mens displeasure against me on both sides: with the Reasons of them, and of my Writing, which I am now defending.*

THE number of Books written against me is so great, that if I should not be very suspicious of my self, lest I had wronged the truth, and the Church of God, and given men just occasion of all this obloquy, I should be very defective in humility, and in that care, which I am obliged to for the avoiding of such injuries. And I find upon examination that if

if I could have let all sides alone, and judged it consistent with my duty to be silent while the envious man sowed his tares, and not to have contradicted any that I took to be injuring the Truth and Church, nor to have sounded the trumpet against any error which arose before us, I could as easily have escaped their wrath as others. And I find that whereas our differences both in Doctrine, and Worship, and Discipline, have engaged men of several minds in such writings against me. (Some Infidels, diverse Quakers, Papists, Antinomians, some Arminians, some Anti-arminians, Anabaptists, Separatists, Levellers, Dioceſans, &c.) What one accuseth me of, another doth not only acquit me of, but ordinarily as sharply accuse me for the contrary, and for going no further from the rest. So that nothing but silence could put by their fiercest accusations, And silence it self will not please the Imperious sect, who think me criminal, because I serve them not according to their own desire and way. And silence was not that which I promised God at my ordination, nor is it a doing of that work, to which I was then consecrated and devoted.

But because some men speak in a more Sanguinary dialect than others, and because the late charges of Disloyalty, ought not to be disregarded by a loyal subject, and because for the sakes of their own souls, it hath often made me pitty Mr. *Durel*, Dr. *Boreman*, and many others like them, who have published ugly falsehoods of me, I once thought to have here exercised so much Charity to them, as by a full Narrative of all

those

those actions of my life, which concern such matters as they accuse me of, to have rectified all their mistakes at once, and made them understand, what it is, which they wrote of before they understood it: And the rather because this excepter followeth them, in telling me how guilty I was of the wars, and all the effects of them, and also that I wrote a flattering book to *Richard Cromwell*. And in this narrative I purposed to confess so much as had any truth in their accusations, and to stop them in their falsifications and calumnies as to the rest. But upon second thoughts, I cast it by, perceiving by too long experience, that they who are engaged against the Truth, are unable to bear it, and take all for an unsufferable wrong to them, which detecteth the falsehood of their reports. And when men do (as Mr. *Hinkley*) importune me to publish the reasons of my Non-conformity, when they know that the Law forbiddeth it, and there is no expectation of procuring a Licence, or when the old stratagem is so visibly used, of drawing us by their challenges into their Ambuscad'es; or when I am eagerly provoked to gape against an oven, while it is red or flaming hot; If I crave their patience, and exercise my own, till it be grown more cool, before I accept of such a challenge, and suffer them to use their Art (till repentance shall unteach it them) and to make my *name* a stepping stone, to those ends which they now aspire after, methinks they should be content, to talk on without a contradiction, and to be free from the light of that Truth, which they are not able to endure; Or at least should pardon me, if I imitate my Lord, that

that was silent, even when false accusers sou his defamation and his blood. But, God e bling me, I promise them an answer, as soon they will procure me License and Indemnity.

In the mean time, I shall now only, 1. T you why I offended one side, by saying so mu against their impositions, 2. And why I ha since offended the other, yea both sides, by r late Book called, *The Cure of Church-Divisions.*

Before the King was restored, being then London, I was called to preach two publick se mons; the one before the Parliament, the d. before they voted the Kings return; The oth before the Lord Major and Aldermen on a da of thanksgiving for the hopes of his return. I the latter I plainly shewed my sense of the ca of the *falling party*, and the *Armies actions*, and gav as plain a warning to the then *rising party*, wit some prognosticks thereupon. In the forme (the first that ever I preached to a Parliament and the last,) I spake some words of the facility c Concord with the sober godly moderate sort c the Episcopal Divines, and how quickly Arch Bishop *Usher* and I came to an Agreement of th termes on which they might Unite. When thi Sermon was Printed, this passage caused many moderate Episcopal Divines to urge me to tel them the terms of that Agreement; And they al professed their great desires and hopes of Con cord upon such termes; viz. Dr. *Gulston*, Dr. *Allen*, Dr. *Bernard*, Dr. *Fuller*, Dr. *Gauden*, and several others. Dr. *Gauden* desired a meeting to that end of the several parties, but none came at the day appointed but he and Dr. *Bernard*, and

Dr.

Dr. *Manton* and I; where I spake these words, which he Printed without the limitation annexed, which I set right in my next Printed Book, viz. *That I found (then) little or nothing in the doctrinal part of the Common prayer Book, which was not sound, having but as favourable an exposition as good mens writings usually must have.* He left out [*the doctrinal part*]

At last when the Earle of *Orery* perswaded me to be his Majesties Chaplain in Ordinary, and was present when the Earl of *Manchester* gave me (and Mr. *Ash*) an oath of fidelity, it being he that first brought me acquainted with Bishop *Usher*, the mention of the same business fell in: Whereupon we shortly after were told by the Lord Chamberlain, that it was his Majesties pleasure, that there should be a treaty for Union between the Episcopal party and the Presbyterians: And Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash* and my self being first Employed, when we had made some entrance, we desired that some might be chosen by the Ministers throughout the land, to signifie their sense, because we could speak in the name and sense of none but our selves; But his Majesty not consenting to that, we desired an addition of many brethren at hand, which was granted; and the liberty for all Ministers that would to meet with us, for consultation, as many did at Sion-Colledge and elsewhere. In this Treaty we all professed our Judgements for the Lawfulness of a Liturgie; and desired the Reformation of that which we had, with the addition of new forms in Scripture phrase, fitted to the several Offices, with Liberty to the Ministers

sters to use this or that. Whereupon we drew up such a Liturgie our selves, which though it fell to my share, yet the rest of our brethren examined and approved of it, saving that Dr. *Reignolds* disliked the displeasing the Bishops by such large additions, and a Liturgie seeming entire of it self, instead of *some additional* prayers to theirs. How many weeks we were employed from first to last, in these debates, how fully and freely we took that opportunity to plead for reformation, and against unnecessary impositions, whilest the men that now quarrel with us said nothing that we know of: how hard a province fell to my own lot, as to the offending of the Bishops, under whose hot displeasure I thereby (in obedience to my Conscience) did cast my self, our writings (which somebody hath published for the greater part of them) shew; and our *Savoy* conference, and my prohibition to preach in *Worcester* Diocess shortly after (before other Ministers were silenced) and the published writings against me, did all sufficiently acquaint the world: And the particulars of this business I now pass by.

Only I think meet to make this twofold profession, to the two parties on the Extreams;

1. That the true reason why I wrote and spake so much, so long, and so vehemently, had it been possible to have prevented many Impositions, was principally because I undoubtedly foresaw how great a number of faithful worthy Ministers would else be silenced by them; and how ill the Church could spare those Ministers, while there are so many hundred thousands of ignorant and ungodly people in the land; and what sort of Ministers

Miniſters in too many places muſt unavoidably ſucceed them, unleſs the Church doors ſhould be ſhut up? and I foreſaw how the people under ſuch Miniſters would be affected to Religion, and to the Biſhops, and Miniſtry? And I foreſaw what multitudes of Religious perſons would take the things impoſed as unlawful, and would ſeparate from Communion with the publick Churches; and would worſhip God in private meetings with the ſilenced Miniſters. I foreſaw how many Miniſters and people that did Conform with a grudging Conſcience, would do more at laſt to undermine the Impoſitions, than the Non-Conformiſts. I foreſaw eaſily what jealouſies, diſpleaſure, ſeverities, impriſonments, &c. would follow the private preaching of the ſilenced Miniſters, and the private meetings of the people: And I knew well that other Miniſters as well as I, would judge it no better than perfidious ſacriledge, to forſake the holy calling to which they were conſecrated and devoted, and to deſert ſo many thouſand needy ſouls: But, above all, I foreſaw, how certainly and ſadly the Churches diviſions would be hereby increaſed, and the Love of each party to the other would be abated, if not deſtroyed: How hard it was for one ſide to Love and Honour the Non-conformiſts, that accounted them Perſecutors and unconſcionable men: And how hard it was for the other ſide to Love and Honour thoſe that they ſuffered by: And how little Reproaches, Fines, and Impriſonments, do uſe to increaſe mens Love to others. I foreknew that one ſide would call the other Rebellious Schiſmatical Phanaticks; and the other ſide

were

were like enough to account them, Perjured Perfidious Perſecutors; and that in the midſt of ſuch thoughts, ſuch words, ſuch uſage, Love was no more like to proſper, than fire in the ſea. And I knew that whatever zeal be pretended for Obedience and Order on one ſide, or for purity of Worſhip on the other, when Love dieth, Religion dieth; and they that are deſtroyers of Love, are deſtroyers of the Church and of Chriſtianity, and of the ſouls of men: and to increaſe *Love* is to *ſave ſouls*.

And I foreſaw that the further they go in this way, the further they will go from God and Godlineſs, from peace and ſafety, and that it will be the longer the worſe, till they retire: For one hard uſage on one ſide, and hard cenſure on the other ſide, after another, will by degrees raiſe men to the height of bitterneſs, and make them think, that their intereſt conſiſteth in the hurt and ruine of each other.

Alſo I foreſaw that while we worried, and weakned one another, as all Sects would grow under the diſcontents of one party, ſo the Papiſts were like to be the principal gainers; And they would be ready to offer their ſervice to ſtrengthen one of the parties againſt the other; and would be glad to take up the reproaches againſt the moſt religious people, that were by angry adverſaries brought unto their hands; And that when we had made our ſelves a Common ſcorn by our manifold diviſions, and by our biting and devouring one another, they would plead this as our ſhame, to draw people to themſelves, as the only ſtable and conſiſtent Church;

and

and would make us giddy that we might rest on them as our Supporters; and when they saw us weak enough, would be ready to devour us all.

And I easily foresaw how calamitous a thing it would be to the Kingdom, to have most Towns and Parishes set all together by the ears, and for the neighbours to be as *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, every man employed in censuring and reproaching others, instead of living together in neighbourly and Christian Love.

And I foresaw what an injury this would be to the King, to have the suffering party under these temptations, and wise men made mad, and his people weakned by such sad divisions; whereby their cheerfulness in his Love and service would be abated, and forreign Enemies would be encouraged to attempts against our peace and safety, and if ever they should invade us, it maketh me tremble to think how our divisions would debilitate us, and hazard all our common security and hopes. Yea, how uncomfortable a thing it must needs be to the King, to rule such a divided people, that live in a heart-war among themselves, in comparison of ruling a loving, and concordant sort of men. In a word, I knew that a house or Kingdom divided against it self would not stand: And though I could not make the Bishops *believe me*, I *knew* that *divisions*, *lamentable divisions*, were like to be the consequent, of the things which then I so importunately petitioned and intreated them to forbear: I *knew it*, for I *could not choose but know it*.

And for these reasons I wrote, I pleaded, I earnestly contended with them as I did, while

there appeared *any hope*, as being *loth to have seen the things which I have already seen*, and God knoweth to how much worse we are going, if Grace and Wisdom yet prevent it not. And though I exasperated the sore which I would have cured, and have ever since my self lain under their displeasure, yet I have peace in the testimony of my Conscience, that I did my best, to have prevented our miseries while I had time.

2. And I would give notice to the other party, that whilst I pleaded for their liberty, and against the Imposing of unnecessary things, I took not all the things in question for *unlawful to be done*, which I thought *unlawful to be made necessary to our Communion or Ministration.* All knew that my judgement ever was for the lawfulness of *kneeling* at the Sacrament; (especially since the Rubrick is inserted, which disclaimeth both all Bread Worship and the Bodily real presence.) And we all as is said, thought a *Liturgie lawful*; and when we wrote our Reply to the Answer of our Exceptions, we said these words (which may tell you, whether I change my mind, and what was then our common sense) pag. 3. [ *While we took it to be a defective, disorderly and inconvenient Mode of Worship, it would be our sin to use it of choice, while we may prefer a more convenient way, whatever we ought to do in case of necessity, when we must worship God inconveniently, or not at all.* ] And pag. 12, 13. [ *What if it be only proved unlawfull for you to impose it, though not for others to joyn with you when you do impose it? Is this no reason to alter it? Should you not have some care to avoid*

*sin*

*sin your selves, as well as to preserve others from it? An inconvenient Mode of Worship is a sin in the Imposer, and in the Chooser, and Voluntary user, that may offer God better, and will not: And yet it may not be only lawful, but a duty to him, that by violence is necessitated to offer up that or none.* ] By this you may see what we all thought then of not only hearing, but reading a defective Liturgie in such a case. If you say, that this was but my own Opinion; I answer, Though as they wrote the particular Exceptions without me, so I wrote this Defence of them by their appointment, yet it was examined and consented to by the rest, who were not men apt to take things on trust, nor to be imposed on by such a one as me.

When this Treaty was frustrate, and the torrent of displeasure came upon us, (which reached me with the first) I saw also that the storm of mens passions and discontents would quickly follow: And therefore according to my own judgement and advice to others, I endeavoured to practise my self; that is, neither to *forsake my Calling*, or *omit any service* I could do for the Church, nor yet to do it in a *turbulent and unpeaceable, or dividing way.*

For the first, I thought *writing* was my greatest work, which made me not travail abroad to Preach (which also weakness disabled me from doing). But yet I never to my remembrance either forbad any from coming to my house, nor ever invited any to hear me. I had no Pastoral Charge in *London*; nor could I live there with my health: My judgement was, that though

so many hundred Ministers were silenced, and too many Congregations had such, as were to us matter of grief, yet the Interest of the Christian Protestant Religion in *England*, must be much kept up, by keeping up as much of Truth, Piety and Reputation as was possible in the Parish Churches. Therefore I never laboured or disputed to make any Minister a Non-conformist, unless he came to me, and by desiring my judgement, made it my duty (Though I oft openly professed, that if I conformed my self to what is required of a Minister, I should take it to be no little or single sin) I remembred the saying of Mr. *Dod*, who *thanked God for the Churches sake, that some conformed, and for the Truths sake, that some conformed not.* I resolved that if I lived where was an intolerable Minister, I would not hear him, nor come near him, so as to encourage him in his sinful undertaking of that Sacred Office: But if I lived under an able, worthy, or tolerable man, I would joyn with him in publick (constantly if I had not *cæteris paribus* the liberty of better, and sometimes if I had) And I would help him by my private labours as well as I could, and live with him in Unity and Peace. Accordingly I constantly joyned in the publick Prayers and hearing at the Parish Church where I lived (having no better that I could go to) and never Preached to my family, but between the times of publick Worship; and the people that came in to me, went with me to the publick Worship.

In all this time many persons importuned me to indeavour that all Non-conformists might agree in one, by what measures to walk as to their Communion

nion with the Parish Churches, and such other things, for many reasons: And I ever shunned all such attempts; 1. Because it is the way that we have blamed so much in others, to make narrow measures for other mens practices, and unnecessary terms of Brotherly Concord: We must unite as Christians in necessary things; and if one man can, *e.g.* kneel at the Sacrament and another cannot, if one can joyn in Common-prayer, and another cannot; yea, if one can Conform to the Liturgie and Ceremonies, and another cannot, it must not break our unity or peace. 2. Because that Non-conformists are not all of the *same judgement* in every *particular* among themselves: And how can they then agree upon the same *practice* in every point? If they *should*; either the *most scrupulous* must come up to them that think that *lawful* which *they scruple*, or else the *later* must come to the *former*: If *they* yield that think the things *unlawful*, and do as the others do, they shall sin: And then they might as well Conform? And if they that hold more things to be lawful must agree in practice with them that hold the *fewest* lawful, than such must 1. Forsake their own understandings, and live in many sins; and 2. They must be alwayes at an uncertainty in their practice, because some may yet arise, that may count *more* things unlawful; And so the whole party may change their practice every year, as new scruples or errors arise in any; 3. And so the most scrupulous though the most erroneous, must be the Standard and Rule of all the rest. 4. And so we should tempt others still to *new scruples*, and

to make more and more things *sinful*, that so they might obtain the Rule of all. I ever thought therefore that without any combinations, our way is, every man to know the truth as well as he can, and practice accordingly; and live in Love and Peace with those that differ from him in tollerable things. And thus I hope most Non-conformable Ministers do.

In the year 1663. divers learned and reverend Non-conformists of *London* met to Consider how far it was their duty, or lawful to Communicate with the Parish Churches where they lived in the Liturgie and Sacrament: and we agreed the next day to bring in our several judgements in writing with our reasons. Accordingly I brought in mine, in which I proved four propositions, 1. That it is Lawful to use a form of prayer: 2. That it is Lawful to joyn with some Parish Churches in the use of the Liturgie. 3. That it is *lawful* to joyn with some Parish Churches in the Lords supper. 4. That it is to some a *duty* to joyn with some Parish Churches three times a year in the Lords supper. They being long, I read over to them the last only, which being proved (by 20. Reasons) included all the rest. Upon Consideration whereof, no one of the brethren seemed to dissent, but to take the reasons to be valid; save only that *one Objection* stopt them all, to which I also yielded, and we concluded at the present to forbear Sacramental Communion with the Parishes: And that was, because it was a time when great severities were threatned against those that could not so far Conform; and most of the Independents and some

some others were against it; And our brethren verily believed that if we should then Communicate, those that could not yield so far, would be the sharplier used, because they yielded not as far as we. I yielded to them readily, that *God will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, and even Gods worship otherwise due, as prayer, or preaching, or sabbath-keeping may be omitted for an *act of Mercy*, even to pull an Oxe or Ass out of a pitt. And therefore *pro tempore* I would forbear that sacrament, which was like to cause the imprisonment or undoing of my neighbour.

In mentioning this, these three things are my end. 1. To tell the world the judgement of these Ministers; who are misjudged by their actual forbearance of publick Communion, that they take it for a thing unlawful: whereas they are thus accidentally hindered from it (Besides many other accidents not here to be mentioned, this before named is one.) 2. To shew the Prelates who and what it is that hath hindered mens nearer Communion with them; And that while rigor and severity is trusted to as the only means to further it, it proveth the principal means of hindering it. 3. To shew the Independents, that we have been so far from dealing hardly or uncharitably with them, that we have forborn that Communion, which else our own judgements would have charged on us as our duty, either only, or chiefly for fear of being the least occasion accidentally of their sufferings: And if yet they are impatient with us for obeying our Consciences, who can help it

What the rest did after this consultation in

their practices, I enquired not: But for my own part on the same argument I forbore Communion with the Parish Churches in the sacrament a long time, till at last I saw that the Reason seemed to me to cease, and I durst not for I knew not what, go against my judgement: But lest it might possibly have any such hurtful consequents, I chose a very private Country Parish to Communicate with, where I sometime sojourned, and where there was neither that, nor any other reason to hinder me: But yet after many years further observation, lest men that know not of my practice, should be scandalized or insnared, to think that I forbore Parish Communion *as unlawful*, and so to do the like themselves, I once chose an *Easter day* to Communicate in a very populous Church in *London*, purposely that it might be the further known: But having some reasons to forbear at the Parish where I lived most constantly, it so far provoked the Parson that ——— I may suppose no Independent suffered so much through *my Communicating*, as I have done by forbearing for their sakes.

At last in the year 1667. observing how mens minds grew every day more and more exasperated by their sufferings, and whither all this tended, and what was like to be the issue, I wrote this book called *The Cure of Church-Divisions*; the Reasons whereof I am next to give you. But being not used to publish any thing unlicensed, nor thinking it fit to break the Law of Printing without necessity, nor knowing how to get it Printed unlicensed if I would; I knew that if

I put

I put any thing into it very provokingly, it would not be licenſed, and would fruſtrate all the reſt. And yet my Conſcience told me, that it looked ſo like partiality, to tell one party of their faults, and call them to their duty, and not the other, that I reſolved to ſay as much to the Biſhops and Impoſing Clergy, as ſhould ſignifie my judgement plainly to any intelligent man, and tell them what ſenſe I had of narrowing Impoſitions and Severities, and what is the way of Unity and Peace, though not to cloath it in exaſperating language: And if they would not not licenſe it all together, I purpoſed to caſt it all aſide.

And to confeſs the truth, the deep ſenſe of the ſin and infatuation of this age, hath long made me deſirous to have written one Book, with the Title in dying *Bradfords* words, REPENT O ENGLAND; and that in ſeveral parts, profeſſing firſt, *my own Repentance* in ſeveral Particulars, then calling ſeverally the *Biſhops and Conformable Clergy*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, and the *Sectaries*, Corporations and Country to Repent. But I knew the *Biſhops* would not endure it, and I could not get it Licenſed or Printed, and I had greater things to write, and many wiſe men whoſe judgements much rule me, diſſwaded me and laughed at my weakneſs, that I ſhould think that ſuch men would regard what I ſaid, or that it would have any better effect than exaſperation! And I long purpoſed not to ſpeak to one ſort, till I might ſpeak to all, to avoid partiality, and evil conſequents.

But at laſt conſidering, that by this rule I might

might never tell any of their sins, nor preach repentance to them whilst I lived, and that I must not deny my duty and Charity to one sort, because another sort will not receive it, and seeing also necessity increase, and having already writen and said so much to the other party, I resolved to imitate those two excellent faithful Tractates, viz. 1. Mr. *M. Fool*'s *Vox clamantis in deserto* in Latine, calling the *Non-conformable Ministers* to *Repentance*, and Mr. *Lewis Stukeley*'s (*a* worthy Congregational Minister in *Exeter*, and a kinsman of the late General *Monkes*) enumerating copiously most of the Common sins of *Religious Professors*, and calling them earnestly and faithfully to repentance, which since the writing of this, I find excellently done in a book called *Englands danger and only Remedy*.

And therefore I first published some old notes written eleven or twelve years ago called *Directions for weak Christians*, and annexed to it *The Character of a sound Christian*; In both which I wrote that which was as like to have exasperated the impatient, as *this* book is; And yet I heard of no complaints, And afterward I wrote *this* which I now defend; and sent it to the Licenser, who upon perusal refused to License it; And so it lay by, and I purposed to meddle with it no more. But leaving it in the Booksellers hands that had offered it to be Licensed, after a long time he got it done; and so unexpectedly it revived.

The Reasons of my writing it were no fewer than all these following, which I now submit to the judgement of all men truly peaceable and impartial, who value the interest of Christianity,

Christianity, and of the universal Church above their own.

1. To make up my foregoing *Directions to weak Christians* more compleat. Having directed them about the private matters of their souls, I intended this as another Part, to Direct them in order to the Churches Peace.

2. Many good people of tender Consciences and weak judgements, desiring my advice about Communion in the publick Assemblies, I found it meetest to publish this general Advice for all, to save me the labour of speaking to particular persons, and to serve those that lived further off.

3. I saw those Principles growing up apace, in this time of provocation, which will certainly increase or continue our *divisions*, if *they* continue and increase. I am sure that our wounds are made by *wounding principles* of *doctrine*; And it must be *healing doctrines* that must *heal* us: And I know that we cannot be healed, till *doctrinal principles* be healed. To give way to the prevalency of *dividing Opinions* is to give up our hopes of future unity and peace. And to give up our hopes of *Unity and Peace*, is to despair of all true *Reformation*, and happiness of the Church on earth. If ever the Church be reduced to that Concord, Strength, and Beauty, which all true Christians do desire, I am past doubt that it must be by such principles, as I have here laid down.

4. But my grand reason was, that I might serve the Church of Christ, in the reviving and preservation of *Christian Love*. As it was an extraordinary measure of the Spirit, which Christ

Christ made his Witness in the Gospel Church; so is it as extraordinary a measure of *Love*, which he maketh the New Commandment, and the mark of all his true Disciples: And whether afflicting on one side, and unmerciful and unjust censures, on the other side, one *driving away*; and the other *flying away*, be either a *sign* or *means* of Love: And whether taking others to be intolerable in the Church, and unworthy of our Communion, and separating from, or avoiding the Worship where they are present, be likely to *kindle* Love, or to *kill* it, let any man judge, that hath himself the exercise of Reason, and unfeigned Love. I know that this is the hour of Temptation to the sufferers, to stir up passion and distaste; and that men have need of more than ordinary grace and watchfulness, and therefore of more than ordinary helps & warning, to preserve due Love, and keep out an undue hatred of those by whom they suffer. And how great a temptation also *their censures* and *discontents* will prove, to their *Superiours*, and others by whom they suffer, and what unspeakable hurt it may do *their souls*, may easily be conjectured. This *sin* will prove our greatest *loss*.

5. Hereupon men will be engaged in *sinful Actions* of *injustice* and *uncharitableness* against each other. They will be glad to *hear*, and forward to *believe* hard and false reports of one another. And too forward to *vent* such behind one anothers backs: And there is no doubt, but many of each party already think worse of the *other* commonly, than they are: (Though, alas, we are all too bad, and some egregiously wicked.)

wicked.) And those *Persons* and *Churches* that would censure a man for Curses or Oaths, should also censure men for *slanders* and *backbitings*. And should I not do my best, to prevent such a course of daily sin?

6. Both *violence* and *separation* tend to divide the *builders themselves*, and keep the *Ministers* in contending with, and Preaching and Writing against each other, which should be employed in an unanimous opposition to the Kingdom of Satan in the world, And when *all their united wisdom* and *strength* is too little against the common Ignorance and Prophaneness of the world, their *division* will disable them, and give sin and Satan opportunity to prevail.

7. It may engage them on both sides in the dreadful sin of *persecuting* each other, one party by the *Hand*, and the other by the *Tongue*, (even while they cry out of persecution:) And on both sides to hinder the Gospel and mens salvation; on one side by hindering the *Preachers* from their *work*, and on the other side (yea on both) by hindring the *success*. For what can be more done to make men despise the *word*, than to teach them to despise or abhor the *Preacher?* And what more can be done to destroy mens souls, than to harden them against the *Word?* Is there any sober man on either extream, that dare say, *I would have none of the people saved, that are not, or will not be the hearers of our party?* If you dare not say, that you would have all the rest to be *damned*, dare you say, you would not have them be *taught* by others? Or that you would not have them profit

fit by the Word they hear? If not, how dare you tempt them to vilifie and despise their Teachers? If they will not learn of *you*, be glad if they will learn of *any other*, and do not hinder them.

8. By these means they will cherish an hypocritical sort of Religiousness in the people, which is more employed in Sidings, Opinions and Censurings of others, than in humble self-judging and in a holy heavenly mind and life. A man need not the Spirit of God, and supernatural Grace, nor much Self-denyal, nor Mortification of the flesh, to make him choose a certain *fashion* of external Worship, and think that now he and those that are of that *fashion*, are the only people, and to reproach all of other *fashions*, as ungodly, and to think that he is therefore a better Christian than the other, because his *fashion* of outward Worship seemeth the better to him. Not that *any thing* in Gods Worship should be denyed its due regard; But its pity that by an *unproportionable* estimation of mens several *outward fashions*, *words* and *gestures*, poor souls should be tempted to deceive themselves, and to forget that he is the best Christian that hath most Faith, Humility, Love and Heavenliness, which is the true Holiness, and Beauty of the soul.

9. When men think a *Lawful Communion* (yea, a *duty*) to be *unlawful*; it will both keep them in the sin of *omitting it*, and cause them to add their sinful *Censures* of all those that *use that Communion* which they avoid. They do not only think that they are holier, because they

*bear*

*hear not*, and *pray not*, and *communicate not* in the Parish Churches, but they look down with a supercilious pity upon those that do? And how many parties have I thus been pitied by? As I go along the Streets, the Quakers say, *Poor man, thou art in darkness.* The Papists pity me, for not being one of them: The Anabaptists pity me, for not being one of them: The Separatists pity or disdain me, because I forbear not the Worship that they forbear: And this Excepter lamenteth my condition as passionately as any. It is not for [ *Not Worshipping with them* ] that they censure me ( for I am ready to do it, ) but for Worshipping with *others*, in *Words* which *they* like not. And whereas holiness was wont to be expressed most by *Worship actions*, now it must be characterized more by *Negatives*, even in external adjuncts. And if he be the best man that avoideth most the Communion of others which he taketh to be bad, I have, and have had, neighbours better than you all, that never communicate with any Church, nor ever publickly hear, or pray, or Worship God at all, because they think all your wayes of Worship to be bad.

I remember *Rivet* marketh out *Grotius* by this, that while he forsook the Protestant Churches, and called us to unite with the Church of *Rome* ( that is, *with the Pope ruling not arbitrarily, but by the Laws of a General Council, not excluding that of* Trent ) *he* did *actually communicate* with none at all.

10. When mens judgements are thus mistaken about Church Communion, their Worship of God

God will be corrupted : They will in their hearts earnestly desire that all others may be of their mind, and they will complain to God of that as a sin, which is mens duty : Especially among those of their own mind. And this offering up of their mistakes to God, in earnestness, as an acceptable service, is a sad polluting of holy things. So he that is famed to have written this Antidote, is said to have made my Book which was written for *Christian Love*, to be the matter of his *publick Humiliation*. And another of my friends, in dayes of prayer, maketh it his lamentation, [ *Lord, here are those that are one day here, and another day at Common-prayer* : ] As if the exercise of *Knowledge and Love*, in impartial Communion with all Christs Churches ( not forcing us to sin ) were a sin to be lamented. But I need not go further for instance, than this *Antidote*, where the Reverend Author taketh it for a service of God, to write against those *necessary Precepts* of *Love and Unity*, which he mistakingly opposeth. And so did Mr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Canne*, who most confidently presented their Writings for separation, to God, as a service which he had commanded them, and would own.

11. This narrow judgement tempteth men on one side, to Anathematize all that say, There are any other true Churches in *England*, save of one form and fashion ; and it tempteth others to deny the Parish Churches, to be at all true Churches, and so to narrow the possessions of Christ. And hereupon it tempteth them to endeavour to disgrace and dissolve each other. It draweth many

many to think, that it is the Interest of Religion now in *England*, to have the Parish Churches to be brought low in reputation and deserted, and Gods publick Worship, which they would have all Religious people use, to be only that of tolerated or more private Churches. By which they little know what they wish, against the interest of the Christian and Protestant Religion in this Land? Nor what hurt they would do, if in this they had their wills.

12. These dividing Principles and Spirits which I oppose, will on one side give shelter to all the prophane malignant minds, that itch to be afflicting others, that fear God more than they: And on the other side, it will give shelter to all kind of Heresies and Sects; of which experience is too full a proof.

13. Yea, before our eyes, the most pernicious Heresies, even those of Quakers, are still not only continued, but increase. And we see men that to day condemn Communion with the Parish Churches, and then with the Presbyterians; do shortly fly from Communion with the Independents too. And mens passions in sufferings pervert their judgements; And frequently men are overcome by tryal, when they think they are most constant and have overcome. Its commonly known how many of late are turned Quakers; And what considerable persons lately in prison, fell to that unhappy Heresie. Yet they that by a Prison lost their Religion, no doubt thought themselves more honourable by their sufferings, than those that go to Common-prayer. And shall we stand by and see this

work go on, and neither lament their sin, that *drive* men to this, nor warn them of the *Passions* and *Principles* that lead to it.

14. Separation will ruine the separated Churches themselves at last, (By separation I mean the *same thing that the old Non-conformists* wrote against by that name) It will admit of no consistency. Parties will arise in the separated Churches, and separate again from them, till they are dissolved. I beseech my deer brethren that are otherwise minded to open their eyes so far as to regard experience. Brethren, what now Comparatively are all the separated Churches or parties upon Earth? Would you have all Christs Churches, and all the intereſt of the Christian Religion to be as short lived, and to stand upon no more certain terms than they do? How few separated Churches do now exist, that were in being an hundred years ago? Can you name any? And would you have had all the Churches of Christ on Earth, to be dissolved, when *they* were dissolved? Or do you think that all *were dissolved* with *them?* This would make us all seekers indeed.

15. Separating and narrow principles befriend not *Godliness*, as they pretend to do, but lamentably undermine it? If it were but by driving off and disaffecting the lower sort of Christians, whose Communion you reject. The Case of three or four Churches in *New-England* grieve my heart: But the Case of the *Summer* Islands as related to me by Mr. *Vaughan*, a worthy Minister lately discouraged and come from thence, would make a Christian heart to bleed; To

hear

hear how strict and regular and hopeful that plantation once was? And how *one Godly Minister* by separation, selecting a few to be his Church, and rejecting all the rest from the sacrament, the *rejected party* are grown to doleful *strangeness from Religion*, and the *selected party* much *turned Quakers*, and between both, how wofull are the fruits. But the Case of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* (which I foretold in my book of Infant Baptisme) is yet a more lamentable proof, what separation hath done against Religion, so *full* a proof, that it is my wonder that any good man can overlook it.

16. Yea it tendeth to make *Religiousness contemptible*, and the professors of it, a common scorn, when we are perceived to place it in *unwarrantable separations*, and *singularities*, and when we make men think that the greatest difference between those that they call *Precise*, or *Religious*, and *others*, is but this, that one of them prayeth *without book*, and the other by *the book*; that one of them will not joyn with those that use the *Liturgie*, and the *other will*. If we let men see that in *indifferent* things we are *indifferent*, and that *lesser* evils we avoid *as lesser*, and *greater* evils, as *greater*, and that the great difference between us and the ungodly, is in our *seriousness* in our *Christian profession*, and in our *heavenlyness*, and *true obedience* to Christ, it would much convince them of their misery, and honour Religion in the world: But when they perceive that the greatest contention which our houses and our streets do ring of, is whether we shall hear a man that *conformeth* or *not*? Or whether we shall

pray with them that use the *Liturgie?* Or whether we may sometimes *Communicate* with a *Parish Church* or not? This turneth the thoughts of the careless and carnal, the worldling and the sensualist, from the necessary condemning of himself for his ungodliness, and sets him on thinking, that these stricter people do differ from him in things of no importance, and that they are but an erroneous self conceited sort of persons, and that he is much the wiser man. Thousands in *England* are hardened into a neglect of Godliness, to our suffering and the apparent danger of their own damnation, by occasion of the unwarrantable singularities, and the scandalous sins, especially of those professors, that have been most addicted to sinful separations.

17. I am not causelessly afraid lest, if we suffer the principles and practices which I write against, to proceed without our contradiction, Popery will get by it, so great advantage, as may hazzard us all, and we may lose that which the several parties do contend about. Three waies especially Popery will grow out of our divisions. 1. By the *odium* and scorn of our disagreements, inconsistency, and multiplied sects; they will perswade people that we must either come for Unity to them, or else all run mad, and crumble into dust and individuals. Thousands have been drawn to Popery or confirmed in it by this argument already: And I am perswaded that all the arguments else in *Bellarmine* and all other books that ever were written, have not done so much to make Papists in *England*, as the multitude

tude of sects among our selves. Yea some Professors of Religious strictness, of great esteem for Godliness, have turned Papists themselves, when they were giddy and wearied with turnings; and when they had run from sect to sect, and found no consistency in any. For when they see so many, they say, How can I tell that this or that is in the right, rather than the other? This it is that they ring continually in our ears. *Which of all these sects is in the right? And what assurance have they of it more than all the rest that are as confident? And how small a Church doth any one sect make? And of how late original* (for the most.) But the poor deluded souls consider not, that in going to the Papists, they go but to *another sect* that is worse than any of the rest; And though *greater*, yet not past the third part of the Christians in the world: And that *Christianity* is but *one*: And that the way to rest, is to unite upon the common terms of *simple Christianity*.

2. And who knoweth not how fair a game the Papists have to play by the means of our divisions? Methinks I hear them hissing on each party, and saying to one side, *Lay more upon them*, and *and abate them nothing?* and to the other, *stand it out and yield to nothing?* And who is so blind then as not to see their double game and hopes. *viz.* that either our divisions and alienations, will carry men to such distances and practices, as shall make us accounted *seditious, rebellious*, and *dangerous* to the publick peace, and so *they* may pass for *better subjects* than we; or else that when so many parties under suffer-

ings are constrained to beg and wait for *liberty*, the Papists may not be shut out alone, but have *Toleration* with the rest. And shall they use *our hands* to do *their works*, and pull their freedom out of the fire? We have already unspeakably served them, both in this, and in abating the odium of the Gun powder plot, and their other Treasons, Insurrections, and Spanish invasion (of which read *Thuanus* himself that openeth all the mystery.)

3. And it is not the least of our danger (nor which doth least affect me) left by our follies, extremities and rigors, we should so exasperate the Common people, as to make them readier to joyn with the Papists, than with us, in Case of any competitions, or their invasions, or insurrections against the King, and Kingdoms peace. Sure I am that the Parliaments and peoples resolutions against them, after the late fire, and in the time of the last war, when they were so much feared, did discourage and depress them more, than all the rest of their opposers. And though we cannot rationally believe that the people of *England*, much less wise and sober Governors, will ever be such enemies to themselves, as to subject themselves to the Romish Tyranny, and to forget what *Ireland* and *England* have seen and felt, yet because it is not only *oppression that maketh wise men mad*, let us do nothing by unlawful alienations and singularities, or fierce and disobedint oppositions, which tend to make the people like better of the Papists than of us.

18. I am not able to bear the thoughts of separating

parating from almoſt all Chriſts Churches upon Earth. But he that ſeparateth from *one* or *many* upon a reaſon common to almoſt all, doth virtually ſeparate from almoſt all. And he that ſeparateth from all among us upon the account of the unlawfulneſs of our *Liturgie*, and the badneſs of all our Miniſtry, doth ſeparate from them upon a reaſon common to almoſt all, or the far greateſt part, as I conceive.

19. Though *Miniſterial Conformity* be *to us*, another thing (by reaſon of the new impoſitions,) than it was to our predeceſſors yet to the *people* conformite is the ſame, if not eaſier (eſpecially to them that I now ſpeak to:) For it is the Liturgie, Ceremonies and Miniſtry, that moſt alienate them (as I ſaid before, and not ſo much the ſubſcription againſt the obligation of the Covenant.) And the Liturgie is a little amended as to them, by the change of the Tranſlation, and ſome little words, and by ſome longer prayers. And the Ceremonies are the ſame; and thirty years ago there was many bare Reading not Preaching Miniſters, for one that there is now: Therefore our caſe of ſeparation being the ſame with what it was of old, I take it to be fully confuted by the antient Non-conformiſts. And I have ſo great a veneration for the worthy names (much more an eſtimation of the Reaſonings) of Mr. *Cartwright*, *Egerton*, *Hilderſham*, *Dod*, *Ameſius*, *Parker*, *Baines*, *Brightman*, *Ball*, *Bradſhaw*, *Paget*, *Langley*, *Nichols*, *Hering*, and many other ſuch, that I ſhall not think they knew not why they choſe this ſubject, and wrote more againſt ſeparation than the Conformiſts

mists did. Nor do I think that the reasons of Mr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Canne*, can stand before them. And it pittieth me to hear now many that differ from them say, *we are grown wiser and have more light than they!* when as our writings upon the same subjects shew that we are far in that below them? And in other parts of knowledge, alas, what are we to *Reignolds*, *Ames*, *Parker* and several of the rest? But the world knoweth, that the turn of the times put most of us into the sudden possession of our opinions, without one half of the study. (it may be with most, not the hundredth part) which *Cartwright*, *Ames*, *Parker*, &c. bestowed upon these points. And I never yet saw cause to believe that our present Dividers, do learn more in a days study, than those learned holy men did in twenty. Nor do they shew more wisdom, or holiness in the main. I am very glad that the Pious Lectures of Mr. *Hildersham*, Mr. *R. Rogers* and such other old Non-conformists, are in so good esteem among good people, where they will read them urging the people not only against separation, but to come to the very beginning of the publick worship, and preferring it before their private duties.

As for them that say, If *Dod*, *Ames*, *Hildersham*, &c. had lived till now, they would have been of our mind. I desire them to prove it, or not affirm it? Is not the Liturgie, Ceremonies, and Ministery the same? And what signs of such mutability did they shew? Could your Reasons have conquered them, more than Mr. *Ainsworths*, *Johnsons*, or *Cannes*? They were

not

not so Light, to be changed causelesly.

And I pray you mark, that if *you* are wiser in this point of separation than all these old Non-conformists were, than *Johnson*, and *Canne*, and *Howe*, were wiser also in that than they, which doth not appear to us by their writings: And then, for all the greater Light, that you think you have, yet *Johnson*, *Canne*, and *Howe*, had as great Light, and were in this as wise as you, though *Ames*, and the rest of the Non-conformists were not. O that our brethren would but seriously read over the writings of these men, especially *Jacob*, *Paget*, *Ball*, and *Bradshaw*, and *Gifford* against the separatists, and try whether the case was not the same.

20. Yea I must confess, that when I think what Learned, Holy, Incomparable men, abundance of the *old Conformists* were, my heart riseth against the thoughts of separating from them! If I had come to their Churches, when they used the Common-prayer, and administred the Sacrament, could I have departed and said, It is not lawful for any Christian here to Communicate with you? What! to such men as Mr. *Bolton*, Mr. *Whately*, Mr. *Fenner*, Mr. *Dent*, Mr. *Crook*, Mr. *Dike*, Mr. *Stocks*, Mr. *Smith*, Dr. *Preston*, Dr. *Sibbes*, Dr. *Stoughton*, Dr. *Taylor*, and abundance other such? yea such as Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Grindal*, Bishop *Hall*, Bishop *Potter*, Bishop *Davenant*, Bishop *Carleton*, &c. Dr. *Field*, Dr. *Smith*, Dr. *John White*, Dr. *Willet*, &c. yea and the Martyrs too, as *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper* himself, *Farrar*, *Bradford*, *Philpot*, *Sanders*, &c. To say nothing of *Luther*,

*Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*; and the rest of the forreign worthies. Could I separate from all these on the reasons now in question? Yea *Calvin* himself and the Churches of his way, were all separated from by the separatists of their times.

21. At least I cannot easily condemn the ancient *Independents*, who were against separation as well as the Presbyterians. Mr. *Henry Jacob* is accounted the Father of the English Independents; And he hath wrote a book against Mr. *Johnson* the separatist, of this Title, [ A *Defence of the Churches and Ministery of* England, *written in two Treatises against the Reasons and Objections of Mr.* Francis Johnson, *and others of the separation, Commonly called Brownists.* ] And in the end he hath [ *A short Treatise concerning the truness of a Pastoral Calling in Pastors made by Prelates.* ] And I intreat the Reader to note that Mr. *Johnson* there chargeth the Church of *England* and their worship, with no fewer than *91. Antichristian abominations.* And I would ask any of the dividers, whether they have more than *91. Antichristian abominations* to charge upon it now. I am content that those I write to now, will cast by my book, if they will but read Mr. *Jacobs.*

And Dr. *Ames* was *half* an Independent, and yet against separation. I need not mention the great moderation of *New-England*, where their late healing endeavors greatly tend to increase our hopes of reconciliation? ( O that the rest of the Churches were as wise and happy! ) Whose experience hath possessed them with a deep dislike of the spirit of separation and division.

Yea

Yea ( if any thing may be believed which I have not seen ) Mr. *Ph. Nie* himself hath written to prove the Lawfulness of hearing the Preachers in the Parish assemblies. And yet it is as confidently confuted by another of the Brethren, as my book is by this Excepter. And he that proveth it Lawful to joyn with them that *profess themselves a Church*, in their ordinary *Doctrine*, and *pulpit prayers*, and *Psalms* of *praise*, I think can never prove it unlawful at all times, to joyn with them in the use of the Liturgie, or in the Sacrament ( supposing the scruple of Kneeling removed ) For the most of the Liturgie is the reading of the Scripture it self, and the rest is sound matter, though in an imperfect mode and fashion of words.

22. If sects and heresies increase among us, the blame of all will be laid upon the Non-conformists. And so it now is: They commonly say, It is you that open the door to them all: And how injuriously soever this be said, it becometh our duty, not only to see that it be not true, but also to do our part against them. And this was one great reason why the old Non-conformists wrote and preached so much more than the Bishops against separation; because all this spurious offspring was fathered on them, and still laid at their doors: And withal because they found how hard it is, to stop men that begin to find real faults with other men, from fancying abundance more that are not real; and to keep men from running into extreams: And experience told them, that their own party was in danger of running from them, and it was not

easie

eaſie to keep them ſtable in the ſober profeſſion of the truth. Eſpecially the Independents on this account, are obliged to be the greateſt diſſwaders of ſeparation, becauſe all ſects are fathered on them, and too many of their congregations in *England*, and *New-England*, have been lamentably corrupted, or ſubverted and diſſolved by them.

23. There is no man that is acquainted with Church hiſtory but knoweth, that as Chriſt was Crucified between two thieves, ſo his Church hath been diſtreſſed and troubled, between the prophane malignant perſecutors, and the heretical and ſectarian dividers; even from the dayes of the Apoſtles until this age. Inſomuch that *Paul* himſelf, and *Peter*, and *Jude*, and *John* were put to write as largely againſt the Dividers almoſt as the perſecutors. *Irænæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, *Theodoret*, beſides the reſt, do ſadly tell us in their Catalogues and Controverſies, how lamentably theſe Dividers then hindered the Goſpel, and diſtreſſed and diſhonoured the Church. And the ſad ſtories of *Holland*, *Munſter* and others in *Germany*, *Poland*, and eſpecially theſe twenty years paſt in *England*, do bring all cloſer to our ſenſe. And are not the Watch-men of Chriſt ſtill bound to tell the Church of their danger on the one ſide, as well as the other? Yea in ſome reſpects to ſay more on *this* ſide, than on that, becauſe *Religious* people are eaſier and ofter turned to be *Dividers*, than to be *Perſecutors or Prophane*.

24. All theſe dangers lying before us, and the Non-conformable Miniſters being under great reproaches,

proaches, and lamentable hinderances from their sacred work, and called by God to fidelity as in a day of tryal, what guilt would be upon us, what shame would be our due, if we should all be silent whilest we see the principles of Division continually increase? The same principles which the old Non-conformists confuted, greatly propagate themselves, through the smart which alienateth the peoples minds. And Reason doth so hardly prevail against *Feeling*, that all that we can say will prove too little. This is the true cause why they cry out now, [ *Oh the case is changed! It is not with us as it was in the old Non-conformists daies*; ] Because they did but *hear* of what was in those daies, but they *see* and *feel* what is done in ours. Therefore we had so easie a work comparatively to perswade men that the *old Separatists* were mistaken, but can hardly now perswade them that the *same principles* are a mistake; because *now they smart*, and *Passion* is not easily held in by reason. I can make shift to hold in a mettlesome horse, while he is not provoked; But if a Bishop will come behind me, and lash him, or prick him, and then blame the rider if he run away with me, I cannot help it. But sure if we must needs have to do with such men, it concerneth us to hold the reines the harder. And if after such grievous judgements, as plagues, flames, poverty, reproach, and silencings, and sad confusions, which God hath tryed us with in these times, his Ministers should through passion, policie or sloth, sit still and let Professors run into sinful principles and extreams, it will be our Aggravated sin.

25. And

25. And one reason why I set upon this work was, because I saw few others do it. If it *must be done*, and *others will not*, then I must take it for my duty.

26. And another reason was, because I knew but few that I was *willing* to *thrust* upon it, so forwardly as *my self*, for fear of being the author of their *sufferings*. Many may be *abler*, that are not in other respects *so fit*. Some Ministers are young men. and like to live longer to serve God in his Church; and their Reputation is needful to their success: If they be vilified, it may hinder their labours. And experience telleth us, that the dividing spirit is very powerful and victorious in censorious vilifying of dissenters. But I am almost *miles Emeritus* at the end of my work, and can reasonably expect to do but little more in the world; and therefore have not their impediment: And for *popular applause*, I have tryed its vanity: I have had so much of it, till I am brought to a contempt if not a loathing of it. And whereas some brethren, say, that *Censures will hinder the success of my Writings*, I answer, No man shall do his duty without some difficulties and impediments. If my writings will not do good by the evidence of truth in them, and if the censures of Dividers are able to frustrate them, let them fall and fail. And some of my brethren have great Congregations to teach, which are so inclined to this dividing way, that they cannot bear their information. But when I preached in my house to the most, I knew scarce any of the Parish that came not to the Parish Church, but such as lived in my own house.

houſe. Alſo many Miniſters being turned out of all their maintenance, have families and nothing to maintain them, but what the Charity of Religious people giveth them. (Little do ſome know what the families of many godly Miniſters ſuffer!) And ſome Independents are maintained by their gathered Churches, and if they caſt them off, both reputation, work and maintenance would fail (For thoſe that ſilence them will neither honor them, nor maintain them). And though I ſuppoſe that theſe brethren would ſerve God in the greateſt contempt and poverty, and ſelf-denial, if they perceive that God doth call them to it, yet I think it a duty of Charity in me, to go before them, and do the more diſpleaſing work, to prevent the ſufferings of ſuch, or at leaſt, not to thruſt them on ſo hard a ſervice. For I have no Church that maintaineth me, nor any people whoſe eſtimation I am afraid to loſe, that are dividingly inclined, nor (through Gods mercy) have any need of maintenance from others, and therefore may do my duty at cheaper rates than they.

27. And I will add one reaſon more of the publiſhing, though not of the writing of my book. When it had been long caſt by, I found in the *Debater*, and *Eccleſiaſtical Politician* that the *Nonconformiſts* are made ridiculous and odious, as men of erroneous, uncharitable, and ungovernable principles and ſpirits (Though we ſubſcribe to all the Doctrine of the Church of *England*) And I thought that the publication of this book, ſhould leave a teſtimony to the generations to come, by which they might know whether

whether we were truly accuſed, and whether our principles were not as much for Love and Peace as theirs, and as conſiſtent with order and government.

Is not the Non-conformiſts doctrine the ſame with that of the Church of *England*, when they ſubcribe to it, or offer ſo to do? Did not his Majeſty in his Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical affairs, complain of them (Dr. *Burges* I ſuppoſe) who pretended a difference between us in doctrine? If they ſay that the Non-conformiſts are to be denominated from the Major part, I anſwer, we provoke the willingeſt of their adverſaries to prove, that either the Major part, or any thing near it, is of more erroneous doctrinal principles than themſelves? The Independents as well as the Presbyterians offer to ſubſcribe to the doctrine of the 39. Articles, as diſtinct from Prelacy and Ceremony. And I muſt witneſs that when I was in the Country, I knew not of one Miniſter of ten that are now ſilenced, that was not in the main (as far as I could diſcern) of the ſame principles with my ſelf. And though any Reproacher will blindly injure the Non-conformiſts, who ſhall judge of them throughout *England* and *Scotland* by the many parties in *London*, where a great number of differing opinions alwaies inhabited; Yet I may add that even in *London*, the burning of the Churches, and the notorious neceſſity of many thouſand ſouls, and the Acts which puniſh them by ſix moneths impriſonment, if they come within five miles of a Corporation, (and therefore make them think it neceſſary to keep out of the Pariſh Churches, where

where they *may* presently be both accused and apprehended ) doth make the Practice of many very humble, godly, peaceable, and moderate men ( by Preaching at the time of publick worship, when their hearers cannot well come at another time ) to be such as causeth men to misstake their principles.

But Satan maligning the *just vindication* of the *Non-conformists* against these accusations, hath by false suggestions stirred up some, who differ from the rest as well as we, to clamour against this Book, which was published for the clearing of the innocent: And now they have disclaimed it, they have renounced *their own part* in those peaceable Principles which they disown, and in *this Vindication*; But I must desire the next Accuser, to charge this Renunciation upon none but those that he can prove to be guilty of it, and not on the *Non-conformists*. And the rather because ( *by a self confutation* ) they have shewed themselves, that the *old Non-conformists* were more sober and peaceable; And I can assure them, that the most of the Non-conformists Ministers of my acquaintance, are not a jot more rigorous or farther from them, than the *old Non-conformists* were. And that those that treated with the Bishops in 1660. did yield to such an Episcopacy, as the *old Non-conformists* would scarcely have generally consented to ( viz. Bishop *Ushers* model in his Reduction. )

If the Accusers of the Non-conformists shall say, [ *By the censure of your Book and Person you see what Non-conformists are, that will joyn in re-*

 *ceiving*

*ceiving and venting false reports, even of their brethren, before they saw or heard one line of the book,* ] I Answer to such: 1. Call not that the act of the Non-conformists, which some of *one party* of them are drawn to by misinformation. 2. There were so *great persons* and so *many* of the *Conformists* concurred in the report, that you may well be silent as to *Parties*, and say that *Iliacos intra muros*, &c. We are all to blame. 3. It cannot be denyed, that among all parties in *England*, there are so many that take up false reports, and think it no sin if they did but hear it from *credible persons*, and hereby are Satans instruments to vend false defamations, that it is become the shame and crime of the land; and many strict Professors (excepting the graver and soberer sort) are too commonly guilty of it, though not so much as others. I will not deny but humane converse requireth some credulity: But if men medled not with other mens matters without a call, and withall did Love their neighbours as themselves, and were as tender Conscienced as they ought to be, and knew how little before God it will excuse a Lie or Slander to say, [I heard it of such an honest man, or I said but what I heard of many, ] it would prevent a great deal of sin.

And that it may appear I am impartial, and defend not those faults in the Religious sort, which they must repent of, I will intreat you to note from this one instance, these following obvious observations.

1. Note by this instance what an *inequality* there

there may be in the *tenderneſs of mens Conſciences* towards meer *words* and *formes* of worſhip, and towards the ſins which nature it ſelf condemneth, if they ſtudy not well the wiles of Satan; when the City and Country ſhall have the ſame men that are tender Conſcienced (which I commend) about a Ceremony or the *faſhion* of their prayers, without any ſcruple or remorſe thus receive and publiſh a ſlander or falſhood, (that I *wrote againſt private meetings*, and *for Conformity*, and that *I Conformed*) and this before they had *ever ſeen* or *ſpoken* with one man living that had ſeen one line of the book, or could report it to them with the leaſt pretenſe of knowledge. Yea and all this againſt one that had given an *openet teſtimony* againſt Conformity, *than any one man* of all them that thus ſlandered him, as far as ever I was able to know.

2. Note here what I have told you in the book, the great difference between a *formal* dividing zeal for opinions, and a Chriſtian zeal of Love and Heavenlineſs and good workes. If you would kindle this latter in your own or others hearts, alas, what holy labour doth it require? How many lively Sermons are all too little to kindle the leaſt flame of Loving, heavenly fruitful zeal! How many meditations and prayers are uſed before any holy flame appeareth? But a zeal for our *Party* and our *opinions*, and our ſeveral *formes* and *faſhions* of ſpeaking to God, will kindle and flame like the fire that conſumed London. A ſparke from one diſcontented perſons mouth will ſuddenly take,

and engage multitudes in City and Country in the affectionate ſpreading of untruths; and who can quench it till it go out of it ſelf for want of fewel?

3. Note alſo the great Partiality of multitudes of Religious people, and how eaſily we can aggravate the faults of *others*, and how hardly we can either *aggravate* or *ſee our own!* The defects of the Liturgie, and the faults of thoſe by whom we *ſuffer*, are eaſily heightned, even beyond deſert. But when many of us vend untruths, and ſlanders againſt our brethren about the land, who aggravateth this or repenteth of it?

4. But above all I intreate the Dividing Brethren, if they can ſo long lay by their partiality, to judge by this of the *Reaſons* of their *Separation* from thoſe Churches (Private or Parochial) that they differ from, in tolerable things. You *think* it a ſin to Communicate in a Church where the *Liturgie* is uſed, and *Diſcipline* is not ſo ſtrictly exerciſed againſt ſome offenders, as you and I deſire. But ſuch *publicke multiplyed untruths* in mens mouths, doth never make you ſcruple *their* Communion. I intreat you do but ſtudy an anſwer to one that would *ſeparate from you all*, upon ſuch grounds as theſe. Firſt for the ſin, conſider of theſe texts, Exod. 23. 1, 2. *Thou ſhalt not raiſe a falſe report: put not thy hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witneſs. Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither ſhalt thou*

ſpeak

*speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest it.* Psalm 15. 3. *He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.* Rom. 1. 30. *Backbiters, haters of God,* 2 Cor. 12. 20. *Lest there be debate, strifes, backbibitings, whisperings,* &c. Prov. 25. 23. *An angry countenance driveth away a backbiting tongue:* Tit. 3. 1, 2. *Put them in mind to be ready to every good work; to speak evil of no man.* 1 Pet. 2. 1. *Laying aside evil speakings* —— 1 Tim. 6. 4. *Whereof cometh evil surmisings,* Eph. 4. 31. *Let evil speakings be put away from you.* Jud. 10. *These speak evil of those things which they know not.* Jam. 4. 11. *Speak not evil one of another; He that speaketh evil of another and judgeth another, speaketh evil of the Law, and judgeth the Law.*

Have you more and plainer texts of Scripture against the *Common Prayer* than all these are? Now suppose one should say that a people of such sin as this should not be Communicated with; especially where there is no discipline exercised that ever so much as calleth one man of them to repentance for it: what answer will you give to this, which will not confute your own objections, against Communion with many Parish Churches in this Land.

5. Lastly hence note, how still *overdoing* is *undoing.* By the Principles of Love and Peace conteined in the book which some reproach, had they not disowned them, they might

have had their part in this *just Vindication* against them that accuse the Non-conformists Principles of *Enmity to Love and Peace*: But they *would have no part in it*, and have cast away their *own vindication*, and so have confirmed their accusers, and tempted them to believe that some *Non-conformists* are indeed such as they described.

But I must again intreat them to distinguish: Many sects go under the name of *Non-conformists*, from whom we differ incomparably more than we do from the *Conformists*; as the Quakers, Seekers, Behmenists, and some others. We are none of those men that, because we all suffer together under the Prelacy, do therefore more close with these, than with the Conformists, with whom in doctrine and the substance of worship, we agree.

But because it is their *own resolved choice*, to *disown the Principles and Vindication* of that *book*, I shall only say,

I. To our Accusers [*It is not these Dividers which we Vindicate, that will not stand to our Vindication*].

II. To posterity (whose historical Information of the truth of matters in this age I much desire,) [*If you would know what sort of men they are, that these times call Sectaries and Dividers or Separatists, I will give you but their own Character of themselves, that you may be*

*sure*

*ſure I wrong them not : Peruſe the book called, The Cure of Church-Diviſions; for they are perſons ſo contrary to that book, as that they take it to be an evil and miſchievous thing, and greatly to be lamented and deteſted : in ſo much that ſome of them ſay, It had been well if the Author had dyed ten years ago, and others, that this book hath done more harm than ever he did good in all his life. So intolerable is it to them, to have their Love-killing and dividing principles ſo much as thus contradicted, while they cry out againſt the Impoſing ſpirit of others.* The *meaſure* of their diſtaſte againſt theſe Principles of Love and Unity, I leave you to gather out of the exceptions which I am now to anſwer.

## CAP. 2.

### *The true state of the Controversie, between me, and those whom I call Church-Dividers.*

BEcause the Excepter carrieth it all along, as if he understood not what I say, or would not have his Reader understand it, I must state the Case as it standeth between us, for the sake of them that love not to be deceived, nor to be angry at they know not what.

Know therefore that the *design* of the Writer of that Book was, to *restore Love* and *Unity among Christians*, which he saw decaying and almost dying through the temptation of *our sufferings from some*, and *our differences with others*, and through the sidings of *parties*, and through the *passions* which conquer some mens judgements, and the *hypocrisie* of others, who place their Religion in their *sidings*, and in the *forms* or *fashions* of the words of their prayers, or the circumstances of outward Worship: And to acquaint Christians with the wiles of Satan, who would *kill their Grace*, by killing their *Love*, whilst they think they do but preserve their *Purity*. And to open to them the secret windings of the Serpent, and the workings of Pride,

Pride, and Wrath, and Selfishness, against the works of *Love* and *Peace*: And to shew them the great deceitfulness of mans heart, which often fighteth against God as for God, by fighting against Love and Unity; and which oft loseth all, by seeming to overcome, and forsaketh Religion by seeming valiant for it; ) And I especially intreat the Reader to note, that I said much more about *Principles*, than *Practices*; Because I know that as to Communion with this or that Church, mens practices may vary upon accidental and prudential accounts, of which I pretend not to be a Judge: And therefore I first speak against Love killing Principles, and then against such Practices only, as either proceed from such Principles, or increase them. If I see a man stay from Church, as I know not his reasons, so I judge him not; unless as he doth it upon sinful causes, and especially if he would propagate those Causes to others, and justifie them to be of God, when they are against him.

And whereas *Hatred and Enmity* worketh by driving men from each others Societies, as *wicked* or *intolerable*, and *Love* worketh by inclining men to *Union* and *Communion*; and again, mens *distance* increaseth the *Enmity* which caused it; and their *nearness* and *familiarity* increaseth *Love*, and reconcileth them; I did therefore think it a matter of great necessity to our welfare, to counsel men to all *lawful nearness* and *Communion*, and to dissuade them from all *unnecessary alienation* and *separation* from each other.

Let

Let the Reader also understand, that in this, my purpose was not to condemn mens separation from the *Parish Churches only*, nor *more* than *any other sinful separation*: But from *any true Church* of Christians whatsoever; when uncharitable Principles drive them away, Whether it be from Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Lutherans, *&c.* Only because that those I deal most with, make most exceptions against Communion with the *Parish Churches*, I bestowed *most words* in answering such exceptions.

Therefore observe 1. That it is none of our Question, [ *Whether you should Communicate with the Parish Churches alone, and no other?*

2. Nor [ *Whether you should Communicate with every Parish Church, or any one whose Pastors are through insufficiency, heresie or impiety intolerable?* which I have written against *Dir.* 36. *p.*202, *&c.*

3. Nor [ *Whether we may hold local Communion in Worship with a Church which denyeth us such Communion, unless we will sin*: This I have oft enough denyed, *p.* 203, *&c.*

4. Nor [ *Whether* cæteris paribus *local Communion with a purer and better Church, be not ordinarily to be preferred before local Communion with a worse?* (which I assert, p. 203, *&c.*)

5. Nor [ *Whether a man be a Separatist from another Church, meerly because he is not locally present with it?* (For then when I am in one Church, I separate from all other in the world? )

6. Nor [ *Whether it be lawful to remove ones dwelling,*

*dwelling, for Communion with a better Minister and Church, supposing that we are free?* p. 204.

7. Nor [ *Whether it be lawful to remove to a better Church, without removing ones dwelling, in a place where another Church is near, to which we may go without any publick injury, or hurt to our selves or others, which is greater than the benefit*, pag. 204.

8. Nor [ *Whether we may remove both from Church and Country, by the occasions of our Callings or Trades, or other like and weighty reasons?* pag. 298.

9. Nor [ *Whether we may keep in Communion privately with our lawful Pastors, if they be turned out of the publick Temples?* ] Which I have asserted, *pag.* 299. and have said, that *where the Pastor is, there the Church is, in whatever place they do assemble*, p. 250. ( which Dr. *Hide* also thought, when he began his Book with an assertion of the necessity of separating then from the publick places. And so did other Prelatists then, and so think the Papists now, and most other parties. )

10. Nor is it any of our Question, [ *Whether you should have Communion with a Diocesan Church, as such*; ( It is a Parochial Church with such others that I spake of, and never a word of a Diocesan Church. )

11. Therefore it is none of the Question [ *Whether you must own our Diocesan Bishops?* ]

12. Nor yet [ *Whether you must have Communion with any thing called, A National Church, as a Political Society constituted of an Ecclesiastical Head*

*Head and Body, and denominated from that form, or Constitutive Head?* Though we must own a *National Church*, as it is *improperly* so denominated, from the *King* that is the *Civil Head* (*accidental*, and not *Constitutive* to the Spiritual Church.) And as it is a *Community of Christians*, and a *part of the Universal Church*, united by the *Concord* of her Pastors; who in Synods may *represent the whole Ministry*, and be the means of their *agreement*.

13. Nor is it the Question, [*Whether you must needs hold Communion with those individual Bishops, whom you account the Persecutors, and Causes of our silence and confusions.* I have told you in the Story of *Martin*, how he separated from the *Synods* of those *individual Bishops*, and from their *local Communion*, without *separating* from the *Office*, the *Churches*, or from *any other Bishops*. This is a matter that I did not meddle with, because it is not *their Communion* that you are called to, but the Parish Churches.

Indeed to save mens lives, he did yield to the Emperour once to communicate with them; But (saith *Sulp. Severus Dial. 3. p. Bib. Pac. 254.*) *Summi vi Episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem illam subscriptione firmaret, extorqueri non potuit.* And the Angel that appeared to him said [*Merito Martine compungeris; sed aliter exire nequisti: repara virtutem, resume Constantiam, ne jam non periculum gloriæ sed salutis incurreris. Itaq; ab illo tempore satis cavit, cum illa Ithaciane partis Communione miscerī.* And after finding his power of Miracles abated, with tears he confessed

fessed to *Sulpit.* That *propter Communionis illius malum, cui se vel puncto temporis, necessitate, non Spiritu miscuisset, detrimentum sentire virtutis. Sedecim postea vixit annos, nullam Synodum adiit, ab omnibus Episcoporum Conventibus se removit.* But this was only from those Bishops who by provoking Magistrates against the *Priscillian Gnosticks*, had brought all strict Religious people under scorn. But he separated not from any others.

14. Nay, I made it none of our Question, [ *Whether you should Communicate, with any Parish Minister, who concurreth with them in the said matters which you accuse the Bishops of, any farther than by Conforming to the Law.* For it is but few of the *Parish Ministers* that were *Convocation Men*, or that you can prove did ever consent to our silencing.

15. Nor is it any of the Question, [ *Whether those also be guilty of separation and divisions, who shall make unnecessary Engines of division, and lay upon the necks of any Churches such unnecessary things as have a tendency to divide.* ] Who hath said more against this, than I have done?

16. Nor is it any of our Question, [ *Which of the two is the greater cause of divisions, or which of the foresaid persons is most culpable?* ] Who hath spoken plainlier in this, than I? If the Brother that excepteth would make you believe, that any one of these is the Controversie, if you believe him, he doth but deceive you.

But whom I mean by Separatists, I have plainly told you, *pag.* 249, 250, *&c.*

And

☞ And that which I perſwade men to, is this: 1. *To love all Chriſtians as themſelves.*

2. *To hold nothing, and do nothing which is contrary to this Love, and would deſtroy it.*

3. Therefore *to deny no Chriſtians to be Chriſtians, nor no Churches to be Churches, nor no lawful Worſhip of any Mode or Party to be lawfull.*

4. *Not to ſeparate from any others upon any of theſe three falſe ſuppoſitions or accuſations,* (viz. 1. *As no true Chriſtians:* 2. *As no true Churches:* 3. *As having no true Worſhip, or as worſhipping, ſo as it is not lawful to joyn with them.*)

5. *To chooſe the moſt edifying Miniſtry, and the ſoundeſt Church, and pureſt manner of worſhipping God,* that poſſibly you can have on *lawful terms;* as to your ordinary uſe and Communion, ſo far as you are free to chooſe.

6. *To joyn with a defective faulty true Church, ordinarily, and in a manner of Worſhip which is defective, when you can have no better, on lawful terms,* (as without the publick injury, or your own greater hinderance than help) And I prove, that this is the worſt that you can charge (as to this matter of Communion) on thoſe Pariſh Churches in *England,* that have honeſt competent Paſtors; and the ſame others charge on the Churches of Independents and Anabaptiſts. And that it is a duty to hold communion with any one of theſe conſtantly when you can have no better.

7. *That if you can ſtatedly have better; yet ſometimes to Communicate with a defective Church, as a ſtranger may do, that is not intereſſed in their diſcipline,*

*discipline, or is no stated member, is not only lawful, but, for the ends sake, is a duty, when our never communicating with them is scandalous, and offensive to our Rulers, and tendeth to make people think that we hold that to be unlawful which we do not, and when our actual Communion is apt and needful to shew our judgement, and to cherish love and Christian Concord.* On which account, as I would *statedly* communicate with the Greek Church, if I were among them, and had *no better*; and would *sometimes* communicate with them in, their Prayers and Sacraments, if I did but pass through the Countrey as a *stranger*, or if I *could have better*; even so would I do with a *Parish Church*, if as faulty as you can justly charge it (with the foresaid limitations) or with a Church of Anabaptists or Independents, (if they did not use their meetings to destroy either *Piety* or *Love.*)

This is my judgement; This is the summ of all that I plead for, as to Communion. If the Excepter deny not this, he talketh not at all to me.

If any that have passionately reviled my Book and me, do say, We thought you had gone further, and pleaded for more: I answer them, that we should not speak untruths, and revile things before we understand them, and then come off with [ *I thought you had said more.* ] It is this with other *Love-killing* distempers that I strive to Cure.

And again I tell you, that it is, 1. Ignorance: 2. Pride, or overvaluing our own understandings:

3 And

3. And Uncharitableneſs generated of theſe two, which is the Cauſe of our CRUELTIES and our unlawful SEPARATIONS, and which breed and feed our threatning Diviſions, among the parties on both extreams. And its the death of theſe three that muſt be our Cure.

---

## CAP. 3.

### *Some Objections (or Queſtions) about Separation anſwered.*

AS to that party who think Anabaptiſts and Independents unfit for their communion, I am not now dealing with them; and therefore am not to anſwer their Objections. Only on the by I ſhall here mind them; 1. That it is not ſuch as the old *German* Anabaptiſts, who denyed Magiſtracy to Chriſtians, *&c.* that I ſpeak of; But ſuch as only deny Infant Baptiſm: And that many of them, are truly Godly ſober men; and therefore capable of communion. And that the ancient Churches left it to mens liberty at what time they would have their Children baptized.

2. That many Independents are downright againſt Separation; Mr. *Jacob* hath notably written againſt it. Therefore thoſe that are but *meer Independents*, refuſe not communion with the Pariſh Churches: And why ſhould *you* refuſe communion with *them?*

3. That many that ſeparate, *ſecundum quid*, or *pro*

*pro tempore*, from some part of Worship only and for a season, yet separate not *simply* from the Churches as *no Churches*, nor would do all as they do, in other circumstances. For instance, when they come not to the publick Assemblies, yet they will not *refuse you*, if you will come to *theirs*. Go to *their meetings*, and see if they so far separate, as to forbid you? Nor perhaps to their *Sacraments*, if you will submit to *their way*, as you expect they should do *by yours*. Now seeing we are all agreed, that the Magistrate doth not make Ministers, Churches (or Sacraments,) but only encourage, protect and rule them, I desire you but to be so impartial as to consider that 1. You count not your selves *Separatists*, because you never go to one of *their Meetings* in *their houses* or other places; Why then should you call *them Separatists*, only for not coming to *yours*? 2. But if they are guilty of Separation for holding either that *your Churches and Ministry are Null*, or that *Communion* with you is unlawful by Gods Law, enquire how far *you also* are Separatists, if you say the same without proof by any others, (Though their lawfulness by the Law of the Land, I justifie not, no nor the regularity of their Church Assemblies.)

4. And I would here note how *partial* most men are. They that think an *Independent* or *Anabaptist*, yea, or a *Presbyterian* intolerable at home in their *several Churches*, yet if they would but come to *their communion*, they would receive them as tolerable members. And they that think it unlawful to hold communion with

the *Prelatists*, and give the reason partly from their *unfitness*, yet would receive them (in many Churches) if they did but change their Opinions, and desire communion with them in their way.

But it is those that judge Parish communion (where there are godly Ministers) unlawful, that I am here to speak to. And their principal doubts are such as many good and sober persons need an answer to.

---

## QUEST. I.

Quest. 1. *DOth not the second Commandment, and Gods oft expressed jealousie in the matters of his Worship, make it a sin to communicate in the Liturgie?*

*Answ* 1. The meaning of the second Commandment (mistaken by many) is *directly* to forbid *Corporal* or *Interpretative Idolatry*, and *worshipping God by Images*, as if he were *like a Creature*: And *scandalously symbolizing with the Idolaters*, or Worshippers of false Gods, by doing that which in outward appearance is the *Worshipping of a false God*, though the mind be pretended to be kept free. Now the Worshipping of the *true God* in the *words of the Liturgie*, hath none of this; nor will any but a sinful Censurer think that it is the worshipping of a *false God*.

*I desire the Reader to see the most judicious moderate Exposition o' the second Commandment (as of all the rest) in Mr. George Lawson's Theopolitica.*

Nor is every use of the same *places*, *words*, or

other

other things *indifferent*, a *ſymbolizing* with Idolatry: But the ſaying thoſe words, or the uſing thoſe Acts or Ceremonies, by which their falſe Religion *in ſpecie* is notified, as by a *teſſera*, or *badge* to the world. Or uſing the *Symbols* of *their Religion* as differing from the *true*. Even as the uſe of *Baptiſm*, and the *Lords Supper*, the *Creed*, and the conſtant uſe of our *Church-Worſhip*, are the *Symbols* of the *Chriſtian Religion*. So their *Sacraments*, *Incenſe*, *Sacrificings*, and *Worſhipping Conventions*, were the Symbols of Worſhipping *falſe Gods*; which therefore Chriſtians may not uſe.

But they that ſay, that *all falſe Worſhip* of the *true God* is *Idolatry*, add to Gods word, and teach doctrines which are but the forgeries of their own brain. Though more than Idolatry be forbidden by *Conſequence* in the ſecond Commandment, that proveth it not to be *Idolatry*, becauſe its *there ſo forbidden*.

2. I have after diſtinguiſhed of *falſe Worſhip*, and told you, that if by *falſe*, you mean *forbidden*, or *not commanded*, or *ſinful*, we all worſhip God *falſly* in the *Manner* every day, and in ſome part of the *matter* very oft. Our diſorders, confuſion, tautologies, unfit expreſſions, are all forbidden, and ſo falſe worſhip: And if God prohibit any diſorder which is in the Liturgie, he prohibits the ſame in *extemporate prayers* (in which ſome good Chriſtians are as failing as the Liturgie) And as the *words* of the *Liturgie* are not commanded in the Scripture, ſo neither are the *words* of our *extemporate or ſtudied Sermons* or *Prayers*.

3. God hateth every sin in every prayer; but he hateth the *avoiding of prayer*, and of *due communion* much more. He hateth every disorder in *extemporate* prayer; And yet he more hateth that Censoriousness and Curiosity, which would draw men to forsake the substantials of Worship, or Christian Love and Communion on that pretence.

Gods Jealousie in his Worship is most about the heart, and next about the substantials of his own institutions, and of Natural Worship, and least about the phrase of Speech and order, while it is not such, as is grosly dishonourable to the Nature of God, and to the greater things. And though God under the Law expressed his jealousie much about Ceremonies, yet that was not for the Ceremonies sake, but to controll gross irreverence and contempt of holy things (as in the Case of *Uzzah*, the *Bethshemites*, *Uzziah*, *Aarons* Sons) and to keep up an esteem of the Holiness of God, and to restrain sacrilegious presumption. And under the Gospel, it is neither *this place* of Worship, nor that, neither this Mountain, nor *Jerusalem*, but *Spirit* and *Truth* that God most looks at. It is not whether you pray by a Book, or without, by words fore-studied or not, by words of your own contriving, or of anothers, that God is now jealous of. For even when you want words, he accepteth the groans excited by his Spirit, *Rom.* 8. 26, 27.

If Christians should plead Gods jealousie about his Worship; as Censoriously against their *own prayers*, as they do against *other mens*; and Churches

Churches in this case, they would turn prayer into the fuel of despair and torment. For God is so jealous of his Worship, that he hateth all the sinful dulness, emptiness, wandrings, vain repetitions, confusions, unseemly expressions, of all your secret prayers, and all your family prayers. And yet I would advise you neither to think that God therefore hateth you, or the prayer it self, nor yet to fly from God and prayer, nor family Worship, where it is no better done, Gods jealousie, especially under the Gospel, is to be minded for to drive us from our sloth and carelesness, to do the best we can, but not to drive us *from him*, or *from prayer*, or *from one another*. These are *Satans ends* of minding men of *Gods jealousie*, as he doth troubled souls to drive them to despair.

And others may scruple joining with *your weaknesses* and *faults* in Worship on pretence of Gods jealousie, as well as *you* with *theirs*. What if twenty Ministers be one abler than another, in their several degrees (and the lowest of them doth weaklier than the Liturgick forms.) Doth it follow, that only the ablest of all these may be joyned with, because that all the rest do worse? It is granted that we must offer God the *best*, that we *have* or *can do*. But not the best which we *cannot do?* And many things must concurr (and especially a respect to the publick good) to know which is the best.

## QUEST. II.

Queſt. 2. *Doth not the Covenant make it now unlawful, to hold Communion in the uſe of the Liturgie?*

*Anſw.* To hold Communion in the Liturgie *Ordinarily* where we cannot lawfully have better, and *extraordinarily* where we *can have* better, is a thing that we are bound to by the Covenant, and not at all bound againſt.

For thoſe of the Iudependent way who think as Mr. *Eaton* writeth that the Covenant bindeth not, I need not here ſay any thing as to their ſatisfaction. For others I ſay, 1. There is no word in all the Covenant expreſly againſt *the Liturgie.*

2. If there had been any word in it againſt *Communion with the Churches that uſe the Liturgie*, it had been *ſin*, and againſt our duty, and therefore could not bind.

3. The judgement of Proteſtants is, that Vowes muſt not make us new duties of Religion but bind us faſter by a ſelf obligation, to that which God binds us to without them. Therefore (though if we ſhould Vow an indifferent thing, it would bind, yet) this could not be taken for the *Covenanters intention.*

4. And it is commonly agreed, that if we Vow a *thing indifferent*, it bindeth us not when the *indifferency ceaſeth*; which may be by the *Magiſtrates command*, or by *another mans neceſſity*, or *change*

*change of Cases*: Else a man might before hand prevent most of the Magistrates obligations, and his Parents and Masters too, and escape obedience; and might say with the Pharisees, it is Corban, or a devoted thing.

5. It remaineth therefore that no man of us all hath need to go, or ought to go to the Covenant to know *what is his duty* in the worship of God, but only to the *Scripture*; seeing if *Scripture* make it not a *duty*, the Magistrates Law will make the doing of it a *sin*; And if *Scripture* make it not a *sin*, the Magistrates command will make it a *duty*. But when we *know* what is duty or sin (in our case) we may go to our Vows next to prove that it is a *double duty* or a *double* or aggravated sin but no otherwise. Therefore let the *Scripture* only decide the first case, whether it be lawful or not.

6. The Covenant or Vow expresly bindeth us against *schisme*. But the renunciation of Communion which I now dispute against, is plaine schisme; Therefore we are bound against it by that Vow.

7. The Covenant bindeth us against all that is contrary to the power of Godlines, and sound doctrine. But the separating which I plead against is certainly such.

8. The Covenant bindeth us to Unity and the neareſt Uniformity we can attain. But as the world goeth now, this Communion is the neareſt, and needful to expres our Unity.

9. The Covenant bindeth us to Reformation according to Gods word, and the example of the best reformed Churches: But to prefer *no publick*

*worſhip* or a *worſe*, before the *Liturgie*, is *deformation* and *prophaneneſs*, And it is *greater Reformation* to prefer the *Liturgie* before *none*, than to prefer *extemporate* publick worſhip before the Liturgie. And all the Reformed Churches in Chriſtendom, do commonly profeſs to hold Communion with the Engliſh Churches in the Liturgie, if they come among us where it is uſed. Therefore it ſeemeth to me to be perjury and Covenant-breaking, either to prefer *no publick worſhip* before the Liturgie, or to refuſe occaſional Communion with the Churches that uſe the Liturgie, as a thing meerly on that account unlawfnl.

---

## QUEST. III.

Queſt. 3. *Whether the Caſe be not much altered ſince the old Non-conformiſts wrote againſt ſeparation, then called Brownifme? And whether we have not greater Light into theſe Controverſies than they?*

*Anſw.* 1. The Caſe of *Miniſters Conformity* is much altered, by a new Act which requireth ſubſcribing new things, Declaring Aſſent and Conſent to all things preſcribed and conteined in and by three books; and by ſome other things. But that part of the Liturgie which the people are to joyn in is made better, as is ſhewed before. And if we are returned to the *ſame ſtate* that they were then in, we are under the *ſame duties* that they were under. And let it be remembred,

membred, that we never Vowed that God ſhould not bring us back to the ſame caſe ( which had been blaſphemy ) And therefore it had been bad enough, if we had vowed not to do what was *our duty in that ſtate*, if God ſhould return us to it.

2. I earneſtly intreat the doubting Reader, that thinketh his duty and the Churches peace, to be worth ſo much labour, but to read over ſome of the old Non-conformiſts books againſt ſeparation. And if you there find the very ſame objections anſwered ( or more and greater ) than judge your ſelves whether their caſe and ours was ( as to this cauſe ) the ſame. The books I would deſire you to read are, Mr. *Jacobs* the Independent againſt *Johnſon*; Mr. *Bradſhaws* againſt *Johnſon*, with Mr. *Gatakers* defence of it againſt *Canne*: Mr. *Gifford*, Mr. *Darrel*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Hilderſham*, Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Mr. *Brightman*, and laſt of all and fulleſt at the beginning of our troubles, Mr. *John Ball* in three books.

But of this having ſpoken already, I ſhall repeat no more; but only to profeſs my judgement, that our ordinary boaſters that think they know more in this Controverſie than the old Non-conformiſts did, as far as I am able to diſcern are as far below them almoſt, as they are below either *Chamier*, *Sadeel*, *Whitaker* or ſuch others in dealing with a Papiſt. which of *them* can *ſay that*, about Epiſcopacy, as *Gerſom*, *Bucer*, *Didoclave*, *Blondell*, *Salmaſius* have done? and ſo of the reſt.

QUEST.

## QUEST. IIII.

Quest. 4. *IS it not a shameful receding from our Reformation, now to use an unreformed Liturgie, and a pulling down of what we have been building.*

*Answ.* 1. It is not fit here to enquire who it is that hath pulled down, and destroyed Reformation: though it be easie to discern it. But this is certain, that God hath set up the Government that is over us, and that our Governours take down by their Laws, that which we accounted Reformation: This is not *our* worke, but *theirs*: And that they permit us not otherwise publickly to worship God. And that a man in Goal doth ordinarily joyn in no publick worship at all. And where men do venture on other manner of worship in forbidden assemblies, the fears of some and the passionate discontent of others, and the disturbances by souldiers and officers, and such like, do take off much of the edification, and hinder us from such a frame of mind as is most agreeable to the work and day. And to worship God *no where*, is to go farther from Reformation; than to worship him by the *Liturgie*.

2. To do it *of choice* is one thing, and to do it as a duty *put upon us* by Gods providence, and our Governours, when we can do no better, is another thing. It is God that

that hath *pulled down* our liberty and opportunity to serve him otherwise: and we must obey him. It is no faulty mutability, to change our *practice*, when God by changing our condition doth change our *duty*: No more than it was in *Paul* who to the Jews became a Jew, and circumcised *Timothy*, and shaved his head for his Vow &c. and became all things to all men: And no more than it was in *Augustine* who professeth that he would worship God, as to formes and ceremonies, according as the Church did with which he joyned where ever he came: Nor no more than it is in a traveller or merchant to joyn, in several Countries, in several fashions and ceremonies or rites of outward worship.

---

## QUEST. V.

Quest. 5. *Will it not strengthen and encourage the adversaries of Reformation?*

*Answ.* 1. We must not make such carnal policies our guides, as to forbear that which God doth make our duty, for fear of encouraging other men. If we take this to be uncharitable factiousness in others, to desire rather all these distractions in the Church, than that the Non-conformists should be encouraged and strengthned by seeming to have justly desired a Reformation, let us not be guilty of what we blame.

2. If

2. If you will believe themselves, it is the *unwilling Conformists* that they are most in danger of, who profess that they conform of necessity, and desire a Reformation; As Dr. *William Smith* hath shewed in a book written to that end. The Assembly of *Westminster* that set up the Presbytery were such Conformists.

3. It is sinful pride and tenderness of their own honour, which maketh some men avoid their duty, and wrathfully grudge at them that speak for it, because those that are against them thence take occasion to insult over them or reproach them. If men do but say, *you are now turncoats* and *time servers*, and *where is your reformation now, and you are now glad to do as we do*, they think this reason enough why they should forbear that Communion and worship which is their duty. Are these beseeming self denying humble persons? Could they suffer *death* for their duty sake, that cannot bear a little *reproach* for it.

Object. *If we knew it were our duty we would suffer for it.* *Answ.* But is it not this very suffering and reproach, and insulting of others, which maketh you *think* that it is *not your duty*? And so carnal persons use to do. They will believe nothing to be their duty which they must suffer by. Let Gods honour be all to you, and your own be nothing, and you will not much stick at such things as these.

QUEST.

## QUEST. VI.

Queſt. 6. *BUT will not this courſe divide us among our ſelves; while one goeth to the Pariſh Churches and another doth not?*

*Anſw.* 1. Mr. *Tombes* did not ſtick at dividing the Anabaptiſts when he wrote for Pariſh Communion. And Mr. *Philip Nye* did not ſtick at the fear of dividing the Independents, when he wrote a *M. S.* (as I am credibly informed) for the hearing of the Pariſh Preachers, (though another wrote againſt it preſently after). And if an ordinary attendance on their publick doctrine be lawful, this will go further than many think, to prove the reſt of the Communion lawful.

2. We are already ſo far divided in *our judgements*, as for one to hold it to be lawful, and another to be unlawful: And who can cure this diviſion? And why ſhould it divide us *more*, if mens practice be according to their judgements, rather than for them to ſin againſt their Conſciences?

3. The great thing in which we differ from the Prelatiſts yea and Papiſts too is, that we would have our Union laid only upon *Neceſſary things*, and liberty and *Charity* maintained in the reſt. And ſhall we now contradict our ſelves, and ſay that *things neceſſary* are not ſufficient for our union? Cannot we hold union among our ſelves, if ſome go to the publick aſſemblies, and ſome

some do not? What is this but to have the impoſing domineering Spirit, which we ſpeak ſo much againſt? We cannot better confute the uncharitable dividing Spirit of the world, than by ſhewing them, that we can hold *Love* and *Union*, notwithſtanding as great differences as this, (yea, and much greater.)

---

## QUEST. VII.

Queſt. 7. *Shall we not hereby countenance the Prelates in Church-Tyranny and Uſurpation? and invite them to go further, and to make more burdens of Forms and Ceremonies to lay upon the Churches?*

*Anſw.* Without medling now with the queſtion, what guilt it is that lyeth on any Prelates in the points here mentioned, I anſwer, on your own ſuppoſition; 1. That it is the King and his Laws which we obey herein, and not the Dioceſans.

2. How openly and fully have we declared our utter diſſent from the things which you ſuppoſe that we ſhall countenance them in? Our Writings are yet viſible: Our Conferences were notorious. And is not the loſs of our Miniſtry, and the loſs of all Eccleſiaſtical Maintenance, and the pinching wants of many poor Miniſters, and their numerous families, and our ſuffering Volumes of reproach, confinements, *&c.* a ſignification of our diſſent? The caſe is ſomewhat hard with abundance of godly faithful Miniſters? Few that never felt it themſelves, can judge

judge aright, what it is to want a house to dwell in, a bed to lye on, to have Wives that are weak natured, to keep in yearly patience under all such necessities, which the Husband can bear himself; to have Children crying in hunger and rags, and to have a Landlord calling for his Rent, and Butchers, and Brewers, and Bakers, and Drapers, and Taylors, and Shoo-makers calling for money, when there is none to pay them (there being no *fifth part* of Church-maintenance now allowed them): in the Frost and Snow to have no fire, nor money to buy it! And yet all this is little in comparison of their restraint from preaching the Gospel of Salvation; and the displeasure of their Governours against them if they preach. And is not all this yet an open signification of their Dissent from the things which they so far deny complyance with? If some of their Accusers on both sides were but in the same condition, they would think it should go for a sufficient notification of dissent.

3. We perswade no man to any one sin, for Communion with others, no not to save their lives. If the thing be proved unlawful to be used (and not only unlawful to be so imposed) we exhort all to avoid it.

4. Yea, if an over numerous aggregation of things which singly are lawful, should make them become a snare and injury to the Church; we would have all in their places sufficiently signifie their dissent; or if the number shall turn them into a sin in the users, we would have none to use them. Though we would not have men censure or contemn one another (much less destroy one

one another) for a matter of *meats*, or dayes, or shadows; yet if any will by false doctrine or Imperiousness, say Touch not, Taste not, handle not, and will judge us in respect to Meat, or Drink, or Holy Dayes, or the New Moon, or Sabbaths, *Col.* 2. 16. 21. We would have all men to bear a just testimony to the truth, and to their Christian liberty.

5. But if the defects of publick Worship be tolerable, and if Providence, necessity and Laws, concurr to call us to use them, (when else we must use none, or do worse) here Communion doth become our duty: And a *Duty* must not be cast off, for fear of seeming to countenance the faults of others. We have *lawful* means to signifie our *dissent*: It is not in *our power* to express it how *we please*, nor to go as far from the faulty as *we can*, to avoid the countenancing of their faults: But we must do Gods work in his own way: And we must disown mens sins only by prudent lawful means, and not by any that are contrary to Christian Love and Peace, or a breach of any Law of God.

6. *Paul* was not for countenancing any of the falsehoods and faults which he reproveth in any of the Churches, especially partiality, sensuality, drunkenness at the very Sacrament or Love Feasts, 1 *Cor.* 11, *&c.* And yet he never bids them forsake the communion of the Church for it, till they shall reform. There were other wayes of testifying dislike.

7. I must not countenance an honest weak Minister or Master of a family, in the disorder

or

or defects, or errors of his prayer or instructing; And yet if they be *tolerable* errors or defects, I must not forsake either Church or family-Worship with him, that I may discountenance him.

8. There be *Errors* on the *contrary* side, which are not without considerable danger; which we are obliged also to take heed of countenancing. I will instance but in two, one in Doctrine, and the other in Practice.

1. There are men otherwise very honest, and truly godly, and of holy and unblameable lives, who think that the Scripture is intended by God, not only as a *General*, *but a particular Law or Rule*, *for all the very Circumstances of Worship*, (yea, some say of the *common business of our lives*): *and that the second Commandment in particular condemneth all that is the product or invention of man in or about the Worship of God*; *and that to deny this is to deny the perfection of the Scripture*; *and that all written Books*, *and Printed*, *are Images there forbidden*; *and that all studied or prepared Sermons*, (*as to Method or Words*, *whether in Notes or memory*) *are forbidden Images of Preaching*, *and that all provided Words or Forms* (*written*, *or in memory*, *of our own or other mens Contrivance or Composition*) *are forbidden Images of Prayer*; *and all prepared Metre and Tunes are forbidden Images of Praise or singing*; *and that no man that useth any such preparation or form of words in preaching or prayer*, *doth preach or pray by the help of Gods Spirit*: *and that if Parents do but teach a Child a*

*form of words to pray in, they teach him this forbidden Imagery, yea, Idolatry.*

I hope the number is but small that are of this Opinion, and that it being commonly disowned by the *Non-conformists*, no Justice or Modesty can charge it on them, but only on the *few persons* that are guilty of it. But yet I must say, that we are obliged to take heed of Countenancing this Error, as well as of Countenancing Church-Usurpations.

For 1. When a few men of eminent integrity are of this mind, it proveth to us that *many more may* be brought to it, and are in danger of it; Because meer Piety and Honesty is not enough to keep men from it: Yea, when men otherwise *eminent* also for *Learning* and great understanding are of that mind (as they are) poor, ignorant, unlearned persons, though very godly, are not out of the danger of it.

2. And if it prevail, what abundance of hurt will it do?

1. You may read in the new Ecclesiastical Politician, how it will exasperate the minds of others, and give them matter of bitter reproach, and for the sake of a very few, how many that are blameless shall be aspersed with it? and the cause of the Non-conformists, yea, with many, the Protestant, yea, and the Christian Religion, rendred contemptible and odious by it.

2. It draweth men into the dangerous guilt of Adding to the Word of God, under pre-

tence

tence of ſtrict expounding it, and defending its perfection and extent.

3. By the ſame Rule as they deal thus by one Text (as the ſecond Command) they may do ſo by all: And if all or much of the Scripture were but thus expounded, I leave it to the ſober Reader to conſider, what a body of Divinity it would make us, and what a Religion we ſhould have?

4. It altereth the very Definition of the holy Scripture, and maketh it another thing: That which God made to be the Record of his holy Covenant, and the Law and Rule of *Faith* and *Holineſs*, and the General Law for outward Modes and Circumſtances, which are but Accidents of Worſhip, is pretended by men to be a particular Law, for that which it never particularly medleth with.

5. It ſorely prepareth men for *Infidelity*, and to deny the Divine Authority of the Scripture, and utterly to undo all by overdoing. If Satan could but once make men believe, that the Scripture is a Rule for thoſe things that are not to be found in it at all, and which God never made it to be a Rule for, he will next argue againſt it, as a deluſory and imperfect thing. He will teach every Artificer, to ſay, That which is an imperfect Rule, is not of God. But the Scripture is an imperfect Rule. For ſaith, the Watch-maker, I cannot learn to make a Watch by it; ſaith the Scrivener, I cannot make a Legal Bond or Indentures by it; ſaith the Carpenter, I cannot build a

House by it; saith the Physician, I cannot sufficiently know or cure Diseases by it; saith the Mathematician, Astronomer, Geographer, Musician, Arithmetician, the Grammarian, Logician, Natural Philosopher, &c. it is no perfect particular Rule of our Arts or Sciences: The Divine will say, It tells me not sufficiently and particularly what Books in it self are Canonical, nor what various Readings are the right, nor whether every Text be brought to us uncorrupted, nor whether it be to be divided into Chapters and Verses, and into how many? Nor what Metre or Tune I must sing a Psalm in, nor what persons shall be Pastors of the Churches, nor what Text I shall choose next, nor what Words I shall use in my next Sermon or Prayer, with abundance such like: Only in *General*, both *Nature* and *Scripture* say, *Let all things be done in Order and to Edification*, &c. Spiritually, Purely, Believingly, Wisely, Zealously, Constantly, &c. He that believeth it to be given as such a *particular Rule*, and then findeth that it is silent or utterly insufficient to that use, is like next to cast it away as a delusion, and turn an Infidel, or Anti-scripturist.

6. This mistake tendeth to cast all Rational Worship out of the Church and World; by deterring men from *inventing* or *studying* how to do Gods work aright. For if all that man *inventeth* or *deviseth* be a forbidden Image, than we must not invent or find out by study, the true meaning of a Text, the true method of

of Praying or Preaching, according to the various subjects: Nay, we must not study what to say, till we are speaking, nor what Time, Place, Gesture, Words to use; no nor the very *English* Tongue that we must Pray and Preach in, Whereas the Scripture it self requireth us, *to meditate day and night, to study to shew our selves workmen that need not be ashamed: to search and dig for knowledge*, &c. *Do they not err that devise evil? but mercy and truth shall be to them that devise good:* Prov. 14. 22. *I Wisdom dwell, with Prudence (or subtilty) and find out knowledge of witty inventions*, Prov. 8 12. *The Preacher sought to find out acceptable words*, Eccles. 12. 10. Banish study, and you banish knowledge and Religion from the world: The *Spirit moveth* us to *search* and *study*, and thereby teacheth us what to judge, and say, and do; and doth not move us, as I play on an Instrument, that knoweth not what it doth.

7. This Opinion will bring in all Confusion instead of pure reasonable Worship: While every man is left to find that in the Scripture which never was there, and that as the only Rule of his actions, one will think that he findeth one thing there, and another another thing. For it must be *Reality* and *Verity*, which must be the term of *Unity*: Men cannot agree in that which is not.

8. Yea, it will let in impiety and error; for when men are sent to seek and find that which is not there, every man will think that he find-

eth that, which his own corrupted mind brings thither.

9. And hereby all possibility of Union among Christians and Churches must perish, till this Opinion perish: For if we must unite only in that which is not in being, we must not unite at all. If we must all in singing Psalms, agree in no *Metre* or *Tune* in the Church but *one* that *Scripture* hath prescribed us, we shall sing with lamentable discord.

10. And hereby is laid a snare to tempt men into odious censures of each other: Because studied Sermons, printed Books, Catechisms and Forms of Prayer, are *Images and Idolatry*, in these mens conceits, all Gods Churches in the world must be censured as Idolatrous. And almost all his Ministers in the world must be accounted Idolaters; Children must account their Parents Idolaters, and disobey them that would teach them a Catechism, Psalm or Form of Prayer. Our Libraries must be burnt or cast away as Images; And when *Ministers are diminished*, and *accounted Idolaters*, if Satan could next but perswade people against all the *holy Books* of the Ministers of Christ (such as *Boltons*, *Prestons*, *&c.*) as Images and Idols, had he not plaid a more succesful game, then he did by *Julian*, and doth by the *Turks*, who keep the Christians but from humane Learning?

11. Hereby *Christian Love* will be quenched, when every man must account his Brother an Idolater, that cannot shew a Scripture, for the hour, the place of Worship, the Bells, the Hour-glasses,

glasses, the Pulpit, the Utensils, &c. or that studieth what to say before he Pray or Preach?

12. And hereby backbiting, slandering and railing must go currant as no sin, while every *Calvin*, *Cartwright*, *Hildersham*, *Perkins*, *Sibbs*, &c. that used a Form of Prayer, yea, almost all the Christians in the world, must be accused of Idolatry, as if it were a true and righteous charge.

13. And all our sins will be fathered on God, as if the second Commandment and the Scripture perfection did require all this, and taught Children to disobey their Parents and Masters, and say your Prayers and Catechisms are Images and Idols, &c.

14. It will rack and perplex the Consciences of all Christians; when I must take my self for an Idolater, till I can find a particular Law in Scripture, for every Tune, Metre, Translation, Method, Word, Vesture, Gesture, Utensil, &c. that I use in the worshipping of God: When Conscience must build only in the air, and rest only on a word which never was.

15. It will have a confounding influence into all the affairs and business of our lives.

16. Lastly, It will affright poor people from Scripture and Religion, and make us, our Doctrine and Worship, ridiculous in the sight of all the world. The Doctrine (which we hear maintained) which hath no better fruits than these, must be avoided, as well as the *contrary extream*, which would indeed charge the Law of God with imperfection, and cause man to

usurp

uſurp the part of Chriſt. And we muſt firſt know, *How far God made the Scripture for our Rule?* and then we muſt maintain its ſufficiency and perfection.

II. Alſo on that extream, we muſt do nothing to countenance thoſe *Practices* which tend to alienate Chriſtians hearts from one another, and to keep up Church-Wars, or to feed bitter cenſures, ſcorns and reproaches. And we that muſt not ſcandalize the Religious ſort, muſt avoid all that thus tempteth them, which is the real ſcandal. But of this I have ſaid enough in the Book which I am now defending.

# Part II.

An ANSWER to the

Untrue and unjuſt Exceptions

OF THE

ANTIDOTE

Againſt my TREATISE for

*LOVE* and *UNITY*.

DEar Brother (for ſo I will call you, whether you will or not), the chief trouble that I am put to in anſwering your Exceptions (next to that of my grief for the Churches and your ſelf, by reaſon of ſuch Diagnoſticks of your Malady) is the naming of your manifold *Untruths in matter of fact*. It is, it ſeems, no fault in your

eyes to commit them; but I fear you will account it unpardonable bitterness in me to tell you that you have committed them. If I call them *Mistakes*, the Reader will not know by that name, whether it be mistakes in point of *Fact* or of *Reason*: And *Lies* I will not call them, because it is a provoking word: Therefore *Untruths* must be the middle title.

---

## EXCEPT. I.

1 *Untruth.* Page 1. *The whole design of this Book being to make such as at this day are carefull to keep themselves Pure from all defilements in False worship, Odious, it may well be affirmed it was neither seasonable nor honest*—

*Answ.* THat's the *fundamental Untruth* which animateth all the rest. when you had got a false apprehension of the design of the Book, you seem to expound the particular passages by that Key. That which you call, *The whole design*, is not *any part* of the design, but is expresly and vehemently oft *disclaimed* and *protested against* in the Book. And whoever readeth it without a Partial mind, will presently see that the whole design of the Book is to deliver weak Christians from such mistakes and sins, as *destroy their Love to other Christians*, and cause the *divisions* among the Churches.

2. *False*

2. *False worship* is a word of various senses: Either it signifieth, 1. *Idolatry*, in worshipping a *false God*. 2. Or the Idolatrous worshipping of Images, as representations of the *true God*. 3. Or worshipping God by Doctrines and Prayers that consist of *falshoods*. 4. Or devising Worship-Ordinances, and *falsly* saying they are the *Ordinances of God*. 5. Or making God a Worship which he *forbiddeth*, in the *substance*, and *will not accept*. 6. Or worshipping God in an inward sinful manner, through *false principles* and ends as hypocrites do. 7. Or in a *sinful outward manner*, through disorder, defectiveness, and unhandsome or unfit expressions. False Worship, what: seven senses of that word.

Of these, I suppose you will not charge the Churches you separate from, as guilty of the *first*, *second*, *fourth*, or *sixth*, (which is out of the reach of humane judgment) For I suppose you to be sober. As for the *third*, through Gods great mercie, the Doctrine of *England* is so sound, that the Independants and Presbyterians have still offered to subscribe to it in the 39 Articles: according to which (if there were any doubtfulness in) the phrases of their Prayers, (they) are to be interpreted. For the *fifth*, if you accuse them of it, you must prove it; which is not yet done (supposing that you take not *Government* for *Worship*); nor *can* you do it. So that it must lie only on the *seventh*. And for that (if you will take the word [false-worship] in that sense) do not you also worship

God *falsly*, when you worship him *sinfully?* And are not *your disorders and unmeet expressions sins*, as well as theirs? Alas, how oft have I joyned in Prayer with honest men that have spoken confusedly, unhandsomly, and many waies more unaptly and disorderly than the Common Prayer is? How oft have I heard good old Mr. *Simeon Ash* say, that he *hath heard many Ministers pray so unfitly, that he could heartily have wished that they had rather used the Common Prayer?* When did any one of us pray without sin? How ordinarily do Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Separatists, &c. put their Opinions into their Prayers, and so make them *false Prayers*, and so *false Worship?* Nay, could you lay by partiality, and *know your self* (a very hard thing) you would presently see that you who wrote these Exceptions, are liker to Worship God *falsly* than they that do it by the Liturgie, that is, in the *third* sense: Because the *Doctrine* of the Prayers in the Liturgie is sound; but if you account this Script of yours to be *Worship* (and why not *writing* as well as *preaching*) or if you put the *same things* into your *Worship*, which you put into your writings, (as is very usual with others) then it is *false Worship indeed*, as consisting of too many falshoods. If you *pray* to God to encline men against all that Communion which you *write* against, or *lament* such Communion as a *sin*, this is *falser worship* than any is in the Liturgick Prayers. And if you will call all those

*modes*

*modes* of worſhip *falſe*, which God in Scripture hath not commanded, what a *falſe worſhipper* are you, that uſe a tranſlation of Scripture, a Verſion and tunes of Pſalms, a dividing the Scripture into Chapters and Verſes, yea the Method and words of every Sermon and Prayer, or moſt, and abundance ſuch like which God commanded not? God never bid you uſe the words of Prayer in the *Liturgie*; Nor did he ever bid you uſe thoſe which you *uſed laſt* without it.

O Brother, if you knew your ſelf, and judged impartially, you would ſee, that whatever you ſay againſt mens communicating with other mens tolerable failings, as *falſe worſhip*, may be as ſtronglie urged for avoiding communion in *diſordered prayers* that are *without book*; and much more in the prayers of honeſt erroneous Separatiſts, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, &c. which yet for my part I will not ſo eaſily avoid. I confeſs if my judgment were not more than yours againſt *dividing* from each other in the general, I ſhould be one that ſhould be as forward to diſclaim Communion with many zealous Parties (now received by you) and that as *falſe worſhippers*, as you are to diſclaim Communion with others. I am ſure you worſhip God *falſly*, that is, *ſinfully*, every time that you worſhip him.

3. But, ſeeing my Book diſſwadeth you *equally* from unjuſt avoiding Communion with *all ſound and ſober Chriſtians*; I ask you, whether all theſe ſeveral parties are

*falſe*

*false worshippers*, save you alone? Did not the Presbyterians and Independants agree in worship, when you gathered Churches out of their Churches, and when thousands separated from all the Parish Churches almost then existent? Indeed the Anabaptists charged us also with false worship, but it was not truly. But the ordinary Dividers had not that pretense.

4. O how easie a thing is it, Brother, for a man, without any supernatural Grace, to reproach another mans *Words* in Worship, and then to abhor it and avoid it, and think, I am one that keep my self Pure from false Worship! But to keep our selves pure from pride, censoriousness, uncharitableness, contention, evil speaking, and sensual vices, is a harder work. Others can as easily (without mortification or humilitie) keep themselves pure from *your* false worship as you can do from theirs.

---

2. *Untruth.* EXCEPT. ib. *Since the crying sin this day is not separation, but unjust and violent* Persecution, ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) *which Mr.* Baxter *speaketh very little against.*

*Answ.* 1. ALas, dear Brother, that after so many years silencing and affliction, after flames and Plagues, and dreadful Judgments, after twenty years practice of the sin it self, and when we are buried in the very ruines which it caused, we should

should not yet know that our own uncharitable *Divisions*, *Alienations*, and *Separations*, are a *crying sin?* Yea *the crying sin*; as well as the uncharitableness and hurtfulness of others? Alas, will God leave *us also*, even *us* to the obduratenes of *Pharaoh?* Doth not judgment begin with us? Is there not crying sin with us? what have we done to Christs Kingdome, to this Kingdome, to our friends (dead and alive) to our selves, and (alas) to our enemies, by our Divisions? And do we not *feel* it? Do we not *know it?* Is *it* yet *to us*, even *to us*, a crime intolerable to call us to Repentance? Wo to us! Into what hard-heartedness have we sinned our selves! Yea that we should continue in the sin, and passionately defend it! When will God give us Repentance unto life?

2. And whither doth your passion carry you, when you wrote so strange an untruth as this, that I [*speak very little against it*]. Was it possible for you to read the Book, and gather Exceptions, and yet to believe your self in this? Doth not the Book speak against *Church-Tyranny*, *Unjust impositions*, *Violence*, and *taking away mens Liberty*, and *rigor with Dissenters*, from end to end? If any man that readeth but the Preface (as page 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.) and all the second part (besides much more) can possibly believe you, I will never undertake to hinder him from believing any thing.

3. But suppose I had said *little against it*, will you charge me with *Negatives* or omis-

sions before you know my Reasons? Or would you have no *better* people hear of their sin and duty, till *Persecutors* will endure to hear of theirs. *Exod.* 6. 12. *Behold the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me: how then shall, &c.*] saith *Moses*? Have most or many of the Separation said more against severities than I have done?

4. But could you possibly be ignorant that a *License* is not to be expected for such a Discourse as you seem here to expect. You deal by me as the late *Perswasive to Conformity*, that vehemently calls to me to publish my Reasons for Nonconformity, while he knew my hands were tied by the Laws and Licensers.

5. But what if I had not in *this Book* spoken much against Persecution, Is it not enough that I have done it in *others*? I have not here written on many subjects which in other Volumes I have written of. And why should I? If I had, would you not have blamed me for writing one thing so oft? But you most unhappily chose this Instance for your quarrel, I think in the judgment of all the Land, that have read my writings? Besides my five Disputations of Church Government, how oft have I written against Persecution? The few Publick Sermons that ever I Preached, had somewhat against it. Read our Papers to the Bishops in 1660. especially the Reply to their Exceptions, and the Petition for Peace. Enquire again of the long provoking Conference at the

*Savoy*,

*Savoy*, and the reason of the following indignation against me, and afterwards read *this Book* again; and then I modestly challenge you 1, to name those men in *England*, especially of the Separatists, that have said and done more against that severity which you call Persecution, than I have done. 2. To name me one *Licensed Book* since the silencing of the Ministers, and since the *Printing Act*, *That hath said so much against Severity and Persecution as the Book which you quarrel with hath done.*

---

EXCEPT. II. Mr. B. *mentioneth with much bitterness what was formerly done in the time of the War; which is in him a most unbecoming practice; because first, Mr. B. was as guilty of stirring up and fomenting that War as any one whatsoever: and none ought to blame the effect, who gave rise and encouragement to the Cause.* 3. *Untruth.*

*Answ.* 1. IF you mean that my words *taste bitterly to you*, I cannot deny it: You know best: But for my part, any Reader may see in the Book which the Preface referreth to, that I only lament our too open undeniable uncharitableness and divisions, and the effects thereof, and use the mention of some mens former faults with whom they and I can hold communion, to prove by way of Argument that they ought not to avoid communion with others for the

Of my mentioning former things.

the like or less. And I know not how to convince men well, if I must pass by all such experimental Arguments.

2. Do you not mark your partialitie, Brother! In our Reply to them 1660. pag. 7, 8. *et alibi*, and in my 5 Disput. &c. I tell the *Bishops* of *faults past*, of *Silencings*, and *Suspendings*, *&c.* of the excellent Ministers afflicted and laid by; and how ordinarily are they told of the things charged on Bishop *Laud*, *Pierce*, *Wren*, *&c.* in their Articles to the Parliament: And when did you blame me or others for so doing? Can I believe that *this* offendeth you? And is it sin to tell *your selves* of your former sins, and none to tell the Bishops of it? O that we could know what spirit we are of.

3. Your third untruth in point of fact, is, [*that I was as guilty of stirring up and fomenting that war as any one whatsoever.*] Could you possibly believe your self in this? 1. I suppose you never saw me till above ten years after I had done with Wars. 2. I suppose you lived far from me. 3. If you know *whom*, and *what* you speak of, you know that I was never of the *Assembly*; I never *Preached to the Parliament*, till the day before the King was Voted home: I was forced from home to *Coventry*; *There* it was that I did speak my Opinion, but refused their Commission as Chaplain to the Garrison. In *Shropshire* my Father was twice imprisoned, that never did any thing against the King; nor medled with Wars:

For

For two Months I did something there to little purpose, and once got my father out of Prison, by causing another to be seized to redeem him; but I never took Commission, Office, or pay all that time. I never entred into the Army till after *Naseby* fight, and openly declared I went thither for *this purpose*, To discharge my Conscience in *dissuading the Souldiers from the Overturning of the Government*, and to have turned them from the purpose which I perceived among them, of doing what afterwards they did. If you and others that know not what they talk of, will but ask Dr. *Brian*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *King*, or others, whom assembled, I twice consulted about it, or any Survivers of the *Coventry* Committee, what business I went on into the Army, you will change your mind.

And did [*no man whatsoever do more than this.*] What not the *Parliament themselves*? Not any of the *chief Speakers there*? Not any of their *acquaintance*. What, not any of the other party neither? Not any of the *Armies*, neither of the Earl of *Essex* nor of *Cromwel* himself? How then came the Armies on both sides to be raised, and proceed so far in Wars, before ever I saw one man of them, to my remembrance, or any Parliament man or Souldier had ever spake with me, or saw me, or ever had a line of writing from me? Why do you find none of my Parliament Sermons in Print?

Whether I were as guilty as any in stirring up the War?

4. But, if indeed I was as guilty as you mention,

mention, why is it in *me a moſt unbecoming practice*, to blame that which you think did occaſion? Is this good Divinity, that it is unbecoming a Miniſter to mention heinous ſin with bitterneſs which we have bin guilty of? How then ſhall we repent? Or is Repentance an unbecoming thing? I hope the Act of Oblivion was not made to fruſtrate Gods Act of Oblivion, which giveth Pardon to the Penitent? Doth it forbid us to Repent of ſin, or to perſwade our brethren to repent? Where ſin is hated, Repentance will not be hated: And if ſin were as *bitter* as it *muſt be*, Reproof would not be *bitter*.

5. Do you think that you Preach ſound Doctrine, when you ſay that [*None ought to blame the effects who gave riſe and encouragement to the Cauſe.*] If this Doctrine be part of Gods worſhip which you offer him, who ſhould be avoided as a *falſe worſhipper*, that is, a *falſe teacher*, ſooner than your ſelf! What a ſcandal is it to the world, and diſhonour to your ſelf, that ſuch Doctrine ſhould be found thus under your hand, deliberately delivered? If this be true, then he that firſt encouraged the War on either ſide, muſt not blame any of the Murders, Robberies or other Villanies therein committed? Then he that hired the *French* man to ſet *London* on Fire, muſt not blame the *burning* of it. Then a man ought not to blame any ſin which ever he was a cauſe of! Then when a man hath once ſinned he

muſt

must *despair*, and never must repent nor blame his crime. If you had found such Doctrine as this in the Common Prayer Book, you would have had a fowler charge against it than now you have, as to Doctrinals. Which I mention but to shew you, that if we must run away from one another for every thing that is unsound, we shall never have done, and others must avoid you as much as you do them.

6. But your *deceit* in the word [*That War*] hath a *transparent* covering. *Which War* is it that you mean? Do you think all that is done in one land, or one age, or by one Army, is *one War*? Where there are several causes, (especially if also several parties,) sure they are several Wars. The first War was made under the Earl of *Essex*, when the Commissions run [*for the King and Parliament*]. The second War begun under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, when [*for the King*] was left out of the Commissions. Another War was by *Cromwell* against the *Londoners* and *Parliament*, when he garbelled them, (though it came not to blows). Another War was against the *Scots* Army and the *English* that rose for the Kings Deliverance. Another was in *Ireland*: Another in *Scotland*: Another between *Cromwel* and the Levellers. And many others there were afterwards under several Usurping Powers; And do you call all these *one*? or which of them do you mean?

And guilty of all which he calleth the Effects?

7. I suppose you grosly call the meer *conse-*

*consequents, the effects.* Sure that which was the *Effect* of a *later War*, might be but the *Consequent* of a former. Or else you must say that the Parliament raised War against themselves, to pull down themselves, and set up a Protector? This was the *Consequent* of their first War; but whether the *effect* I leave to Logicians to determine. But by this you may see that you again preach false doctrine. The King may *give rise and encouragement to a War*, and *yet may* lawfully blame such Consequents as you call effects: What if the Kings own Army should plunder and murder, and blaspheme and depopulate; yea, or depose or hurt, or any way injure the King himself? Shall a man that separateth from the Liturgie as false worship come and tell us, that the King ought not to blame any of this because he gave rise and encouragement to the War: Extremities and Passion do thus unhappily use to blind men.

Whether nothing past must be repented of.

8. But seriously, Brother, I beseech you let us review the *Effects* you mention or respect. Is it possible for any sober Christian in the World to take them to be *blameless*, or to be *little sins*. What! both the violating the *person* and *life* of the King. And the Change of the *fundamental Government or Constitution*. And an *Armies force upon the Parliament* which they *promised* obedience to? First upon *eleven members*; next upon the *greater part* of the house; and lastly upon the *remainder?* The taking down the

the *house of Lords*; The setting up a Parliament without the *peoples Choice* or *Consent*. The *invading and Conquering Scotland*: The making their General *Protector*. The making an Instrument of Government themselves, without the people. The setting up their second Protector. The forcing him to dissolve the Parliament. The pulling him down, whom themselves had lately set up. The setting up the remnant of the Commons again: The pulling them presently down again: The placing the Supremacy in a Council of themselves, and their adherents. Was *all this* lawful? And to do all this as for God, with dreadful appeals to him? Dare you or any man, not blinded and hardened, justifie all this? If none of all this was Rebellion or Treason, or Murder, is there any such Crime, think you, possible to be committed? Are Papists insulting over us in our shame? Are thousands hardened by these and such like dealings into a scorn of all Religion? Are our Rulers by all this exasperated to the severities which we feel? Are Ministers silenced by the occasion of it, about eighteen hundred at once, (even many hundreds that never were in any Wars, and such as consented not to this at all.) Are we made by it the by-word and hissing of the Nations, and the shame and pitty of all our friends? And yet is all this to be *justified*, or *silenced*? and *none of it at all* to be *openly repented of*? I openly profess to you, that I believe till this be done, we

The Reader must note that I wrote the full Narrative of my Actions herein, which this presupposeth, but after cast it away, because neither part of the accusers can bear it.

are

are never like to be healed and restored, and that it is heinous grosse impenitence, that keepeth Ministers and people under their distresse: And I take it for the sad Prognostick of our future woe, and (at best) our lengthened affliction, to read such writings against *Repentance*, and to hear so little *open profession of Repentance*, even for *unquestionable heinous crimes*; for the saving of those that are undone by these scandals, and for the reparation of the honour of Religion, which is most notoriously injured.

To see men still think, that their *Repentance* is the *dishonour of their party* and *Cause*, whose honour can no other way be repaired! To see men so blind, as to think that the *silencing* of these things will *hide them*, as if they were not known to the World! That man or party that will justifie *all these heinous Crimes*, and still plead *Conscience* or *Religion* for them, doth grievous injury to *Conscience* and *Religion*: I have told you truly in the book which is *bitter* to you, that Gods way of vindicating the honour of Religion, is for us by open free Confession, to take all the shame to our selves, that it be not injuriously cast upon Religion. And the Devils way of preserving the honour of the Godly, is by justifying their sins, and pleading Religion for them, that so *Religiousness it self* may be taken to be hypocrisie and wickedness; as maintaining and befriending wickedness.

For my own part I thought when I waited

sted my strength, and hazarded my life in the Army against these fore-named Crimes, and afterwards preached and wrote against them so openly, and so many years, that I had not been so much guilty of them as you here affirm. But if I was, I do openly confess that, if I lay in sackcloth and in tears, and did lament my sins before the World, & beg pardon both of God and man, and intreat all men not to impute it to Religion, but to me, and to take warning by my fall, which had done such unspeakable wrong to Christ and men, I should do no more than the plain light of nature assureth me to be my great and needful duty.

---

EXCEPT. II. ib. *There is daily much greater prophanencss, and the Consequent of prophanencss, Immorality, acted by those* (4) *whom yet Mr.* Baxter *never mentioneth but with honour; As if no sins or miscarriages were to be blamed but theirs, who are unable to defend themselves.* 4 *Untruth.*

*Answ.* 1. IF this were true, I were much too blame, it being the very usage of others against my self, which I have great reason to complain of.

2. But if it was possible for you to believe your own words, that *I never mention* them *but with honour*, I shall think that there are few things that you may not possibly believe. Reader, if thou peruse the book, and

Whether I never mention the prophane but with honour.

yet believe this Author, I am not capable of satisfying thee in this, nor will I undertake it in any thing else. Are these terms of honour Pref. p. 18. [*How long Lord must thy Church and Cause be in the hands of unexperienced furious fools*, &c.] Do I honour them when I so much display their sin? And when in the scheme in the conclusion I describe it? And when I tell you of many of such Ministers, and that it is a duty to separate from them, or disown them. And when in the history of *Martin*, I tell you how neer it I am my self, as to such as *Martin* separated from? And when I cite *Gildas*, calling such *no Ministers*, *but enemies* and *traytors*, &c. Were you not very rash in this?

3. But what if *in this book* I write neither against the *prophane*, nor the *Jews*, nor the *Mahometans*? Is it nothing that I have written the greater part of above fifty books besides against them.

4. What if there be *Prophaneness* to be reproved; doth it follow that *we* must not be reproved also? Must *we* not repent, because *they* must repent?

5. O how hard is it to please all men! What man in *England* hath been less suspected to be a flatterer of such as he moaneth than my self? or more accused of the contrary that hath any reputation of ministerial sobriety? Ask the Bishops that Conferred with us at the *Savoy*, 1660? Ask your self that read our Reply then? Ask any that ever did Converse with me; whether ever I

was

was suspected of flattery, or dawbing with men: sins?

6. But seeing you so far honour me, as to vindicate me from other mens accusations, I shall confess that it is my judgement, both that we should *honour all men*, 1 Pet. 2. 17. especially our superiors; and also that in *our eyes a vile person should be contemned, while we honour them that fear the Lord*, Psal. 15. 4.

---

EXCEPT. III. *He alloweth himself a great and masterly liberty, to call his brethren fierce, self-conceited dividers, feaverish persons*, &c.

*Answ.* IF there be none such, or but a few, I will joyfully confess my error; But if all ages of the Church have had such, and if this Kingdom have been so troubled by such, as all men know; and if they yet live in this sin to their own trouble and ours, why should it be contrary to meekness to mention it? Should I hate my Brother, in suffering sin to lie upon him. Of partial tenderness.

Every paragraph almost inviteth me to remember Christs words to the two fierie Disciples, and to say, *O how hard is it to know what manner of spirit we are of.* Tell me Reader, whether this be not true? that if I had called the Bishops *sacrilegious silencers of a faithful Ministry, murderers of many hundred thousand souls, perjurious, proud, tyran-*

*nical, covetous, formal hypocrites, malignant haters of good men*, &c. I might not very easily have come off with many of these angry brethren, without any blame for want of Meekness? Nay, whether they would not have liked it as my zeal? when as such a gentle touch upon themselves, doth intolerably hurt them. Is there not gross partialitie in this.

Note also that these brethren that plead for Libertie do call it a *masterly* Libertie in me, thus to name their faults. And do you think that they would not have *silenced* my book, if it had been in their power? *Note then whether the silencing imperious Spirit, be not common to both extreams.*

---

EXCEPT. Ib. *He useth the same frothy and unsavoury words, that others prophane Prayer and the name of God by, and which at the best, is that foolish talking or jesting which we are commanded not so much as to mention*, Eph. 5. 3, 4.

Of my foolish talking.

*Answ.* THE words are [*I am only perswading all dissenters to Love one another, and to forbear but all that is contrary to love: And if such an exhortation and advice seem injurious or intolerable to you, the Lord have mercy on your souls.*] Is the matter of this prayer unlawful? Or can he prove that I spake it jestingly, when I took it to be the serious prayer of my grieved heart?

heart? Or may we use no words (as *Lord have mercy on us*, &c.) which others use unreverently? Or is it true doctrine, that this is the *foolish talk and jesting* forbidden, Eph. 5? What proof is there here of any one word of all this?

---

EXCEPT. IV. p. 2. *He doth very often and needlessly insist on many things that may tend to advance his own reputation.*] The instances are added.

*Answ.* 1. I Confess, Brother, I am a great sinner, and have more faults than you have yet found out. But I pray you note, that all this still is nothing to our Controversie, whether we should advise men against *Church divisions* as contrary to *Love*. Of my Pride.

2. If a humble Physitian may put a *probatum* to his Receipt, and say *I have much experience of this or that*; I pray you why may not a humble Minister tell *England*, that I (and you) have had *experience of the hurt of divisions*, and of the healing uniting power of Love? Did all the Independent Church-members whose *Experiences* are printed in a book, take *Experience* to be a word of pride.

3. And is it pride to *thank the World for their Civilities* to me, in mixing Commendations, which I disown, with their censures? What! to confess the remnants of

their moderation (notorious in matter of fact, the truth of which you durſt not deny) in the midſt of their many falſe cenſures and calumnies.

4. Or to tell you how unable I have found back-biters, to prove their accuſations in doctrinals to my face? 5. Or to tell you, that ſome (even Independents) perſwaded me, when I was ſilenced to write ſermons for ſome of the weaker Conformiſts (ſuch as are too many youths from the Univerſity) to preach? Where lieth the pride of theſe expreſſions? Is it in ſuppoſing that there *are any Conformiſts weaker* than my ſelf? Whether, think you, this brother or I, think meanlier of them? Or ſet our ſelves at the greater diſtance from them? 6. When I plead againſt charging forms with [*Idolatry*] I ſay, that for my ſelf [*it is twenty times harder to me to remember a form of words, than to expreſs what is in my mind without them.*] If this be not true, why did you not queſtion the truth of it? If it be, why is it pride to utter it, as a proof that I plead for Love, and not for my own intereſt? Is it pride to confeſs ſo openly the weakneſs of my memory? I never learnt a Sermon without book in my life: I think I could not learn an hours ſpeech, ſufficiently to utter the very words by memory in a fortnights time. And is it pride for a man to ſay that he can eaſier ſpeak what is in his mind? Truly brother, I was ſo far from intending it as a *boaſt*, that I meant it as a

dimi-

diminution of the over-valued honour of present extemporary expression, and to tell you, that I take it to be so far from proving that your prayers only are accepted of God, before a form, as signifying more grace, that I take it to be an *easier thing* for an *accustomed* man that hath not a diseased hesitancy to speak *extempore what is in his mind*, than to learn a form without book; And that they that *do this*, do serve God with as much labour and cost as you do? Do I boast, or do I not speak the common case of most Ministers, when I truly say, That when I take *most pains* for a Sermon, I write *every word*: when I take a *little pains* I write the *heads*; but when business hindereth me from taking *any pains*, I do neither, but speak what is in my mind; which I suppose others as well as I, could do all the day and week together, if weariness did not interrupt them. I seek by these words but to abate their pride that think themselves spiritual, because they can pray or preach without book; Like some now neer me, that account it formality and a sign that a Preacher speaketh not by the Spirit, if he *use notes*, or *preach upon a text of Scripture*; but admire one neer them that *cries down such, and useth neither*.

Whether it be easier to pray *extempore*, or by memory of words.

7. Is it pride to say that [*those darker* persons *whom I have been fain to rebuke for their over-valuing me and my understanding*, would yet as stiffly defend their most groundless opinions against me, when I croft

them, as if they thought I had no understanding.] If you do think that *you* cannot be *over-valued*, or *are not*, so do not I. And I thought my *rebuking* men for it, had been no sign of pride. And, brother, I am confident, if you your self did not believe that my *understanding*, and consequently my Writings are over-valued, you would never have written this book, especially in such a stile against me: yea, in the end you profess this to be your design, to undeceive those that had a good opinion of me. If those on the *other side* had not thought the same, my late Auditors at *Kederminster* had never had so many *Sermons*, and that by persons *so high*, nor would *so many books* have been written to the same end even to cure the people of this dangerous vice, of over-valuing me. The matter of fact being so publick, invalidateth your exception.

8. The last expression of my pride is, that I give this testimony even to Christians inclined to divisions, that if they think a man speaketh not to the depressing of true and serious religion, they can bear that from him, which they cannot bear from one that they think hath a malignant end: and that on this account in my sharpest reproofs my own auditors have still been patient with me. Enquire whether this be true or not? Whether I have not preached twenty times more against Divisions, to a people that never once quarrelled with it, than I have written against it in the book with which

you

you so much quarrel. And is this *probatum* given against malignity a word of pride too?

You proceed in your Charge that [ *I have great thoughts of my self, and have learned little of Christian or moral ingenuity, and am unfit to be a Teacher of it to others.* *Answ.* 1. Do you not yet perceive that you also have a silencing spirit? when *you* and *those that you separate from* are *agreed*, that we are *unfit to be Teachers*, because we *gainsay you*, why do you pretend so great a distance, even in the point *of imperious severity.* 2. O how hard is it still to know our selves, and what manner of spirit we are of. Is it *pride* in me to think that *I am righter than you* or to *express it*? Why, brother, do not you think as *confidently* that *you are righter than I*? and do you not as *Confidently utter it*? I differ no further from you, than you do from me: And why is it not as much sign of pride in you, to think you know more than I, as in me to think that I know more (in this) than you? The truth is, *Pride is not a true valuing*, but an *over-valuing our selves*, and *our own understandings.* If either you or I be in the right, and both think our selves confidently to be so, he is the Proud person which ever he be, that is in the *wrong*; For it is *he* that *over-valueth* his own understanding. Here therefore the *Evidence* must decide the Case.

Who is to be judged Proud.

EXCEPT.

More mistakes.

EXCEPT. V. p. 3. *Answered.* Your 5th. Exception implieth more Untruths: The first is, that I did *not consider that fault of the Imposers*, which I have written in that very book so much against, and elsewhere; and before, said more against than any man that I know in *England*, This was not considerately spoken. The second is, that all or most of those that you separate from, made *tearing engines and dividing impositions*. If this be not implied you speak not to the point. But you may easily know that in all the Parish-Churches of *England*, there is not one man or woman, no not one *Minister* of very many that ever made or imposed such Engines.

The third implied untruth is, that I plead either for subscribing *Assent*, or for such Communion as cannot be had, without *subscribing Assent, to what you know is sinful; when you may joyn as far as I desire you, without subscribing any Assent at all.*

---

Whom we must come out from.

EXCEPT. VI. *Answered.* 1. As to the sense of 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. and *Rev.* 18. 6. You confess that [*the Texts do directly and properly concern only Infidels and Idolaters there mentioned.* 2. You say *It belongs to others that are guilty of the same Crimes, under the name of Christians, proportionally.*

*Answ.* Very true; If it be not a contradiction! If any *called Christians* be *notorious Infidels*

*Infidels* and *Idolaters*, they are not *Christians*, and so not fit for Christian Communion. But from the Societies of such we must flie our selves: But not from the societies of Christians, alwaies, when some such shall intrude.

3. You say [*We are commanded strictly to separate from every one that is called a brother, if he be covetous, or a railer*, &c. *Answ.* The Church, and not a private man, must exclude such a one from Church-Communion. And you your self must exclude him from your private familiarity; But you are not commanded to separate from the Church, if they exclude him not. I am not bound to separate from the Church where you are, for this Book which you have written, though I could prove it *railing*. How few separated Churches know you on earth, that have *no Covetous person* or *railer*? Or at least, where the people hold it their dutie to separate from their own Church, if any Covetous person or railer be there?

4. You add [*that if notwithstanding all admonition any Church will still retain them, we are not to own such a Church as a Spouse of Christ, and therefore must come out of it*, &c.] *Answ.* 1. I have in that Book proved the contrarie by abundant Scripture instances; And in the next exception you *your self* confess the *primitive corruptions*, and lay the stress of your Separation only on *Imposed Conditions of Communion*. 2. You give us no proof of this naked assertion. If a

Whom we must disown as no Church.

*Scold-*

*Scolding woman* or a *Covetous Professor* be reteined in a Church otherwise pure, you are not therefore bound to separate, much less to take it for *no Church*: For that is a *true Church* which hath the true *essentials* of a Church: But so may one that reteineth a *Covetous* man or a *Scold*. *Ergo*—By your rule, you must Separate not only from *Parish Churches*, but from most of the Separated Churches that ever I was acquainted with.

I find no particular Church called *A Spouse of Christ*, but the *universal* only: As a Corporation is not a *Kingdome*, but a *part of a Kingdome*.

5. Above twenty Arguments in my book for Infant Baptism, shew that you did not truly say, that [*the best argument that all learned men have ever defended it by, is the proportion it hath to Circumcision.*

---

EXCEPT. VII. Answered. You say that I *impertinently recite the Corruptions* of the Scripture Churches, to prove that we are not to *separate, &c.* your reason is [*Because many Errors in Doctrine and life were formerly admitted, yet none of them were imposed as conditions of Communion.*

The Corruption of the Scripture Churches.

*Answ.* Do you not see that here you seem to deny what you said so confidently in the last Exception? There you say, *We must come out, if they will receive such for members after all admonition, and retein them.*

Here

Here you seem plainlie to yield that up, and to lay all on *imposed Conditions* of Communion, as if else you could communicate with Churches so corrupt. You can bear your *own contradiction* better than *mine*.

2. What is imposed on *you* as a condition to your Communion in the Doctrine and Prayers of the Parish Churches, but your *actual Communion* it self? If you will say, that their *bad Minister*, and their *imperfect form*, is imposed as a Condition, because *you must be present*; so they may say, that *you* also impose your *imperfect manner* and *expressions* on *them*, as Conditions of their Communion in *your* Churches: And thus you are all Imposers.

---

EXCEPT. VIII. Answered. First you say I said that I [*met with* many *Conscientious Professors*, &c. That's your fifth untruth: I said no such thing, but only [many *Censorious* professors.] 5 *Untruth.*

2. You say, *It is hardly possible to believe it.* But that is possible to men that use to be more careful of speaking truth themselves, and that are acquainted with the people of *England*, by such means as Conference, which is *hardly possible* to others.

3. You ask [*Ought not such things to be concealed.*] And you abuse Scripture to confirm it. But, 1. Are you not here partial? Is it your judgement that we should conceal the faults or ignorance, or errors of the Bishops, Of concealing the faults of Dividers.

Of concealing the faults of Dividers.

shops, Conformists, and Parish members? Or be they not commonly multiplied and aggravated? And yet, must the *Separatists* ignorance and error be concealed.

2. Do you desire *their Repentance and humiliation* whose faults you would have concealed? And do you imitate *Nehemiah* and others of Gods Servants, that use to Confess the sins of all ranks and sorts of men?

3. Do you use in *publick humiliations* to *confess* this ignorance of Professors or not? If not, what a kind of humiliation do you make? If you do, do not *you publickly reveal* this secret.

4. How grosly are you unacquainted with *England* that take this for a *secret*, or for *hardly* to *be believed*, when we have Congregations and multitudes of such, and the land * and world ringeth of them.

* Read but *Hornius* his description of the English Sects, Eccles. Hist. and see what strangers think of us.

5. Do you not thus harden them that charge us with *factiousness*, when you shew your self so solicitous for the Concealment of the ignorance of your party, while you have no such care for others?

4. But it is your sixth *Untruth* in point of *fact*, when you say (with scorn) [*Are not we Commanded not to reveal the secret of another, which pious and prudent Mr.* Baxter *hath not scrupled to sin against*, &c. Prov. 25. 9.]

Of my revealing Secrets.

As you abuse the text, which speaketh of an individual person, who is supposed to be hereby injured, because known, so you speak untru-

untruly in saying *I revealed anothers secrets*; For to pass by, that I reveal not the *persons*, who are still *unknown*, it is not true that they were *secrets*! When I disputed almost all day with such (both Souldiers and others) in the publick Church at *Amersham* above 20 years ago, was that a *secret*, which they so fiercely proclaimed? When I disputed daily almost with such in *Cromwell*'s Army, was that a secret? When I disputed with Mr. *Brown* (an Army Chaplain) and his adherents for the Godhead of Christ, in a publick Church at *Worcester*, was that a *secret*? When I disputed in the publick Church at *Kidderminster* with the *Quakers*, was that a *secret*? When the said Quakers, and many other Sects, have come to my house, and have oft assaulted me in many other places openly, and vented their ignorance with fierce revilings and raging confidence, was that a secret? When I have openly Catechized men, was that a *secret*? Do not all sound Protestants believe that they are fundamentals which our *Quakers* commonly contradict; and are ignorant of, especially *Foxes* party, whom *Smith* and Major *Cobbet* accuse to deny Christ and the Resurrection, &c. And are there not *Assemblies* of such in *London*? And do not many turn to them of late? And is that a secret which their books and their assemblies tell the World? Who is it now that *is put to shame*?

EXCEPT,

EXCEPT. IX. Answered. I must now answer for what I say against the Papists too. I Confess they are *separatists* or *recusants* too. But lets hear the Charge? You say [*They are very unweighed and rash words, when he* saies [*Shew me in Scripture or in Church history that either there ever was* de facto, *or ought to be* de jure *such a thing in the World, as the Papists call the Church, and I profess I will immediately turn Papist*;] *We think none can write thus, but declares a great unsteadiness in his Religion; for none that knoweth Church history but can prove that such a Church as the Romane, hath been neer* 1300 *years actually in being.*

Answ. 1. My foregoing words are these; [*The Pope hath feigned another thing, and called it the Church*, that is, *The Universality of Christians headed by himself: Whereas* 1. *God never instituted or allowed such a Church.* 2. *Nor did ever the Universality of Christians acknowledge this usurping head.*

Now when you say there hath been [*such a Church as the Romane*] either you mean what I denied [*such a Church as they claim and feign*] and I described; Or only [*such a Church as they are, which is another thing.*] If the later, why will you grosly abuse your Reader by such a deceit, which tendeth to tempt him unto Poperie? What's that to my words which you seem to contradict? But if you mean the former, and indeed contradict me, then 1. You prevaricate in befriend-

befriending Popery. 2. You here set down three more *Untruths* in matter of fact; 1. That there hath been neer 1300 years (or ever was) such a Church; that is, that the *Universality of Christians did acknowledge the Pope for the Universal Constitutive and Governing Head.* 2. *That there is none that knoweth Church history but can prove this.* 3. *That they are very unweighed words*, in which I assert what I did.

7 *Untruth.*
8 *Untruth.*
9 *Untruth.*

And all this I have given the World full proof of, in my Dispute against Mr. *Johnson* the Papist, of the Visibility of the Church. Had I not *weighed* the words, I had not so many years ago so largely proved and maintained them. And I have there fully proved, that the Romane Church was only *Imperial*, or of the *Empire* (and the Countreys that after fell from the Empire) such as we call *national*, because under one Prince. That *de facto*, the Persians, the Abassines, Indians, part of *Armenia*, and many other Churches or Christians, never acknowledged him their Constitutive or Governing Head; that the Emperors who called the General Councils had nothing to do with the subjects of other Princes, nor used to call them: That the General Councils consisted only of the subjects of the Empire, (and those that had been of the Empire,) except one *Johannes Persidis*, and one or two more inconsiderable persons, that no account can be given of, who they were, or how they came thither. *Godignus* himself

The Cause of Popery tried.

will tell you enough of the Abiſſines. All the Papiſts in the World are never able to anſwer this publick Evidence of fact, with any ſenſe.

Of Mr. *Johnſon*'s Reply to my Book.

Mr. *Johnſon*'s Reply I take not to be worthy of an Anſwer with any man that can make uſe of an anſwer; when his ſhift is ſo groſs as to inſtance in the Biſhops of *Thracia* as out of the Empire, and ſuch as they, which every novice in hiſtory and Geographie can Confute. Unleſs I was Confuted in *London* at a publick Play, where (that you may ſee who influenceth them) a Tutor in Geographie was (as I am credibly informed) brought in telling his Pupill, that *Preſter John's Countrey* of *Abaſſia* was of the *ſame Latitude with a place in* Worceſter-ſhire *called* Kederminſter.]

Now ſeeing reaſon forbiddeth me to interpret you as ſpeaking of the Church of *Rome* as a *Sect* or *Party*, when I ſpake of it, as the *Univerſality* of *Chriſtians headed by the Pope* (your Context ſhewing that it is my words that you gainſay,) therefore I muſt number theſe three alſo with the reſt of your untruths.

You adde [ *We wonder that any Proteſtant ſhould be found, though but by the by equaling of Church hiſtory to Scripture, as if the uncertain tradition of the one, were to be as much accounted of and followed as the Divine and infallible Revelation of the other.* ]

Anſw. 1. Becauſe this wonder plainly containeth an affirmation that I do ſo, I muſt

ſay

say that it is your tenth untruth: Prove such a word if you are able. 10 *Untruth.*

2. It is not true that this Historie is uncertain (though not to be equalled with Scripture:) Is the Case of a vast Empire of *Æthiopia* (as big yet after the decay saith *Brierwood*, as *Germany*, *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*) uncertain, when the World knoweth that they have not had so much as Converse with the Pope, and at *Oviedos* attempt did not know who he was? And so of *Persia*, *India*, &c.

If you will needs be so much wiser than your neighbours as to prove all historie uncertain, even that there was a *Cæsar*, or a *William* the Conqueror. 1. While you befriend the Papists in this one point, you will incommodate them in others, 2. And you will promote Infidelitie, by making that historie uncertain by which we know the Canonical books of Scripture, and that they are delivered down to us the same and uncorrupt.

When I had given in few words, a full and plain answer to the Papists about our separation from their Church, and remembred how many Volumes they have troubled the World with, by obscuring our plain and ordinarie answer, I told them, that must have Volumes to hide the sense, that if *this answer seem not plain and full to them it is because they understand not Christian sense and reason*; and not for want of *plainess* in the matter, or through *defectiveness* as to satis-

Whether it be intollerable Pride to say that the Papists understand not Christian sense and reason.

fie a reasonable impartial man. This, brother, chargeth this saying, to be [*insolent*, and from *intolerable Pride* ] because *I dare so Charge another with want of Christian sense and reason*, &c.

11 *Untruth.* *Answ.* 1. This is his eleventh untruth. I only named *sense* and *reason* objectively, not subjectively. [ It is *not because* the Answer which I give the Papists (and which Protestants commonly give) is not full and plain, or wanteth *sense* or *reason*, but because the Papists *understand it not*. He that hath *sense* and *reason* may be hindred from using it aright, by interest, partialitie, and wilful negligences which it is no new thing for Protestants to think that Papists are too oft guilty of. But how *proud* am I then, intolerably *proud* that in several books have maintained that all Papists that hold Transubstantiation, do make it an Article of Faith, and necessarie to Salvation, flatly to contradict all the senses of all the sound men in the World, that shall judge whether bread be bread, and wine be wine? How much more *insolent* a Charge is this? But, brother, Popish absurdities have need of a better defence, than to call *the* adversarie *insolent and proud*.

2. And is the thing I say true or false? I prove it true. *The Answer of the Protestants about* Luther's *Reformation which I give, is Christian Sense and Reason: But the Papists or any that deny it seriously, and take it not to be plain and full understand it not: Ergo* they under-

understand not Christian sense and reason.

That is, In this: For I never said that they understand not Christian Sense and Reason, in *any other thing*, nor is there the least appearance of such a sense. Now if this, brother, will deny either of the premises, he may expect an answer. Till then I adde.

3. Are not you, brother, by your own censure notoriously *insolent* and *intolerably proud*, if this hold good, as well as I? Do you not take all that you say against me (or some part at least) to be plain and full, and to be *Christian sense and reason*? And do you not suppose me to think otherwise of it? And do you not think that this is because I understand it not? Thus some mens hands do beat themselves.

4. And do you not implicitly charge all or most Protestant Writers with *insolence* and *intolerable pride* as well as me? Do they not all think their reasons against the Papists *plain* and *full* (at least some of them:) And do they not think that the Papists denie them because they understand not the Christian Sense and Reason which is in them.

5. And have not all mankind a deficiencie of understanding? And is it pride and insolence to say so?

6. But judge of your own spirit by your own rule: Do not you think those that you before charged with persecution, and making our dividing engines, and whose

Communion you think it a duty to avoid, to be such as *understand not Christian sense and reason* in the arguings which I and others have used against them? And is it not as lawful to think so of the Papists?

---

EXCEPT. X. *Answered.* I used the phrase of [*Local presential Communion*] in Contradistinction, 1. To the Catholick Communion of persons absent, which is by *Faith* and *Love*, 2. And the Communion by *Delegates* and *Representatives*: And our brother here, 1. Calleth this phrase [*insignificant Jargon,*] which was not said through any redundancy of *Sense* and *Reason* above others; Nor do I acknowledge his authoritie in the sentence without his reason.

2. He saith [*Unlawful terms are imposed on us*] *Answ.* Brother, Do you think men must trust their souls on your naked word? Where in all this book have you done any thing, that with an impartial understanding can go for proof, that [*in all the Parish Churches of* England *that use the* Liturgie, *that is imposed as a Condition of our Communion in* hearing *or* praying, *which it is not lawful sometimes to do?*] Answer this, as to Mr. *Nie* about hearing, and to *me* about *Praying*; if you can? and do not nakedly affirm.

3. You say you do not [*so much separate as forbear Communion*] and your reason is [*for*

[*for we were never of them.*] *Answ.* I take you for a Christian and a Protestant: Are you not so far of us? Is not a member of the same Universal Church of Christ, obliged to hold Communion, as he hath a special Call or occasion, with more Churches than that particular one which he ordinarily joyneth with? If you purposely avoided and denied Communion with all the Independent Churches in *England* save one, and wrote to prove it unlawful, I think this were a separating from them, as they are parts of the Church Universal that are neer you. Of Separation.

---

EXCEPT. XI. *Answered.* 1. The word *Sect* (though oft taken but for one party in a division) was not by me applied to all the names before going, but to the last named only, and such other. 2. I spake nothing at all of the truth or falshood of the Censurers words, but of the requitals that Censurers have by other mens Censures, which may be sharp and passionate, and a rebuke to the Censured, and modally Culpable, when the words are true. Yet I am content to undergo the Censure you here cast out of me, rather than to censure, that *a Papist cannot go beyond a reprobate*, unless you do, (as Mr. *Perkins* doth, to make it good,) be so charitable to all the millions else among them, as not to call them *Papists*, except they practically hold the most pernicious Of Censuring Papists.

nicious opinions of their Councils and Divines. I confess I affect none of the honour of that Orthodoxness, which consisteth in sentencing millions and Kingdoms to Hell, whom I am unacquainted with.

---

EXCEPT. XII. *Answered.* Here we have first a meer magisterial dictate without proof, that I speak [*triflingly*] *about Scandal, and shew how little I understand it.* But where's his reason or Confutation? 2. Why all is but this [Paul *would not eate flesh rather than he would offend his weak brother*, &c.] Judge, Reader, whether the bare citing of these words be any proof, that in Scripture, *Scandal* is not taken more for *tempting, ensnaring, and laying before men an occasion of stumbling, or sinning*, than for *meer displeasing men*, which is the thing that I affirmed.

Of *Pauls* not scandalizing the weak.

I know that Expositors much differ about the weak brother here described, but not in the point that I now urge the text for.

But, sure Brother, if you soberly review it, you will find that you deal very hardly with the Scripture and the souls of men. First the word [σκανδαλίζει] which our Translators turn [*make to offend*] you read [*offend*] instead of *scandalize*; And 2. You bring a text against the truth which I assert, which is as plain for it as can well be spoken. The whole Chapter shewing, that [*the weake brother*] that *Paul* speaketh of, was one that [*with Conscience of the Idol, did eate it as a thing offered to an Idol, and their Conscience being weak was defiled*, ver. 7. 9. And

it

it is one whose *Conscience is emboldened (or confirmed) to eate those things which are offered to idols, and thereby he may perish*, ver. 10, 11.

And it is he that is (not displeased) but *made to offend*. And the *scandalizing* which *Paul* would avoid is called [ *becoming a stumbling to them that are weak*, ver. 9. *Emboldening to that heinous sin*, ver. 10. *Making a brother to offend*, v. 13. twice over. Is this, think you, *displeasing the innocent*, or rather, *tempting those that are apt to sin*, and confirming the faulty.

Read what Dr. *Hammond* saith of their *weakness*, and what ἀσθενεῖν signifieth there, and then further tell me; 1. Whether you mean such weak ones that you would not have me offend? 2. Whether those that are most displeased with us for Communion in the Liturgie, be such as you will say, are most in danger of yielding to sin? 3. Whether you would do as *Paul* doth, Call those *weak brethren*, who *to that day did eate in Idols temples, and that as a thing offered to idols?* 4. Whether *Paul* commanded the Corinthians to separate from the Church, because such men were in their Communion? 5. Whether *Paul* himself in communicating with that Church, did not that which you write against? 6. Whether by this rule, we should not take heed most of scandalizing those Christians that are apteſt to sin? 7. Whether this text, which you so abuse, well considered, is not sufficient against all

your

your Cauſe, and for that which I maintain?

---

EXCEPT. XIII. p. 6. *Anſwered.* Here is nothing but, 1. His ſaying that *He may well doubt of the truth of what* I report, viz. *whether any (or many) faithful Miniſters would ſo reproach their people, and their honourable name which is upon them, as to call them pieviſh and ſelf-conceited Chriſtians.* ] *Anſw.* 1. Are there any ſuch Chriſtians or not? 2. If they are, ſhould their fault be healed or cheriſhed? 3. If healed, ſhould it be reproved or concealed? But I will anſwer this further anon, when it comes in again.

2. *He doubts not but thoſe that thus complained to me expected ſo much prudence and faithfulneſs in me as to conceal their Complaints*, and not *vent them now when the ſtate of affairs is ſo much altered.* *Anſw.* Here are two untruths implied: 1. That theſe complaints were only made in *ſecret*, with an expectation that not only the perſons, but the caſe it ſelf ſhould be concealed. But how did he know this? Might not many of them be men that ſince conform, and make the ſame complaint now openly? Yes, I could name you more than one ſuch? Might not ſome be ſuch as have done the ſame in print themſelves? Yes, Old Mr. *Rob. Abbot* was one, who after removed to *Auſtins London*, and died there, before Mr. *Aſh.* If you will

More of revealing ſecrets.

will but read his book againſt ſeparation, you will ſee thathe ſilenced not ſuch matters, but hath ſaid more than ever you are able well to anſwer. 2. It is not true that theſe Complaints were only made before *the ſtate of affairs was altered*, for I have oft heard it ſince, with greater ſenſe of it than ever before. Nor is it any diſhonour to a Miniſter, not to be ignorant of Satans wiles: The more they know them, the liker they are to overcome them.

3. In his concluſion are two more miſtakes, but becauſe they are prophetical, I will not count them with the groſſeſt. The firſt is, that *he hopes that hereafter all that fear God will be very careful how they make any complaint unto a Perſon*, (The Second) *who will take the next worſt occaſion to revile a whole innocent and Godly Party by a malicious publiſhing of it:* Whereas, 1. Since the writing of his book I have had complaints againſt ſuch as he, by many that fear God; 2. And he cannot prove what he propheſieth I will do. But yet two more untruths are implied in the propheſie. 1. That I will *revile a whole Innocent, Godly ſuffering Party*, when I proteſted I meant no particular party, but thoſe of every party, Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſt, &c. who through want of Love are apteſt cauſeleſly to condemn their brethren and avoid them (unleſs he will call all the *Ignorant*, *Proud*, and *Uncharitable* of all parties, by the name of a *whole Godly ſuffering party.*) 2. That *I will*

*will revile them maliciously*; unless he mean that writing for *Love* and *Unity* is a malicious act against Satan and his Kingdom.

---

12 *Untruth.*

EXCEPT. XIV. (Hereafter I must number them, for he is weary of it) *Answered.* This hath little worthy observation, but his 12*th.* Untruth, *viz.* that [*by mentioning the Separatist as a distinct body of men, from the Antinomian, Quaker, and Anabaptist, it is evident I can mean no other, but my Presbyterian and Congregational brethren*] which he follows with *An Appeal to God against this Slanderer, and earnestly prayeth that he would please to rebuke him.*

Whom I mean by Dividing; And of his Curse.

Whether this earnest prayer be a Curse? and whether it be like to that rule, to pray for them that curse us, and whether this brother himself doth not in these *very words* put his error into his *earnest* prayer, even in print, and so verifie what he would so vehemently gainsay (to say nothing of the Common fame in *London*, that he that is famed to be the Author of these Exceptions, kept a day of Humiliation about me and my book) I leave to the Readers observation. And also whether this earnest prayer (or *Curse*) and this bold Appeal to God, be not prophane, and rather a fruit of passion, than charitable zeal? And whether he here knew what spirit he was of?

But to his Untruth I answer, 1. I protested openly that my meaning was not what he

he affirmeth it to be; And could he know it better than I? 2. An Antinomian and Anabaptiſt as ſuch, are diſtinct from Separatiſts as ſuch: But doth it follow that therefore they may not be Separatiſts alſo that are Antinomians and Anabaptiſts? Though the Errors whence the Sects are denominated be various. 3. I have long ago in many books told the *Papiſts* that I mean *them*, as the *Chief Schiſmaticks and Sect*; and Dr. *Hide* for the firſt page of his book, what I thought of him; And the Lutherans that ſo reſiſt all the endeavours of *Dury*, *Calixtus*, *Bergius*, *Lud. Crocius*, and many more, in refuſing Communion with the Calviniſts, that I mean *them*; And here I profeſs that I mean no other party of men at all, but the *Dividers of all parties* whatſoever, even in the beginning of my Preface; And yet, alas, brother, did you not tremble firſt to publiſh ſo groſs an Untruth, and when you had done, to ground your Appeal to God, and *earneſt prayer againſt me*, upon it? The Lord give you a meeker ſpirit, and a tenderer conſcience.

And that I mean not an Independent as ſuch (for the Presbyterians will not ſuſpect me) I will ſtop your mouth with this ſufficient proof, 1. That the chief Independants have written excellently againſt ſeparation, as Mr. *Jacob* by name; And they pretend that Mr. *Bradſhaw* and Dr. *Ames* were Independants. 2. That I rejoyce in the ſtate of the Churches of *New England*, ſince

since the Synods Concessions there, and good Mr. *Eliots* propositions for Synodical constant Council and Communion of Churches, as much as in any Churches State that I hear of in the World, (Though as to the form of Government, my judgement most agrees with the Waldenses, or Bohemian, published by *Lascitius* and *Commenius*;) especially since the Magistrates late printed Order, that all the Ministers shall take especial care to Catechize and personally instruct all the people under their Charge, even from house to house; at least 3 or 4 Families meeting together, &c. which I much rejoice in. It is evident then, that though a man may be a *Divider*, that is Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independant or Anabaptist, yet *as such* as their denominations signifie, I mean none of them; for many of all *these names* are *no Dividers* (though a *Papist* is so by the *essence of his Religion*, un-churching all beside his Sect.)

And if you had done me but common justice, you would have noted, that in my scheme in the end, the second Proposition of the way of Love which I plead for is in these words; [*Love your neighbours as your selves: Receive those that Christ receiveth, and that hold the necessaries of Communion be they Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Calvinists, &c. so they be not proved heretical or wicked.* Judge now of your Truth and Charity by these evidences.

EX-

EXCEPT. XV. p. 8. *Answered.* Here is the 13*th.* visible Untruth, He saith [*He speaks very slightly of Prayer in comparison of study, for the attaining of wisdome, calling it too cheap a way, which sheweth you how little he understandeth the nature of true Prayer,*] &c. 13 *Untruth.*

*Answ.* I love you the better for your zeal for the honour of Prayer, though I had rather knowledge and truth had guided it. Reader, I intreat thee to peruse my book, and if thou find there what he saith, condemn me more than he doth, and spare not. I tell those men that will do *nothing* for knowledge but *ask* for it, that [*God hath not promised you true understanding upon your prayers alone, without all the rest of his appointed meaus; Nor that you shall attain it by those means as soon as you desire and seek it; For then prayer would be a pretence for lazinesse,* &c. *That praying is but one of the means which God hath appointed you to come to knowledge by; Diligent reading, hearing, and meditation and Counsel of the wisest is another.*] And will any Christian deny the truth of this except the Enthusiasts? Or should any Godly Minister rise up against it? Is any of this true? 1. That I have here one word of *Comparing prayer and study*? 2. Or that I prefer study or reading, or other means before prayer? 3. Or that I speak lightly of prayer in *Comparison* of the other? 4. Or that I make prayer it self an *easie* thing? Is not this, that I

Whether I slight prayer? And whether wisdom is to be got by prayer alone, without any other means.

call

call his 13*th.* Untruth, compoſed of *many*? When it is viſible, that I put prayer firſt, that I only ſay that it is *but one means*, and *not all*; and that others muſt be added; and that praying alone without other labour is too eaſie a way? What ſhould one anſwer to ſuch dealing as this? I beſeech you, brother, *preach* not the contrary whatever you think, leſt you juſtifie the ſilencers, while you blame them?

And if really you are againſt my words, ſatisfie the World by experience, how many you ever knew that came to the underſtanding but of the Articles of Faith, or the Decalogue or Catechiſm, or Chriſtianity it ſelf (that I ſay not to *your degree* of knowledge above me and ſuch as I,) by *prayer* alone, without hearing, reading, meditation, or conference. And why *Paul* bids *Timothy* give himſelf to *Reading, and meditate on theſe things, and give thy ſelf wholly to them*? And why Hearing and Preaching are ſo much urged? And whether it be any great fault to ſilence you and me and all the Preachers in the Land, if *prayer* be the *only means* of knowledge? And whether you do not before you are aware ſtill agree with them whom you moſt avoid, who cry up *Church-prayers* to cry down *Preaching*? And why you wrote this book againſt me, if your *earneſt prayers* againſt me, and the people, be the only means?

And when you have done, I can tell you of many Papiſts and others, that you your ſelf

self suppose never pray acceptably, who have come to a great deal of knowledge: Though there be no *sanctified saving Knowledge* (after the first Conversion) without prayer. I am sorry you put me to trouble the Reader about such things as these.

It follows [*Neither doth* Solomon *direct to any other way principally*, &c.] *Answ.* Did I speak one word of the *principality*, or which was the principal way? Did I not put *prayer* first, and other means next? This is not well, brother; Truth beseemeth our Calling, and our work. And yet he that said, *I was found of them that sought me not*, (in my opinion, which yet expecteth your reproach) doth give so much knowledge as is necessary to mens first faith and repentance and conversion by the hearing or reading, or considering of his word, ordinarily to them that never first asked it by *sincere prayer*; For I think that *Faith* goeth before a *believing prayer*.

You adde [*We cannot but wonder that any dares so expresly go against the very letter of Scripture, --- but that we have done with wondering at Mr.* Baxter's *boldness.*

*Answ.* This I may well put as your 14*th.* Untruth. Reader, try if you can find one syllable of what he speaks in all my book? Doth he that saith [*prayer is but one of the means*] contradict the letter of *Jam.* 1. 5. *If any man lack wisdome, let him ask it of God?* O how hard is it to know what spirit we are of? That a man should go on in such deal- 14 *Untruth.*

ing as this? and make his own fictions the ground of such tragical exclamations when he hath done? Yea, he proceedeth.

*For what follows in justification of his unwarrantable conceit exceeds all bounds of sobriety; --- whither will not Pride and overweening carry a man? He that had so trampled upon his brethren without any regard to their innocency or sufferings, now speaks but slightly of our Lord Christ himself.* ]

*Answ.* Your anger I pass by; I like you the better for speaking against *Pride*: For by that you shew that you love it not under that name. But still *How hard is it to know our selves?*

I am sorry, 1. That you are so *sore and tender* as to account it *trampling* on you, to be intreated to *Love your brethren*, and not *to divide the Church of God.* 2. And that you say, *He regardeth not your sufferings*, who suffereth with you, and writeth so much as that book containeth against your sufferings. 3. And that you should call that your *Innocency*, which I have proved so largely to be against the *new and great Commandement*, and when you make so poor an answer to the proof.

I might number these with your Untruths, but that I will choose out the grosser sort; such as is the next (15*th.* Untruth) that *I speak slightly of Christ.* Is it slighting Christ to speak the words and undenied truth of Scripture? Two things I say of Christ; 1. That *he increased in wisdom in*

15. *Untruth.*

*his*

*his youth*? Do you not believe that to be true? Surely Mr *Jeanes* in all his writings againſt Dr. *Hammond* of that point, did never deny it. 2. *That he would not enter upon his publick Miniſtry till he was about* 30 *years of age?* Do you not believe that alſo? What then is here that is a ſlighting of Chriſt? The reaſon of this later which I humbly conjecture at (and elſewhere expreſs) is, that he might be an example to young men, not to venture and enter too early upon the Miniſtry. The reaſon you alledge from *Num.* 4. 2, 3. I gainſay not, though I think it far fetcht (that Chriſt muſt not enter ſooner upon his publick Miniſtry in his extraordinary office, becauſe the ſons of *Coah* were numbred from 30 years to 50.) But you inſinuate another untruth, yea *expreſs* it while you flatly ſay, I inſinuate, that Chriſt ſtaid till 30 *years old, that he might be more perfect in wiſdome:* I had no ſuch word or thought. My following words [*It had been eaſier for Chriſt to have got all knowledge by two or three earneſt prayers than for any of us*] refer only to the firſt clauſe, (of his growth in wiſdom) and not at all to the later (of the time of his Miniſtry.)

Whether I ſpeak ſlighily of Chriſt?

How Chriſt increaſed in wiſdom.

But you deny that *Chriſt had any addition of wiſdom, except as to manifeſtation*, | I believe Gods word! And with others he will be as pardonable that believeth it, as he that denyeth it. I did not expound it: But if I muſt, I will. I think that according to the preſent frame of humane nature, the in-

corporate soul receiveth the several objects it must know *ab extra*, by the fantasie, and that by the senses, and that our acts of knowing exterior things are as Philosophers affirm, objectively organical, though not *efficiently* and *formally*, that is, that the Intromission by the senses and phantasie, is necessary to the right stating of the object. And therefore that in all those acts of Knowledge which Christ exercised as other men do, 1. The Object, 2. The Organical capacity and aptitude of the body were necessary (not to the perfection of his humane soul, in Essence, Power, Virtue, Inclination, Disposition, but only to the Act of *Knowing*. And so I think Christ when new born knew not *actually* as a man, all that he after knew; no, nor long after; And that he increased in *Actual* knowledge, 1. As *Objects* were presented, 2. And as the Organs increased in Capacity and aptitude, and not otherwise. Yet I believe that Christ prayed before his *Organs* and actual knowledge were at the highest, and that he could (had it been his Fathers will and his own) by prayer have suddenly attained their perfection; and that *Culpable imperfection* he never had any, nor such as is the *effect of sin* in *Infants* now. If this be an error, help me out of it by fitter means than reviling.

You adde that Christ *needed not prayer for himself, but as a pattern to us*, &c. *Answ.* Christ had no *Culpable need*, nor *as God* any *natural need*. But, brother, take heed of the Com-

Common error of them that think they can never say too much or do too much, when they are once engaged; for this is but undoing. 1. Do you think that Christs humane nature was not a Creature? 2. Do you think that all Creatures are not *Dependant* on the Creator? and need him not? 3. Do you think Christs humane nature *needed* not Divine sustentation in existence, life, and motion, and Divine influx or Communication hereunto, seeing that in God we *live, and move, and be*? 4. Do you think that Christs body needed not created means? as the earth, the air meat and drink, and sleep and rest? And that he needed not drink, when it is said, he thirsted, *Joh.* 19. 28. *I thirst.* And *Joh.* 4. 6. [being *wearied with his journey*, &c. ver. 7. *Give me to drink.*] Whether he needed not cloathing, and needed not ordinary bodily supplies, when it is said, that some *ministred to him of their substance*, Luke 8. 3. As our Father knoweth that *we have need of all these things*, Mat. 6. 8. 32. So I think that Christs humane nature needed them; and that he gave not thanks at meat for his Disciples only; and that he bid them speak nothing but the truth, when he said *Mat.* 21. 3. *Mar.* 11. 3. *Luke* 19. 31. *The Lord hath need of him.* And that it was for *himself* that he prayed three times that the cup might pass, if, &c. (though for our instruction) *Luke* 22. 44. *Matt.* 26. 42. 44. *Heb.* 5. 7. *Who in the dayes of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications*

Whether Christ needed Prayer for himself.

*with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he was a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered, and being made perfect*, &c. ] I believe that when he was on the Cross he needed deliverance, and when his body was in the grave it needed the Divine power for to effect his resurrection. And how a man would have been formerly judged of that had denyed any of this. You may learn by the severities of many Councils against the Eutychians, Nestorians, Monothelites, *&c.*

I am so *regardful* of *your sufferings* that I would not put your *mind* to any needless grief; But yet I heartily wish your Repentance, not only for your errors, but that you should let out your (unknown) spirit to such vehemency in your revilings upon such pittiful grounds, as when you adde [ *So that to speak so lesseningly of Prayer and Christ, to undervalue so much the unspeakible usefulness of the one, and the incomprehensible Majesty of the other, becomes very well the spirit that Mr.* Baxter *writes with.* ] This is but a repetition of untruths.

---

EXCEPT. XVI. p. 9. *Answered.* Having *Dir.* 27. given five proofs by which I knew many to be mistaken that expound Texts of Scripture, by the Impressions on their own spirits, I said *Dir.* 28. [ *It is very ordinary with poor fanciful women and melancholy*

*choly persons, to take all deep apprehensions for revelations; and if a Text come into their minds, to say, —This text was brought to my mind, and set upon my spirit, as if nothing could bring a text to their minds but some extraordinary motion of God? and as if this bringing it to their mind, would warrant their exposition.*] Whereupon I advise men to know the necessity of the spirits ordinary sanctifying work, and not to *despise* mens pretences of revelation; but yet to believe none *against Scripture*. As to the ground of this passage, it is such as is not disputable with me, being matter of sense; (so impossible is it for me to escape all the heinous accusations of this brother.) It is not many years since I have had several persons with me (two or three out of one County) that brought me books written for the Press, and urged me to procure them printed and shewed to the King, in which were abundance of Scriptures abused to many daring predictions of things presently to come to pass, and all upon pretence of Visions and Revelations, and the *setting* of such an exposition *on their hearts*: And the men were ignorant, melancholy, and crazed persons, and the Scriptures almost all falsly interpreted, and the predictions fail. And all of them had the fifth Monarchy notion without conference (that I could learn) with any about it.

Of melancholy misinterpretation of Scripture.

When I lived in *Coventrey*, Major *Wilkes* a Learned Scot, lived in the house with me,

who professed to have lived many years in a Course of Visions and Revelations, and had abundance of Texts set upon his heart, and expounded to him by Vision, most for the Millenary way, and for Prophecies about our times and changes, (and some against precisenes) many of his expositions were considerable: some palpably false: some of his predictions came to pass, and some proved false: He was of a hot melancholy temper, and as I heard, after distracted.

If this brother had known how many (if not many score) of deeply melancholy persons have been with me, that have had some of them prophecies, most of them almost in desperation, and some of them comforted by such or such a Text, *brought to their mind*, which was of a quite different sense, and impertinent to that which they fetcht from it, and some of their Collections contrary to the rest; he would take heed of doing Gods spirit so much wrong as to father poor crazed peoples delirations on it? And this is as common, I think, among the Papists themselves, that meddle less with Scripture than we do: What abundance of Books be there, of the phantasmes of their Fryers and Nuns, as Prophecies, Visions, and Revelations, which the judicious Reader may perceive are but the effects of melancholy and hysterical passions, improved by ignorant or deceitful Priests.

But what is the Charge against me here? Why, he saith [*He calls them poor* fanciful *women*,

*women, and melancholy persons, that ordinarily receive comfort by* suggested *Texts of Scripture.*]

*Answ.* This is the 16*th. visible Untruth.* Indeed here are are two gross untruths together. 1. He changeth the *subject* into the *predicate*, and then affirmeth me so to have spoken. I said [*It is ordinary for such fanciful and melancholy persons, to take deep apprehensions for Revelations, and if a Text come into their mind, to think it is by an extraordinary motion of the spirit.* And he feigneth me to say, that *they that ordinarily receive comfort by suggested texts are melancholy.* Is it all one to say, *It is ordinary for melancholy persons to pray, to fear, to erre,* &c. And, [*They that ordinarily pray, fear, erre, are melancholy.*] Again, Brother, this is not well. 16 *Untruth.*

2. He feigneth me to speak of them that [*ordinarily receive Comfort*] when I have no such word, but speak of them that would draw others into error and separation by confident asserting false expositions of Scripture as set on their mind by revelation from the spirit. This is not well neither.

He addeth [*If this be not to sit in the Chair of Scorners, what is?*] This needeth no answer.

[*For* (saith he) *is not this the very language of holy men*; *Answ.* Alas, brother, how impertinent is your question? The question is, *Whether this be the language of no melancholy person? or of none but holy men?* and that

*as*

*as holy?* Is it not the language of many a Popish Nun and Fryer that pretend to Revelation? Have not I heard it with these ears from multitudes in melancholy and other weakness that have perverted the Texts which they alledged? Have I not read it many books of *Experiences*? Is he a scorner that saith, that a man may speak the same words mistakingly in melancholy which another speaketh truly? Do you well, brother, to trouble the World at this rate of discourse? For charges on me, I pass them by. And for his saying that the bare recital of their usual words is fitter for a *Jester than a judicious Divine*, and when he hath done, to be so angry that they be not all ascribed to Gods spirit, I will not denominate such passages as they deserve, lest I offend him.

Lest you deny belief to me, I intreat you and the Reader to get and read a book published by Mr. *Brown* (as is uncontrolledly affirmed, who lately wrote against Mr. *Tombes* against the lawfulness of Communion in the Parish Churches) concerning the experiences and strange work of God on a Gentlewoman in *Worcester* (whom I will not name, because yet living, and God may recover her, but is there well known.) This Gentlewoman having been long vain, and a constant neglecter of publick worship, was suddenly moved to go into the Church while I was there preaching (on *Rom.6.21.*) The very Text struck her to the heart; but

before

before the Sermon was done she could hardly forbear crying out in the Congregation: She went home a changed person; resolved for a holy life. But her affection (or passion) being strong, and her nature *tender*, and her knowledge *small*, she quickly thought that the Quakers lived strictlier than we, and fell in among them. At last perceiving them vilifie the Ministry and the Scripture, her heart smote her, and she forsook them, as speaking against that which by experience she had found to do her good; And desiring to speak with me (who lived far off,) opened this much to me. But all these deep workings and troubles *between* the several waies, did so affect her, that she fell into a very strong melancholy; Insomuch that she imposed such an abstinence from meat upon her self, that she was much consumed, and so debilitated as to keep her bed, and almost famished. Mr. *Brown* (and others) were her instructers, who were very zealous for the way called *The Fifth Monarchy*, and having instructed her in those opinions, published the whole story in print (which else I would not have mentioned) I shall say nothing of any thing which is otherwise known, but desire the Reader that doth but understand what melancholy is, better than the Writers did, to read that book, and observe with sorrow and pitty, what a number of plain effects of Melancholy, as to *thoughts*, and *Scriptures*, and *actions*, are there ascribed to *meer Temptations* on one side,

side, and to *Gods unusual* or *notable operations* on the other side! In the end he saith [*And indeed when a soul oppressed with sorrow before, shall suddenly find ease, by having some Scripture brought to their mind which before they thought not of: if this be not the spirits work as a Comforter, we shall be alwaies doubtful how and when he performeth that office; which way of Doubting Mr.* Baxter's *Divinity leads into, which sufficiently shews, it is not of God: For God calls us to hope perfectly, and to rejoyce in the hope.*

*Answ.* The Divinity which I think true and sound, doth teach Enthusiasts, whether Fryers or Nuns, or any such Phanatick, not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits whether they be of God; And to believe that Satan can transform himself into an Angel of Light; And to doubt whether their suggestions, revelations or prophecies be of God, till it be true and sure: For instance, I would have had your fellow prisoner have doubted of his three after mentioned prophecies uttered in the Pulpit, as from the spirit of God (*That we should have no more King, Tythes, or Taxes:*) Be not angry with me for giving you such instances; It is only to save others from wronging the Holy Ghost, and exposing Religion to profane mens scorn. And I would not have one turn Anabaptist, if in their sorrow or musing that Text should be set upon their mind, *Act.* 22. 16. *Why tarriest thou, arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.*] Nor would

would I have another turn Papist, if that Text be set upon his heart, *Act. 9. 6. Arise and go into the City, and it shall be told thee what thou must do*: And if it be a Popish Priest that he first meeteth with, and thinketh that this is the man that must inform him.

I would not have a member of any Church, upon an insufficient reason separate from it, if that Text be set upon his heart, *Come out of her my people*, &c. Or 2 Cor. 6. 17. *Come out from among them, and be ye separate*, &c.

Nor would I have an Hypocrite or ungodly person conclude himself to be sincere, if that Text do suddenly come into his mind (how affectingly soever) *Joh*, 1. 47. *Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile.*

Nor would I have an upright doubting Christian conclude himself an Hypocrite if that text come into his mind, *Act.* 8. *Thy heart is not right in the sight of God*, &c. I think that there is somewhat else besides the sudden coming into our minds, and the deepest affecting of us, that is necessary to prove the true meaning of a Text, and the soundness of our *Conclusions* from it. And yet I never doubted but that the spirit doth both cause our comfort, and our resolutions and other gracious effects, by bringing forgotten Texts to our remembrance.

But the way that I think the spirit cureth our doubting by, is all these things following

ing set together. 1. Supposing that he hath infallibly guided the writers of the Scripture. 2. And hath set to it the infallible seal of God (which is the Impress of his *Power*, *Wisdome*, and *Goodness*.) 3. And that he helpeth Ministers to preach this Gospel to us. 4. He next doth help us to *Remember*, and to *Understand* it; And no false exposition is from the spirit of God: And he hath left us sufficient means to discern (as far as is necessary to our Salvation and our Comfort) whether it be rightly interpreted or not. 5. And he helpeth us firmly to believe the Truth of it: And of the unseen Glory which it promiseth. 6. And hereby he kindleth in us *Repentance*, *Hope*, and *Love*, and reneweth both soul and life to the Image of God, and the example of Jesus Christ. 7. And then he helpeth us to *Act* or *Exercise* all this Grace. 8. And he helpeth us to *discern* the *sincerity* of it: And And so by the *spirit* we know that we have the *spirit*, and have the witness of Christ, and the seal of God, and the pledge, earnest, and first fruits of eternal life within us, whilest the spirit doth make known himself to be in us. And all true signs of *Sanctification*, or the *Divine nature* in us, are signs of this in-dwelling sealing *spirit*: But so are not the sudden passions, and fancies, and change of parties, sides, or by opinions, or strong conceits unproved, from whence some use to fetch their comforts. 9. And next he helpeth us hereupon to make a true

*appli-*

*application* of the promise of Justification and Salvation to our selves: Having before *applied* or received it by *Faith* and *Consent*, and being *Justified*, he helpeth us to apply it to our *Assurance* and setled *Hope* and *Comfort*; and to argue, *There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, that walk not after the flesh but after the spirit: But I am in Christ Jesus, and I walk not after the flesh but after the spirit; Therefore there is no condemnation to me.* 10. Next the same spirit exciteth actual *Hope* and *Joy* in the soul, by the said application of the promise; that we shall not only *conclude* from it, that we have pardon and right to Heaven in Jesus Christ, but also shall have the *Will and Affections* duly moved with that Conclusion. 11. And the same spirit helpeth us to answer all the false Cavils of Satan, the World, or our misgiving hearts, which rise up against this hope and Comfort. 12. And lastly he helpeth us in the use of all those holy means, by which this *Hope* and *Comfort* is to be maintained, and helpeth us against the sins that would destroy it, and so keepeth it in life, and exercise, and perseverance, till we finally overcome. By all these twelve Acts together the spirit causeth the Hope and Comfort of Believers, and saveth them from their *doubts* and sorrows..

And now, Brother, when you can calmly think of it, I should be glad that you would consider, whether to say this *Divinity lead-*

*leadeth to doubting*, and that *it is not of God*, be not, 1. An untruth, 2. An injury to him whom you calumniate, 3. An injury to the souls of men that must be thus comforted, 4. And an injury to God, by telling the World, that his own doctrine is not his own, and by feigning Gods truth to be mans error. And whether your way here opened (by receiving sudden Comfort by a remembred Text) be sounder doctrine? And be not such a way as Papists, Quakers, and most deluded people commonly boast of? And if you bring poor souls no better directions for their full assurance, peace and joy, whether in the end you will not prove a miserable Comforter?

---

Whether God hates book-prayers or forms.

EXCEPT. XVII. p. 10. *Answered.* When I say that I *wonder* at men that *think God maketh such a matter as they do of their several words and forms, as that he loveth only extemporate prayers and hateth forms, or loveth only prescribed forms and hateth extemporate prayers by habit*,] he saith this is [ As if *I could never speak meanly enough about prayer.*] But, brother, if you kindle this burning zeal your self, by teaching men to hate either *forms* or *praying* by *habit*; Marvel not if it burn you, within and without; and when your own passions have scorched you, other mens hatred of your prayers, as you hate theirs, do trouble you also. And if you hate the quenching of these fires, even when the Chur-

Churches by them are all on a flame, as ſober men as you will be of another mind, I tell you again, brother, you greatly wrong and diſhonour God, if you think that he layeth ſo much upon that which he never gave any law about, or ſpake one word for or againſt, as to tell the World that he hateth all prayer that is put up by a form or book. And that he that *denyeth this, ſpeaketh meanly of prayer.* The Lord teach you to know what manner of ſpirit you are of, (which requeſt I ſhall reiterate for you, inſtead of praying with your earneſtneſs, *The Lord rebuke him.*) Have you the bowels of a Chriſtian, and the ſpirit of Chriſtian Love and Unity, and can you think that God *hateth* (for that was my word) all the prayers of all the Churches and Chriſtians in the World, that uſe a form? Even of all the Greek Churches, the Armenians, Abaſſines, Jacobites, Syrians, Copties, Lutherans, and Calviniſts; of all the Engliſh publick Churches; and the prayers of ſuch holy men as Dr. *Preſton*, Dr. *Sibbes*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Dr. *Stoughton*, Mr. *Whateley*, Mr. *Bolton*, and all ſuch as they that uſed ſome the Liturgie, and ſome other forms? And that God hateth the prayers of all Chriſtian Families and Chriſtians that uſe a form? Do you diſlike adding to God's word, and will you adde to it ſo boldly, as to ſay, he hateth that which he never once forbad?

If you would make your reader think

that I make God *indifferent to all modes and words* in prayer, you would abuse him: For though I never heard a man *swear* in prayer, I think you *curse* in prayer a little before; and I have heard many *rail* in prayer, and traduce men for truth and duty, and vent their own errors. But I beseech you promote superstition no more, and feign no Divine Laws which you cannot shew us? And teach not this unhappy age to feign things necessary that are not, and paint out the most holy gracious God, as the patron of every one of their fancies.

Your words [*Doth not God regard the manner of our addressing our selves to him? Must we not pray in the Spirit?*] Do still make me pray, that you may *know your Spirit*. Do you well to intimate that I say the contrary? When I maintain that God so far accepteth them that *worship him in Spirit and truth*, that he will accept their prayers, *with* a form or *without*, and *hateth neither*; yea, hath left *both indifferent*, to be varied as mens occasions and use for either vary, as he hath done a *form* or *notes* in *preaching*. It is an easie thing to turn *formalist* either way, by thinking God loveth our prayers either because they are in the *same words*, or in *various words*.

The second part of this Exception calleth me [*a trifler, that doth neither believe the Scripture nor himself, but tries to abuse*, &c.] Because I say about a Liturgie, 1. *Certainly in Christs time, both Liturgies by forms, and*

*prayers*

*prayers by habit were used.* 2. *That it is like that the Pharisees long Liturgie, was in many things worse than ours; And yet Christ and his Apostles oft joyned with them, and never condemned them.*

Whether the Jews had a Liturgie in Christs time.

*Answ.* 1. Let the Reader observe whether ever Christ, his Apostles, or the Pharisees medled with the Controversie about the lawfulness of forms? Whether ever Christ condemned them? 2. Let the Reader note that when I say that *Certainly forms were used*, I say not, whether in the Synagogue or Temple, or House, nor do I say that they were other forms than Divine? But when I say that *it is like in many things the Pharisees Liturgie was worse than ours*, I mean that it is *like* (though not certain) that part of it was of humane invention, and used publickly.

And, 1. The word Liturgie (as *Martinius* and other Etymologists agree, hath three significations, 1. The largest is, for *any publick office of ministry*, and specially of distribution. 2. For the publick service of God, in reading, teaching, praying, &c. 3. For stated orders and forms of that publick service, To which *Bellarmine* addeth a *4th.* as the narrowest sense of all, *viz.* For the sacrificing offices only; which is no usual sense. Now the second and third being the now-Common sense, I thought there had been no question about them.

See Psal 92. and 102, &c.

That the Jews had a Divine Liturgie in both senses (as a *service*, and as a *prescript form*)

*form*) I proved in my 5*th*. Disput. of Liturgies many years ago. 1. In the Temple they had most punctual prescripts for their sacrifices of all sorts, and their offerings; and the manner of performance, and the actions of Priests and people about them. In the Synagogues *Moses* and the Prophets were read every Sabbath day! And the Psalms were purposely penned (many of them) and recorded to be *Prayers and Praises* for the publick and private worship, and were committed to several Church-officers to be publickly used: And *David* and *Solomon* appointed the Instruments, Singers, and order & manner in which they should be used. A form of prayer for the Priests is prescribed in three benedictions, *Numb.* 6. 23. *Hezekiah* commanded the Levites to sing Praises to the Lord with *the words of* David *and of* Asaph *the Seer*, 2 Chron. 29. 30. 1 Chron. 16. 7. [*On that day* David *delivered first this Psalm to thank the Lord into the hands of* Asaph *and his brethren*, Exod. 15. The *song of Moses* is a form. And *Rev.* 15. 3. the Saints are said to *sing the song of Moses* and of the *Lamb*. Most Expositers think that the *Hymne* that Christ sung at his *last supper*, was the usual form: If not, it was a *new form*. *Moses* form at the *moving* and *resting* of the Ark is set down, *Numb.* 10. 35, 36. *Deut.* 21. 7, 8. There is a form for the people to use, *Judg.* 5. *Deborahs* song is recorded: so is *Hannahs* praise, 1 *Sam* And *Joel* 2. 17. there is a form for the Priests in their

1 Chr. 16. 4. and 25.
2 Chron. 8. 14, 15.

their Humiliation: And *John* taught his Disciples to pray; And when Christ was desired to teach his Disciples as *John* had done his, he gave them a form. Now let the sober Reader judge whether the Jews had *no form* or *Liturgie* of God's appointment.

If he say, *I thought you had meant a humane form*; I answer, If you will think that which I say not, and choose rather to *revile*, than *observe* what you read, I cannot help it.

2. When I speak of a *Probability* afterward, I do mean of a *humane Liturgie*: of which I will now only say, 1. That it seemeth very improbable to me that the Pharisees who so abounded with Traditions, should not so much as have *any humane forms* of prayer or praise.

2. When Christ speaketh of their *long prayers*, I desire *them on both extreams* to consider, that, If it was a *long Liturgie*, they should not compare the Puritane to the Pharisee in his long prayers as they use to do, but to others. But if they were *extemporate Prayers*, 1. To one side I say, that if Christ had been against *extemporate praying*, he would have put that into his rebukes: 2. To the other side I say, If the Pharisees had the gift of *long extemporate prayers*, we must take heed of over-valuing such a gift, and ascribing it too much to the spirit, so that the Pharisees *long prayers*, as a two edged sword, cut both extreams in this pievish Controversie.

3. This Controverſie *whether the Jews had a Liturgie*, is handled ſo largely by Mr. *Selden*, that I muſt refer the Reader to him that would ſee what is ſaid for the affirmative, in *Eutych. Alexandr.* pag. 35 to p. 63. Where he ſhews that till *Ezra*'s time there was none but the Scripture Liturgie; And that in *Ezra*'s time eighteen Prayers were made; and ſhews how far they might or might not adde: Where having cited abundance of Rabbins, he ſhews that however the Jewiſh Rabbins are fabulous, theſe hiſtorical teſtimonies are our beſt means of information, and are credible, and addeth the words of *Joſ. Scaliger*, [*Hic fuit vetus Ritus Celebrationis Paſchæ temporibus Meſſiæ: Quod vetuſtiſſimi Canones in Digeſtis Talmudicis manifeſto probant: Niſi quis eos neget antiquos eſſe; Quod idem ac ſi quis capita Papiniani*, Pauli, *Ulpiani, & aliorum Juriſconſultorum in Digeſtis Juſtiniani producta neget eſſe eorum Juriſconſultorum quorum nomine citantur; Quod nemo ſanus dixerit.*

---

EXCEPT. XVIII. p. 10. *Anſwered.* Here you except againſt me, if for any thing, for [*being grown ſo ſcrupulous and ſo tender as to be offended, if any break jeaſts upon Common Prayer.*]

Of jeaſting at other mens prayers.

*Anſw.* 1. I ſpake of jeſting on both ſides at one anothers devotions, and not of one alone. 2. If you are for that way of breaking

ing

ing jeasts and scorns at other mens prayers, with what measure you mete it will be meted to you again. They will requite you to the full with jeasts and scorns at yours also. 3. Brother, do you like this way, or do you not? If you do, what a spirit are you of? If you do not, why do you quarrel with this advice

And whereas you cite my own words in the Reply to the Bishops, I must tell you; 1. That I know nothing in any of those Papers or Treaty, as to the matter that I have changed my judgement in, or repent of. And I admire that the Prelates that ask so often [*What will satisfie us?*] and others that carry it to the World as if we had said nothing, should to this day leave that Reply and our Liturgie then offered them, and our Petition for Peace, so much unanswered; Which few that knew them will believe is for want of will and fervour or indignation against them? 2. That yet the sentence cited by you [*Whether it be that the Common-Prayer-Book hath never a Prayer for it self,*] I confess is sarcastical, and I unfeignedly thank you for calling me to review it; and I do unfeignedly repent of it, and desire pardon of God and men, for speaking words of so much derision? Though I then no more perceived my fault, than you do yours.

I mentioned some that were scandalized at the scorns of men at the Liturgie heretofore; And, 1. He calls it a *prophane story fitter for Ranters*, 2. *He challengeth me to tell*

*the names of them that used those expressions.* 3. *He thinks I did greatly sin in repeating them.* 4 Else he will *think I invented them, on purpose to make my brethren odious, and justifie the persecution against them.*

*Answ.* 1. If it be so bad, why are you so angry with me, for being against it, and the like, or any scorns at other mens tolerable devotion?

2. Your challenge is but a drop of your unrighteousness. I told you I knew them that were *inflamed* by those words, but not that I knew the *Speaker*. And how should a man know the names of all that look in at a Church-door? How oft have I had Quakers in the face of the Market and of the publick Congregation, revile me, and curse me as in the name of God, and speak as bad words as those, when I seldome asked what their names were. And yet I must *name them* or be to you a *malicious lyar*. And shall I not be so with you, if I obey your challenge? Is it not unsavoury to name men in such stories? Well, I will thus far this once obey you. In 1640. coming up to *London* to the Physitians, I lay at *Bosoms-Inn* in *Laurence-Lane*: On the Lords-day the Inn-keeper, an old man (Mr. *Hawkshead* as I remember his name was) came in from *Laurence* Church with some guests in a very great passion: We ask'd him what the matter was? He answered, that as he went into the Church, a fellow look'd in, and spake those very words I recited, save that he

he said [*The Deele*] instead of [*The Devil*:] And from very sober honest people I have, I believe, many score times heard them call the Common Prayer [*Porridge*] and say, [*He is not out of his Porridge yet.*]

3. If I sin in repeating them, I pray you justifie not that spirit that uttered them; Nor be not of the mind of the Councellor of the wicked in this age, whose policy is to perswade men to commit *such heinous sins* (*Perjury*, *Lying*, &c.) which sound odiously in the naming, and then no man may ever accuse them, lest he be guilty of railing, incivility, *&c.*

4. Brother, a very low degree of ingenuity would have taught you to have judged such a Plea for Love, by one that in this book speaketh more against Persecuting you, than ever you read, I believe, in a Licensed book since the printing Act, to have come from no malicious persecuting intent.

Yet, as if you were so eagerly set on the Defence of the dividing scandalous miscarriages of this age, as to take it for *persecution* so much as to lament them, or pray against them, you gather the same conclusion from my very *prayers* to God, *for pitty to his Church* that is distracted and endangered by such usage.

The temptations of sufferings.

And here, seeing *your sufferings* are so much talk'd of, and I am numbred by you among your persecutors, endure me to tell you, that *suffering* hath its temptations as well

well as prosperity; And that the temptations to *passion*, and to run too far from those we suffer by, and to lose our charity to them and their adherents, are so much stronger to me (I leave others to judge themselves) than the temptations to fear and timerous complyances, that I was much more jealous of my heart in this, when I suffered most than at other times: For I knew that it is one of Satans designs to rob me of my *Charity* and *Integrity*, in which he would more triumph than in depriving me of my maintenance, reputation and liberty. And I must confess to you, brother, that (though I once hoped that we should have been great gainers by our sufferings) the fruit of them now appeareth to me to be such in many as maketh me more afraid of imprisonment for the sake of my soul, than of my body, lest it should stir up that *passion* which should bear down my judgement into some errors and extreams, and corrupt and destroy my Love to them by whom I suffer.

Many are overcome by suffering, who think they overcome.

And truly, Brother, I am fully convinced that many that think their sufferings are their glory, and prove them better men than others, are lamentably lost and overcome by their sufferings. I think your companion and you are no gainers by it, who presently by preaching and writing thus, bring water to the extinguishing of Christian Love. I think those two Gentlemen before mentioned, that turned *Quakers* in prison, and left their Religion (as many more

It's a reproach to our Nation that *Hornius* Hist. Eccl. saith, [*Ita ut Seperatismus sive* Brownismus *non alios habeat authores quam cum Tyrannide & superstitione Episcopos Dominantes*, pag. 244. So much good suffering doth.

more have done) were losers by it. And I think many thousands in these times, that are driven into various errors and extreams, and have lost their charity to adversaries and dissenters, have lost a thousand times more than their liberties and money comes to. Woe be to the World because of offences; And woe be to them by whom offence cometh. Experience of too many maketh me less in love with sufferings than I have been; And to think that the quiet and peaceable preaching of the Gospel (though under many other disadvantages) if God would grant it us, would be better for our own souls.

---

EXCEPT. XIX. *Answered.* You proceed, [*But Mr.* B. *being once got into the chair of the scornful will not easily out, and therefore goes on* [It is an odious sound to hear an ignorant, rash, self-conceited person, especially a Preacher, to cry out *Idolatry, Idolatry*, against his brethrens prayers to God, because they have something in them to be amended,] *Whereas we do not therefore think any thing to be guilty of Idolatry, because it hath something in it to be amended,* [*but because it is used in the worship of God, without any command of God to make it lawful;*] *And this we must tell our Dictator, is a species of Idolatry, and forbid in the second Commandement: And if he will not receive it so, it is, to use his own arrogant and imperious words,*

*words, because he understands not Christian sense and reason.*

*Answ.* 1. The charge of *Idolatry* against the Liturgie and Conformable Ministers I found in *John Goodwins* book, and Mr. *Brownes*, and others: But this, Brother, carrieth it much further.

2. He contradicteth himself in his Negation and Affirmation: For, whatsoever is to be *amended*, which is used in Gods worship, hath no command of God to make it lawful (For it is sin:) *But whatsoever is used in Gods worship* without any command of God to make it lawful, he affirmeth to be Idolatry: *Ergo*, whatsoever is used in Gods worship which is to be amended, he maketh to be Idolatry.

3. Reader, if this one Section do not make thy heart grieve for the sake of the Church of Christ, that our poor people should be thus taught, and our Congregations thus distracted, and unholyness, that is, uncharitableness, fathered upon the God of Love, and our sufferings and non-conformity thus turned to our reproach, and wrath and reviling pretended to be Religion, thou hast not a true sense of the concernments of Christianity and the souls of men. I shall propose here these few things to thy consideration.

Whether all that use any thing in Gods worship not commanded (and in particular a form of prayer) be Idolaters? And what this censure of Idolatry signifyeth.

*Quest.* 1. Whether an Idolater be not an odious person, and unfit for Christian Communion? (That these men think so, their practise sheweth.)

Q. 2. Whe-

Q. 2. Whether he that writeth and preacheth to prove others Idolaters, do not write and preach to make them (so far) seem odious, and to perswade men from loving them, and having communion with them as Christians?

Q. 3. Whether he that preacheth up hatred causelesly, and preacheth down Christian love, do not preach down the sum of true Religion, and preach against God, who is Love?

Q. 4. Whether preaching against God and Religion, be not worse than talking against it in an Ale-house, or in prophane discourse? And fathering all this on God and Religion be not a sad aggravation of it?

Q. 5. Whether this, brother, that affirmeth this to be *Idolatry* that he speaketh against, should not have given us some word of proof, especially where he calleth me that deny it, a Dictator? And whether both as *Affirmer* among Logicians, and as *Accuser* among men of justice, the proof be not incumbent on him?

Q. 6. Whether here be a syllable of proof, but his angry affirmation?

Q. 7. Whether thou canst receive this saying of his, if thou have Christian sense and reason, so far as to believe that all the Churches of Christ fore-named, the Greek, the Abissine, the Armenian, the Copties, the Lutherans, and all the Reformed Churches that fall under his Charge, are

Idola-

Idolaters? And couldst bring thy heart accordingly to condemn them, and separate from them? And whether thou canst take all the holy Conformists of *England*, such as *Bolton*, *Preston*, *Sibbes*, *Stocke*, *Dike*, *Elton*, *Crooke*, *Whateley*, *Fenner*, &c. for Idolaters? yea, and all the *non-Conformists* that used and joyned in the Liturgie?

Q. 8. Whether thou canst believe that this same brother himself, that writeth at this rate, *do use nothing in Gods worship which hath no command of God to make it lawful?* Is all this reviling, all this false doctrine, all his untruths commanded of God? Or doth he not make himself an Idolater?

Q. 9. Whether, if he teach true doctrine, there be any Church or person in the World that worshippeth not God with Idolatry; I give my reasons. 1. There is no one but *sinneth*, (or useth sin) in the worship of God. But no sin is commanded or lawful: *Ergo* there is no one, according to his doctrine, but useth Idolatry in the worship of God.

2. There is no one that useth not some things not commanded to make them lawful, in the worship of God: Therefore, if he teach true doctrine, there is no one but useth Idolatry. The antecedent I have oft proved by many instances: The method of every Sermon, and Prayer, the words, the time and length, the translation of the Scripture, whether it shall be this or that, the

the dividing of the Scripture into Chapters and Verſes, the Meeter of Pſalms, the Tunes, Church utenſils, Sermon notes (which ſome uſe,) Catechiſms in forms, *&c.* the Printing of the Bible, or any other books, *&c.* none of theſe are commanded. And all theſe are uſed in the worſhip of God. And muſt all Chriſtians in the World be taught to fly from one another as Idolaters? Is this the way of Love and Unity?

Q. 10. Why ſhould this, brother, be ſo extream impatient with me for calling *Dividers, weak and pieviſh, and cenſorious* Chriſtians? If in his own judgement all men be Idolaters, that uſe any thing in Gods worſhip not commanded? Is not this to cenſure all men as Idolaters? And yet is a cenſure of pieviſhneſs on theſe Cenſurers a juſtifying of perſecution.

Q. 11. Whether this kind of talk be not ſport to the Papiſts, to hear us call one another *Idolaters*, as well as them? and do not make them deride us; and harden them in their bread-worſhip, and image-worſhip, as being called *Idolatry* on no better grounds than we ſo call one another.

Q. 12. Whether it be not a great diſhonour to any man to ſuffer ſilencing, becauſe he cannot add to Gods worſhip, the Ceremonies and Liturgie, and at the ſame time to add to Gods word new and falſe doctrines of our own, by ſaying that [ *It is a ſpecies of Idolatry, forbidden in the ſecond Command, becauſe it is uſed in the worſhip of God without*

*without any command to make it lawful.*] And if we should suffer such false doctrine, and additions, and Love-killing, dividing principlesas this, to go uncontradicted, whether we do not betray the truth and our flocks, and shew that we were too worthy of our sufferings?

But that this assertion or definition of *Idolatry* is false, I need to prove no otherwise, than, 1. That it is unproved by him that is to prove it, and, 2. That it denieth Christ to have a Church on earth, or to have any but Churches of Idolaters. 3. That it turneth all sin in Gods worship into one species, even Idolatry. And so every false doctrine used in Gods worship is Idolatry: Every Antimonian, Anabaptist, Separatist, or of any other error be it never so small, must be presently an Idolater, if in prayer or preaching he speak his error: And what man is infallible? When *your Companion* promised in the Pulpit, that there should be *no more Tythes, no more Taxes, nor no more King*, in *Worcestershire* after *Worcester*-Fight, this must be *Idolatry*. For certainly no error is commanded of God. 4. That it maketh the description of a *thing indifferent*, to be the description of *Idolatry*. For as [*a thing forbidden*] is the description of sin, so to be [*not commanded*] speaketh no more but *Indifferency* (Though the *prohibition* to do *any thing not commanded*, speaketh more, if it could be proved.) 5. It is contrary to the Scripture which never useth the word

[*IDO-*

[*IDOLATRY*] in that ſenſe? Peruſe the ſeveral texts, and try. 6. It equalleth almoſt all Churches with the Infidel and Pagan World. 7. It heinouſly injureth God, who is a hater of Idolaters, and will viſit their ſins (as God-haters) on the third and fourth Generations; to feign him to be thus a hater of his Churches, and of them that *uſe any thing in his worſhip not commanded.* 8. It tendeth to drive all Chriſtians *to deſpair*, as being Idolaters, and ſo abhorred of God, becauſe they have all ſome *uncommanded*, yea *forbidden* thing in worſhip: For by this mans doctrine, a ſinful wandring thought, a ſinful diſorder, or tautologie, or bad expreſſion is *Idolatry*, (as being *not commanded.*) 9. It tendeth to drive men to *give over worſhipping God*; becauſe while they are certain to ſin, they are certain to be *Idolaters*, when they have done their beſt. 10. It hardeneth the Mahometans in their enmity to Chriſtianity, who being the great exclaimers againſt Idolatry do already falſely brand us with that crime.

But what ever elſe it do, I am ſure it is ſo pernicious an engine of Satan, to *kill Love* and divide *the Church*, to feign every Conformiſt how holy ſoever, and every one that *uſeth in worſhip any thing not commanded*, to be an *Idolater*, that I may well adviſe all Chriſtians, as they love Chriſt and his Church, and their own ſouls, to keep themſelves from ſuch miſtakes. Were it not that it is unmeet to do great works ſo-

rily, on such slight occasions, in such a discourse as this is, I would here stay to open the meaning of the second Commandement; and shew, 1. That there are abundance of lawful things in Gods worship, as circumstances and outward modes that are not commanded in *specie* or *individuo*. 2. That some things forbidden in that Commandement indirectly, are not Idolatry. 3. Much less are they a sufficient cause of separation. But this is fitter for another place. And I again refer you to Mr. *Lawson* in his *Theopolitica*.

---

EXCEPT. XX. *Answered.* This Exception is but a bundle of mistakes, and the fruit of your false interpretation of my design, 1. That I *prove not what I say*, is not true, when the many instances fully prove it, and you your self deny them not. 2. When I explain my self frequently and fully, who I do not mean by Dividers, and what separation I allow, you feign me to open my mind [*very unwillingly*,] and to [*defend those whom I traduce*,] that you may make men believe that I mean those whom I still profess that I mean not, and that you know my mind better than I my self. This is not true and righteous dealing.

---

EXCEPT. XXI. p. 12. *Answered.* When I say [*Our presence at the prayers of the Church*,

*Church, is no profession of Consent to all that is faulty in those prayers* ] he saith, [*The Apostle thought otherwise in a like case of sitting at meat in an Idols Temple.*]

*Answ.* Brother, of all the men that ever I had to do with, scarce any hath dealt so superficially, without saying any thing against the proofs which I lay down, nor seeming to take any notice of them. How can you choose but see your self, that by denying my proposition. 1. You make it unlawful to joyne with any Church or person in the World; and so would dissolve all Church-Communion and Family-worship; For do not all men sin in prayer? And must any man consent to sin?

Whither we are guilty of consenting to all that is faulty in the prayers that we are present at.

2. How do you reflect on God that forbiddeth us, to forsake the assembling of our selves together? If consenting to sin be unavoidable?

3. I told you, we *Consent* not to the *faults* of *our own prayers*, much less to *anothers*, that are less in our power? What work would this one opinion of yours make in the World? *If we are guilty of all that is faulty in all the prayers of the Church* (or Family) we joyn with, yea more, *do by our presence profess Consent to them; and withal, if all not commanded in worship be Idolatry*, what a World are we then in? It's time then to turn seekers, and say that Church and Ministry are lost. It is these principles, brother, that I purposely wrote my book against:

But you speak much besides the truth, when you say [*The Apostle thought otherwise in a like Case*;] For you never prove that he thought otherwise: Dare you say, (I beseech you think on it) that *Paul* and all the Apostles, and all the Churches, *professed consent* to all the faults in worship which they were present at? How know you that they were never present at any such as *Paul* reproveth in the Corinthians? Yea, was *Christ* a professed Consenter to all that he was present at? Or all that he commanded men to be present at, when he went to the Synagogues, and bade the cleansed, go shew themselves to the Priests, and offer, &c. And bade his Disciples, hear the Scribes and Pharisees, &c. I do not charge the Consequences on your person, but it's easie to see, that it will follow from this opinion, that *Christ was a sinner*, and consequently no Saviour, and so no Christ. Alas, whither would you carry the people of the Lord?

Nor do you prove *Paul's Case to be like this.* Eating at the sacrifices in the Idols Temples was *visible Corporal Idolatry*, forbidden indeed, in the second Commandement as *Idolatry* (interpretative, visible, external, corporeal.) It was that very Act by which an Idol was outwardly worshipped. Therefore it was a *Professing*-act interpretatively. *Symbolizing* with Idolaters I have told you, is *Professing*; for a *Symbole* is a Professing sign. But he that is present, with a Church professing to worship, not

an

an Idol, but the true God, and that according to the Scripture, and is united to the Church only in this profession, doth not by so doing Profess Consent to a Ministers ill wording, or methodizing of his Prayers or his Sermons, which is the work of his own office.

2. As for your charge of *Blasphemy*, &c. on me, for intreating you to take heed lest you blaspheme, by making Gods *foreknowing of faults*, to signifie an approbation, I pass it by, and will not by so trivolous a return be drawn to enter further on that point.

---

EXCEPT. XXII. p. 13. *Answered.* Whether it be *bitterness, fierceness, fury, or proud impatience*, to reprove these sins, in an instance which your self presume not to contradict; And whether the opinion that [*no truth is to be silenced for peace*] be fit for judicious peaceable men to own, or be not fit to be gain-said, I have long ago debated in my book of Infant-Baptisme, *pag.* 218.

---

EXCEPT. XXIII. p. 13. *Answered.* If you dissent, why did you answer none of the six Reasons I gave for what I said, nor seem to take notice of them? But only when I say [*It were easie to instance in unseasonable and imprudent words of truth, spoken to Prin-*

*ces which have raised persecutions of long continuance, ruined Churches, caused the death of multitudes*, &c. Upon which you put four questions, To which I answer, 1. The *flattery* of some, will not justifie the sinful imprudence of others. 2. If you should be guilty of the blood of thousands by one sin, will it excuse you that another was *more* guilty? 3. *Elijah*, *Micaiah*, and *John* Baptist, spake not *unseasonably* or *imprudently*: Nor is all *imprudent* that bringeth suffering or death. 4. Gospel Ministers may *follow* them that spake *prudently*; but *unseasonable* and *imprudent* speaking, is not following them. I have recited elsewhere a saying even of Dr. *Th. Jackson*, that *It is not because great men have not sins and wrath enough, that there are no more Martyrs under Christian Rulers, but because there be not* John *Baptists enough to tell them of them* (to that sense.)

But, either by all this you mean to defend *unseasonable and imprudent speaking*, or else you mean that there is no such sin, or else you must needs *contend* where you *consent*. If it be the first or third, I will not be so *imprudent* as to fence with you. If the second, it is gross contradiction of reason and morality, and of Christ himself, *Matth.* 7. 6. 1 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12. 1 *Cor.* 14. 28. 34. *Amos* 5. 13. *Eccl.* 3. 7.

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXIV. p. 14. [*He hath found out a new Cause of Separation, and such as we doubt not the Pope will thank him for, when he saies,* [*Almost all our contentions and divisions, are caused by the ignorance and injudiciousness of Christians;*] *For it is evident that our contentions at this day, are principally, if not wholly caused, by the pride, impertinencie and tyranny of imposers; which guilt Mr.* Baxter *would ease them of, by charging it on the ignorance and injudiciousness of Christians.*]

*Answ.* These last words are your 17*th.* Untruth; 1. Where have I said a word to ease them of it? May not two persons or parties be both guilty of Division? Yea, if one were guilty [*wholly*] that is, of *the whole*, yet he may not be guilty *solely*, and no one with him. *17 Untruth.* Of flattering Christians.

2. Have you or any of your party, done so much to have stopt that cause of divisions which you accuse, as I have done? And did I ever change my mind?

3. O that God would make you know what spirit you are of, and what you are doing! Alas, brother, will you leave *England* no hope of a Cure? What hope, while we are impenitent? What Repentance, while we justifie our sins? Yea, while the Preachers teach the people to justifie them, and become the defenders of the sins which they should preach against; and fight against their brethren that do but call men to Repent: Whether any Christians be dull, ignorant, and injudicious.

*pent*: What! is *Godlineſs* up, and in honour among us, while *Repentance* is down, as an intolerable abhorred thing! What a *Godlineſs* is that, which abhorreth *Repentance*? I am offended greatly with my own heart, that melteth not into tears over ſuch lines as theſe, for *England*'s ſake, and for Religions ſake; For the honour of God, and for the ſouls of men. Is that [*a new Cauſe of ſeparation*] which hath been the Cauſe ſince the daies of the Apoſtles to this day? Did ever man read the hiſtories of the Schiſmes and Hereſies of the Churches, and not find out this Cauſe, this old, this ordinary Cauſe? If you had remembred but what *Socrates* and *Sozomene* ſay of the Church of *Alexandria* alone, what contentions, what tumults, what blood-ſhed theſe weakneſſes and faults of Chriſtians cauſed, it might have told you, it is no new thing. O lamentable caſe of miſerable *England*, that even among the zealouſer ſort of Miniſters, any ſhould be found, that either vindicateth all Chriſtians from the charge of *Ignorance* and *Injudiciouſneſs*! Or that thinketh theſe are *no Cauſes*, or no *culpable Cauſes* of diviſions! That have no more acquaintance with the people of this land! And know no better them that they plead for! That ſuch ſhould ſeek to flatter poor ſouls in deſpite of that open light, and undeniable experience of all the Chriſtian World! That in an age when the weakneſſes and faults of Chriſtians have wrought

ſuch

such heinous effects among us, they should be *denied*! And when God by judgements hath so terribly summoned us to repent, by silencing, dissipations, imprisonments, reproaches, and most dreadful plagues and flames; alas, shall we call to professors that have ruined us by *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness* (the *gentlest* names that their sin will bear) and say, *Repent not Christians, you are not ignorant or injudicious; It is not you that are the causes of our divisions and calamities, Our Contentions at this day are principally, if not wholly caused by the pride, impertinency, and tyranny of the Imposers.*

Believe not, Christians, that you are innocent; Believe not that you are not *ignorant* and *injudicious* as you love your souls, and as you love the land: If once God deliver us up to Antichristian darkness and cruelties, it will be cold comfort to you, to think, that you once were flattered into impenitency, and made believe that you were not the Cause.

But that our hearts may yet more relent in this sad condition of the seduced, let us hear the following words.

*Besides*, (saith he) *we cannot understand the meaning of such phrases as* [*dull Christians, Ignorant and injudicious Christians*;] *For whoever are Christians indeed have received an anointing, by which they know all things*, 1 Joh. 2. 20. 27. *And should not have such vile Epithets affixed to them, which only tend to expose even Christianity it self, as if it did*

not

*not cure those that sincerely imbraced it, of their Ignorance and Injudiciousness.*

*Answ.* It is no disgrace to Christianity, that it is set off by the presence of *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness*; As sickness maketh us know the worth of health. Nor is it long of life or health, that doleful diseases remain yet uncured; For were it not for them, instead of diseases there would be death. It is Godliness and Christianity which bringeth that Light and Health into the World that is in it; And men are not ignorant and bad because they are *Christians* and *Religious*, but because they are not *better Christians*, and more Religious. Perfect Christianity would make men perfectly judicious. The weakest true Christian exceedeth the Learnedst Ungodly Doctor even in *judgement* and *knowledge*; Because he *practically and powerfully* knoweth, that *God is God*, and to be preferred in honour, obedience, and love before all the World; and that *Christ is Christ*, and to be believed in for Justification and Salvation; And that the *Holy Spirit* is his Advocate and our Quickener, Illuminater and Sanctifier, to be believed and obeyed; and that there is a Life of Happiness to be hoped for, which is better than all the pleasures of sin, and the felicity of worldlings; In a word, they have a real, though imperfect understanding of the Baptismal Covenant, and of the Creed, or Symbole of Christian Faith: And this is a great and noble knowledge, and

Cure

Cure of them that were lately ignorant of all these things, and were led Captive by the Prince of darkness at his will. If the Reader that would see the difference will peruse my small Tractate of *Catholick Unity*, he may be informed of it.

But yet is there no such thing as *Ignorant, dull, injudicious Christians*, because *they know all things*; Must we not use such *phrases* and *Epithetes*, *because Christianity cureth them.* Dear brother, I have no mind to make you odious, nor to open your sin to others; But you have opened it to the World, and I must open it to you, if possibly you may repent; But especially I am bound to try to save mens souls from this perilous deceit; And therefore I shall prove to you that there are such *dull* and *ignorant* and *injudicious Christians*; And 2. I shall tell you the greatness of your error and sin.

See my book of Directions to weak Christians to grow in grace.

That there are such is proved, 1. By the words of Scripture, *Heb.* 5. 11, 12, 13, 14. [*Seeing yee are dull of hearing: For when for the time yee ought to be teachers, yee have need that one teach you again which be the first* principles of the *Oracles of God, and are become such as have need of milk and not of strong meat; For every one that useth milk is unskilfull* (or *unexperienced*) *in the word of Righteousness; for he is a babe: But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.*

1 *Tim.*

1 Tim. 3. 6. *Not a novice, left being lifted up* with Pride, *he fall into the condemnation of the Devil.* The verb τυφωθεὶς is otherwise by our Translators in the margin turned [*besotted.*] And *Strigelius* saith that it signifieth not only *puffed up*, but one *crack'd brain'd* and *phanatick*: And *Lyserus* saith of the same word, 2 *Tim.* 3. 4. translated *High minded*, that it answereth an Hebrew word which signifyeth, *to be dark*, and *not to shine clearly*; which *Leigh* reciteth. See *Martinius de Typho.*

1. *Cor.* 3. 1, 2, 3, 4. *And I brethren could not speak unto you as unto Spiritual, but as unto Carnal, as unto babes in Christ: I have fed you with milk, and not with meat. For hitherto yee were not able to bear it, neither yet now are yee able: For yee are yet Carnal: For* whereas *there is among you, envying* (the word is, *Zeal*, that is, *emulation*) and *strife*, (or *contention* [and *divisions*,] or factions,) *are yee not Carnal, and walk as men* (or according to man;) *For when one saith, I am of* Paul, *and another I am of* Apollo, *are yee not Carnal?*

Eph. 4. 14. *That we henceforth be no more children, tost to and fro, and carried about with every wind by the sleight* (or cousenage) *of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lye in wait, to deceive; but speaking the truth in Love may grow up*, &c.

Luke 24. 25. *O fools and slow of heart to believe, all that the Prophets have spoken:*

Mark

Mark 6. 52. *They considered not the miracle of the Loaves, for their heart was hardened.*

Mark 8. 17. *Why reason yee because yee have no bread? Perceive yee not yet, neither understand? Have yee your hearts yet hardened? Having eyes see yee not? And having ears, hear yee not? And do you not remember?*

Luke 12. 16. *These things understood not his Disciples at the first.*

Luke 18. 32, 33, 34. *They shall scourge him, and put him to death, and the third day he shall rise again: And they understood none of these things; and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken.*

1 Cor. 8. 2. 7. 10. *If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know, — Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: but some with Conscience of the Idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered to an Idol, and their Conscience being weak is defiled. Shall not the Conscience of him that is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to Idols.*

See *Rom.* 14 and 15. *Gal.* 6. 1. 1 *Cor.* 9. 22. *Gal.* 3 and 4. throughout. *Col.* 2. 21, 22, &c. *Heb.* 13. 9. 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. Should I recite all such Epithetes, convictions, and reproofs in Scripture it would be tedious.

2. The thing is further proved by the common experience of mankind, which it ama-

amazeth me to think a man that liveth among men in the world, awake and in his senses, can be ignorant of? Enemies know it: Friends know it; not only that there are *Ignorant* and *Injudicious Christians*, *but that* the far greatest part are such though not in a *damning*, yet in a *sad and troublesome degree*! And that the far greatest part of those that we hope are truly godly, remain so lamentably ignorant of abundance of things, that should be known, and continue in such an infancy of understanding, as is a great advantage to the Tempter, and many waies calamitous to themselves, and to the Church: It is the lamentation of all experienced Ministers. Alas, how ignorant *even* honest people remain; And how slowly they come on in knowledge?

3. If God have made it one half the work of the Pastors of the Churches, to labour all their daies to heal the *Ignorance* of good people, then, such Ignorant ones there are: But the antecedent is plain in Scripture; and believed by most Ministers, as their daily Sermons tell you.

4. Do not the multitudes of Sects and Errors, and Contentions that have torn the Church from the Apostles daies till now, prove it? Were all those in the Catalogues of *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Philastrius*, &c. Certainly graceless? Or were none of them Ignorant and Injudicious?

And though *Church-tyranny* be a *grand Divi-*

*Divider*, that this was not the *only Cause*, two instances prove to the great disgrace of this assertion of his. First, the instance of the said sects of Christians, for the first 300 or 400 years, when there were no such *Impositions*. Secondly, our late twenty years (or neer) contentions and divisions, and numerous parties, when there were little or no impositions. Was it *impositions* or *tyranny* that bred sects in the Armies, and in *England* and *Ireland* in the daies of liberty?

5. And is it not sufficient proof to *England*, that there are *weak*, *ignorant*, *injudicious* Christians, when the *ruines* of *twenty years experience* overwhelmeth us, and when so *many years unreconcilable differences* prove it? And when we have so *many sects and differences* to this day: What all these differences, these wars, these disputings, these censurings, divisions and confusions, and yet *no Ignorant Injudicious Christians*? O what will pass for proof with them that will not take such experience for proof?

6. And what say you by all the *Greek*, *the Abassine*, *Armenian*, *Nestorian*, *Jacobite*, &c. Christians, that are alas, in National general Ignorance: Which will you affirm, Brother; That all these Nations are *damnable Infidels*, or *no Christians?* Or that there are *no Ignorant Christians* among them?

7. And what say you by all the Con[illegible] tions of *Lutherans and Calvinists*, *Arminians* and

and *Antiarminians*, the troubles of *Germany* by *Muntzer* and his Anabaptists, and those at *Munster*, and those in *Holland*, and many other Countreys.

8. And what say you by all the books now extant (Dr. *Crispes*, Mr. *Saltmarshes*, *Cop's*, Mr. *Cradocks*, Mr. *Dels*, Mr. *Dens*, Mr. *Randalls*, *Jacob Behmens*, and all the Germane Prophets, *Andr. Osiander*, *Swenkfieldius*, &c.) Is there no Christianity? or no *ignorance* and *injudiciousness* apparent in them? Besides all the writings of Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independents, Separatists, Anabaptists, *&c.* against one another.

9. Do you not think your self, that multitudes of *Conformists*, yea *Ministers* are Ignorant and Injudicious? Sure you do; And can you judge them all to be *no Christians*?

10. Do you not think that *I am Ignorant and Injudicious*? If not, you must not only think that I am *no Christian*, but also extreamly maliciously wicked. But if you do so think of me, can you think so of *all the non-Conformable Ministers of my judgement*. I am sure if you believe your self, and as you write; *Ignorance* is the easiest charge we can expect from you.

11. And will *you* put forth such a book as *your own* to the World, and when *you* have done deny the *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness* of all Christians? This is all one as to *swear* that there is never a swearer among Christians.

12. I

12. I appeal to the common Charges of Ministers in their Sermons and books, who charge weak Christians with *dulness*, *ignorance*, and *injudiciousness*.

13. I appeal to the experience of all Masters of Families, whether they meet with no such Christians there? Yea, how hard it is to meet with better?

14. I appeal to the experience of every self-knowing Christian, whether he find not abundance of *dulness*, *ignorance* and *injudiciousness* in himself?

15. I appeal to the *prayers* of almost all Christians, whether they charge not themselves with this to God?

16. I appeal to almost all the disagreeing disputers of this and every age, whether they *charge not one another with it?*

17. I appeal to most Parishes in *England*, whether many of the people charge not their Ministers themselves with it?

18 I appeal to Universities, Tutors and Schools, whether they know none such?

19. I appeal to any judicious man, whether he find not the judicious even among good Christians; yea, and Ministers to be, alas, too rare?

20. And I appeal to all men that are awake, whether there be no Christian children in the World? And whether all such children are cured of *Ignorance* and *Injudiciousness*, and know all things by the anointing of the Spirit? And if all this be no proof, it is time to give over teaching and disputing.

The greatness of the sin of thus flattering Christians.

And now that, if perhaps, you may repent, and others be preserved, I shall tell you what nature this sinful doctrine and practice is of; 1. It is a cherishing of *Pride*, which is the first-born of the Devil: Yea of spiritual Pride, even a Pride of mens *Knowledge* and *Judiciousness*, which is worse than Pride of wealth or ornaments.

2. Hereby it resisteth a great work of the Gospel and Spirit of Christ, which consisteth in the humbling of souls, and making them become as little children, conscious of Ignorance, and teachable.

3. It defendeth that sin which all experienced judicious men complain of, as that common calamity of mankind, which is the grand cause of contentions, and errors in the World. Which is, mens thinking that they know what they do not, and overvaluing their own understandings, & thinking that they are wise when it is otherwise.

4. It contradicteth the Holy Ghost, and reproveth his language and reproofs, as I have before shewed. To which I adde 2 *Tim.* 3. 6, 7. They *lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* 1 *Cor.* 15. Where *Paul* is put to prove the Resurrection; *ver.* 34. *Some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame:* ver. 36. *Thou fool, that which thou sowest*, &c. Hos. 9. 7. *The Prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad*, &c. 1 Cor. 3. 18. *Let him become a fool that he may*

*may be wise*. If you say that some of these were not true Saints, I answer, 1. *Paul* calleth the Church of *Corinth* in general, Saints. 2. Our question is of more than *true* Saints; even such as may by others (who are no heart-searchers) be called, *Christians*; whether we may call any [*dull, ignorant, or injudicious Christians*?]

5. You teach Parents and Masters to neglect and betray the souls of their children and servants, that are Christians: And children and servants, to reject the teaching of Parents and Masters: For if they are not dull, nor ignorant, what need they to be taught or to learn? And at what age do they come to *know all things*, and to be past the title of *Ignorant*? Is it at 4, or 5, or 7 years old? Doubtless they may have the spirit then: If not, where is it that you will set the bounds? At what age *were you* past your ignorance and injudiciousness, and knew all things?

6. You thus make the work of *Schoolmasters* needless; and also of Tutors and Academies.

7. You encourage and countenance idle Ministers, as to the labours necessary to Christians: If there be no *dull* nor *ignorant Christians*, they are not so blame-worthy as we have made them.

8. You excuse those that unjustly hinder Christs Ministers to preach to Christians, in any part of the World: If there be no *ignorant* Christians, Preachers are not so ne-

ceſſary, nor ſilencing them ſo bad a thing as we have made it.

9. You encourage the contemners of the Preaching of Gods word, who ſay, what need we go to hear, we know as much as they can tell us.

10. You contradict the Sermons of almoſt all Miniſters, as if they abuſed Chriſtianity, and belyed the people, when they reprove their *ignorance* and *dulneſs*.

11. You encourage the bold invaders of the Miniſtry, who thinking that they *know all things*, and are not *ignorant*, do turn Teachers of others, before they have learned themſelves.

12. You encourage the diſputing, contentious wrangling, and inſolent ſpirit that is abroad, which maketh men tear and divide the Church, by confidence in their ſeveral opinions; while all of them may think that they are not ignorant nor injudicious.

13. You ſeek to keep Chriſts Diſciples in continual Ignorance, while you would make them believe that they are *not Ignorant*, and ſo keep them out of a learning way, which is a Diſciples ſtate.

14. You condemn your own practice, who *preach* to thoſe that you judge your ſelf to be Chriſtians; For what need they your teaching (as to their underſtandings) if they are not *Ignorant*, but know all things?

15. You countenance the Quakers and Papiſts in their doctrine of *Perfection*: Yea you go far beyond them, inaſmuch as they

aſcribe

aſcribe perfection but to a few.

16. You juſtifie all the *Errors* of the times, which Chriſtians hold, and teach them to ſay, we are Chriſtians, therefore we erre not, for we are not ignorant.

17. You juſtifie *Contradictions*: For if ten men be of ten ſeveral contrary minds, *e. g.* about the expoſition of a Text, it is but one of them that can be right; And yet you teach them all to think that they are right.

18. You do this againſt the full light and experience of an age of Errors, yea of almoſt all ages of the Church.

19. You ſhew your ſelf inſenſible of the ſinful ignorance and diviſions, and ruines thereby procured, theſe twenty years.

20. You teach all thoſe that are or have been guilty, to be impenitent.

21. You do this in an age, when dreadful judgements, which have begun at the houſe of God, do call his houſhold moſt loudly to Repent, and to be an example of penitence to others.

22. Should you prevail thus to keep Chriſtians in impenitence, you would keep us in our calamities, and turn away the peace and deliverance which we hope and pray for, and be the prognoſtick of our continued woe, if not of the undoing of the land, and an utter forſaking.

23. You teach Chriſtians in prayer not to confeſs their *dulneſs* or *ignorance*, and make them ſpeak falſly that do confeſs it.

24. You vilifie all those means which God hath instituted to cure his peoples ignorance, as a needless thing, if it be cured in all already; As reading, hearing, meditating, conference, &c.

25. You cross the use of *all the World*, even the *works* of *Creation* and *Providence*, so far as they are *Gods means* to teach Christians knowledge, and cure their ignorance.

26. You teach men to lose the most of their lives, as to growth in knowledge, when they must believe that they are cured of their ignorance as soon as they are Christians, and know all things perhaps at seven years old.

27. You teach almost all Christians to despair of their sincerity, and to deny themselves to be Christians. For when you have taught them that [*whoever are Christians indeed, have received the anointing by which they know all things, and are cured of their ignorance and injudiciousness, & are not to be called dull, or ignorant, or injudicious Christians.*] They will quickly assume [*But it is not thus with me, I am dull and ignorant*, &c. *therefore I am not a Christian indeed.*]

28. You almost if not wholly deny and un-Church Christs Church on earth, while you deny all to be Christians indeed that are ignorant, injudicious, dull, and know not all things.

29. By cherishing the *pride* and *ignorance* of Christians, you cherish all their other sins,

sins, which these two are the common parents of.

30. You make us hereby seem a tender and a factious people, that see motes in the eyes of others, but not beams in our own; who can aggravate the sins of others, yea, the *publick worship* into Idolatry it self; But when we come to *our party*, we take it for a reproach to Christianity, to be called *dull*, or *ignorant*, or *injudicious*.

31. You shew by this that your censure of the Conformists is so high, as to make them all to be no Christians indeed. For you cannot think that an Idolater is not Ignorant and Injudicious: and so no Christian with you. But he that wrote Mr. *Bolton*'s life, thought otherwise.

32. You abuse the Scripture, 1 *Joh.*2.20. 27. to countenance all this; As the Quakers do [*He that is born of God sinneth not.*] *Calvin* truly noteth that by [*knowing all things, he meaneth not universally, sed ad præsentis loci circumstantiam restringi debet;*] It is, *the All things* which the *apostates* there reproved did deny. As the Prophet saith, *They shall not need to teach one another, saying, Know the Lord, for all shall know him:*—And yet they might have need to teach one another an hundred *other truths*, though they all *knew the true God from Idols*. So here to *know all things*, is to be knowing *persons*, in comparison of the infidels and apostates; (which, saith *Calvin*, he speaketh to procure a fair audience with them:) As if he should

say, [I speak not to you as so rude and ignorant persons that know not these great things which these apostates deny.] Dr. *Hammond* thinketh that it meaneth, that the Holy Ghost by which you are anointed, or preferred before others, is a certain proof or evidence to you, of the Truth of all the doctrine which Christ taught, and therefore you cannot forsake him by the seducement of these apostates. *Beza* saith, *Atqui cognoscimus omnes ex parte*, 1 Cor. 13. 9. *Est igitur Hyperbole, cum significat Apostolus, se nihil afferre quod illi jam antea non intellexerint, quos ipse commonefaciat potius quam doceat, ut loquitur etiam ipse Dominus*, Jer. 31. 34. *Vel quod etiam simplicius est, omnia intelligit necessaria agnoscendis Anti-Christis, & cavendis illorum insidiis*: And to that purpose the English Anotations.

But further I grant, that all Christians have that spirit which teacheth them all things needful to Salvation. But how? Not in the first moment. Nor without their pains and patience in learning: But in blessing them by degrees in the use of those means, which they must continue learning by, while they live; which notwithstanding, most are long *dull* and *ignorant*, and *injudicious*, though not in comparison of unbelievers.

But what if the Text had meant properly [*yee know all things*;] Do you prove that this is spoken of *all true Christians*, and that in *all ages*? And that it is not partly grounded

ded on the extraordinary anointing of the ſpirit, poured out, *Act.* 2. proper to thoſe primitive times, for the obſignation of the Goſpel.

33. It's a heinous ſin to be a *flatterer* of mens ſouls! And to ſowe pillows under mens elbows, and to call evil good, and to ſooth multitudes up in their Ignorance, and tell them, *It is not* an *Epithete* fit for them.

34. And thus you teach them to oppoſe and hate a faithfuller ſort of Miniſters, who will tell them of that which you would draw them to deny.

35. And it is a double ſin for a *Miniſter* to do this, who is a watch-man for the peoples ſouls.

36. And yet more, for one that ſo ſharply reprehendeth the faultyneſs of Conformiſts, as to ſeparate from them.

37. And to pretend that the confeſſion of our own faults is not only an *eaſing of other mens*, but even a *meriting of the Pope*; As if either the Pope muſt be in the right, or no Chriſtians muſt be ſaid to be Church-Dividers by their ignorance; Even in a time when our Diviſions ſo ſhew themſelves, that no one can doubt of them: What is this but to perſwade men to be Papiſts?

38. And what is all this but to expoſe us to the ſcorn of all that are inclined to ſcorn us. To teach them to look on us as they do on the Quakers, as a proud, diſtra-

cted

How sad is it to read in *Hornius*, *Salmasius* and others abroad, such horrid descriptions of the English sects and scandals? Though the Actors were not so many as some of them thought.

cted sort of people, that will make the World believe that none of us are ignorant, injudicious, or dividers, against such notorious publick evidence: Yea, to harden them that have voluminously reproached the non-Conformists, and to engage your self to justifie all the ignorant, injudicious sayings that they are charged with; or else to prove that the speakers were no Christians.

39. And this you do in the very day of our scandals and reproach, where thousands are already hardened into a distaste of serious Religion, by our former divisions and injudicious miscarriages; As if you would thrust these miserable souls yet deeper into Infidelity and Atheism. And when the scandal of our divisions hath turned many (and some old professors of Religiousness) unto Popery; you take the course to turn off more.

40. Yea, by making us thus odious, you do very much to increase the distaste and displeasure of our *Afflicters*, and to bring more sufferings upon us, as a people that are Phanaticks indeed: Even while you make *Proud imposition* and *persecution* the cause of our divisions. And when the world knoweth, not only that in the first 300 years of the Church, there were swarms of heresies and sects, and also after *Luther*'s reformation, and among us in Armies, Cities, and Countrey for about 20 years, even to our own confusion; yet would you tempt them to

to take us for a people not to be believed, by seeming to deny all this. And when I proved to you, that it is Gods way after our misdoings, to take the shame to our selves, that it may not fall on our Religion; and the Devils way to justifie the misdoings of Christians, that Christianity and Religion may bear the blame; you give no confutation of any of this, and yet go on to wrong the truth, by defending that which is not to be defended; If there be none of all this that in your eyes is matter fit for your Repentance, I still pray that you may better know what manner of spirit you are of.

Yet I wish you to observe, that I do not say, that *in terms* you assert all these ill consequences; nor do I think that you so practically hold them, as not in some measure to hold the contraries of them; I take you not to be so bad: But I only advise both you and others, to own no more the opinions which infer such things, nor to do that which tends to cherish them.

And I here protest to all that shall take the occasion of your paper, to asperse the Protestants, or the non-Conformists in general, that they will be inhumanely disingenuous in so doing, when none but the guilty should be accused.

---

EXCEPT. XXV. *Answered.* 1. Brother, you do ill to intimate either of these

Un-

Of the loud voice of the Preacher, and a found judgement.

Untruths. 1. Either that there is no such thing as [*an ignorant sort of Preachers, more valued for their affectionate tone and fervour, than abler judicious men;*] When as the whole Christian World knoweth that there are *many* such Preachers both among the several sects, (and of our selves, there are or have been some) and in the publick Assemblies; and among all Christian Churches where there is preaching through the World: And the worlds experience puts it past doubt, that the generality of the vulgar, unlearned and injudicious sort of men, do value a man by his tone and voice more than for the judgement and excellency of his matter, if not put off by such advantage. Brother, you and I are both known persons; Though I look not to mention my self without your imputation of pride, I will venture, while I put my self on the side which you say I reproach, to tell you, that I was once commonly taken to have as affectionate a tone of speech as ever you were, at the least: And I ever found that Matter and Affection together took best: But that warm Affection and fervent utterance, with common and little matter, took more with the far greater part, than far more excellent matter delivered, with less fervour of affection. I have said as much against cold preaching as ever you have done at least: And I am as much against it as ever: And I am my self much helped in profiting by an affectionate delivery. But,

Bro-

Brother, I take it for no pride to think that I have had more experience of mens cases than you have had; (If you have had no more Pastoral Charge than I suppose, and came but out of the University when I was ready to be turned off from mine.) And I must tell you that I have been oft sorry to see how the people have been moved (in Army and Countreys) to value a Quaker, a Seeker, an Antinomian, an Anabaptist, a Socinian that preach'd down the God-head of Christ; (And among the Orthodox, such ignorant ones as you know I am acquainted with;) meerly for the tone and fervency of their delivery. Scarce any thing hath more infected the injudicious with errour.

2. Or if you deny not that *such a thing there is*, then it is yet worse in you to feign this *empty loudness*, or *affected fervency*, to be the Preaching which God owneth to the Conversion of souls, Comparatively. This is to reproach the work of Preaching and Conversion, so ill do you avoid what you injuriously impute to others, when you cry out, [*What could* Parker, &c. *have spoken more reproachfully*, &c. Sure you thought I had spoken against *fervent preaching* it self, or else you would not have talk'd as you do? Here also (after some mention of my Pride and Folly): you adde two more gross Untruths. 1. That what I spake of *individual persons* without respect to *any party*, Conformists, non-Conformists, or Separatists,

tists, and instanced in many of my *own acquaintance*, some of which *now Conform*, yea are zealous Conformists, who were the ferventest loudest Preachers that ever I knew in all my life: [*If I will not tell you who they are*, (alas man, did you never know such) you *must think it concerns all that are at this day engaged in a Gospel separation.*] *Answ.*

18 *Untruth.* Had you said [*We will think so*] it might have been true: But, 1. I had made no mention at all of *separation* in the whole *Direction*, nor intended any more than I expressed; But only meant to direct people to avoid that error in the choice of Teachers, which prepareth them for any seduction and division. 2. I had largely spoken there for affectionate Preaching. 3. I am not acquainted with very many such as in *England* have been known by the name of Separatists, that go no further; But those few that I do know, I take to be colder, duller Preachers, than those that are called Presbyterians byfar, for the most part of them; so far was I from meaning them; But Quakers, and Fifth-Monarchy men, and some Anabaptists I know, and many revilers of the Ministry I have known, in Armies and Countreys that were just such as I describe. 2. It is an untruth that you had

19 *Untruth.* no pretence of Reason for (that I can think of) that I [*have left off the Lords work, and instead of helping it forwards with you, am weakening your hands, and disgracing the buil-*

*builders.* ] If you mean that I preach not in the *Pulpit*, no more do you: If you mean that I have not a *separated Church*, I never had one (on your principles at least:) If you mean that I preach not in *London*, 1. I cannot if I would. 2. I never had any Paſtoral Charge, nor place in *London*, but preach'd one year up and down for others, and another year took but a voluntary Lecture. 3. *London* I was forced eight years ago to forſake for my health and life. 4. Gods work is not only in *London*. 5. I have no call thither, nor any people related to me as a Paſtor there. 6. There are very many worthy men there that want both employment and maintenance, whom I will not injure. Are not all theſe reaſons enough? But if you think otherwiſe, 7. Are not all the Preachers in *England forſakers of Gods work* that preach not in *London*? 8. I think you preached not for many years, when you lay ſo long in priſon: Did you then forſake Gods work?

Whether I have left off the Lords work.

Note how ordinarily Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles avoided perſecution by removing.

But I muſt confeſs, Brother, I have alwaies been too ſlothful and unprofitable a ſervant, and ſtill am: Yet I can ſay, that I know no other employment that I have, and that I ſpend no more time in other things than neceſſities of life require; I play away none, and I idle away but little; and *preaching*, were it oftner, is a ſmall part of my work, and that will be proved to be the *Lords* work, which you think is againſt him, (as all have done that ever I wrote againſt

againſt almoſt.) And I love you much the better for being zealous for that which you do but think is the Lords work; But I am paſt doubt that it will prove at laſt, that ſuch *doctrines*, *paſſions*, and *practices* as yours, will be the *weakeners* and *hinderers* of the builders.

---

Of the judgement of the Univerſal Church.

EXCEPT. XXVI. *Anſwered.* p. 16. I intreat the Reader to peruſe my words which you except againſt ſo angrily, and I am aſſured, he will find them uſeful to him, in the great Queſtion *Who ſhall be Judge?* And to help him out of his perplexities. 1. It is a notorious untruth that you ſay, [ *It is altogether a new way of deciding Controverſies, to affirm Dictator like, in all points of belief or practice which are of neceſſity to Salvation, you muſt ever keep company with the Univerſal Church.* ] Be it right or wrong, who knoweth not that knoweth what was held of old, that it is the way that *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Auguſtine*, *Optatus*, and abundance more have largely written for: And which *Vincentius Lirinenſis* wrote his book for, (*Quod ſemper, ubiq;, & ab omnibus*, &c.)

2. Note, Reader, that he leaveth out, that I ſaid here [ *no man muſt be Judge, no, not the univerſal Church*, but only *that they are* our *aſſociates*, and that *here every Chriſtian maketh the Articles of his Faith his own, and upon no mans authority*, &c. ] But I maintain that it

it is no Article of absolute necessity to Salvation, that hath been unknown to the Universal Church till now; for then it were no Church.

But, saith our brother, *who shall tell us what is the Universal Church? And where shall we find it? Answ.* Are these Questions now to be answered by me? Did you never before hear it done by others? The Universal Church, is the *Universality of Christians*: It is to be found *militant*, on this habitable earth. Did you not know this?

But you ask, [ *How comes the Scripture not to be mentioned?* ] *Answ.* Because it was not seasonable, or pertinent. I was not defining the Church; If I had, it was definable without the naming of the Scripture, at least before the Scripture was written: And whence think you did I mean men should make the doctrine of Faith their own, past controversie, but by the Scripture? Good brother, till you have written more books for the authority of Scriptures than I have done, or preach'd more for it, own not such disingenuous intimations.

Of the judgement of Learned men in difficult speculations.

2. You say that, [ *what he addes is much more conceited and singular; In matters of high and difficult speculation, the judgement of one man of extraordinary understanding and clearness, is to be preferred before both the Rulers and the Major Vote.* ] *Answ.* It is another Untruth, that *this is singular.* My very words are almost *verbatim* in Mr. *Pemble*

*ble Vind. Grat.* elsewhere cited. Why do the *Scotists*, so far follow *Scotus*, and the *Nominals*, *Ockham*, and the *Dominicans*, *Aquinas*, *&c.* if this were a singular opinion? Do not all the Peripateticks say the same of *Aristotle* in Philosophy? And the *Atomists* of *Epicurus*, *Democritus* and *Lucretius*; and the *Cartesians* of their Master? Doth not Dr. *Twisse* say the like of *Bradwardine* and of *Piscator*? And do not many besides *Rutherford* think the same of *him*? Do not the *Ramists* say so of *Ramus*? Do not the *Protestants* say so of *Calvin*, as to all that went before him? Nay, is it not almost the common opinion of all Learned men? And a thing beyond dispute? Did ever any man put such points of high speculation to the Major vote? Alas, brother, that you should trouble men thus, by printing your confidence against unquestionable Truths!

20 *Untruth.* In the next place you suppose, [*Mr.* Baxter *hopes, as* Haman *did in the like case, that he shall be the man, or else he would not have advised us to prefer the judgement of any one man whatsoever.*] *Answ.* Here are three more Untruths, 1. *That I hope to be the man.* 2. *That* Hamans *was the like case.* 3. *That else I would not have advised*, &c. But I let them go for one; till you have proved what you say, and know my heart better than I my self. In the mean time I give you an instance in which I assure you I hope not to be the man: Will you suppose at the

next

next meeting of Ministers, that there are sixteen that understand not the Hebrew Tongue, and three that have but a little smattering in it, and one that is a *Bithner*, a *Pagnius*, a *Buxtorfe*, a *Tremelius*, or (to please you where it is possible) an *Aynsworth*: If the Controversie be, how such a Text of the Old Testament is to be interpreted, will you put it to the Vote? Or will you not prefer that one mans judgement before all the rest? And do not those Ministers do thus, that trust to the Translators, and understand not the Originals themselves.

But you adde, [*He knows we believe that the Scripture is both perfect and plain.*] *Answ.* Yes, plain to them that are fitted to understand it. Our labour is not to alter the Scripture, but to alter mens understandings. Do you know as much as *Twisse* or *Bradwardine* for all the Scriptures are plain? Or do you think that I know as much as you? Let the Reader judge. Do you not think that your writing and preaching is needful, for all that the Scripture is *plain* and *perfect*: And do you not know more than all your hearers? If all the Ministers silenced and unsilenced be not needless to teach *the people*, why may not some *one man* excell *you and me*, whose teaching may be needful to us, and yet the Scripture not be disgraced? Or why will you not write us an Infallible Commentary, and save Mr. *Poole* his labour of abbreviating the Criticks, if the plainness of

the Scripture serve your turn without the teaching of any one that excelleth you? Shall all our people, and all the differing, contending parties in *England* say, *The Scriptures are perfect and plain*, and therefore we need not the Translation of them, the Interpretations, the decisions or helps of any but our selves? Or of any wiser than the most?

As for your *Anathema*, I thank you for your admonition.

---

EXCEPT. XXVII. *Answered.* You say *He seems to us very much to disparage the reputation of honesty, when he scruples not to affirm* [*It oft falleth out that honest people are like straying sheep, if one leap over the hedge, the rest will crowd and strive to follow him.*] *This we think is enough to make people afraid of being honest, if indeed when they are so, they are so apt to go astray.*

Whether honest people be not apt to stray after one anothers example.

*Answ.* 1. Do I need to cite you an hundred Texts in which this sinning, straying inclination is charged upon honest men? When *Paul* saith of himself, what he doth, *Rom.* 7. and *David* of himself, *Psal.* 119. 176. And he that saith that *he hath no sin deceiveth himself, and the truth is not in him*, And *there is not a just man that doth good and sinneth not.* Did not *Pauls* carnal Corinthians, and *Lgeal* Galatians go astray one after another? Are you sure that they that followed their Leaders into all those sects which *Epi-*

*phanius*

*phanius* and others mention, were all *dishoneſt*? And all they that followed *Swinkfeldius*, and *Behmen*, and *Sticfelius*, and *Muntzer*, and ſuch others? And all they that have followed Dr. *Criſpe*, or *Arminius*, or the Leading Anabaptiſts, or Seekers, of theſe ages? Yea, or all they that did and ſaid thoſe contrary and confounding things in our late troubles, which muſt not to you be mentioned? Are you ſure that none of all theſe were honeſt? Or are you ſure that none of them went aſtray? Even when they contradicted, yea, killed one another? Or are you ſure that ſome ſeduced not the reſt? At leaſt you ſhould not have forgotten in the doing of it, that you were then writing an Antidote to keep honeſt people from being infected by *my book for Love and Unity*; And if honeſt people are in no ſuch danger, why laboured you in vain? Your intenſeneſs upon what your paſſion ſets you on, hindereth your memory of what you cannot chooſe but know.

2. But, O brother, how injurious a Courſe is this that you take? How contrary to all the courſe of Scripture, and the duty of a Miniſter, to lay the reputation of honeſty it ſelf ſo much on ſuch ſinners as moſt honeſt men are, that honeſty it ſelf muſt be thus publiſhed by you to ſeem dangerous and hurtful, unleſs all honeſt people be vindicated from ſuch errors? As if we muſt grant that, if men can but prove this ſtraying diſpoſition in many honeſt perſons,

sons, they must be afraid to be honest? And do you not undoubtedly hereby give up all honesty to be avoided? Will any man but you, that is sober, and awake, deny the antecedent, that seeth our several parties, and knoweth what we have done? This is not the way to vindicate honesty. Health and Life are not to be avoided because most men have diseases and infirmities. Why did you not answer the proofs I gave you of the Lutherans, Armenians, Greeks, and other Kingdoms that run together in an error? Are the falls of Gods servants recited in Scripture, a reason to teach men to flye from honesty or religion?

---

EXCEPT. XXVIII. *Answered.* When I counselled men to [*note and avoid the sins and bad examples of religious men, and to study what are the common errors of the religious party where we live, that we may take a special care to escape them.*] Here, 1. You impute this to my *enmity against strictness.*

Whether we should mark and avoid the sins of Christians in the time and places where we live.

*Answ.* 1. I thank you for all your admonitions; but, truly, Brother, you quite mistake our controversie through your book; which is about *Dividing* the Churches, and *destroying* Love, and not whether *my heart* be *malicious, wicked, or to be Anathematized*! What if I be worse than *Judas?* What's that to our case in hand? 2. And time will teach you, that *sin* is not *godly strictness* nor *honesty*; and that he that was *against your sin*, might be *for your strictness* and your *honesty*. 2. You

2. You question whether [*any man that dares write so, is serious.*] This needs no answer.

3. You [*believe such counsel was never given to Christians before.*] *Answ.* 1. Alas, that any Minister or Christian should be so unexperienced! Would you not only reproach the non-Conformists, but all Protestants, and all Christians? as if none either of their Ministers or Neighbours ever counselled men to watch and escape the sins which the Religious part are guilty of, in the time and Countrey where they are? The Jews were before Christs time the holy peculiar people of God: And did you never read, 1 *Cor.* 10. 1. 5, 6, 7, 8. 9, 10, 11, 12. It's too long to transcribe. Did you never read *Heb.* 3 and 4? Nor read of the sins, of the *Polygamy*, the putting away of wives, and other faults of the better sort, and the generality of the Jews? Did you never read how common the high place-worship was even under godly Kings? Nor yet how the Law was neglected till the book was almost unknown? Did you never read of the sins of *Noah*, *Lot* and his Family, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, and his sons; the company of *Corah*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Peter*, *&c*? Did you never read of Christs rebuke of his Disciples for their hardness of heart, their ignorance, their striving who should be greatest? And how he took that occasion to warn them by the comparison of a child, and by his washing and wiping

of their feet? Nor yet of his rebuking their common expectation of a temporal Kingdom? Are not the errors of the several Religious Sects reproved by the Ancient Writers, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, &c. Did you never read any writing counselling men to avoid the errors and sins of the *Donatists*, nor the *Novatians*, the *Monothelites*, the *Nestorians*. *Eutychians*, &c? The errour of the Religious sort among the *Lutherans*, is Consubstantiation, Church-Images, Ceremonies, &c. The error of the Religious *Calvinists* is too much neglect of the Lords day: What those of the *Arminians* and the *Anabaptists*, and many other sorts are, I leave to you. Did you never read any man that warned others to avoid these sins and errors? Did you never find in the *Antimonians* writings, that the stricter sort of good people went too far in pressing humiliation, tears and degrees of sorrow, so as to be too dark and sparing in pressing the doctrine of Grace and Love: (And it was partly true;) Did you never hear or read, how superstition, eremetical and monastical lives, excessive fastings and austerities, were caused by the strictest people? Nor yet of *touch not, taste not, handle not?* Nor of some lawful things feigned to be unlawful? Nor yet that ever *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, &c. And Christ, by *John*, to six of the *Asian* Churches, to know and avoid the sins of Christians, together with the hereticks among

among them? Nor yet that *Paul* said, *Act.* 20. *Of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things to draw away Disciples after them?* Nor yet that he said, *I have no man like minded*, (as Timothy,) *for all seek their own things, and not the things that are Jesus Christs.*? Nor that *all forsook him at his appearing* before *Nero*? Nor that *all his Disciples forsook Christ and fled?* Nor that *Paul* said that the *Ministers of Satan transformed themselves into Ministers of Righteousness?* In a word, that beside all other sins, the carnal siding and divisions which *Paul* reproved the *Corinthians* for, most ages have among the stricter sort been guilty of? Would you teach your hearers to put their doctrines or practices to a Major Vote of Professors? Do you think *we* know the sincere from hypocrites? Or that either hypocrites or sincere are without sin? Or that we must take no warning by good mens falls? Must we all do over again, all the faults that Religious men have done these 30 years? You make my heart grieve, Brother, to think that there should be a man among us, that thinketh the Church must be built up by such doctrines, and such means as yours?

You say [*We are commanded not to conform our selves to the World.*] *Answ.* Nor to sinning Christians neither; [*But first* (say you) *to suppose that the Religious party have generally some common errors among them, and then to advise that we should carefully study to escape*

Whether the Religious sort may not have some common errour to be avoided?

*escape them; This counsel we think Mr.* Baxter *may be the father of; nor do we envy him the honour of it.*]

*Answ.* 1. Have the Religious sort among the *Greeks*, *Abassines*, *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Armenians*, *Lutherans*, *Anabaptists*, *Arminians*, *&c.* no common error among them?

2. Are you for more Infallibility and Perfection than the Papists themselves?

3. Will any Christian besides you, that is sober, deny that we should study to escape them?

4. Did you ever read any sober Writer of another mind?

I beseech you take heed of this pernicious flattery of Professors: And I beseech all the Religious that love their souls, to take heed of being ensnared by such flattery, into a proud, impenitent state.

And in the grief of my heart here, I must say to the people that which I expect this brother should impute to enmity to godliness. You see by this manner of teaching what you have brought your selves and your Teachers to? I have oft grieved to observe, that many look that Preachers should make it their business to *flatter them*, and *extoll them* in the highest praises, and to prick others as deep, and vilifie them as much as may be; and this is the preaching that they are best pleased with. I know that the precious and the vile must be widely differenced, and he is no Preacher of the

Gospel

Gospel that doth not do it: But when the Preacher must notifie *our party* as *precious*, and cast dung on those *as vile*, whom uncharitable men without proof *think* vile, and must hide all our sins, as if to touch them were to reproach Religion it self, and must aggravate *theirs*, even the *greatest* that differ from us, or else be a flatterer and temporizer; O that such knew but what manner of spirit they are of!

You adde that *I make my advice ridiculous*, by forgetting that I bid men agree with the *Universal Church*. *Answ.* I said expresly, [*In the necessary Articles of Faith*;] And must we therefore agree with them in all *their sins* and errors? Or may I not say, [separate not from most or any Christians as to things true and necessary,] and yet [*avoid their sins*,] and [*be followers of them as they are of Christ.*] Alas, poor Christians, that ever you should either be instructed at this rate? or yet have need to be instructed against it?

---

EXCEPT. XXIX. *Answered.* Why, Brother, did you never till now hear either *Familists*, *Socinians*, or the *grosser Quakers* (such as Major *Cobbet* writes against, and *Smith*) called by the name of [*a Sect*,] Had you no greater thing to quarrel with? You shall call them how you will. Your anger I pass by.

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXX. *Answered.* You say [*May we not justly suspect that to be bad in the worship of God, which the wicked sort do love?*] *Answ.* I spake not of [*what they love, but, what they are for,*] This change of my words is unrighteous. I only *advised men not to reject a good cause, because it is owned by* some (or most *bad persons.*) And why did you not answer my instance of the Pharisees *long prayers?* We have had many Religious persons or sects that have of late been some against Infant Baptisme, some against singing Psalmes, some against Ministry, and Church-meetings, and some against Sacraments, and instituted Ordinances, and some against Tythes and Universities, and humane Learning; (And Mr. *Norton* of *New England* told me, that with them, *A Church separated from a Church, or was gathered out of it, rejecting their Pastors, and choosing unlearned men, and would receive and endure none that had humane Learning*; and that *Moses* and *Aaron* (as his words were) *Magistrates and Ministers went down on their knees to them with tears, and could not move them to relent unto unity, or to receive a learned Minister, nor get any answer from them, but* [*that is your judgement, and this is ours.*] I speak his very words as neer as I can possibly, spoken to old Mr. *Ash* and me, before his (yet living) companion Mr. *Broadstreet* a Magistrate of *New England.*) Now all this the *common people* are against.

Must

Must *we* therefore be against *Magistrates*, *Ministers*, *Ordinances*, and all, because the *common people* are for them. How commonly are they against the *Quakers*, and the *Familists*, and the *Infidels*, and *Heathens*, and (with us) the *Papists*? Are all these therefore in the right? Let any *Familist* deny the Scripture, or the immortality of the soul, and the common people will be against them. Must we deny God and Christ because we live in a land where they are *owned*?

Brother, consider, 1. That some truths the *light of nature* teacheth all. 2. And some *common illumination* teacheth multitudes of bad men. 3. And some *good education*, and the *tradition* of their fathers, and the *Laws* of the Countrey teacheth. 4. And some are better persons among those that you separate from, than many are that separate from them. Let not us then be bad, and more erroneous than those whom you account the worse, and all because they are no worse.

The Text which you wish me to read on my knees, I have done so, and I thank you for that advice; but I answer not your hope of *retracting what I have written* (in that,) but contrarily, 1. On my knees I pray God to forgive you such abuse of Scripture. 2. And to give you a sounder mind. For the Text speaketh of *Infidels*, or denyers of Christs incarnation, and maketh this the differencing Character, [Every

*ry spirit that confesseth that Jesus is come in the flesh is of God*; and so on the contrary. But are all these Christians that you plead for separation from, and charge with Idolatry, *Infidels*, and denyers of Christ? And all the Churches on earth that use a Liturgie? O brother, you use not Scripture, or the Church aright. We grant that in professed Christians also, the carnal mind is enmity to God, and they that are most carnal, are likest to reject the truth; But yet we would not wish you to measure Truth by the quality of the Receiver: For Christ is truly Christ, though many workers of iniquity shall say, we have prophelied in thy name: Many hereticks have been strict and temperate, when the greater part of the Orthodox have been too loose: Yet that did not prove the Christian doctrine to be false.

---

EXCEPT. XXXI. *Answered.* I have little here to do but number your visible Untruths in matter of fact: One is (21*th.* Untruth,) [*He flyes upon all sides that are for order in any kind,*] When I speak not a word against *Order*, nor against any side; but the instances of some mens extreams, which all that are *for Order* hold not.

21 *Untruth.*

22 *Untruth.* Your 22*d.* Untruth, is [*Without expressing himself whether he is for Papal, Presbyterian, or Independent Government in the Church,*] And [*if this were not crime enough*

to

*to seem unsetled in so necessary a point.*] What signification have I given of unsetledness? When I have long ago publickly told the World my judgement about all this to the full, in my five Disputations of *Church Government*; and in a Book called *Christian Concord*, and another called *Universal Concord*, another of *Confirmation*, besides many more. But might not a man be setled that were (as I am in the main) of the same judgement as is expressed in the *Waldenses*, or *Bohemian Government*, described by *Lascitius* and *Commenius*; which taketh in the best of Episcopacy, Presbytery and Independency, and leaveth out the worst, and the unnecessary parts? Are all the *Hungarian*, and *Transilvanian*, and old *Polonian Protestants*, that come neer this order, without Order, or unsetled?

3. It is your 23*d. Untruth that I write very dubiously about Justification, whether we are to take it to be by Faith or by works.*] When as all that I was here to say of it, is spoken very plainly; & I have written many books to make my mind as plain as it is possible for me to speak: (As in my *Confession*, my *Disputations of Justification*, my *Apologies*, my *Answer to Dr. Barlow*, and in my *Life of Faith*, which was printed before this, where I have detected a multitude of errors about Justification; and many more.) And if you expect every time I name Justification I should write the summ of all those books over again, I shall fail your expectation, though

23 *Untruth*

though I incur your censure, who, no doubt, had I done it, would (justly) have censured such repetition for tedious vanity.

You adde [*We fear he is not sound in that point.*] (*Answ.* Your fear is your best constitution, and the best assistance that you afford, to make me as wise and judicious as your self.)

[*The Lord*, (say you,) *We hope in mercy to his Church, and particularly to those who have been deceived into a good opinion of him, will bring this man upon his knees, that he may make a publick acknowledgement of his folly.*]

Of Justification.

*Answ.* If that be your work, it is the same with his, that it is said you sometime wrote against: so many Volumes have been written already by Papists, Prelatists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Seekers, and many other Sects, for this very end, to cure mens *good opinion of me* (as if a man that could but think ill of me, were in a fairer hope of his Salvation) that if all these have not yet accomplish'd it, nor all the famous Sermons that have been preach'd against me; I doubt, brother, that your endeavours come too late. You may perswade some few factious credulous souls into hatred, but still those that love God, will love one another. And I confess of all that ever I saw, I least fear your book, as to the bringing men out of a good opinion of me, unless your name and back-bitings can do it.

When you say that I say that [*The presumptuous*

*sumptuous do boast of being Righteous by Christs imputed Righteousness,* ] in conscience and honesty you should not have left out [*without any fulfilling of the Conditions of the Covenant of Grace on their part;*] Is this just dealing? Are there no such presumptuous boasters? Or will you justifie them all, that you may but vent your wrath on me. My judgement in the foresaid point of Imputation of Christs Righteousness, I have opened at large in the foresaid writings, *The Life of Faith, Confession, Disp. of Justif,* &c.

---

EXCEPT. XXXII. p.18. *Answered. I said,* [*The good of nature is lovely in all men as men, even in the wicked, and our enemies; (And therefore let them that think they can never speak bad enough of nature, take heed lest they run into excess;) And the capacity of the good of holiness and happiness is part of the good of nature;*] Would you think now that any man alive should find error or heresie here? or should deny this? Yet, saith this brother, *This is strange counsel to them that have learned from Scripture, that every imagination is evil, &c. So that we do not see if we will allow the Spirit of God to be the best Counsellor, how we can speak bad enough of corrupted nature, as the nature of every man now is.*]

*Answ.* Truly, brother, that man that would not have Professors of Religiousness in *England* humbled in these times, may find

Whether we can speak bad enough of nature.

in your book a greater help to cure his error, than in the *Debater*, or the *Eccles. Politician*. 1. Your [*not bad enough*] is sure a *hyperbole*: For you can speak as bad as the Scripture doth; And if that speak not *bad enough*, you accuse it of deficiency or error.

2. But I suppose, you meant [*not too bad.*] What do you think then of such sayings as these following? If you speak truth, then, 1. Mans nature is not capable of grace, or of any amendment or renovation. 2. Nor is it capable mediately of Glory. 3. Mans nature is not Reasonable, nor better or nobler than a bruit. 4. The argument would not be good against murdering of any but a Saint, *Gen. 6. 9. Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the Image of God made he man:* 5. No man can grow worse than he is, if he never so much despise God and all his means of grace, and commit every day Adultery, Murder, Treason, *&c.* 6. Then there are no degrees of evil among natural men, nor is one any worse than another. 7. Then men on earth are as bad as those in hell, and as the Devils. 8. Yea, ten hundred thousand times worse than Devils, and the damned; for so bad you can call them. 9. Then mans nature hateth good formally as good, and loveth evil formally as evil. 10. Then there are in mans nature no testimonies for a deity, or the immortality of the soul, nor no conscience of good or evil, nor no principles or dispositions to com-

*Act.* 1-. 14. And *m.* 1, and 2.

mon

mon honesty or civility; or else all these are bad. 11. Then no wicked man is culpable, as sinning against any such innate Light, Law, or Principles. 12. Then natural men are as much void of power to read, consider, or do any good at all, or forbear any sin at all, even hourly murder, theft, perjury, &c. as a stone is void of power to speak or to ascend. And so that all such that are damned, are damned for not doing that which they had no more power to do, and for not forbearing that which they had no more power to forbear than a stone to speak. Or else that all such power it self is evil. 13. Then it may be said, that there is nothing in all the nature of man which is the work of God; or else that Gods work it self as well as mans is evil. That man is not a man, or else it is evil to be a man. 14. Then there is nothing in mans nature that God can in any kind or measure Love; or else that God loveth that which is evil, even with complacence. 15. Then there is nothing in mans nature which we should love in one another; and no man is bound to love, yea, every man is bound perfectly to hate all that are not Saints; or else we must not perfectly hate, but love that which is perfectly evil. 16. Then no man should love his children or friends, for any thing in them till they have grace. 17. Then no natural man should love himself: Or else goodness is not the proper object of rational love. 18. Then

if every man be armed with utmoſt malice againſt others, and perſecute and deſtroy them, impriſon, torment, murder all good men, yea Kingdoms, if he were able, it would be but that which we are naturally no more able to forbear, than the fire to burn, or a ſtone to be heavy. 19. Then ſeeing every man ought to look upon every natural man as perfectly evil, and a perfect enemy to all mankind, if they all murder one another, it is but the deſtroying of ſuch as have no good, either natural or moral, and ſo are far worſe than toads or ſerpents. 20. Then every natural man hath no reaſon ſaving only Gods command, (which it is impoſſible for him to obey) to forbear the murdering of himſelf or his children, any more then others. 21. To conclude, Then man is not *Bonum Phyſicum*, and in *Metaphyſicks*, *Ens & Bonum non convertuntur*.

You adde, [*And had not Mr.* Baxter *told us before, that he underſtood by Fleſh, only the ſenſitive Appetite?*]

24 *Untruth.* *Anſw.* This is your 24*th.* Untruth, and a meer fiction; And your not noting the place was no ſufficient hiding of it. I have oft in many a writing declared otherwiſe what I underſtand by [*Fleſh.*] *Viz.* 1. The ſenſitive apprehenſion, imagination, appetite and paſſion as it is grown inordinate. And, 2. The underſtanding, will, and executive power as they are corrupted to a ſinful inclination to the objects of ſenſe, and become

become the servants of the sensitive part, and are turned from the love of God, and things spiritual, unto the fleshly interest.

You proceed, [*Now we see one firm reason to deny the least allowance of free will in the things of God, since those that hold it in any degree, are strongly inclined to deny original sin and corruption; which if Mr. B. hath not felt, &c.*] *Answ.* 1. This is plainly assertive of me, and is your 25*th.* Untruth: I never denied it; but have in my *Divine Life* and other Writings, said more to prove it, than ever you have published. 2. If no degree of free will, even Physical, or Civil, be to be allowed, those that deny us liberty to preach, or if it were to live, do no more in your account, than they are as absolutely necessitated to do, as your pen was to write this. And sure you will alter our course of Justice, and equal murder, man-slaughter, and chance-medley, as they call it: And whereas he that killed a man by the head of his axe flying off unwillingly, had an excuse and refuge from death by the Law of *Moses*, you will allow every man that killeth another, or that hurteth, beateth, or slandereth you, this much excuse as to say, I had no more liberty of will to do otherwise, than I have to hate felicity as such: Or I could no more do otherwise, than your pen can forbear writing when you move it.

25 *Untruth.* Whether there be any free-will.

Whether he that counts all natural men as bad as he can name, will not hate them, and say bad of them without fear of slander?

And out of this Section of your judgement of humane nature, I ask you, 1. Do

you not tell the world here the reason why you write so vehemently against my Principles of Love? What wonder if you should hate all men perfectly whom you count natural, and so perfectly evil? 2. Do you not tell the World, that your purpose is to speak as bad of all us and others whom you account natural, as your tongue can possibly speak, and to take this for no slander, but your duty; seeing you think, you *cannot speak bad enough of corrupted nature, as the nature of every man now is?* Do you not here tell us, that how bad soever you shall say of us, you never do or can say bad enough? But why are you so angry with me for *being and doing* so bad, when I have no freedom to be or to do better, any more than the fire not to burn? Yea, when you inferr all mens natures to be incurably evil, and therefore desperate; seeing it was *a capacity of holyness* which I asserted, when with such abhorrence you contend against my words.

---

EXCEPT. XXXIII. p. 19. *Answered.* 1. To be a *surly, proud professor* is a milder accusation far than your last. 2. But why should a *Preacher* think that a man must speak against no sin which he is guilty of himself?

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXXIV. *Answered.* 1. I understand not what you mean by saying [*If they persecute any, they contract a guilt upon all?*] If you mean on *all the people*, then you think *you* are guilty of persecution: If you mean on *all the Magistrates*, then the *Innocent*, even *Obadiah* that *hid* the Prophets are guilty of *persecuting* them. What guilt a publick persons sin bringeth on a body politick as such, is a case that I mean not to dispute with you.

2. You adde, [*We think, they do a very ill office to Magistrates that insinuate, it is possible for them to persecute some, and yet be innocent.*] *Answ.* If you intimate (as you seem plainly to do) that I have so done, this is your 26*th.* Untruth, and worse than a meer untruth. 26 *Untruth.*

---

EXCEPT. XXXV. *Answered.* 1. Doth it follow that because lawful separation is not from the same uncharitable spirit, that persecution is, therefore *unlawful separation* is not?

2. You force me to confute you by Instances which yet you abhor to hear. You say [*Persecution in no case can consist with love?*] Do you think your self that all the Common-wealths-men, the Anabaptists, the Separatists, the Independents, or whoever, that had a hand in the order for sequestring all Ministers, that kept not their Whether no persecution can consist with Love?

daies of humiliation and thanksgiving for the blood of *Scotland*, had no love at all remaining? Or that none of this was persecution? Nor yet the ejecting of them that refused the engagement? Nor yet the imprisonment and banishment of the *London* Ministers, and the death of Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons*? To pass by the Scotch war it self, and all the rest. Do not the Sectaries think that the Presbyterians did or would have persecuted them? And did not the Presbyterians think that the Sectaries persecuted them? Do you think that in the Contentions, with the *Donatists*, the *Novatians*, and many other professors of strictness, the parties that persecuted had *no Love*, and so *no true grace* remaining? Truly, brother, I like persecution as little as most men living do, and have written more against it than you have done; (forgive this pride) But I cannot be so uncharitable as to condemn all the sects, and parties, and persons, as utterly graceless that have been drawn to persecute one another; When I consider how few sects in the World have escaped the guilt; and how far pievishness and seeming interest hath carried them. You know, I suppose, that the *Munster* Anabaptists themselves, did not forbear it. The *Lutherans* have oft persecuted the *Calvinists*; And the *Arminians* in *Holland* thought that the *Calvinists* persecuted them, and denied them liberty of Conscience: Even the *New England* godly Magistrates and Ministers are ac-

accuſed of it by the Quakers and the followers of Mrs. *Hutchinſon* and *Gortin*.

And I would you knew what ſpirit you are of, whether you have none of the ſame ſpirit your ſelf? Would you not have hindered the Printing of this Book of mine, if you could have done it? And then would you not have hindered me from Preaching the ſame thing, if you could have done it? And is not this to ſilence that Teaching which is againſt your judgement? Is not that ſpirit, which hath all the vehement ſlanders and revilings which your book aboundeth with, and which *earneſtly prayeth God to rebuke me*, of the ſame kind think you, as to uncharitableneſs, with the perſecuting ſpirit? And is this in you inconſiſtent with all Love?

3. It is your 27*th*. Untruth, that (*after many virulent expreſſions*) *I am forced to confeſs, &c.* My conſtant expreſſion of my judgement, and true ſtating of my ſenſe, is no [*forced Confeſſion*] of any thing: Much leſs did I ever confeſs that no perſecution can conſiſt with Love; but have even there ſaid much to evince the contrary. 27 *Untruth.*

---

EXCEPT. XXXVI. *Anſwered.* I put ten Queſtions to convince men of the ſin of that ſeparation which I ſpeak againſt: And all his anſwer to them, is but this, [*He asks many queſtions about Church-Communion*: *But*

*But he knows the Proverb, and let that answer him.*] *Answ.* But is this impartial enquiring into the truth? Or is this kind of writing fit to satisfie sober men?

---

EXCEPT. XXXVII *Answered.* Your 28*th.* Untruth is next, [*He taketh it ill that we should think the Church of Christ to consist but of a few,*] When I have no such word or sense; but my self profess there to believe it; and only contradict them that would rob Christ of almost all those few, and make them incomparably fewer than they be.

28 *Untruth.*

You adde, [*But when he saies, the belief of this is the next way to infidelity.*] *Answ.* That's your 29*th.* Untruth; I said no such thing; I only admonish you to observe that your abusive lessening the number is your way to Infidelity; And I proved it, which you pass by: He that can believe to day, that Christ came to dye for no more in all the World, than the *Separatists* are, is like very shortly to believe that he is not the Christ, the Saviour of the World, and the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the World.

29 *Untruth.* Of the fewness of Believers.

When you adde that [*I cast reproach on the word of God that affirmeth this expressly,*] it is but another of your untruths, and an abuse of the word of God.

EXCEPT.

EXCEPT. XXXVIII. *Answered.* When I tell you of some that have run through all sects, and turned Infidels, you adde another *Untruth*, that I *thus reproach a whole party with the miscarriages of some few*, *unless* you mean by a *whole party*, all that are of that opinion which I confute: For all the Separatists are not for it. And so what ever opinion in the World I shall gain-say, you may say that I contradict a *whole Party*, that is, the *Party* that holdeth that opinion. But, brother, doth every one reproach you, that telleth you of your danger, and would save you from infidelity and hell? If the common people should tell you that you reproach their whole party, when you preach to them of the tendency and effects of sin and error, you would easily see the fault in them. Your talk of a *prostituted Conscience I forgive*: But if you must not be told of the dangerous tendency of an unsound doctrine, lest you seem to be reproached, you will leave your selves in a sad condition, when your cure is rejected as a reproach. 30 *Untruth.*

---

EXCEPT. XXXIX. *Answered.* Very good You grant that [*if the same spirit be restored to the same words, they will be as good as they were at the beginning.*] But, what spirit was that, brother, that first took up the forms and words that now we speak of?

It

It was not only a spirit of miracles, tongues, or supernatural inspiration. Why do you say then that [ *no man can restore the same spirit to them, and we cannot believingly expect that God will do it, because we have no promise for it* ] It was but the spirit of Illumination and Sanctification; And have not all Christs members this same spirit? Judge by *Rom.* 8. 9. 1 *Cor.* 12. *Eph.* 4. 3, 4, 5, to 16. You have here then by consequence given up your whole cause. You grant that [ *If the same spirit be restored which first used the prayers, and responses and praises of the Liturgie, it is very true, that they may be used now: But the same spirit is in all the truly faithful*; Ergo, *by all the truly faithful they may be used now.* ]

Whether the same spirit may not be restored to the ancient forms.

---

EXCEPT. XL. p. 20. *Answered.* You say, [ *It is unbecomingly done in Mr.* Baxter *to compare* Cromwell *to the Tyrant* Maximus, *who dedicated a flattering book to his son.*]

*Answ.* 1. *Maximus* is by most Historians made so good a man, of himself, that I more feared lest many would have made me a praiser of *Cromwell* by the comparison. 2. He is called a Tyrant, because he was a Usurper; And do you think that *Cromwell* was not so; when he pull'd down both King, Parliament, and Rump? Nay, *Maximus* was chosen in *England* by the Souldiers at a time when pulling down and setting up by Soul-

Souldiers was too common; and when his predeceſſors had little better Title than himſelf: Therefore I pray you judge not too roughly of *Maximus*: But *Cromwell* did usurp at a time when the caſe was otherwiſe; Our Monarchy was hereditary by the undoubted Conſtitution and Laws of the Land; and our Parliament by an Act was to ſit till they had diſſolved themſelves, and he had by ſolemn promiſes obliged himſelf to the Parliament as their ſervant, and had fought againſt and kill'd the King, among other things, on this pretence that he fought againſt his Parliament, and would have pulled them down; which thing he actually and finally did himſelf. Sir, God is not well pleaſed with the juſtifying or palliating of theſe things,, though men may be tempted to do it in faction, and for a divided intereſt.

3. It is publickly known that I did openly and conſtantly ſpeak the ſame things all the time of *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation: Why then is it *unbecoming* now? Among other places, ſee my book of *Infant Baptiſme*, pag. 147 to 152. and 269, 270, *&c.* Where the paſſages ſpoke with caution are yet fuller than all theſe that diſpleaſe you: If *Cromwell*'s party endured me then, cannot you endure me to ſay one quarter as much now?

4. What if I had done otherwiſe? Shall ſuch a ſuffering Preacher as you teach us all, that its *unbecoming* to Repent?

5. That

5. That I *dedicated a flattering book to his son*, is your 31*st*. Untruth. For common sense here will discern that you distinguish between the *Book* and the *Dedication*. And two books at once I directed to him. The books were one against Popery, and the other against the English Prelacy, and Re-ordination, and the imposing of the Liturgie and Ceremonies; And there is not one syllable of *his son* in all the book, save in that Dedication. Nor did I ever see him, speak to him, or write to him else, nor hear from him. But only hearing that he was disposed to peace, and against such turbulent Church-destroying waies as you here plead for, I thought it my duty then to urge him to do that which was right and just.

31 *Untruth.*

Maximus *Imperator Rempub. gubernabat: Vir omni vitæ merito prædicandus, si ei vel diadema non legitime tumultuante milite impositum repudiare, vel armis civilibus abstinere licuisset; sed magnum Imperium nec sine periculo renui, nec sine armis potuit teneri: Sulp. Severus Dialog.* 3 *cap.* 7.

---

EXCEPT. XLI. *Answered.* Having my self been bred up under some Tutors, and with acquaintance, that kept up a reputation of great learning and wisdom, by crying down the Puritans as unlearned fellows, when themselves were more unlearned than I will here express, on the by I said that *I had known such*, and also that there were some such now, who having *clumsie wits that cannot feel so fine a thred, nor are capable of mastering difficulties*, do censure what they understand not: *And that many that should be conscious of the dulness and ignorance of their fumbling, unfurnished brains, have*

Beda *etiam, Hist. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 9. Maximus *vir strenuus & probus atq; Augusto dignus, nisi contra Sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset, &c. Invitus propemodum ab exercitu creatus Imperator, &c.*

*have no way to keep up the reputation of their wisdom, but to tell men, O such a one hath dangerous errors,* &c. ] To this he saith, that *if* Ben. Johnson *or* Hudibras *had writ it,—but for Learned Mr.* B. *mortified Mr.* B. *judicious Mr.* Baxter, *to fall into such levity, will I hope warn all, to take heed how they over-value themselves, lest God in judgement leave them to themselves, as he hath evidently done this poor man,* &c. And he concludeth with an invitation of me, [ *to a second and more seasonable retractation.* ]

*Answ.* I heartily thank you for your pity, and for any zeal of God, though it be not according to knowledg; And for my retractation, I suppose you would have called it a *third.* You quarrelled not with my suspension of my Aphorisms of Justification. And for my retractation of my Political Aphorisms, I have no more to say to you and others of your mind, but that you would better consult your own peace and other mens, and your innocency too, if you would meddle with your own matters, or with that only which concerneth you.

And to conclude, 1. I unfeignedly forgive you all the revilings and other injuries of this your Book.

2. I intreat you to review what is against God and his Church, against Faith, Love, and Peace, and to repent of it in time.

3. I beseech you to give over this pernicious flattery of Professors, and daubing over their ignorance, injudiciousness, pride, and divisions.

4. I

4. I intreat you to be more impartial towards dissenters, and let not your Judgment be blinded by your passions.

5. To help you to impartiality, I beseech you consider how you tempt the Bishops to think it no harm, to silence men that *hold and do such* things as you have vented and done in this book.

6. I beseech you to that end, better to *study your self*, and to know what manner of spirit you are of. Besides all the *intimated* Untruths, here are 30 or 31 gross Untruths in matter of fact which I have set before you. For my self, it is not the least part of my Non-conformity, That I dare not lie, by publick Declaration to say, I *Assent and Consent* where I do not. Now shall a man aggravate the crime of such things as these, and yet do what *you do himself*?

7. I do solemnly profess to you, that I feel no malice against you, much less a desire of your hurt in all this that I say which is against your Judgment, but an unfeigned love to you, and tenderness of your person.

8. Lastly, I again protest against the injustice of any one that shall charge your *Opinions* and *Miscarriages* on the Non-conformists; when I know not two Presbyterians or meer Independants of your mind; though too many so called in *England*, have enclined to unjust separations. And we are no more concerned in the opinions of them that are not Protestants, though they also go under the name of Non-conformists,

than

than in the opinions of the Papists, who are called Recusants.

And to Conclude, I assure you, that if you write any more at the rates as you have done in this Antidote, I shall give you the last word, as not intending to confute you, if you shall maintain that Light is darkness; nor plead any more a cause against you, which needeth not much argumentation as to sober judgements, but as to interests, passions, and byassed wills, which are otherwise moved than by truth and reason, and have but one care; And I fear not to encourage you before-hand by telling you, that you shall see that I have somewhat else to do. For it is a truth that I tell you with grief, that he that will take out of your book, 1. All the false doctrines. 2. All the gross untruths 3. And all the impotent revilings, together with the professed end or design, to undeceive them that have a good opinion of me; will leave so little, as may contained in a very narrow room. And he that seeketh in it for any thing that favoureth much of Judgement, Repentance, Love, Unity, or Peace, must have other eyes than mine, or be disappointed. And I wonder not at that, when the sound Principles of Love, Unity and Peace are the things that have cast you into this displeasure, and which you write against. For where ever the Principles of Christian Love and Peace seem intolerable, there are such contrary principles as will bring forth con-

trary effects, which will prove indeed intolerable in the end.

As there is nothing in this World which God doth design more gloriously to manifest and magnifie than his LOVE, and nothing which he so much obligeth mankind to, especially Believers, as the LOVE of Him and one another, so there is nothing which the great enemy of God and man doth so much hate, and seek to extinguish; fighting by many sorts of weapons neither against small nor great, in comparison of Divine and Christian LOVE. And his common way is to present the *persons* to us as *UNLOVELY*, or *Odious*, whom he would have us hate. And as their own predominant *Carnality* and *Impiety* doth give him full advantage with the ungodly, to make first that *Holyness* which is contrary to them odious, and consequently *holy persons*, and *God himself*; so with those that really Love God, the Tempter findeth this *double* advantage to make their brethren seem odious to them.

1. The great *weakness and error* of their *judgements*, sometimes about the *Things* in difference, and sometimes about the *Persons* through *unacquaintedness*; whereby, either through mistake of the *Cause* or of the *Man*, they easily deny or extenuate all the *amiable Goodness* which is in him; and think that the Love of God, and of Truth and Godliness obligeth them to *hate* their brother, as a supposed enemie to both. And yet

while

while they openly declare to the World, an *Averſation* and a *want of Love*, and a deſire to make the perſon ſeem *odious* to others, by their obloquy, detraction and back-biting acculations, they make themſelves believe that all this is indeed no effect of *Hatred or Malice*, but of *Love*, becauſe they can ſtill ſay, that they deſire unfeignedly that the man were of their *mind and way*, which they call a deſiring of his Converſion and Conviction, and of his *own* and the *Churches* good. And thus not only the hereticks of his time, but the very Jews were *Lovers* of *Paul*, and of other Apoſtles: No doubt but they deſired that which they thought was their Converſion and their *good*; And what hatred ſo great that may not have ſuch a cover; not only a feigned pretence, but a real, though erroneous deſire. *Gardiner* and *Bonner* expreſt the like, and no doubt, did really wiſh the Martyrs had been of their mind; And no doubt, but many that wiſh'd this, thought they wiſh'd but the *perſons* and the *Churches* good. The burning zeal which hath ſo much depopulated much of the World, was in many *a zeal of God, though not according to knowledge*. He that can transform himſelf into an Angel of *Light*, and his *Miniſters* into *Miniſters* of *Righteouſneſs* and *free Grace*, no doubt, can teach them to *perſecute* men in Love, and to *excommunicate* them in Love: To revile others in Love, to hinder the Preaching of the Goſpel in Love, to afflict, or to *Divide* the Church in Love.

Alas, how much is the Serpent too subtile, for the understanding that trusteth to it self, and is not illuminated and guided by the spirit of *Light* and *Love*: How easily can he hide from us, that in our brother which we should *Love*, and magnifie and multiply his faults into odious crimes, and transform his very virtues into vices, and his righteſt judgement into errors. In this, brother, I thank God that my *principles* give me that advantage of you, that I think you not *odious*, but *weak*.

2. The other yet greater *advantage* that Satan findeth, to kill the Love of most, is SELFISHNESS; one *selfish man* thinks that he may well account him *bad* and *odious*, who is against his *worldly wealth* and *honour*: And another thinks him *bad* and *odious*, who is against his *Learned* or *Religious reputation*, and would detect his ignorance or vice. Another thinks him *bad* and *odious*, who is against his *Opinions*, and the *words* or *manner* of worshipping God, which he is confident are best; And he that hath once suffered spiritual pride to extoll his own *understanding* and his *piety*, will make that so far the measure of his censures, that all shall be thought so far to swerve from Truth and Godliness as they swerve from him. But if we should *suffer much* by others, and that for a cause which we take to be the cause of God, how easie is it for *selfishness* to stir up those *Passions*, which shall blind our understandings,

to

so far as to see *no good* at all scarce in them that we suffer by, or to extenuate all that is Lovely in them; yea, to think hardly of almost *all others* of *their judgement* and *party*, for their sakes: And if we think we may once call them *Persecutors*, yea, or but such as *Conform* to the *Persecutors waies*, we think it justifyeth almost any thing which we say or do to make them odious: As those on the other side think they are justified, in all that they say or do, against men, if they can but call them Schismaticks.

So far are men from *Loving their enemies*, and *blessing* them that *curse* them, and *doing good* to them *that hate* them, *and praying for them that despightfully use them*, (*or falsely accuse them*,) *and persecute them*, that they are hardly kept from *hating* those that *Love them*, and *cursing* those that *bless them*, and *hurting* those that would do *them good*, and falsely accûsing and *despightfully* using and *persecuting* those that *pray for* them: And yet lest they should not be flattered in their sin, and that yet they may judge themselves the children of our heavenly father, they will do all this as Acts of *Love*, to the *Church* and *Truth*, and to the persons souls; and will Love them, as is said, with a *hurting*, a *reviling*, a *slandering*, a *cursing*, and a *hating* and *malicious Love*.

O that the God of Love would pitty and undeceive the selfish and *passionate* sort of professed Christians! and teach them to know what manner of spirit they are of! O

that he would rebuke the evil spirits that are gone forth! The spirit of Covetousness and Pride! Of Hypocrisie, and Religious Imagery! Of Self-conceitedness! Of Malice and Wrath! Of Back-biting and False accusing, before that both *Christianity* and *Humanity* be turned into *Deviliſme*, (2. *Tim.* 3. 3. διάβολοι,) and *earth* be more *conformable* to Hell! O that the *ſpirit* of *Light* would make us of one mind, and the ſpirit of *Love* would mortifie both mens *maligrant* and *religious paſſions*, *contentiouſneſs* and *malice*, and cauſe us to Love our Neighbours as our ſelves! That as the envious and ſtriving wiſdom from beneath, hath cauſed *Confuſion, and every evil work*; ſo the *wiſdom from above, which is firſt pure, and then peaceable, gentle, and eaſie to be intreated*, might bring forth *Mercy* and *good fruits, without partiality and hypocriſie*; that we might *edifie* the *body of Chriſt in Love*, (*Eph.* 4. 16.) and fruſtrate the hopes of the enemies of our peace, who wait for our total diſſolution, and triumph already in our Diviſions, (when it is their own Mill which grindeth us into powder,) But God can make their *Oven* to bake us into a more Chriſtian and ſalubrious Conſiſtency, (that I may uſe *Ignatius* his allegory,) but it muſt be firſt by fermenting us with *unfeigned Love*; and then we ſhall be Lovely in his ſight, and the *God of Love and Peace* will be with us, 2 *Cor.* 13. 11. *Amen.*

POST-

# POSTSCRIPT.

THat the Excepter may yet further be convinced that it is not any Party of men called *Independents* or *Anabaptists* as such, that I here speak against; As I did in my opposed Book declare that I thought them both, and all others that hold the foundation, and disclaim it not by Heresie, or wicked *lives*, to be such as the Churches should receive into their Communion; and that it is *their* duty to hold Communion in the same Assemblies, notwithstanding their difference; and that it is not the Opinions which *denominate* them, that I *write against*; but only the *Love-killing* and *Dividing principles* which are among them, which make them fly with censure and alienation from their brethren that are as meet for Church-Communion as they; and oft break them into pieces among themselves; so do I yet again here declare the same; And not only so, but that if it were in my power, when their Communion with others cannot be procured, they should yet be *tolerated* in their *separation it self*, and enjoy Communion with themselves alone, in their separated Congregations, under the Laws of Peace, being not tolerated to turn their preaching or worship into a reviling and reproaching of the Orthodox, to the destruction of Christian Love: And I should not doubt

but the *Communion* of the *Orthodox Churches* maintained in *Constant Synods*, together with the *special Countenance* of the Christian Magistrate, and the *daily experience* of Believers (which would still make the aged sort forsake them) would suffice better than violent severities to repress the evil, and to give victorious Truth opportunity to do its proper work.

And to silence this calumny yet more, I do renew the Profession which I have often published, that my own opinion is so much for Independency, as that I think, no Church is made, by God, to be a Ruler to other Churches, under the name of a Mother Church, or a Metropolitane, or Patriarchal, but that all these are humane forms; And that *Councils are not the proper Governours of the particular Pastors; but are for Communion of Pastors and Churches directly*, by way of Consultation, Consent and Agreement; (As I have heretofore declared, that Bishop *Usher* professed his judgement to me.)

Though I confess that the *Pastors* in Council are still the Guides of the *people*, as well as singly at home, and by their *Consent* lay a *stronger governing obligation on them*; And that the *General Law* of *Unity* and *Concord* doth *consequently* bind the *several Pastors*, to concurr in all things Lawful, (*Consideratis considerandis*) with the Consenting Churches.

And even Dr. *Hammond* is for Independency

dency so far as to say, that [*every such regular assembly of Christians under a Bishop, (such as* Timothy *was) an* Oeconomus *set over them by Christ, was the Church of the Living God.*] Though he adde, *such again every larger circuit under the Metropolitane, &c.*] Yet he confesseth, [*And such all the particular Churches of the whole World, considered together under the supream head, Christ Jesus, dispensing them all by himself, and administring them severally, not by any one* Oeconomus; *but by the several Bishops, as inferiour heads of unity to the several bodies, so constituted by the several Apostles in their plantations, each of them having an* αὐτοτελία, *a several distinct commission from Christ immediately, and subordinate to none but the supream Donor or plenepotentiary.*] So far he, on 1 *Tim.* 3. 15. *c.*

To this do but adde what Bishop *Bilson* of subjection largely sheweth, and other Bishops as well as he, that Metropolitanes and Patriarks are not of Divine but humane institution, ad accidental to the Divine constitution of Churches; And also what *Ignatius* saith, of the Unity of Churches, and description of a Bishop, that [*To every Church there was one Altar, and one Bishop with the Presbyters and Deacons,*] and so every *communicating body*, or Congregation that had *an Altar*, had a *Bishop*, (as Mr. *Mede* on this of *Ignatius* sheweth;) and then you will see how far Independency is owned by others as well as by me.

And for further silencing the calumny,

let

let it be noted, that the Churches in *New-England* are commonly called, Independent, or Congregational, and yet they are againſt *Separation*, and do find by experience that *Separation* is as perillous a thing to *Independent* free Churches, as it is to *Dioceſane Churches*, and ſomewhat more, Becauſe they uſe not outward force to preſerve their Unity, and becauſe one ſingle Congregation is ſooner diſſolved by diviſion than ſuch a thing as a *Dioceſane Church* is. And therefore no men ſhould be more willing to ſuppreſs Dividing Principles and Paſſions than the Independents, both becauſe they are moſt charged with them, and with all our Sects and Confuſions, and becauſe they are not the leaſt in danger of them.

And that the *New-England* Churches are againſt the Separation which hath been commonly known by the name of *Browniſme*, I will give you theſe following evidences.

1. Even Mr. *Robinſon* himſelf, a part of whoſe Church began the Plantation at *Plimouth*, though he was one of thoſe that was called a *Semi-ſeparatiſt*, yet hath written for the lawfulneſs of hearing in our Engliſh Conformable Pariſh-Churches: And in his Letter to his people in *New-England* (in *Mortons Memorial*) he hath theſe honeſt obſervable paſſages.

[*How imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that perſon who wants Charity to cover a multitude of offences?* ---- *Neither are you*

*you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want Charity to cover offences, or wisdom duely to weigh humane frailties; or lastly, are grosse, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth,* Mat. 7. 1, 2, 3. *As indeed in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence than such as easily take it, neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies who have nourished this touchy humour.*] To these he addeth special Reasons from themselves.

Mr. *Browne* accusing the Ministers as *being Separatists, and would be Anabaptists*, &c. The Ministers answered, that *They were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, they did not separate from the Church of* England, *nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there*, &c.

" Old Mr. *Wilson* Pastor of *Boston*, be-
" ing desired by all the Elders of the Chur-
" ches assembled at his house, that (on his
" dying bed) he would solemnly declare to
" them, what he conceived to be those sins,
" which provoked the displeasure of God
" against the Country, told them, that he
" had long feared these sins following as
" chief among others which God was
" greatly provoked by, 1. Separation.
" 2. Anabaptisme. 3. Corahisme; *when*
" *people rise up*, as *Corah*, against their Mi-
" nisters and Elders, as if they took too

" much

" much upon them, when indeed they do " but Rule for Christ, and according to " Christ; yet it is nothing for a brother to " stand up and oppose without Scripture " or reason, the doctrine and word of the " Elder, saying, I am not satisfied, *&c.* " And hence if he do not like the Admini- " stration, (be it Baptisme or the like) he " will then turn his back upon God and his " Ordinances, and go away, *&c.* And (saith " he) for our neglect of baptizing the chil- " dren of the Church, those that some call " Grand-children, I think God is provoked " by it. 4. Another I take to be the making " light of, and not subjecting to the Autho- " rity of Synods, without which the Chur- " ches cannot long subsist. And so for the " Magistrates being *Gallio* like, not caring " for these things, or else not using their " power and authority, for the maintenance " of the Truth and Gospel, and Ordinan- " ces, &c. *Morton*, p. 133. 184. And among the Poems there recorded of him, this is part,

" Firm stood he 'gainst the Familist
" And Antinomian spirit strong;
" He never lov'd the Separatist,
" Nor yet the Anabaptists throng.
" Neither the Tolerators strein,
" Nor Quakers spirit could he brook,
" Nor bow'd to the Morellian train;
" Nor childrens right did over-look,
p. 186.

And

And, *Pag.* 195. in the Poems on their famous *Mitchell* it followeth.

" The Quaker trembling at his thunder,
" fled,
" And with *Caligula* resum'd his bed:
" He by the motions of a nobler spirit
" Clear'd men, and made their Notions
" swine inherit.
" The *Munster Goblin* by his holy flood
" Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantasma stood:
" *Brown*'s *Babel* shatter'd by his lightning,
" fell,
" And with confused horror pack'd to
" Hell.
" Let not the brazen Schismatick aspire,
" *Lot*'s leaving *Sodom*, left them to the fire.

But the fullest evidence is the work of the *New-England* Synod, 1662. who determined of two great points of Church-practice, so as greatly tendeth to reconcile them to all the moderate Presbyterians, and other peaceable Christians. The one is 2. [*That Members of the visible Church according to Scripture, are confederate visible believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-seed; that is, Children in minority, whose next Parents, one or both, are in Covenant.* (The Case of Christians that are of no particular Church is not here medled with). 3. And that [*The Infant-seed of such when grown up, are personally under the Watch, Discipline, and Govern-*

*Government of the Church*]. 4. *That these adult persons are not to be admitted to full Communion, meerly because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.* 5. *That Church-Members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of Faith, and publickly professing their Assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in his Church, their children are to be baptised.*]

As to the points themselves, having written a Treatise on the subject, (under the name of *Confirmation*) and therein distinctly shewed my Opinion in reconciling terms, (though it may *seem* stricter than these propositions, and more inclining to the dissenters in some things) I shall say nothing of it here. But by this it is visible, that the *New-England* Synod do not only exclude the practice of Gathering Churches out of Churches (which was the great contest in *England* between the Assembly and the Congregational party); but they provide that not so much as any particular persons that were Baptized in their Churches in Infancy, shall be made Church-members *de novo* (unless by removing from one Church to another), but shall be accounted members till they apostatize notoriously or are Excommunicated: And so

shall

ſhall their children after them ſucceed by the way of Baptiſm into the Church, and they will have no other ordinary Church-door but Baptiſm. And ſo gathering Churches of Baptized perſons will ceaſe, unleſs it be in a ravelled ſtate, when the old Churches being diſſolved, believers are to embody themſelves anew. And Mr. *Davenport* and a few more, ſeeing that by this way their Churches would fall into the way of *England* and other Churches, by a ſucceſſion of Members growing up from Infancy (and not by making them up of *new Adult enterers*, as the Anabaptiſts do,) did oppoſe himſelf by writing againſt the Synod, which by ſome of them is largely Anſwered: Wherein they tell us that there were *not ten in a Synod of above ſeventy* that did in *any thing* Vote on the Negative, and *not above three* againſt the third Propoſition, which carryeth the Cauſe. They frequently diſclaim *Separation*: They cite *Allen* and *Shephard* p. 33. as adviſing for the Reformation of ſuch Churches as our Pariſhes, that they be acknowledged *true Churches*, and then called to Repentance and Reformation, and a ſelect number of thoſe that agree to it, being fit for the ſacrament, *&c.* to be admitted, and go in the Congregational way, *pag.* 42. they cite *Cotton*, (*Holin.* of *Chur. Mem. p.* 92. ſaying, [*Neither among us doth irregeneration alone keep any from Church-fellowſhip with us, unleſs it be accompanied with ſuch fruits as are openly ſcandalous,*

*lous, and de convincingly manifest irregeneration.*] They prudently tell us, p. 45. that [*The Lord hath not set up Churches only that a few old Christians may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the Church into the cold Grave with them when they die; but that they might with all care and advantages nurse up still successively another generation of Subjects to Christ*, &c.] And that [*We may be very injurious to Christ as well as to the souls of men, by too much straitening and narrowing the bounds of his Kingdom, or visible Church on earth.*] Citing *Paræus*, (in *Mat.* 13.) saying, [*In Church-Reformation it is an observable truth, that those that are for too much strictness, do more hurt than profit the Church.*] Abundance more to the same purpose I might collect:

And seeing they take children growing up, to be members under Church-discipline according to their Capacities, Let it be considered soberly, whether this doth not intimate to us, that Discipline it self must not be exercised with the hurtful rigor that some expect? For I would intreat the ridgeder sort, if they are Parents, but to tell me, at what age, and for what faults, and for want of Grace, they would have their own children excommunicated? And when they have done, whether they will also proceed to a Family Excommunication of them for the same causes?

They adde a sixth *Prop.* for the *Baptizing of the Children of those that by death or extraordinary*

*traordinary providence have been inevitably hindered from publickly acting as aforesaid, and yet have given the Church cause in judgement of Charity to look at them, as so qualified, and such as had they been called thereto would have so acted.*

And they adde a seventh Propos. that [*The Members of Orthodox Churches being found in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one Church to another, may have their children baptized in the Church whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches; But if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the Government of Christ, in his Church where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptized: It being the Churches duty to receive such to Communion, so far as they are regularly capable of the same.*]

So that they provide for the reception of all meet persons. But the chief thing observable is that in *Propos.* 5. Where the Qualifications or Description of a just entitleing Profession is laid down, as consisting in no more than these four things, 1. *Understanding* the doctrine of *Faith.* 2. *The publick Profession* of *Assent thereto.* 3. Not to be scandalous in life. 4. And *solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their children before the Lord.* They require no other proofs of Regeneration; nor any particular ac-

count how they were converted; nor what further signs of it they can shew.

And, for my own part, I never dissented from those called Congregational, in *England*, in the two great points from which their Churches are denominated, *viz.* 1. That regularly they should consist but of so many as are capable of Personal Communion, which they call a Congregation. 2. And that this Congregation is not *jure Divino* under the spiritual Government of any superior Church, as *Metropolitane*, *Patriarchal*, &c. But my chief dissent from them hath been, in their going *beyond Independency*, and too many of them coming too neer to *Separation*, 1. By making other tearms of mens title to Church-member-ship, than these here recited by the *New-England* Synod, and then the understanding, sober profession of Assent and Consent to the Baptismal Covenant is. 2. And for their gathering new Churches in the several Parishes, as if there had been no Churches there before, and the members not gathered by them, were not the subjects of any Church-Discipline; neither the Children nor Adult.

And the reasons why I have ever dissented from them in these points, have been these.

1. Because I find that the contrary was the way of Scripture-times and all antiquity. And that the Apostles still received members, upon a sudden and bare profession of

of belief and consent to the Baptismal Covenant, with the penitent renunciation of the Flesh, the World, and the Devil. And all Ages since have held this course, and made Baptisme the Church-door.

But I shall heartily joyn with any Brethren that will endeavour herein to save the Church, from that state of *Imagery* and dead *Formality*, which Papists and all Carnal Hypocrites have mortified Gods ordinances, and unspeakably injured the Churches by, and are still working every ordinance of God that way: All good men should labour to recover Religion and Christian profession to an *understanding seriousness*.

I will here insert the words of a most Learned and High Prelatist, to shew you that whoever is against this Course in Practice, no sober men can deny it in principles: *Eldersfield* of *Bapt.* pag. 48. marg. [*Upon score of like reason whereto, and for such after-tryal, may have been taken up in the Christian Church that examination which did sift the Constancy or rather Consistency of those that had been taken in young, to their presumed grounds, that if they wavered, they might be known and discharged; Or if they remained constant, they might by Imposition of hands receive what the common name of that Ceremony did import, of their Faith (at least a sign of) Confirmation:* Vasques *hath from* Erasmus *(in the Preface to his Paraphrase on the Gospels) a word of most wholsome, grave, and*

*prudent advice, that those who were baptized young, when they begin to write Man, should be examined*, An ratum habeant id quod in Catechismo ipsorum nomine promissum fuit? Quod si ratum non habeant, ab Ecclesiæ jurisdictione liberos manere, *in 3 part. Thom. Disp.* 154. To. 2. *C.* 1. § 2. *If they did then stand to what their Sureties had presumed for them, If not, they should be discarded: Most necessary! and of unimaginable benefit*; (But not if it be turned into cursory Imagery,) *Such a scrutiny would shake off thousands of rotten hypocrites, and purge the Church of many such Infidel-believers (or professors,) upon whose dirty faces a little holy water was sprinkled when they knew not what it was; but they no more mind the true Sanctification appertaining, than Turks or Saracens, (who shall rise up in judgement against their washed filthyness,) Or than those of whom St.* Peter, [*It is happened unto them according to the true Proverb, The dog to his vomit, and the washed swine to wallow in the mire;*] *Such Discipline of awakened Reason is that which the World groans for,* (And groan it may for any remedy that the formal Hypocrites will either apply or endure.) *That men would become Christians! O that the truth of faith, and the power of true Christian belief might be seen in the hearts and lives of those, that knowingly put the neck in Christs yoak.*] So far *Eldersfield.* See also Dr. *Patrick* of Baptisme. Dr. *Hammonds* words I have recited after my Treat. of Confirmation; They

are

are very worthy of consideration. But to leave this digression,

2. My second reason why I dissent from them that will have other Tearms of Church-entrance than Baptisme, and a stricter exaction of a Title to membership than a professed Assent and Consent to the tearms of that Covenant; is because, if in our very Church-title and Constitution we forsake the Scriptural and primitive tearms, we are liable to the exceptions of all dissenters, and cannot justifie our selves against their accusations; nor well answer them that say, It is long of us, and not of them, that they communicate not with us.

3. Because we shall unavoidably injure many of Christs members, and keep those out whom he will own, and would have us own; to the great injury of him and them.

4. Because we shall lessen and weaken the Church of Christ, which is already so small, and so be injurious to it.

5. Because we shall be alwaies at uncertainty, on what tearms to go: For if once we leave Gods prescribed tearms, we shall never know where to fix: But every Pastor will examine as he please, and form such Covenant-tearms as are agreeable to the measure of his own private judgement and Charity: And even among Congregational men, we see already that the tearms of mens Titles do vary, as the Pa-

ſtors (or Congregations) differ in point of ſtrictneſs.

6. And this layeth a certain foundation for perpetual diſſentions and diviſions; when there are no certain tearms of Concord: And there is no Union when we depart from Chriſts authority. And it is not in vain that Chriſt himſelf preſcribed a form of Baptizing; And if all his Churches ſince the Apoſtles daies, have brought us down that Creed or thoſe Articles of Faith, and form of Baptizing uſed univerſally among them; New waies, and various waies, (even as various as mens degrees of prudence and charity) will never be the tearms of the Churches Unity.

7. And I am very much the more confirm'd againſt this extream by my long experience. Having made it much of my work to know the minds and lives of all the people of the great Pariſh where I lived, and ſince that, having converſed with many of the inferior rank, both for eſtate, and profeſſion of piety, I have found that there is much more good in a great number of thoſe, that are not noted openly for ſpecial Profeſſors of Religiouſneſs, than I did before believe. For no man is uſually noted now for Religious, in this ſtricter ſenſe, 1. Whoſe knowledge hath not ſome readineſs of expreſſion, in conference, and in prayer. 2. And who doth not come to private meetings, and aſſociate himſelf with the ſtricter and forwarder ſort of Profeſſors.

ſeſſors. But there are abundance of things which may hinder ſome ſerious weak Chriſtians from both theſe. Dulneſs of natural parts, and want of good education, and uſe, and teaching, and company, may keep mens parts and utterance very low. And ſome young Chriſtians for want of former uſe, at their firſt true Converſion, cannot ſpeak ſenſe, in the very fundamentals, which yet they have a ſaving ſenſe and knowledge of, (but are like Infants,) and their prayers have little better expreſſions, than *Abba* Father, and the unutterable groans of the ſpirit.

And ſome never had the opportunity of profitable company; And ſome are hindered from ſuch converſe by baſhfulneſs; And ſome by poverty and buſineſs, or diſtance; And ſome by the reſtraint of Parents, Husbands, Maſters, &c. And ſome by ill company, and ſcandall, may have a prejudice againſt thoſe Religious people who are neereſt to them; who yet may be real lovers of Chriſt. Having found in many called common people more knowledge (though not beter utterance) than I expected, and more truſt in Chriſt, and more deſire to be better, and love to thoſe that are better, and more willingneſs to be taught (crowding in publick or private when they have a full opportunity, and affectionately hearing the cloſeſt preaching,) I am grown the more fearful of wronging Chriſt, his Church and them, by number-

ing such with those that are without, when they are Baptized persons, that never were proved to have apostatized, nor to have lived impenitently in any sin so gross, as the back-bitings, proud-censoriousness and divisions of too many Religiouser people are.

8. To which may be added the sad experience of this age of the dreadful miscarriages of the more noted sort of Professors, turning Infidels, Ranters, Quakers, Socinians, Antinomians, and too many scandalous in life; and such as have destroyed Order, Government, Unity, & Reformation, when there was scarce an enemie able to hurt it much besides themselves: Which is no dishonour to the Profession of Holyness, much less to Christ and Holyness it self; But it seemeth to me a notable rebuke of our common over-valuing the meer *Parts* and *utterance*, and *extemporate* performances of the people, and of Ministers flattering such Professors, and over-looking all of Christ which is in many, that have had no such helps for gifts and utterance as they.

2. The second Point in which the *New-England* Synod agreed was, the stated Consociation of Churches, and use of Synods, And herein, saith the Defence, *p. 99.* there appeared no Dissent or dissatisfaction in the Synod. Where they adde also (as to the point of Separation,). [*We never said nor thought, that there should be a with-*

*drawing*

*drawing from other Churches upon differences, errors or offences of an inferiour and dubious nature, yea, though continued in: We are far enough from haſtyneſs or harſhneſs in that matter, being profeſſed adverſaries to a ſpirit of ſinful and rigid ſeparation.*]

And that Apoſtolical man Mr. *John Eliot*, hath printed a draught for ſtated Synods, (for Counſel and Concord, which is their proper uſe,) which will go far enough to ſatisfie moderate men in that point, and ſaith more for ſuch Synods than ever I ſaid.

2. Having ſaid thus much of the *Judgement of Congregational men in* New-England *againſt Separation*, I ſhall adde ſomewhat of the ſecond Aſſertion, *That it concerneth the Congregational Party, as much in point of Intereſt, to be againſt it, as any ſort of men whatſoever.* 1. Becauſe their Churches have no other bond of Concord (here) but voluntary Conſent; And if that break, they are diſſolved. 2. Becauſe their members being uſually neither, ſo *low* as to be *ignorant* of matters of Controverſie, nor ſo *high* as to be able ſolidly to *Reſolve* them, are moſt like to be quarrelſome, and fall into diviſions. And honeſt people that have a zeal of God, and for Truth and Unity, and not knowledge enough to guide it ſteadily, are liker to contend and trouble one another, than either they that are more careleſs, and have leſs *zeal*, (and therefore like ſwine will leave ſuch pearls to any that will

will take them up,) or they that have found *knowledge* to guide their zeal. 3. And the power which too many of them give the people, over the Paſtors and themſelves, will do much to increaſe theſe diviſions, and cauſe their diſſolution.

And that this is the ſenſe of *New-England*, appeareth, 1. In their baniſhing *Lyford* firſt, and the two *Brownes* after, leſt they ſhould be divided about the Prelacy and Liturgie. 2. By their common judgement againſt dangerous Toleration. 3. By the Hiſtory of Mrs. *Hutchinſons* buſineſs in Sir *Henry Vane*'s daies. 4. By the Hiſtory of Mr. *Williams* buſineſs. 5. And of *Gorton*'s. 6. And of the Quakers of late; All which I ſhall ſay no more of, but only tranſcribe ſome of the words of *Morton*'s Memorial, about Mr. *Williams*, p. 78, *&c.*

[*In the year* 1634. *Mr.* Roger Williams *removed from* Plimouth *to* Salem, *He had lived about three years at* Plimouth, *where he was well accepted as an aſſiſtant to Mr.* Ralph Smith *then Paſtor there*; *But by degrees venting of divers of his own ſingular opinions, and ſeeking to impoſe them upon others, he not finding ſuch a concurrence as he expected, deſired his diſmiſſion—foreſeeing that he would run the ſame courſe of rigid Separation and Anabaptiſtry as Mr.* John Smith *the Separatiſt at* Amſterdam *had done, the Church conſented to his diſmiſſion*; *and ſuch as did adhere to him were alſo diſmiſſed, or removed with him, or not long after him, to* Salem.—*But he having*

*in*

*in one years time filled that place with principles of rigid Separation, and tending to Anabaptistry; the prudent Magistrates of the* Massachusets *jurisdiction, sent to the Church of* Salem, *desiring them to forbear calling him to Office; which they not hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance.—He being in Office, proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous Opinions, as,* That it is not lawful *for an Unregenerate man to pray; nor to take an Oath; and in special, not the Oath of Fidelity to the Civil Government; Nor was it lawful for a godly man to have Communion, either in Family-Prayer, or in an Oath, with such as they judged unregenerate. And therefore he himself refused the Oath of Fidelity, and taught others so to do. Also that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly Ministers of* England, *when any occasionally went thither; and therefore he admonished any Church-members that had done so, as of heynous sin. Also he spake dangerous words against the Patent which was the foundation of the Government of the* Massachusets *Colony. Also he affirmed that the Magistrate had nothing to do in matters of the First Table, but only the Second: And that there should be a general and unlimited Toleration of all Religions: And for any man to be punished for any matters of his Conscience, was Persecution. —Staying at home in his own house, he sent a Letter, which was read in the publick Church-Assembly, to give them notice, That if* the Church of Salem *would not separate, not only from*

*from the Churches of* England, *but the Churches of* New-England *too, he would separate from them. The more prudent and sober part of the Church being amazed at his way, could not yield to him: Whereupon he never came to the Church-Assembly more, professing separation from them as Antichristian: And not only so, but he withdrew all private Religious communion from any that would hold Communion with the Church there. Insomuch as that he would not pray, nor give thanks at meals with his own Wife, nor any of his Family, because they went to the Church-Assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of the Church-members, that had been throughly levened with his Opinions, of which number were divers Women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him: Insomuch as that he kept a Meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times, by way of* Separation *from, and opposition to the Church-Assembly there: Which the prudent Magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance; after all other means used in vain, they passed a Sentence of Banishment against him, out of the* Massachusets *Colony, as against a disturber of the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth. After which Mr.* Williams *sate down in a place called* Providence—*and was followed by many of the Members of the Church of* Salem, *who did zealously adhere to him, and cryed out of the Persecution that was against him: Some others also*

Had not this man bronght the Catholick-Church into a little room.

*also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been there long together, but from rigid Separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the Baptism which they had received in their Infancy, and taking up another Baptism, and so began a Church in that way. But Mr.* Williams *stopped not there long; For after some time he told the people that had followed him, that he was out of the way himself and had misled them; For he did not find that there was any upon earth, that could administer Baptisme, and therefore their last Baptisme was a nullity as well as their first: And therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new Apostles: And so they dissolved themselves, and turned* Seekers; *keeping that one Principle, That every one should have liberty to worship God, according to the light of their own Consciences; but otherwise not owning any Churches or Ordinances of God, any where upon earth.*] So far the History.

To which I adde; that this man was one of the great instruments after all this, of sublimating the English Separation to the same height, and gratifying the Papists by raising up the sect of *Seekers*, who said, that both Scripture, Ministry, Church and Ordinances were lost. And had they not now broken the Church sufficiently, and made it *small enough*, when they had made it *none*?

God forbid that I should transcribe any of this with a desire to bring reproach on any mens persons, but only to help our dear

dear brethren that are in danger, to profit by the warning of other mens falls.

For to this end was the Scripture written historically, with the falls of the Saints inserted in it.

The same History, pag. 139, 140. thus describeth Mr. *Thomas Dudley* a Principal Founder and Pillar of the *Massachussets*, and often Governour, dying 77 years old, that [*His zeal to order appeared in contriving good Laws, and faithfully executing them on Criminal Offenders, Hereticks and Underminers of Religion: He had a piercing judgement to discover the Wolf, though cloathed with a Sheep-skin,*—] These following are the conclusion of a pious Copy of Verses found in his pocket when he was dead.

*Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch,*
*O're such as do a Toleration hatch,*
*Lest that ill egg bring forth a Cockatrice,*
*To poyson all with Heresie and Vice.*
*If men be left, and otherwise Combine,*
*My Epitaph's, I dy'd no Libertine.*

(But this is no excuse to them, that Tolerate not men to obey the Laws of Christ.)

To these I may adde that (though many Prelatists utterly mistake, and think that it is the Ministers every where that are the chief Leaders of the people to Separation, yet) both in *New-England* and in *Old*, the people

people are so much proner to it than the Ministers, (except a very few,) that if it were not for the wisdom, gravity, stability and authority of the Ministers restreining them, the matter would be otherwise than it is. As this Synod of *New-England* sheweth you their stability and moderation, so do the choicest of their Pastors still stand firm against all extreams, and hold the people in that Concord which they have. The excellent service of Mr. *Mitchell* in this kind before he died is predicated by all. I will not recite all the complaints I heard from Mr. *Nortons* mouth, against the separating humour of many people, and their danger thereupon; nor the many Letters to the same purpose, which many worthy men thence have sent over to their friends, and their particular lamentations of the case of *Hartford*, *Boston*, &c. which I have had the sight of; which fully testifie that they are no promoters of those waies.

The sad case of the *Bermuda's* I before mentioned: Sad indeed, when in so disciplin'd a Plantation, one Minister shall turn away the greater part from Church-Communion, till they become aliens,— And the rest whom he gathered as the only worthy persons, shall so many turn Quakers and such like, till Religion between both is, ---alas, how low (as their late worthy Minister fore-named testifyeth.)

The dissolution of the separated Churches

ches of the Englisſh in the *Low Countreys* by their own diviſions, is a thing too well known to be concealed.

From all which I gather, that it is the Intereſt of the Congregational Churches themſelves, as much as of any others, to joyn with us for the Principles of Chriſtian Love, forbearance and Unity; and againſt the Principles of alienation and diviſion: which is all that I am driving at.

Obj. *But the Churches of* New-England *would not joyn with a Church that ſhould uſe the Common-prayer in that worſhip, nor in the Sacrament.*

*Anſw.* Nor I neither ordinarily if I were with them, and in their caſe; who have liberty to worſhip God in the moſt edifying and ſerious, and orderly manner that they can. And yet were I in *Armenia*, *Abaſſia*, or among the Greeks, I would joyn in a much more defective form than our Liturgie, rather than in none. And that this is the judgement of many *New-England* Miniſters, (to joyn with the Engliſh Liturgie rather than have no Church-worſhip;) I have reaſon to conjecture, becauſe in their foreſaid Defence of the Synod, *Pref. pag.* 4, 5. They profeſs themſelves to receive their principles not from the Separatiſts, but from the *good old non-Conformiſts*, to whom they adhere, naming *Cartwright*, *Ames*, *Paræus*, *Parker*, *Baines*, *Fox*, *Dearing*, *Greenham*, *&c.* And I need not tell thoſe that have read their writings, that the old *non-Conformiſts*

*Conformists* did some of them read the Common-prayer, and the most of them judge it lawful to joyn in it: Or else Mr. *Hildersham*, Mr. *Rich. Rogers*, &c. would not write so earnestly to men to come to the beginning, and prefer it before all private duties: And *Perkins* was for kneeling at the Sacrament: And Mr. *Baines* his successor in his Letters writes for Communicating kneeling at the Sacrament, and answereth the objections.

But though I write this to give them the due honour of their moderation and sober judgement, yet not as making them or any men our Rule, in faith or worship.

Obj. *Therefore the Churches of* New-England *reprove not separation from a Common-prayer Church, though they would have none separate among themselves, because there is no just Cause.*

*Ans.* 1. The former answer may serve to make it probable, that they would joyn with them as Churches, in case they had not better to joyn with on lawful tearms. 2. And their own expressions signifie that they take the English Parishes that have godly Ministers, for true Churches, though faulty. 3. And those that I now write for cannot forget, that they gathered their Churches by separation out of our Parish-Churches, when there was no Common-prayer nor Ceremonies used, nor any difference in worship found among us, that I

know of; And that in *New-England* it ſelf, the Principles which I deny, do too of procure ſeparation from thoſe Churches, that have nothing which moderation and peaceableneſs will think a ſufficient cauſe of ſuch disjunction.

4. And it is well known that the name of a *Separatiſt* and *Brownift* was firſt taken up here in *England*, with relation to theſe Pariſh-Churches where they had the Liturgie and Ceremonies as now. Therefore they would ſpeak equivocally in diſclaiming *Separatiſts* and *Brownifts*, if they meant not ſuch as the word is firſt and commonly uſed to ſignifie. 5. And if that were not the ſenſe, a Separatiſt might be ſaid to be againſt Separation as well as they in *New-England*. For *Canne* or *Johnſon* would be againſt ſeparating from their own Churches, or from any which they judged as faultleſs. 6. It was the Pariſh-Churches that had the Liturgie, and were accuſed to have 91 *Antichriſtian* Errors (in them and the Church of *England* which they belonged to) which Mr. *H. Jacob* the Father of the Congregational Party, wrote for Communion with againſt *Francis Johnſon*, and in reſpect to which he called thoſe Separatiſts againſt whom he wrote; The ſame I may ſay of Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Dr. *Ames*, and other *non-Conformiſts*, whom the Congregational brethren think were favourable to their way. And if the old *Independents* (as well as the reſt of the *non-Conformiſts*) accounted

counted them *Culpable Separatists* that then wrote for separation from the *Parish-Churches* (for *Diocesane Churches* I I meddle not with,) then we have small reason to think that those *New-England* Brethren that disclaim the Separatists, were of the mind of these Separatists themselves. or that they differed from the *old Independents* herein, when they seem rather to be of such healing principles and temper towards the Presbyterians, (as in my opinion) they have in their Synodical Conclusions made up almost all the breach: And therefore are not to be accounted more for separation than the old Congregational Divines.

And that you may see that the Magistrates of *New-England* are of the mind of their Pastors in the Synod, and take *the youth to be under the Ministers Charge*, or at least that I may hereby express my gladness for this work of their great prudence and Christian zeal, and call those my brethren of the Ministry to Repentance, who did neglect this work of personal Instruction, while we had liberty to exercise the Pastoral office; and also that I may yet remember them that are silenced, what abundance of good the Law yet alloweth them to do, by this course of going from house to house, and of Catechizing the youth, (seeing we are restrained to no members under 16 years of age,) I say for these reasons, I shall give you as my Conclusion, the Order

of the Governour and Council of the *Massachusets* in *New-England* to all the Elders and Ministers in their Jurisdiction, for Catechizing, and private labours with all the Families under their Charge; Dated at *Boston, Mar.* 10. 1668.

---

TO

# To the Elders and Miniſters of every Town within the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets* in *New-England:*

*The Governour and Council ſendeth greeting;*

*Reverend, and Beloved in the Lord,*

WHereas we find in the Examples of holy Scripture, that Magiſtrates have not only excited and commanded all the people under their Government, *to ſeek the Lord God of their Fathers, and do the Law and Commandment*, 2 Cro. 14. 2, 3, 4. Ezra, 7. 25, 26, 27. but alſo ſtirred up and ſent forth the Levites, accompanied with other principal men, *to teach the good knowledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities of Judah*, 2. Chron. 17. 6, 7, 8, 9. which endeavours have been crowned with Gods bleſſing.

Alſo we find that our Brethren of the Congregational Perſwaſion in *England* have made a good Profeſſion, in their Book, entituled, *A Declaration of their Faith and Order*, Pag. 59. Sect. 14. where they ſay, *That although Paſtors and Teachers ſtand eſpecially related unto their particular Churches; yet they ought not to neglect others living*

*within their Parochial Bounds, but besides their constant publick Preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the word instructing them in, and pressing upon them (whether young or old) the great Doctrines of the Gospel; even personally and particularly, so far as their strength and time will permit.*

We hope that sundry of you need not a spur in these things, but are conscienciously careful to do your duty: yet forasmuch as we have cause to fear, that there is too much neglect in many places, notwithstanding the Laws long since provided therein; We therefore think it our duty to emit this Declaration unto you, earnestly desiring, and in the bowels of our Lord Jesus requiring you to be very diligent and careful to Catechize and Instruct all the people (especially the Youth) under your Charge, in the Sound and Orthodox Principles of Christian Religion; and that not only in publick, but privately from house to house, as blessed *Paul* did, *Acts* 20. 20. or at least three, four, or more Families meeting together, as strength and time may permit, taking to your assistance such godly and grave persons as to you may seem most expedient. And also that you labour to inform your selves, (as much as may be meet) how your Hearers do profit by the Word of God, and how their Conversations do agree therewith; and whether the Youth are taught to read the *English* Tongue: taking all occasions

casions to apply suitable *Exhortations* particularly unto them, for the rebuke of those that do evil, and for the encouragement of them that do well.

The effectual and constant prosecution hereof, we hope will have a tendency to promote the Salvation of Souls, To suppress the growth of Sin and Prophaneness, To beget more Love and Unity amongst the people, and more Reverence and Esteem of the Ministry, and will assuredly be to the enlargement of your Crown and Recompence in Eternal Glory.

*Given at* Boston *the* 10*th. of* March, 1668. *by the Governour and Council, and by them Ordered to be Printed, and sent accordingly.*

Edward Rawson, *Secret.*

---

FINIS.