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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 Com-
munion in the same Churches.

II. And where that (which is first desirable)
cannot be attained, to bear with each other in their dist. nct
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) & à Doctõribus auctoribusq;
sue 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 Conduir. 1671.

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Calvinus in Matth. 13. 35, 36, 37, &c. Hoc porro multis valde absurdum esse videtur, in Ecclesie sinu foveri vel impios homines, vel profanos vel sceleratos: Adde quod plerique zeli pretextu plus aequo morosi, nisi omnia ad eorum votum composita sint quia nusquam apparet absoluta puritas, tumultuose ab Ecclesia discedunt, vel importuno rigore eam everunt & perdunt. Quare hic meo iudicio simplex est parabola 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 haec valde molesta conditio, quod reprobis oneratur Ecclesia usque ad finem mundi: hoc tamen tempus nobis ad patientiam ideo Christus praescribit, ne vanam spe nos laetemus.——Graviter quidem Pastores incumbere decet ad purgandam Ecclesiam; Et hac in parte ab omnibus piis adjuvandi sunt, quatenus fert cujusque vocatio. Verum ubi omnes in commune mutuas operas contulerint, non tamen eo usque proficient, ut penitus ab omni sorde purgent ecclesiam.——Deinde etiam eorum Zelum frenare & moderari, qui fas esse non putant societatem nisi cum puris Angelis colere. Qui ad extirpandum quicquid displicet praepostere festinant, antevertunt quantum in se est, Christi iudicium, & 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 Judeos corruptas fuisse notum est : Tota certe Religio sic collapsa erat, ut mirum non sit precandi morem à paucis rite cultum fuisse. Rursus quum instaret promissa redemptio, fidelium mentes precandi 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; vitii 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 trou-
 blefome 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 observ-
 ed but by few. And when the promised Re-
 demption 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 Phari-
sees, yet Christ usually joynd in their Synagogues,
Luke 14. 17. and never medled with our Contro-
versie, 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 disswadeth the one sort from
contempt, and the other from overmuch mo-
roseness.

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OF THE
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tion, 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.

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THE
P R E F A C E
TO THOSE
R E A D E R S

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

THE
C U R E
OF
Church-Divisions.



*B*rethren; 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 In-
fallibility and Miracles in Paul and other the Apo-
stles of our Lord, could not overcome these lamentable
failings, in their bearers and followers, in the Pri-

primitive 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 ἐρις 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 wil's, 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 desiling 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 joyne with me in disallowing of a fleshly mind and life: Remember then that the workes of the flesh are these, as adulteries, fornications, &c. So also, hatred (or enmities) variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions (*διχομασιας*, 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, remembering 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 (ζηλον) 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 buffeted 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 afflictions.

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 calmly 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 extremes; 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 nearer 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 Arminian 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, Hattorus, 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 zealousst 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 falsely 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 exhortations, 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 Non-conformists 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 Non-conformist 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 forbid me to preach (but one Sermon,) nor, (except particular angry parties whom I wrote against,) they never denied me their good word. What then can you think should draw me to be too sharp against them, and too favourable

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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 hypocrisy. Do but mark how both parties justify me, while both condemn me, (though I am too Conscience of my faultiness to justify 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 justify 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. Prentiss, 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 persuade others not to separate from them on that supposition. I am sure the Assembly of Divines that sat 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. Sprights) 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 myself, yet I would not shun Communion with the Reverend members of that Assembly (Twisse, Gataker, Whitaker, 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. Obrethren, 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

fulness 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 those 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 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 ,

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 advantzgeth Profaneness, and greatly hindereth the success of Ministers on both sides: I know that it greatly pleaseth Satan, and buildeth up his Kingdom, and weakeneth 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 justify 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 tyrannize 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 Melancthon, 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 Schlusfelburgius, 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 averfation, 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 parties 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, and 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 Extreames; with the true Reasons of them, And of these Writings, which some account Unreasonable: 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.

THE [illegible] [illegible]

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I. THE
 GENERAL PART,
 OR
 INTRODUCTION.

C A P. 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 pity 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 soug
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 o
Concord with the sober godly moderate sort o
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 termes 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 *Oreery* 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 signify 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 severall 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, whilst 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 Extreame;

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 stand 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 sacrilege, 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

(3)

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 weakened 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 weakened 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

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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 unlawful 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 Choiser, 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 remembered 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 *ceteris 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 endeavour that all Non-conformists might agree in one, by what measures to walk as to their Commu-

nion with the Parish Churches, and such other things, (for many reasons: And I ever thann'd 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 Cereemonies, 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 *latter* 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 sharper 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 Oxè 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 whercof 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

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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 signify 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 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 *Bradford's* 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 *Secularies*, 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, dissuaded 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 written 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
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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 *bear*, 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 extrem, that dare say, *I would have none of the people saved, that are not, or will not be the bearers of our party*? If you dare not say, that you would have all the rest to be *damm'd*, dare you say, you would not have them be *taught* by others? Or that you would not have them pre-
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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-denial, 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 denied 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
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bear 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 forlook 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 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 *strangedness 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 greater 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

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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 hazard 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 persuade 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 persuaded that all the arguments else in *Bellarmino* and all other books that ever were written, have not done so much to make Papists in *England*, as the multi-
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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 *seditions, 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 sufferings

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 disobedient 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 Ministry 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 causelessly.

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 administered 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. *Whateley*, Mr. *Fenner*, Mr. *Dent*, Mr. *Crook*, Mr. *Dike*, Mr. *Stocke*, 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, *Facrar*, *Bradford*, *Phalpot*, *Sanders*, &c. To say nothing of
Luther,

Luther, Melancthon, 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 Ministry 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 truthness 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 (if any thing may be believed which I have not seen) Mr. *Pb. 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 pro- veth 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 unlawfull 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 fancy- ing abundance more that are not real ; and to keep men from running into extreams : And ex- perience told them , that their own party was in danger of running from them , and it was not
 casie

easy 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. *Irenæus*, *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 oftner 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 propagateth 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 *bear* 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 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 Polititian* that the *Non-conformists* 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 subscribe 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 mistake 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 receiving*

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 *opener teſti-mony* 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 fuel?

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 intreat 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 multiply'd 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, backbi-
 bitings, 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 speak-
 ings—— 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 speak-
 eth evil of another and judgeth another, speak-
 eth evil of the Law, and judgeth the Law.

Have you more and plainer texts of Scri-
 pture agninst the Common Prayer than all these
 are? Now suppose one should say that a peo-
 ple of such sin as this should not be Com-
 municated with; especially where there is no
 discipline exercised that ever so much as cal-
 leth 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
 contained 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 *Pre-lacy*, 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 per-
sons so contrary to that book , as that they take
it to be an evil and mischievous thing, and great-
ly 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 excep-
tions which I am now to answer.

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(72)

C A P. 2.

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

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,

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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 oit loseth all, by seeming to overcome, and forsaketh Religion by seeming valiant for it;) And I especially intrcat 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 denied, *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 outward weighty reasons? pag. 298.

9. Nor [Whether we may keep in Communion privately without 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 them 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 *Lial.* 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 nequiti: repara virtutem, resume Constantiam, ne jam non periculum gloriæ sed salutis incurreris. Itaq; ab illo tempore satis cavet, cum illa Ithacianæ partis Communionem misceri.* 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 interested 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 stately 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 sum 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 CRUELITIES and our unlawful SEPARATIONS, and which breed and feed our threatening Divisions, among the parties on both extreams. And its the death of these three that must be our Cure.

C A P. 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 denied 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 justify 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 Prelates, 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. I. **D**oeth not the second Commandment, and Gods oft expressed jealousy in the matters of his Worship, make it a sin to communicate in the Liturgie ?

Ansiv I. 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

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

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.

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 grossly 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 *Beth-shemites*, *Uzziab*, *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 jealousy, especially under the Gospel, is to be minded for to drive us from our sloth and carelessness, 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 jealousy*, as he doth troubled souls to drive them to despair.

And others may scruple joining with *your weakneses* and *faults* in Worship on pretence of Gods jealousy, as well as *you* with *theirs*. What if twenty Ministers be one abler than another, in their severall 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 concur (and especially a respect to the publick good) to know which is the best.

QUEST. II.

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

Ans^w. 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 Independent 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 expressly 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 expressly 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 Godliness, 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 express 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 unlawful.

QUEST. III.

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

Ansiv. 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 contained 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 remembered,

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 *Gerson*, *Bucer*, *Didoclane*, *Blondell*, *Salmasius* have done? and so of the rest.

QUEST. III.

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

Ans^r. 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. **W**ill 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 strengthened 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 tendernefs 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 befeeming 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.

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QUEST. VI.

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

Ans. 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 judgments, 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 judgments, 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?*

Ansiv. Without meddling 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 Diocelans.

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 compliance 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 signify 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, concur to call us to use them, (whenelse 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 expresse 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 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*

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form

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, rendered contemptible and odious by it.

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

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 *invents* or *devises* 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 persuade 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 extrem, 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
A eyes

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 *Faët* or of *Reason*: And *Lies* I will not call them, becaute 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. **T**Hat'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 expressly 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 *falsehoods*. 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 joynd in Prayer with honest men that have spoken confusedly, unhandfomly, and many waies more unaptly and disorderly than the Common Prayer is? How oft have I heard good old Mr. *Simcon Ash* say, that he *bath 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 *Doctrin* 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 falsehoods. 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 *falses 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 strongly 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 dissuadeth 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, ($\frac{1}{2}$) which Mr. Baxter speaketh very little against.

Ans. 1. **A** Las, 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 obdurateness 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 Licenses.

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.

Ans. I. 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 Land, 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 *Nasby* fight, and openly declared I went thither for *this purpose*, To discharge my Conscience in *disswading 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 unbecom-
 practice*, to blame that which you think
 did occasion? Is this good Divinity, that
 it is unbecoming a Minister to mention hei-
 nous 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 fru-
 strate Gods Act of Oblivion, which giveth
 Pardon to the Penitent? Doth it forbid us
 to Repent of sin, or to perswade our bre-
 thren to repent? Where sin is hated, Re-
 pentance 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 encourage-
 ment 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 di-
 shonour to your self, that such Doctrine
 should be found thus under your hand, de-
 liberately 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 com-
 mitted? 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 *Cromwell* 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 grossly call the meer
confe-

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.

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

Whether nothing past must be repented of.

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, justify 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
are

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 never like to be healed and restored; and that it is heinous gross impenitence, that keepeth Ministers and people under their distress: 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 justify *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 hypocrisy 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 prophaneness, and the Consequent of prophaneness, 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 Untruths

Ans. I. **I**F 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 ne-
ver mention
the prophane
but with ho-
nour.

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 ho-
nour Pref. p. 18. [*How long Lord must thy
Church and Cause be in the hands of unexpe-
rienced furious fools, &c.*] Do I honour
them when I so much display their sin? And
when in the scheme in the conclusion I de-
scribe 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
near it I am my self, as to such as *Martin* se-
parated from? And when I cite *Gildas*, cal-
ling such *no Ministers, but enemies and tray-
tors, &c.* Were you not very rash in this?

3. But what if *in this book* I write nei-
ther against the *prophane*, nor the *Jews*, nor
the *Mabometans*? Is it nothing that I have
written the greater part of above fifty books
besides against them.

4. What if there be *Prophane*ness to be re-
proved; doth it follow that *we* must not
be reprov'd also? Must *we* not repent, be-
cause *they* must repent?

5. O how hard is it to please all men!
What man in *England* hath been less suspec-
ted to be a flatterer of such as he meaneth
than my self? or more accused of the con-
trary that hath any reputation of mini-
sterial sobriety? Ask the Bishops that Con-
ferred 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 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 confesse 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.*

Ans. **I**F there be none such, or but a few, I will joyfully confesse my error; Of partial en-
derness.
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.

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, tyrannical,*

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 extreames.

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. **T**HE words are [*I am only persuading 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.

Ansiv. I. **I** Confess, Brother, I am a great Of my Pride.
 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.

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 *Common-dations*, 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) persuaded 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

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 cross

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-valuetb 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 considerably 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.*

Ans. 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.* *Ans.* 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.*]

Ans. 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 retained 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 retaineth 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*].

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 retain them*.

Here

The Corruption of the Scripture Churches;

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 grossly 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.

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 Comanded not to reveal the secret of another, which pious and prudent Mr. Baxter hath not scrupled to sin against, &c. Prov. 25. 9.*]

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

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

Of my revealing Secrets.

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 grossly 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 befriending

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 as-
 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
 C will

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 *Scēt* 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.*]

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

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

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 incommode 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 remembered 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 plainness 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.

fic 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.*

Answer. 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 deficiency 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 authority 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.*] *Answer.* 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 near you. Of Separation.

EXCEPT. XI. *Answered.* 1. The word *Señ* (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 Orthodoxy, which consisteth in sentencing millions and Kingdoms to Hell, whom I am unacquainted with,

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.

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 cate 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.

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 [σκανδαλιζει] 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 weak brother] that Paul speaketh of, was one that [with Conscience of the Idol, did cate 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 eat those things which are offered to idols, and thereby he may perish, ver. 10, 11.

And it is he that is (not displeas'd) 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 weaknes, and what ἀδυνάμειον 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 displeas'd 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 eat 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.*]

Ans. 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 reprov'd or conceal'd? But I will answer this further anon, when it comes in again.

2. *He doubts not but those that thus complain'd 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.* *Ans.* Here are

More of revealing secrets.

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 conceal'd. 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

will but read his book against separation, you will see that he 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 propheticall, 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 causelessly 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.*

Whom I mean
by *Dividing*;
And of his
Curse.

EXCEPT. XIV. (Hereafter I must number them, for he is weary of it) *Answered.* This hath little worthy observation, but his 12th. *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.*

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. *Anies* 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 rejoyce 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 betide 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.

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

Answer. 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 means; 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 laziness, &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 *easy* thing? Is not this, that I
 call

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

call his 13th. 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 justify 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 befeemeth 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 expressly 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 14th. 14 Untruth.
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 wisdom, 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-
D ing

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.]

Ansiv. 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 Commandment*, 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 fort; such as is the next (*15th. 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 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 exprefs) 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 *Cora* were numbred from 30 years to 50.) But you insinuate another untruth, yea exprefs it while you flatly say, I insinuate, that Christ frاید till 30 years old, *that he might be more perfect in wisdom*: 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.)

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-

Whether I speak slightly of Christ?

How Christ increased in wisdom.

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, *Job. 19. 28. I thirst.* And *Job. 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 daies of his flesh, when he 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 unspeakable 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 falsely interpreted, and the predictions fail. And all of them had the fifth Monarchy notion without conference (that I could learn) with any about it.

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

Of melancholy
misinterpretation
of Scripture.

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 preciseness) 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.]

Ans. This is the 16th. visible Untruth. 16 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.

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 Scorers, what is?*] This needeth no answer.

[*For (saith he) is not this the very language of holy men;* *Ans.* 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 *holly*? 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. *Tombs* 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*, *Wisdom*, 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; whilst 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 settled *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 man 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 remembered 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

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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. *Hilderham*, 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
 E that

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 *hath 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 trisler, 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 t.me.

Ansır. 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 *Bellarmino* 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 5th. 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 uted: 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 Expositors 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. 29. 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 extrems 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 extrems in this pievish Controversie. E-3 3. This

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 *Eutyeb. 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 Messie: Quod vetustissimi Canones in Digestis Talmudicis manifesto probant: Nisi quis eos neget antiquos esse; Quod idem ac si quis capita Papiiniani, 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.*]

Ansiv. 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

Of jeasting at
ether mens
prayers.

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 confesse 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 justify the persecution against them.

Ans. 1. It 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 liar*. And shall I not be so with you, if I obey your challenge? Is it not unfavoury 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. *Hawksbead* 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 Councillor of the wicked in this age, whose policy is to perswade men to commit *such beinous 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.

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

The temptations of sufferings.

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 timorous compliances, 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.

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

Many are overcome by suffering, who think they overcome. It's a reproach to our Nation that *Hornius* Hist. Eccl. saith, [*Ita ut seperatissimus sine 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.

Ans. 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.

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

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.

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 causelessly, 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 *sinmeth*, (or useth sin) in the worship of God. But no sin is commanded or lawfull: *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 lawfull, 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*
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without any command to make it lawful.] And if we should suffer such false doctrine, and additions, and Love-killing, dividing principles as 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

[*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

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rily, on such slight occasions, in such a discourse as this is, I would here stay to open the meaning of the second Commandment; 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 Commandment 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. *Larson* 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.*]

Ans^w. 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?

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 *another's*, 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:

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

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 Commandment 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
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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 *fore-knowing of faults*, to signifie an approbation, I pass it by, and will not by so frivolous 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 justify 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. 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.]

Ans^r. These last words are your 17th. 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 justify our sins? Yea, while the Preachers teach the people to justify them, and become the defenders of the sins which they should preach against; and fight against their brethren that do but call men to Re-

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 remembered but what *Socrates* and *Sozomene* say of the Church of *Alexandria* alone, what contentions, what tumults, what blood-shed these weakneses 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 zealous 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 weakneses 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 cure those that sincerely imbraced it, of their Ignorance and Injudiciousness.

Answr. 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, Illuminator 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
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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 bearing: 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. 3. 6. *Not a novice, lest being lifted up with Pride, he fall into the condemnation of the Devil.* The verb τυφωδεις 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 *phanaick*: 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 *Martinus 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 couzenage) 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 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 *Concessions* 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*, *Swenkfeldius*, &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 extremely 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 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 seest, &c. Hol. 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 *School-masters* 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 necessary,

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 justify 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 justify *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 household 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 falsely 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 moles 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 presentis 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, qua 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 [*ye 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 oblation 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 faultynefs 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-Diversers 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, distracted

How sad is it
to read in *Hob-*
nus, Salmafius
and others
abroad, such
horrid descrip-
tions 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 justify 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 *Afflictors*, 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 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
Preachers, and
a sound judge-
ment.

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 error.

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 *servent 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.*] *Answe.* 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 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*

18 Untruth.

19 Untruth.

build-

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 *binderers* 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 *Irenaeus, 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 necessityth 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 controversy, 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.

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. Pem-

Of the judgement of Learned men in difficult speculations,

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 judgment of any one man whatsoever.] *Answ.* Here are three more Untruths, 1. That I hope to be the man. 2. That *Haman* 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 *Pharizius*, a *Buxtorfe*, a *Tremelius*, or (to please you where it is possib^{le}) 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.*] *Ans^w.* 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 needles 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.

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

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.*

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-*
phanus

phanus 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 intencens 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 per-

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 counsell'd 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.

Ans. 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.*] *Answer.* 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 reprov'd 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 error 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 warn'd 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* reprov'd 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 error 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.]

Ans. 1. Have the Religious sort among the *Greeks, Abassines, Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians, Lutherans, Anabapists, Armenians, &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
Gosp

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 expressly, [*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?*] *Answer.* 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 near 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 deniers of Christs incarnation, and maketh this the differencing Character, [Eve-

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 deniers 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 prophesied 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 (21th. Untruth,) [*He flies 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.

22 Untruth. Your 22d. 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 seem unsettled in so necessary a point.] What signification have I given of unsettledness? When I have long ago publicly 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 settled 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 *Comenius*; 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 our Order, or unsettled?

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 sum of all those books over again; I shall fail your expectation, though

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 parts] 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 natures.] 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.]*

Ans. 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 na-
ture.

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-

mon

Act. 17.
14. And
m. 1, and 2.

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 24th. 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 25th. 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.

And out of this Section of your judgement of humane nature, I ask you, 1. Do

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?

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 infer 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 *Obadiab* that *bid* 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.*]

Ans. If you intimate (as you seem plainly to do) that I have so done, this is your 26 *Untruth.*
26th. *Untruth*, and worse than a meer *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 sequestering 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

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 27th. 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.] *Ans.* But is this impartial enquiring into the truth? Or is this kind of writing fit to satisfy sober men?

28 Untruth. **EXCEPT. XXXVII** *Answered.* Your 28th. 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.

29 Untruth. You adde, [*But when he saies, the belief of this is the next way to infidelity.*] *Ans.* That's your 29th. 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.

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 dan-
 ger, 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 easi-
 ly see the fault in them. Your talk of a *pro-
 stituted 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 *Untruths.*

EXCEPT. XXXIX. *Answered.* Very
 good You grant that [*if the same spirit be
 continued 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.*]

Ans. 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

31 Untruth.

Maximus Imperator Rem-pub. gubernabat: Vir omni-vita merito prædicandus, si ei vel diadema non legitime tumultuante milite impossum repudiare, vel armis civilibus abstinere licuisset; sed magnum Imperium nec sine periculo renui, nec sine armis potuit teneri: Sulp. severus Dialog. 3 cap. 7.

Beda etiam, Hist. Escl. l. 1. c. 9. Maximus vir strenuus & probus atq; Augusto dignus, nisi contra Sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emerisset, &c. Inuitus prope-modum ab exercitu creatus Imperator, &c.

5. That I dedicated a flattering book to his son, is your 31st. 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.

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 clumisie wits that cannot feel so fine a thread, 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

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 retraction.]

Ans. I heartily thank you for your pity, and for any zeal of God, though it be not according to knowledg; And for my retraction, I suppose you would have called it a *third*. You quarrelled not with my suspension of my Aphorisms of Justification. And for my retraction 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 reviling 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 *bold 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 Recufants.

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 darknes; 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 eare; 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 *bate* their brother, as a supposed enemy 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 accusations, 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 *Apottles*: 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* express 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,

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 justifieth 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 *Schismatics*.

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 *bliss* them, and *hurting* those that would do them *good*, and *falsely accusing* 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. διαβολη,) 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 *malignant* 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.

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 oppos'd 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 fort 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 *peopla*, 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. *Hammoud* 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 administering them severally, not by any one Oeconomus; but by the severall Bishops, as inferiour heads of unity to the severall bodies, so constituted by the severall Apostles in their plantations, each of them having an ἐκτονωσια, a severall distinct commission from Christ immediately, and subordinate to none but the supream Donor or plene-potentiary.] So far he; on 1 Tim. 3. 15. e.

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.

I. 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 gross, 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*, being desired by all the Elders of the Churches 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 Countrey, 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 Ministers 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 therunto. 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 ir regeneration alone keep any from Church-fellowship with us, unless it be accompanied with such fruits as are openly scandalous,

ious, and de convincingly manifest irregnation.] 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*

raordinary 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 sound 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 entitling 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 terms of mens title to Church-membership, 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 Baptifinal Covenant, with the penitent renanciacion 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 diſtiſt 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 yolk.] 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 Terms of Church-entrance than Baptisme, and a stricter exaction of a Title to membership than a professed Assent and Consent to the terms of that Covenant; is because, if in our very Church-title and Constitution we forsake the Scriptural and primitive terms, we are liable to the exceptions of all dissenters, and cannot justify 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 terms to go: For if once we leave Gods prescribed terms, we shall never know where to fix: But every Pastor will examine as he please, and form such Covenant-terms as are agreeable to the measure of his own private judgement and Charity: And even among Congregational men, we see already that the terms of mens Titles do vary, as the Pa-

sters (or Congregations) differ in point of strictness.

6. And this layeth a certain foundation for perpetual dissentions and divisions; when there are no certain terms 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 terms 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 Religioufness, 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.

feffors. 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 *extemperate* 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 Confociation 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 withdrawing*

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 usuallly 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 sound 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 *Lytford* 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 dismissal—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 dismissal; 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 one years time filled that place with principles of rigid Separation, and tending to Anabaptistry; the prudent Magistrates of the Massachusetts 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 heinous sin. Also he spake dangerous words against the Patent which was the foundation of the Government of the Massachusetts 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 thoroughly leavened 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 Massachusetts 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 brought 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 missed 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 *Massachusetts*, 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 otherwifē 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 restraining 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 testify 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 English 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.*

Ans^r. 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, *Pres. 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, Pareus, 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 terms. 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 peaceablenets will think a sufficient cause of such disjunction.

4. And it is well known that the name of a *Separatist* and *Brownist* 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 *Brownists*, 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 *Parrish-Churches* (for *Diocesane Churches* 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
Massachusetts 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 Juris-
diction of the *Massachusets* in
New-England:

*The Governour and Council sendeth
greeting;*

Reverend, and Beloved in the Lord,

W Hereas 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 know-
ledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities of
Judah*, 2. Chron. 17. 6, 7, 8, 9. which en-
deavours 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 Church-
es; 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 10th. of March, 1668.
by the Governour and Council, and by them
Ordered to be Printed, and sent accordingly.*

Edward Rawson, *Secret.*

F I N I S.









