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INDEPENDENTS,

OR

CONGREGATIONALISTS :

FROM THEIR RISE

TO THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY,

A. D. MDC LX.

BY BENJAMIN HANBURY.

VOLUME III.

“DIFFERENCES OF PERSUASION IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, MAY EASILY FALL OUT WHERE THERE IS THE SAMENESS OF DUTY, ALLEGIANCE, AND SUBJECTION.”

EIKΩN ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, 1648.

“RENDER THEREFORE UNTO CÆSAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CÆSAR’S; AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD’S.”

MATT. xxii. 21.

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ERRATA.

- P. 216, l. 7, after "is" insert "[his]".
 229, note b, read "Murnival; see Johnson's Dict."
 261, l. 20, for "Liturgy," read "Liberty."
 286, note, for "arg. 4." read "arg. 5."
 288, l. 40, for "544," read "554."
 493, l. 16, for "wailing," read "waiting."
 591, l. 1, for "had," read "he."
 In Vol. I., p. 310, l. 12, dele the last 'not.'

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CHAP. LXIII.

A MODEL OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT, WHY DECLINED.—THE ASSEMBLY'S ANSWER.—VICARS.

WE are still indebted to Baillie for the additional interest which, in his correspondence, he imparted unwittingly to the transactions passing in the Assembly of Divines. A reference to our 61st chapter will remind the reader of that sturdy opponent's manner of characterizing the piece now to be exhibited: he employs the epithet "elusory" in one page, and charges upon the authors that "they caused" it to be printed; in the next page is seen that "they presented a libel of invectives," and "this, underhand, they caused print."^a The title it bears is "A Copy of a Remonstrance lately delivered in to the Assembly, by Thomas Goodwin, Jerem. Burroughes, William Greenhill, William Bridge, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, and William Carter: Declaring the Grounds and Reasons of their declining to bring in to the Assembly their Model of Church-Government. 1645." 4to. pp. 8.

Although the publisher's name does not appear, his address to the reader contains remarks elucidatory, and serviceable also as emanating from an individual not connected with the Assembly. Thus he writes: "The copy of this ensuing Remonstrance—for so I title it, as deeming it no other—lately delivered in to the Assembly by the Dissenting Brethren,^b falling under my view by a divine providence, I endeavoured a transcript thereof, aiming at no other end but the reserving it by me for my private and particular satisfaction. Since which time, upon all occasional converses with divers of the Presbyterian party, I have been an often ear-witness of many untrue and unjust aspersions which reflected upon the reverend authors, as if the Independents—so they are pleased to call them—could not, or durst not, according to the demand of the Assembly, produce a Model, and bring in thither such

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 557, 558.

^b Oct. 22d, 1645.

a frame of Church-Government, with the reasons and grounds thereof, as they contend for; or rather that they had in their conceptions some chimera, or some Utopian frame, which, in the issue, would prove either abortive or ridiculous; and that therefore being privy to the weakness of their own principles, they have resorted only, instead of a perfect body, [in] an airy, and—to use some of their own words—a railing accusation against the reverend Assembly; intimating nothing less than the product of a ‘completed frame,’ and nothing more than the cheating of the people, whom they know do expect such an ‘accomplished platform.’ These and the like undue bespatterings, dashed from the mouths of some whom I dare not but call Brethren, and that upon those who for their personal endowments, they themselves acknowledge to be both pious and learned; and frequently hinted into the minds and thoughts of the godly and well-affected of either part [y]—who at present, by reason thereof, are at a loss both in their judgments and expectations;—coming within my hearing and observation, I found—weighing the rational considerations exhibited in this Remonstrance, for their refusal to deliver in to the Assembly, their Model of Church-Government, as was imposed on them,—an irresistible dictate from my conscience, to convert the manuscript into a printed copy: wherein the ingenuous reader may clearly perceive, and truly judge, what was the direct remora that deterred them, contrary to their resolves, from doing that which was required by the Assembly; and what, likewise, are their real intentions for the future, namely, to let the churches have the benefit of what they have prepared to that purpose, which, I am confident, in as convenient a time as is suitable to such a work, they will perfect and exhibit to open view.

“As for the godly and learned authors themselves, I humbly crave their pardon that I have presumed, *without their knowledge*, to present this their copy to the world; professing that no sinister ends at all biassed me. It was only the satisfying of my own conscience, and my earnest desires that the truth and candour of their cause, and their proceedings therein, may—withstanding the besmearings that others endeavour to cast on both—be rightly resented by the godly and judicious, that hath swayed my resolutions; which ends, if I attain, I have enough.”

[REMONSTRANCE.]—“December 12th, 1644, We gave in ‘Reasons of our Dissenting’ to this Assembly, ‘AGAINST The Subordination of Synods;’^a and they were committed to be answered and brought in.

April 4th, 1645, An Order was made by this Assembly, ‘That the Brethren of this Assembly who have formerly entered their Dissents to the Presbyterial Government, shall be a Committee to bring in the whole frame of their judgments, concerning Church-Government in a Body, with their Grounds and Reasons.

It was, also, by this Assembly, lately imposed on us, ‘Make report of what we had done in the Committee.’

“How willing and ready we have been, from the beginning of the

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 497.

discussions in this Reverend Assembly, to make known whatever we hold concerning Church-Government, as we have had public testimony in this Assembly, so we have manifold instances and evidences of it. Witness, that constant, free, and open expressing ourselves upon all occasions, and in all questions propounded to the debate, with offers to give an open account at any time, in whatever should be asked us by any Brother: our proffering, divers times, to bring in Propositions, stated to our sense, for the dispute; and when we were made a Committee to that purpose in the point of Ordination, and did bring our judgments concerning it for a dispute, it was laid aside; and, at another time, when we ourselves brought in papers giving the state of the question about that ‘extraordinary way’ of Ordination, which were read and returned back unto us; it being publicly professed that ‘that was not an allowed way and course of this Assembly, for any of the Brethren to bring in papers, unless they were made a Committee by the Assembly itself;’ and so we were prevented of [from] doing the like for time to come.

“Likewise, our frequent complainings of the stating of questions so that we could not fully argue for our judgments, we being bound up to the questions as stated by you; the usual answer to our complaints herein, being, ‘That the Assembly sate not to argue the opinions of a few men, but that if we had anything to say to the assertion brought in, we might.’

“As also, our earnest contending to have some questions—which, you all know, are the greatest and most fundamental points—fairly disputed and debated, is a sufficient testimony of this our willingness; as, in the entrance into the dispute of government, the first day, we pressed the handling of this, ‘That there is a Platform of Government for the Churches, under the Gospel, laid down in the Scripture;’ and desired to have discussed ‘What are the sure and certain ways whereby we may judge what of government is held forth *jure divino* therein?’ which should have been fundamental to all the disputes that were to follow; and this was, professedly, laid aside by you; which therefore, in none of the subsequent debates, we could renew: and thus, arguments were cut off, it being that great and necessary medium by which the particulars should be confirmed, and, in a manner, the whole controversy decided; the greatest difference that were likely to grow betwixt us being this, ‘That the forms of government you pretend to, and we deny, are asserted to be *jure divino*.’

“In like manner, that other next great question, about ‘The entire power in Congregations that have a sufficient Presbytery for all Censures;’ which as it is, in order, the first that presents itself for discussion, as was urged, so also it is one of the greatest points in difference betwixt us and you; yet the debate of this, was not only denied the first place in the dispute, but was to this day declined by you, although to have it argued was contended for by us, and not by us only but by many more of those that are for a subordinate government thereof to synods. And though earnest desires and motions for it were renewed and inculcated, yet were they as often laid aside; yea, and this, although it was once expressly commended by the Grand Committee of the

Honourable Members of both Houses, joined with twelve Divines of the Assembly, to be next disputed, as the best means both of expedition, and of ending the controversy.

“ And over and above all this, to argue this our willingness to dispute our Way; in the aforesaid Honourable Committee appointed by an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, to find out ways of accommodating different judgments in the Assembly, the sub-committee of Divines, consisting of two of us and four others, appointed by that Honourable Committee to prepare ways and propositions of Accommodation, brought in the main and most of what practically we desired; and we therein added ‘ That if such a liberty shall seem, in the wisdom of this Honourable Committee, to be so prejudicial to the peace of the Church as not to be permitted; we humbly desire, the doctrinal principles wherein we differ about Church-Government, may be taken into serious consideration, and some other way of accommodation in practice thought upon as shall seem fit to this Honourable Committee;’ and this was presented to that Honourable Committee and those twelve of the Assembly, to be transmitted whether to the Honourable Houses or the Assembly, as they should think meet.

“ After this, when upon occasion of something brought in by one Brother and entertained, we took hold of that example, and one of us with the consent of the rest brought in seven propositions which contained matter of difference betwixt us; professing, ‘ That if this Reverend Assembly would debate them, or any one of them, we would bring in more until we had brought in all the Frame; and the Assembly themselves should pick and choose what they would debate and what not;’ but these propositions were rejected with a refusal to debate any one of them.

“ And after all this, though the main parts of the Presbyterian Government had been then voted by the Assembly, and sent up to the Honourable Houses, as namely, that about Ordination, and the Presbyterian Government over many Congregations; as also, concerning the Subordination of national, provincial, and church-assemblies; and there was not much remaining, about Church-Government, to be concluded in this Assembly; yet this Reverend Assembly requiring,—by occasion of a book published, that reflected on these proceedings, that we had no hand in nor knowledge of,—a whole Frame of Government, with the grounds and reasons thereof, to be brought in by us, and voted us hereto to be a committee, we yielded ourselves to be a committee to bring in part by part, in like manner as the Presbyterian Government was brought in to the Assembly and disputed; but that was not accepted. And then, it being said that there was something in Church-government remaining undiscussed and unresolved; and it being further alleged, that the Assembly had not sent up all that which they had concluded, but meant to present an entire Frame and Body to the Honourable Houses; and, that we might take away all occasions of any such jealousies that we were unwilling to discover what we held—which were commonly in men’s mouths abroad—we yielded to be a committee to bring in the whole to this Assembly, though upon all the forementioned disadvantages; and were purposed and resolved amongst ourselves so to do, and that in as convenient a time as a work of such

a compass could, in such a manner as was proposed by you, be despatched by us. And as in the debate about making us a committee, the Assembly would not declare, though pressed by us, what they would do with that Model and those Reasons we should bring in, so the voting of what yet remained in Church-government was hastened by you.

“And when, not long after, upon occasion of the debate of one particular point in which we differed from this Assembly, we moved it might be deferred, because we should present our judgments and reasons about it, with the rest—for therein lay that which we accounted the favour of being made a committee by you,—it was publicly answered, ‘That therefore the Assembly should the rather go on to the concluding of it, because we intended to bring it in;’ and before we could despatch that Body we intended so as to report it unto you according to your Order—the collection of the materials whereof spent us two or three months, and we could not obtain the liberty to bring in anything but the whole,—this Assembly had presented to the Honourable Houses, as well what had been sent up by pieces aforesaid, as what was since concluded in one entire Frame. By all which, we perceived that that which was the main end and use of presenting such a Model to this Assembly, would be frustrated.

“And furthermore, we having given in, as this Assembly knows, but two heads of dissenting Reasons; the one, against the Presbyterial government over many Congregations;^a the other, against the Subordination of Synods;^b by the success of the latter, we see that this Assembly can assume the liberty, if it so please, to reserve those we shall now present, unanswered, as they have done those our dissenting Reasons against Subordination of Synods, ‘although it contain a great and main part of that wherein we differ; as also is, of all other, of the greatest moment both to this Church and State,’ and hath been given in to this Assembly ten months since, and their votes concerning these Subordinations as long since presented to the Honourable Houses, but have not been answered by any reply brought in to this Assembly, and so not ready to have been sent up to the Honourable Houses.

“And if these we might now bring in, should be undertaken to be answered by this Assembly, yet we still retain the sense of so much remediless prejudice, by being bound from replying again, as doth make us justly wary: we may for ever lie under whatever misinterpretations may happen—suppose but through mistake of yours, or imperfection of our expression—without clearing our meaning; and we may be bound up from further urging, or driving-home, that wherein the strength of our argument lies, if the dint thereof should be avoided by some specious diversion. And although our former Reasons given in after dispute, to both the Honourable Houses, according to their Order, were therefore not our own, but to be disposed of according to their appointment, yet what we should now give in, we conceive to be in our own power.

“Upon these considerations, we think that this Assembly hath no cause to require a Report of us; nor will that Report be of any use, seeing that reports are for debates, and debates are for results to be

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 461.

^b *Ibid.* p. 497.

sent up to the Honourable Houses, who have, already, voted another Form of Government than what we shall present. However, it may be of more use some other way, which by this course may be prevented; and therefore we are resolved to wait for some further opportunity, to improve what we have prepared."

A document like the foregoing might well be supposed to irritate, by its exposure, those whose hardness nothing could abash. Be it that even! Alexander Henderson's pen embodied the ventilations of himself and his colleagues in the following "brave paper,"^a or whomsoever else were the compiler, it contributed to the destruction of their cause. The whole world could now be assured of the fixed designs, and see through the tactics of these Scottish Intrusionists! Hence a resolved resistance to their ultimate projects, became more and more extensive and determined; notwithstanding the factitious supremacy they shortly obtained in the Assembly and the Parliament. Its disproportionate length shall only, how inconvenient soever, prevent the appearance of a few passages which they who may possibly demur to our judgment in the propriety of suppressing any, will do well to examine into, as we recommend to be done in all similar instances; to exhibit truth without sophistication being our sole endeavour.

"The Answer of the Assembly of Divines by Authority of Parliament now sitting at Westminster, unto the Reasons given in to this Assembly, by the Dissenting Brethren, of their not bringing in a Model of their Way; and since published in Print, under the Title of 'A Copy of a Remonstrance:' which Answer was humbly presented to the Right Honourable the House of Peers assembled in Parliament. 1645." 4to. pp. 24.

"WHEREAS the Brethren who dissent from this Assembly in some particulars of Church-government did, upon Oct. 22nd, 1645, instead of the long-desired and much-expected Model of Church-government to be communicated to us by them, give in to the Assembly a paper containing some seeming Reasons why they declined the bringing in of such a model at this time; which, since, hath been divulged in print. . . We have been put upon this necessary vindicating of ourselves from those unjust misrepresentations and misconstructions of our proceedings under which we must, otherwise, undeservedly have suffered, if this 'Remonstrance' should altogether go unanswered.

"The design of the Brethren's paper is to beget an opinion of their willingness and forwardness 'to make known' whatever they hold in Church-government; and to give an account what the Reasons are why they have not given in a Model of Church-government, according to their judgments.

"Of their willingness. . . even since 'the beginning of the discussions,' they say they have had 'public testimony in this Assembly;' and, have given manifest proofs and evidences of it. This 'public testimony,' we suppose, is but the testimony of some few single persons in the Assembly; and not, as some might be induced to believe, the testimony of the Assembly: such, we are sure, they have not had. And we doubt whether even such single testimony have been given as

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 453.

that they are so forward and willing to make known 'whatever' they held in Church-government. Now, if the testimony of single persons, because given in a 'public' way, may be called a 'public testimony,' we doubt not but we can produce more public testimonies of their unwillingness . . . to declare what they hold in Church-government, than they can of the contrary.

"Our reverend Brother, Mr. Dury, in a Letter from the Hague, May 7th, 1643 [4], now published, . . . gives them this testimony, that he had 'required from them, but never could obtain to know, the true point of difference betwixt them and the other Reformed churches.'^a Besides, the Brethren know that there are many reverend ministers of the city of London, and some of the members of this Assembly, that must give them *this* testimony, That whereas there was, long before the sitting of this Assembly, an agreement between some of these brethren, and sundry ministers of the city, that the Brethren should give in to them a Narrative of their Way of Church-government; that agreement was never yet performed, but on the contrary, a paper that was the record thereof was, upon some pretence, privately withdrawn, by one of them, out of the hands in which it was deposited, and was never, to this day, restored, though often demanded;^b nor the Narrative exhibited, though often desired. Nay, and themselves have given a public testimony of no great willingness and forwardness . . . in that 'Apologetical Narration' by them published: which, how far it is from making known 'whatever' they 'hold concerning Church-government,' we leave to themselves to judge. And when upon occasion of this Apologetical Narration, Master Apollonius . . . sent to them an express Letter desiring them to inform him what their opinions were in those points, that he might not mistake them,^c he could not yet obtain it from them, as himself hath complained. . .

"ii. Yet as a proof of their pretended willingness, they tell us of their 'constant, free, and open expressing' of themselves 'upon all occasions, and in all questions propounded to the debate.' These are but words; we could as easily and might more truly say, they have been inconstant, obscure, reserved, in expressing themselves: . . . and, whereas they say, they have done thus 'in all questions,' and 'upon all occasions'; we desire them to ask their own hearts, whether they did ever clearly and openly express themselves what they unanimously hold in the great question of Gathering Churches; or in the question of the Power of the People; or in that of the qualification of Church-members; or, whether they did ever clearly and directly endeavour to prove that Way of Church-government which they practise, to be the only way *jure divino*? . . . And particularly Mar. 21st, 1644[-5], it was earnestly pressed upon them by many in the Assembly, that they 'would bring in what they thought further needful for the reformation of our congregations, and what they would desire in reference to their own': and the question was formed up in those terms, and a vote ready to be passed upon it, had not they themselves then—who had been silent in it so long as any objections were made against it by others—

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 387, and p. 432.

^b *Ibid.* p. 379, note c.

^c *Ibid.* p. 419.

so vehemently opposed it when we saw the Assembly ready to order it . . .

“ iii. As a further evidence of this their willingness, they further instance their ‘ offers to give an open account, at any time, in whatever should be asked by any Brother.’ We confess these expressions are large and high, ‘ an open account ; at any time ; in whatever ; by any Brother ! . . How is it then, that at this time, when all the Brethren of this Assembly have desired a full account of their Way, and had expected it above six months, they plainly refuse to bring it in ?

“ iv. As for their professing to state questions to their own sense ; we confess it hath been usual with them many times, after sundry days spent in the debate of a proposition,—and when it was now ripe for a question,—to desire to have it otherwise stated ; which the Assembly hath not seldom granted, and themselves have acknowledged it a favour. But when the question hath been stated by them, it hath been far more perplexed and obscured than it was before, as in that particular of Ordination, which they instance in, and complain [that] their papers were laid aside. Of which we give this faithful and just account : The Committee that was appointed to prepare propositions about Ordination, for the debate of the Assembly, did . . cast the whole under these five questions, 1. What Ordination is ? 2. Whether Ordination be necessary to be continued in the church ? 3. Who are to ordain ? 4. What persons are to be ordained, and how qualified ? 5. The manner how such persons are to be ordained ?

“ In answer to the first, this proposition was brought in, ‘ That Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church-office ;’ which, after the debate of a whole session, was voted true, *nem. con.* After four days spent in the debate of some of the other particulars, and some progress made in the third question, our Brethren finding themselves unsatisfied in that proposition concerning the substance of Ordination—already resolved *nem. con.*—as, in their apprehension, not sufficiently expressing the substance of it ; the Assembly thereupon ordered, on the Wednesday, ‘ That Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Burroughes, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Carter, Junior, be a committee to consider further of the substance of the act of Ordination, and to report to this Assembly on Friday-morning.’ And so ‘ willing’ have our Brethren been ‘ to make known’ whatever they held, that this Order was not accepted without reluctancy by some of them ; whereupon it was put to the question, and resolved by a vote.

“ On Friday-morning, one of them brings in a report prefacing with ‘ thanks to the Assembly that they would give leave to a dissenting party’—so they first called themselves, before the Assembly called them so, and before they had formally entered any dissent,—‘ to set down their own sense,’ which they did in two propositions, as follow : ‘ 1. Ordination, for the substance of it, is the solemnization of an officer’s outward call ; in which, the elders of the church, in the Name of Christ, and for the church, do by a visible sign, design the person, and ratify his separation to his office with prayer for a blessing upon his gifts in the ministration thereof. 2. That the power which gives the formal being to an officer, should be derived, by Christ’s institution,

from the power which is in elders as such, in the act of ordination ; as yet, we find not anywhere held forth in the Word.’

“ These two propositions were taken into consideration, and the Assembly finding nothing in these propositions concerning ‘ the substance of the Act of Ordination’, more than what was in the first proposition which the Assembly had already voted ; but rather, a complication of sundry questions, some of which the Assembly had already resolved ; and others, the report which they had made progress in, would more clearly and distinctly lead them to, and which the Assembly could not debate all at once ; and besides, considering the many phrases in these propositions were general and ambiguous, as namely, the term of ‘ solemnization’ ; ‘ of elders’—whether only preaching-elders, or others also ; which was a question distinctly drawn up *in terminis* in the Assembly—for ‘ the church’—though the report interpreted that to be *vice ecclesie*, yet was it not so expressed in the words of the paper—‘ a visible sign, design the person :’ as also, that the second proposition was not *de veritate rei*, but *de veritate intellectus*, the language of it being ‘ as yet, we find not anywhere held forth in the Word.’ Upon these, and the like considerations, their paper was laid aside ; and whether the Assembly had not just reason so to do, let them judge who can distinguish between perspicuity and obscurity, between method and confusion. However, the Brethren have little reason to complain of laying aside their paper, who know that the Assembly have often laid by papers received from the hands of other committees as well as theirs ; yea, and several papers received from the Reverend Commissioners of the Church of Scotland ; and one of them, though transmitted by the Committee of Lords and Commons, and Divines appointed to treat with them, not a week before the laying aside of their paper ; when one of these Brethren argued earnestly for the laying it aside, and that ‘ it should be left for the Committee to make use of, as they did of other writings, and books in print.’

“ v. And as little reason have they for their next complaint about papers, which, say they, ‘ we of ourselves brought in,’ giving the state of the question about that ‘ extraordinary way of Ordination.’ The occasion of which papers was this, The Assembly not being likely suddenly, to perfect the whole body of Government that it might be speedily established in all the parts of it ; and there being at present, a great want of some way of Ordination for the present supply of ministers in the army, the navy, and many parts of the kingdom ; the Right Honourable House of Peers sent an Order to the Assembly, to consider of expediting ‘ Ordination,’ because of present inconveniencies for want of it ; upon the receipt of which Order, the Assembly laid aside, for the present, the consideration of the ordinary way of Ordination, which they were then upon, and appointed a committee to bring in somewhat concerning an extraordinary way of Ordination for the present necessity ; which committee accordingly brought in these two propositions : ‘ 1. That in extraordinary cases something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order can be had ; yet keeping as near as possibly may be to the rule. 2. That it is lawful

according to the Word, that certain ministers of the city be desired to ordain ministers in the city and the vicinity, *jure fraternitatis*.'

"After many days spent in debate of these propositions, and several votes passed about them; our Brethren not being satisfied in the stating of them, especially of the latter, were oft desired, several days, by divers Brethren, to propose how themselves would have it stated; which they as often declined, saying, They could not do it presently: to which, it was, at last, replied, That although, at the first motion, they could not do it presently, yet now the Assembly had been already three days about the stating of a question, and this the fourth day, only to satisfy these Brethren, they now had had time to consider how they would have it stated: hereupon, one of them stood up, and spake to this purpose, 'I should not have said thus, but that I was called upon: but it is not so fair and rational a way, that as soon as we object rationally against the stating of a question, it should be said, Then bring in a better state[ment]. Yet we have brought in a paper, as followeth:

" ' [First] for the second Proposition, That it is lawful according to the Word, that certain ministers of the city of London, be desired to ordain ministers in the vicinity, *jure fraternitatis*: We conceive it doth really and *de facto* set up a Presbytery, before the government that is the ground thereof, be disputed. For the sense of many of the Brethren in the debates have [hath] represented this, saying, That it was but a mould for other places, to be perfected, and continued: some affirming it to be a Presbytery; another, that it was a Presbytery both materially and formally, but not in the formality, and urged such arguments as for a Presbytery; another, that it was the seed of a Presbytery!

" ' Secondly, that it was an act of jurisdiction; and therefore *jure fraternitatis*, must be left out: for a Presbytery is a company of divers ministers in one city, that join together to perform an act of jurisdiction, and this 1 Tim. iv. 14, is made peculiarly to be the work of a presbytery: from which place, the continuance of a presbytery is mainly argued.

" ' Thirdly, if anything be extraordinary in it, that is not in an ordinary presbytery, yet the first proposition—supposing we must come as near as we can to the rule—doth evidently suppose that Presbytery is the rule.

" ' Fourthly. We cannot dispute against it but by bringing in all the arguments against the presbyterial government; yet it would be denied us, as being beside the proposition! this is the *gravamen* we are under; the term extraordinary, that wipes off all the arguments against a Presbytery; and yet it is, for the substance of it, a Presbytery.'

" And after him, another of them gave in a paper to this purpose, 'We conceive concerning this second proposition, being connected with the first, it is thereby made an extraordinary act, coming as near the rule as may be; and yet the ordinary rule for Ordination is not first known, nor argued upon; nor the proportion, how far extraordinary, distinctly set down; nor a parallel made with the instance in the first proposition; which all must be done, before this can be

judged : as likewise, what our judgment is concerning Ordination and Elders. Our judgment is this, in these two heads : i. Ordination, and other like acts of church-power, especially jurisdiction, are ordinarily to be done by the ministers and officers of those churches whereof they are officers, and by the consent of that church. And so as to this, That preaching-presbyters are capable of the act of Ordination ; two things are more to be required, 1. That they be in church-relation : 2. That then, if more, they be combined in a Pesbytery of a Congregation. As Parliament-men, as such, may not make a law, but it is requisite ; first, that they be of such a body-politic ; and then secondly, [that they be orderly met. ii. That ministers of another church may not, warrantably, do it ; as wanting this relation. Now here are three things held forth : first, That they do not only do it as an act of Order, but of Jurisdiction, in this church where they have no relation : secondly, Not in such combination : thirdly, For those churches which are not within their combination !

“ ‘ These papers,’ say they, ‘ which we of ourselves brought in, being read, were returned back unto us.’ To which we answer, 1. This ‘ we’ was but two of these seven, who brought in each of them a paper ; but neither of them presented as the sense of all these Brethren, but for aught we know, as their single sense, saving only that they used the word ‘ we,’ which might give the Assembly some ground to think it was the act of some others : whereupon, about the end of the debate, one of them was asked, ‘ In whose name they presented those papers ; whether in his own name, or in the name of some others also, because he spake of ‘ we’ and ‘ us’ ?’ And, that if it were in the name of others, it was desired it should be expressed ‘ who they were ?’ But it was not even then, affirmed by him to be given in in the name of all these Brethren : but he excused the word ‘ we,’ because that others were upon the negative in the debate, as well as himself. Nor were they expressly owned when presented, but by a third person—so far as either our notes or memories can inform us—who, upon occasion of that question, stood up and said, ‘ I own them with the rest of the Brethren’ : but who these Brethren were, or how many of them, was not expressed ; and we question, whether these seven Brethren will yet say that all of them had so much as seen them, before they were brought in to the Assembly. And therefore, it seems something strange they should now all say ‘ we ourselves,’ as in the printed paper, or ‘ we *of* ourselves,’ as in the paper given in to the Assembly, ‘ presented papers ;’ when neither all did present papers, nor did it of themselves, but upon the reiterated motion of divers of the Assembly. 2. And as strange is it, they should say, these ‘ papers’ gave ‘ the state of the question.’ It appears, from those papers themselves, that the one of those papers was nothing else but a troubling the state of the question with cavils and jealousies, and undue complaints of ‘ gravamina,’ as that they should be surprised ; and, by this means a Presbytery set up before disputed ; and the like. To prevent which, and satisfy them therein—so little reason have they to complain of slighting these papers,—the matter of ‘ extraordinary’ Ordination, notwithstanding the Order of Parliament above mentioned, was left *in medio*, the session following, and the large dispute of the

lawfulness of a 'classical presbytery' despatched, before we returned to it again; and then, we first settled the ordinary way, which was the rule, before we concluded of the extraordinary way, for the present necessity. And the other of those papers was not a stating the question, but a disputing and arguing the question; and yet not properly that question, of Ordination in an extraordinary way, . . . but the question of Ordination in an ordinary and settled way;—which was the work the Assembly had been about for many days:—and which, after a resolution in the Assembly, had been proper for them to have put in by way of dissent, according as the ordinance by which we sit, doth provide,—but not while it was in agitation by way of argument. For our Brethren know, the disputes of the Assembly are managed by speaking, not by writing: and were it otherwise, the disputes would be endless. These papers therefore, were, as they say, returned back: being but the sum of what these Brethren had objected and argued, against the question, in the debates past, and having therein been fully answered.

“vi. But whereas they say, it was professed ‘publicly,’ that it ‘was not an allowed way or course of this Assembly, for any of the Brethren to bring in papers, unless they were made a committee’: we say first; possibly the unwary reader may think this and some other passages in their paper, that speak the same language, to have been the public vote or declaration of the Assembly; which, whatever it were, was but the expression of one Brother. And our Brethren know well, that it hath been often asserted in this Assembly, that nothing spoken by a particular Brother can, in equity, be charged upon the whole Assembly, or reputed as their sense, unless so resolved by vote or order of the Assembly; else were the Assembly accountable for every speech of any of these Brethren dissenters, as well as the speech of any other. And secondly, it seems very strange, that it should be publicly declared to be no ‘allowed’ course to give in papers, when even at this time, our Brethren had been desired to give in papers, and no exception made against it.—Though not such papers! Thirdly; how capable the words spoken in the Assembly at that time, are of the sense these Brethren put upon them, let the words themselves declare, which were to this purpose, ‘I shall give you my thoughts, in a few words, to the papers. It was expressed before, upon what occasion these Brethren were desired to help the Assembly, in that which they and we did apprehend to make us stick: they have brought in two papers, they say, in the nature of a gravamen. I take it to be a gravamen, and of ill consequence, for the time to come, when we have liberty to give in Reasons to the Houses, that they should in writing, give in gravamens to us. I suppose the Honourable Houses have given no such power. I move, they may have their papers delivered again, that we have no such precedents.’ But our Brethren who can remember this, might please to remember that it was, at the same time, proffered publicly, ‘That if they would tender their papers as Reasons of a Dissent, we would so receive them’: but this was, by them declined. Fourthly; and as for ‘stating’ a question; our Brethren know very well that it is no unusual course, but very frequent, in this Assembly, for any particular Brother to tender the state of a question in writing; which is,

sometimes, taken into debate ; and sometimes, laid aside ; as the Assembly thinks fit : and sometimes, several statings of the same question, offered by several brethren ; of which, some one is pitched upon. Yea, and that very day after the giving back of these papers, one of these Brethren amongst others tendered two several statings of a question in writing ; so that our Brethren need not pretend their laying hold on one example—as they seem to do afterward—of something brought in by one brother, and accepted, for their offering the state of a question in writing : as if from the time of the giving back of these papers till the bringing in of the seven Propositions there mentioned, there had been but one instance of a paper tendered by a particular brother, and accepted. Nor were they, as they here pretend, by the refusal of these papers prevented for the time to come of doing the like ; namely, the like to what these are pretended to be—‘ papers giving the state of the question’—though, perhaps, they might be prevented of [from] giving such papers as those were,—to wit, unjust complaints of grievances,—in such a way.

“vii. Their complaints about ‘ the stating’ the question were they say, ‘ frequent.’ We say so too ; and wish that some had not set themselves more to vex and puzzle ‘ the state of the question,’ and to render a proposition, clearly stated, perplex and obscure ; than to dispute the truth or falsehood of it, by the Word of God ; who have sometimes contended much against the stating of the question which, when it hath been resolved on to be so disputed on *in terminis*, have neither disputed nor voted against it ! But thus we answer ; their complaints were, many times, unjust ; for the propositions brought in to the Assembly were stated by committees where these Brethren had the liberty, and it was their duty, to have been present ; being, some of them, members of each committee, and ought to have contributed their thoughts toward ‘ the stating of questions’ there, and not to have troubled the Assembly in this kind ; which yet they have often done, and often without cause. For, many a time, when upon their quarrelling with the state of the question, proffer hath been made to offer a fitter stating of it, if they liked not this ; it hath been replied, ‘ They knew no such law, nor the Assembly, that whosoever finds fault with the stating of the question must have this penalty laid upon him, to find a better.’ And yet their frequent complaints about ‘ stating’ the question, received other answers than what they are now pleased to mention ; namely, ‘ That the Assembly sate not to argue the opinions of a few men’ : of which ‘ answer,’ we only say thus much ; first, that if there were such an answer given, it was but the answer of some one man, which the Brethren would, at least by insinuation, charge upon the whole Assembly : secondly, we wish these words true, and that the Assembly had not sitten to debate ‘ the opinion[s] of a few men’ !

“viii. The next thing they allege, and which they say, ‘ is a sufficient testimony of this their willingness,’ is, their ‘ earnest contending to have some questions which,’ say they, ‘ you all know are the greatest and most fundamental points, fairly disputed and debated.’ To which we answer : 1. Their ‘ earnest contending’ for ‘ some questions’—

wherein they might possibly hope to advantage themselves, either by dividing the Assembly or otherwise, is no ‘sufficient testimony’ of their constant willingness and forwardness, ‘to make known whatever they hold in Church-government:’ the rather, because, 2, many other ‘points’ as ‘fundamental,’ in reference to differences between them and us, they have never offered to debate or prove; but have rather shunned them, when they had fair opportunity before them, and arguments put into their mouths: as for instance; when that question was debated, ‘The Scripture holds forth, that many particular Congregations may be under one Presbyterial government’: against which, they disputed about thirty days together; and, as hath been said by one of them publicly in the Assembly, ‘they must confess they had fair-play.’ Especially, they having the advantage to dispute, about half the time, on the negative before the Assembly brought one argument for the affirmative; yet all this time, though the argument lay fair before them, if they had pleased to use it, ‘That if every particular congregation have all and sole power within themselves, independently, then there may be no such Presbytery over many congregations.’ And though it were often hinted to them, both then and at other times, to use it; they still declined it in their whole dispute; and likewise, in their ‘Reasons’ exhibited to both the Honourable Houses of Parliament; insisting, meanwhile, upon arguments from ‘incongruities and inconveniences!’ And when moved to use this argument, from the institution of such entire independent power in single congregations—which had been the fairest way of disputing against the proposition,—it was replied, ‘That the Assembly was not to prescribe them their arguments; but while they were opponents, they might use what *medium* they thought fit.’ We might instance in many other ‘points’ which we all know to be great and fundamental questions, in reference to that way of church-government which the Brethren practise; as, 1. Whether their gathering of churches here, in England, was just, necessary, seasonable? 2. How far every particular man and woman may go according to their own judgment, in separating from those congregations wherein they have orderly communicated? 3. What power single men and women have of congregating themselves together, to become a church as their own discretion leads them, without the guidance of able ministers and authority of the magistrate? 4. Whether people so congregated of their own accord, have all power within themselves for admitting or refusing members, choosing or ordaining officers? 5. Whether [the] people are to rule over their officers? 6. Whether every congregation ought to have a distinct presbytery; or whether many may not lawfully have one common presbytery ruling immediately over them? These, and the like questions, we know to be some of ‘the greatest and most fundamental points,’—as to their Way,—but we do not remember that ever they did earnestly contend to have these questions ‘fairly disputed and debated:’ neither do themselves, we think, remember it.

“ix. For the two particulars they insist upon—for they mention no more—as ‘questions,’ which they contended to be ‘debated;’ and which they say, ‘is a sufficient testimony of this their willingness,’ etc., we

answer particularly : to the first of these, ' That there is a platform of government for the churches, under the Gospel, laid down in the Scriptures ;' we answer, 1. That it is a ' fundamental point' in reference to church-government, we acknowledge ; but deny that it is a fundamental point of difference between these our Brethren and the Presbyterians. For our Brethren may well know that those of the Reformed churches who practise a presbyterian government, pleaded a ' jus divinum' for their government long before this Way of our Brethren was thought upon ; and therefore, neither is their ' contending' for this question any such argument of their ' willingness' to declare themselves in tenets that are peculiarly their own. 2. That this question, or some other to this purpose, was contended for to be debated in the Assembly at the beginning of their debates about Church-government, we do remember ; but our Brethren as well remember that this motion was not only theirs, but was as well contended for by the Commissioners from Scotland, and many others in the Assembly, as by themselves ; who did not yet find themselves aggrieved that the major part of the Assembly were not of their minds in point of method. 3. That this question was then, for the present, after some debate, ' laid aside,' we grant ; but say withal, That the Assembly conceived themselves to have good reason so to do, it being so often urged, as immethodical to vote ' a platform' to be ' laid down in Scripture', before we had ever inquired where it was so ' laid down', or knew whether we should find such ' a platform' there ! But, that, if upon search after particulars, we could find them ' in Scripture', the resolution of this question, Whether there be any such ' platform' there ? would be an easy result from the whole ; but would, at first entrance, be found exceeding[ly] intricate and difficult. Which considerations, together with many others then alleged, persuaded the Assembly to lay aside that question at present. 4. But that the question was so ' laid aside' as never to be taken up or renewed in the subsequent debates ; we think our Brethren have no cause to affirm. For that they may well remember that after the Assembly had concluded a sovereign power of government in Christ, the Head and King of His church ; and, that the apostles had received the keys from the hand of Christ immediately, and did exercise them in all churches of the world, upon all occasions,—which method, the Assembly considered was a fair way of proceeding,—they proceeded to inquire, Whether there were any such government ' now' in the church ? And did not only debate it, but resolved upon the question *nem. con.*, ' That ' Christ hath instituted a government and governors ecclesiastical, in the church': and, that ' He hath furnished some, from time to time, with gifts for government, and commission to exercise the same when called thereunto'. And this, antecedent to the main debates of ' government ;' having not then resolved of any other ordinary church-officers, save only ministers of the Word, much less of the Body of Government which hath been twice sent up—amongst others—to the Honourable Houses of Parliament. 5. Whereas they add, that they ' desired' it to be ' discussed, What are the sure and certain ways' to find out ' what of Government is held forth *jure divino* in Scripture ?' We know no other way . . . than by examining the several arguments drawn

from the Scripture for the several parts of government, as they came in order to be considered; and this way, we have used all along. 6. Neither do we see any reason for that complaint of theirs, that by laying aside this question at that time, their ‘arguments were cut off’: for, 1. That this was not wholly ‘laid aside’ appears, we conceive, from what is said already. 2. Others who contended for that question as well as themselves, have found no such cause to complain of their arguments being ‘cut off;’ who might, for aught we see, have made as good use of arguments drawn from such a head, as these our Brethren. 3. We cannot see how this principle, though granted on both sides, is such a ‘great and necessary medium by which the particulars should have been confirmed, and, in a manner, the whole controversy decided’, as they affirm. The ‘controversy’ between our Brethren and the Presbyterians not being so much, Whether there be a government ‘*jure divino*’ as, Whether it be this or that? Whether this which our Brethren pretend to, and we deny? or that which the Reformed Churches have so long practised and pleaded for, and they deny? 4. But if this were so ‘great and necessary’ a ‘medium’ for their cause, the laying aside the resolution of the question in the Assembly at that time, was no hinderance but that they might have used it: for our Brethren very well know that they have used other mediums than what have been resolved in the Assembly, and might so do, without exception. And that they have been often called upon to use this ‘medium’ for their particular Way—as was said before.—and would, doubtless, have made use of it if they could have made it out, that their Way was thus instituted; which yet they never went about to prove. And to conclude: if this were so advantageous a ground for their arguments, as they seem here to make it; we have the more reason to believe that it was not merely a willingness ‘to make known’ what they held, which was the cause of their ‘contending’ for this question, but rather, some advantage they hoped to make of it.

“x. As to ‘That other next great question’, as they call it, about ‘The entire power of Congregations that have a sufficient Presbytery for all Censures; which,’ say they, ‘as it is the first in order that presents itself for discussion, so also it is one of the greatest points in difference between us:’ we answer, 1. It is indeed ‘one of the greatest’. . . but 2. That it must, necessarily, have ‘the first place’ in our discussions, we deny. Our Brethren know the method of the Assembly in these debates about Church-government was this: we began with Christ, the Head, the Great King, Priest, and Prophet of His church—as was intimated before. From Him, we proceeded to inquire of Officers set by Him in his church, extraordinary and ordinary; then, of the Power of these officers; after that, of the Subject about which this power was exercised: first, the General Church-visible, to which the officers, oracles, and ordinances of the New Testament were given by Christ for the edification thereof; secondly, Particular-visible-churches, members of that general church. This, though we do not contend to be the only method, yet it was that which the Assembly judged fittest to proceed in. And we know not that our Brethren have just reason to except against it, but that the Assembly might thus proceed. And

what reasons have been alleged by themselves or others—for it pleased them to intimate that some others were of their opinion in this point, of the order of our disputes,—why in some particular question the Assembly should decline this method, were either hearkened to or answered.

“xi. And whereas it is said to be ‘expressly commended by the Grand Committee of the Honourable Members of both Houses;’ we answer, 1. We do not know that the said Grand Committee did at any time recommend it to the Assembly to debate ‘The entire powers of Particular Congregations which have a sufficient Presbytery for all Censures,’ as our Brethren here assert. 2. But we acknowledge, that the said Honourable Committee did recommend some other questions far otherwise stated; of which the Assembly returned such answer as—for aught we know to the contrary—they were satisfied with; as may appear by the Order of the said Committee, and the Assembly’s Answer to it, which, so far as they concern the present business, we have thought fit here to insert: ‘Aug. 19th, 1644. At the Committee of Lords and Commons, Assembly of Divines, and Commissioners for the Church of Scotland, Resolved, 1. That the Assembly be desired to return to the debate about Church-Government, as soon as they have done with Ordination. 2. That they then take into their debate, the business of Excommunication; and therein to discuss these three questions in order, 1. Whether there be such an ordinance as Excommunication; and, what it is? 2. Whether Particular Congregations may excommunicate? 3. Whether Classical Presbyteries, and greater assemblies, may excommunicate?’ After which, the Assembly received from the said Committee, another Order as followeth: ‘At a Committee of Lords and Commons, and Assembly of Divines, appointed to treat with the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland: Oct. 11th, 1644, Resolved, etc., That whereas about two months since, this Committee did, among other particulars which they recommended to the Assembly of Divines, desire of them, That when they did return unto the debate of Church Government, they would then discuss the matter of Excommunication; . . . The Assembly be [now] entreated to return in writing, what they have done in the said particulars; and that this Committee may receive an answer at their next meeting on Tuesday next.’ To which Order the Assembly did accordingly return an answer, as was desired; which, after an account of what was done in reference to the three first requests of the former Order, was as followeth:

“‘Upon September 4th, the Assembly having finished the business of Ordination, etc., The Report of the Grand Committee was desired to be taken into consideration again, and in the debate thereof, according to the fourth desire of the Committee, it was Ordered, that the Assembly should return to the debate about Government. It was further debated, Whether the Assembly should proceed according to the method of the Grand Committee, expressed in the fifth and last desire. This was moved by some of the members of the Assembly; others moved to proceed upon the Report of the first Committee concerning some additional proofs for the Presbytery over more Congregations than one: others moved, to consider of the Report of the Committee for the summary, in case the Assembly did not think fit to

proceed in the method of the Grand Committee : others moved next, to consider of the several sorts of assemblies for Government, and their subordination. This last was urged, by the Commissioners of Scotland, partly, that the Assembly might hold out what Government they would advise the Parliament unto ; which would be of great use for the perfecting the Propositions agreed upon by both Kingdoms : and partly, because it was agreeable to the course of the Assembly to debate those things first wherein the Assembly would be most unanimous. After a large debate, it was Resolved, that this shall be next debated, That it is agreeable to the Word of God that the Church be governed by several sorts of assemblies. The Assembly accordingly proceeded in that debate, and having concluded of the several sorts of assemblies, and the members of them, were entering upon the consideration of the Subordination of them, and the Power that they have in common : when it was, upon the 23rd of September, moved, To consider what to do with Excommunication ; whether to refer it to a new Committee ; or, to the second Committee, to perfect the business of Excommunication which was formerly committed to them ? Whereupon it was Ordered, That the second Committee shall perfect their Report concerning Excommunication, with all convenient speed. The second Committee met accordingly, and, upon the 8th of October, made their Report : in which session the Assembly finished the last Proposition that they had in debate about the Power of assemblies in common, etc., namely, It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that all the said assembly have some Power to dispense church-censures. This Proposition being Resolved, it was Ordered, to debate the Report of the second Committee : which the Assembly hath now entered upon. But for the point of method, they have concluded nothing, but it is yet free for the Assembly to take what method they shall see fit.

“ By which papers, it appears what were the particulars recommended to the Assembly by the said Grand Committee ; and that they had hitherto fulfilled their desires. Only, for the reasons therein alleged, they had interposed a debate concerning ‘ the several assemblies for Government,’ and concluded that ‘ there were such assemblies’ before they considered ‘ what they might do :’ and, ‘ that they had some Power in censure,’ before they came to that particular, ‘ Whether they might Excommunicate ?’ And in that point of Excommunication recommended, they had not as yet departed from the method, but were in debate of the Report of a Committee appointed to draw up Propositions concerning it, and had not proceeded beyond what was in answer to the first of the three particulars proposed ; namely, ‘ Whether there were such an ordinance as Excommunication ; and, what it is ?’ And whether the Assembly did afterward break that method desired, or were justly blameable herein, will appear by what follows in our answer to what they charge us with.

“ xii. Two things there are wherewith our Brethren charge us in this matter, namely, ‘ The entire power of congregations which have a sufficient presbytery for all censures :’ 1. that ‘ the debate of this, was denied the first place ;’ 2. that it ‘ was, to this day, declined’ by us, though thus and thus urged, etc. The first branch of which

charge, we conceive to have no great weight, partly by reason of what we have said before, and partly because breach of method in the order of debates, if the Assembly should be guilty of it—which doth not yet appear in this particular,—would not be accounted any great crime by those who know the nature of such proceedings. The second, we confess, if true, had some more weight in it; and might seem a charge of consequence if the Assembly, in their whole debates of Church-government, should yet never, from first to last, consider what ‘power’ is to be allowed to ‘particular congregations.’ But we shall answer particularly to both branches of this charge, and to the latter first. To this, therefore: first, will our Brethren, upon second thoughts, assert, That ‘to this day, the Assembly hath declined it?’ Was the Power of Congregations, never before the Assembly? Were there no debates upon it? Were there no questions formed up? No resolutions on it? No propositions of that nature, sent up to the Honourable Houses of Parliament? Surely, there were; and our Brethren, we think, cannot deny it. If they have forgotten us, we shall put them in mind of some.

“ Our Brethren may remember, that there were large debates in the Assembly concerning a difference much insisted upon by our Brethren, between ‘Congregations fixed in their officers and members, having a presbytery of their own; and Congregations not fixed, but fluid: whether such fixed congregations as well as those not fixed, might be united under one classical presbytery?’ Which was argued at large in the Assembly, from April 4th, 1644, till the 15th following. Our Brethren may remember further, that there were many debates and resolutions in the Assembly about Particular Congregations,—‘Whether such ought to be? Of what members they consist? How divided and bounded? What officers? And, what ordinances ought to be in such congregations?’—from the said April 15th till May 6th following. Our Brethren may remember likewise, that there was this Negative brought in by a committee of the Assembly, of which some of these Brethren were members, ‘That *no* single congregation may, ordinarily, assume to itself all and sole Power in elections, ordinations, or censures; or in forensical determining controversies of faith, cases of conscience, and things indifferent.’ Which question, we conceive, doth fully reach the debate which they say, they ‘so much desired’; and was largely debated in the Assembly—first, for some days entirely, and afterward *per partes*—in several sessions from that May 6th, 1644, till May 16th then following; and many resolves of the Assembly upon it. And, among the rest, this for one, after a long debate, ‘That *no* particular congregation which can conveniently associate, may assume to itself all and sole Power in ordination.’ Which was afterward alleviated by prefixing some words upon a distinct vote, thus, ‘*It is very requisite* that *no* particular congregation do assume, etc.’ And arguments were brought in, and voted by the Assembly, for the proving of it, and sent up to both Houses of Parliament. Our Brethren likewise may remember that the Assembly proceeded in debating the ‘Power of elderships in particular congregations,’ till May 20th following. And it was, in several votes, resolved, ‘That they have power authoritatively

to call before them any person within the congregation, as there shall be just occasion; to inquire into the knowledge and spiritual estate of any member of the congregation; to admonish and rebuke.' Which votes have been likewise sent up to the Houses of Parliament. Our Brethren likewise may remember, that the Assembly then proceeded to debate, 'Whether they have Power authoritatively to suspend, from the sacraments, a person not excommunicated?' In five several sessions, from May 20th till May 24th; and again, October 24th and 25th following: and resolved it affirmatively; and carried up their said resolution with the proofs annexed.

"And when we should have proceeded further about the Seat of the Power of excommunication, we consulted ways of Accommodation. Which business of Accommodation was thus occasioned, and thus carried on: The Assembly having fully and unanimously agreed that 'Excommunication is an ordinance of Christ,' found their progress in the further debate of that subject made difficult by some diversity of judgments which appeared among them, concerning the Proper Seat of the Power of Excommunication. Towards the composing of which differences, some of the members of the Assembly drew up certain Directions for the Administration of Church-Censures in the Church; which, being communicated privately to some other Brethren, were, with their consent and liking, brought in to the Assembly, where being read, it was excepted against, by one of these Dissenting Brethren—to whom it had been before communicated and left some time in his hands to advise upon—'That this which was tendered, did accommodate the difference about the Seat of the Power of Excommunication, as to two parties that differed; but not as to the third;' and moved withal, 'That that point might be committed to an equal number of each part[y], to see if they might find a way of accommodation that all might agree in.' This motion was assented to, and the thing so committed; and after some days spent in consultation, Jan. 10th, 1644[-5], there was a Report brought in as an 'Accommodation,' and so agreed on by that whole committee, *nem. con.*; and as such, presented to the Assembly; and such received by them with expression of much concern and joy therein.

"Jan. 14th, it was urged by one of these Brethren, That having now accommodated in one part—in The Seat of the Power of Excommunication,—it would be to their prejudice unless all other particulars expressed in the paper might be accommodated also. Upon this, the whole was committed; both what was before concluded, and what was yet remaining to be discussed. And out of a tender desire not to break with our Brethren in this great point of Excommunication, wherein we hoped we had so happily begun to accommodate, there was such condescension to them as that, in conclusion,—that clause only excepted, which concerns the order, peace, and unity which Christ hath established in His church—that whole Directory of Excommunication, both for matter and words, is, as we conceive, according to our Brethren's mind. And the Assembly, to gratify them, and out of an earnest desire and expectation of an accommodation with them, did express many, if not most, of the particulars of that Directory, in such terms

and after such a manner as otherwise they would not have done. Yet, after all this, when that paper was voted to be sent up to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, as an ‘Accommodation,’ these Brethren, contrary to what we expected, entered their ‘dissent to this as an Accommodation;’ which themselves moved, and which had the concurrence of their votes—one clause excepted—all along: And, by this means, have left us bound by our own votes[!], and themselves at liberty to practise what they please in Church-Censures. Their dissent was as followeth; ‘Feb. 3rd, 1644[-5]: The Dissent of the Brethren whose names are under written. We and divers others in the Assembly, having held forth all along this treaty of Accommodation, that the intent thereof was, That there being different judgments in this Assembly about Excommunication; the words of this Directory are so penned for Accommodation of all, that each may retain their sense and practice of the Censures in the Church accordingly, without breaking the common rule: We, whose names are under written, do enter our dissent to it, as an Accommodation in any other sense. Thomas Goodwin; William Bridge; Jeremy Burroughes; Philip Nye; William Carter.’

“To which ‘dissent’ we did then and do now give this answer, 1. ‘That our Brethren then,’ when the Accommodation was brought in to the Assembly, and as such accepted, ‘put in no such restriction as now they do, of excepting it as an Accommodation in such or such a sense; nay, the reporter made it a request from the committee to the Assembly, ‘That the form of words there agreed upon, might be accepted, and the sense not debated at all. And our Brethren knew it was so. 2. Although they did sometimes in the ensuing debates, mention such a sense, yet [they] never urged to have this expressed as their sense, intent, condition, of the ‘Accommodation,’ till the very day of their entering their dissent. 3. Although one of the dissenting Brethren did, Jan. 14th, occasionally, in another occasion, mention differing practices that might be in administering Church-Censures, yet this was not pleaded for, no, not by him, as the sense or condition of the ‘Accommodation.’ 4. But the very mention of it was, by him who had brought in the Report for ‘Accommodation,’ condemned as a thing injurious and prejudicial to Accommodation. So far was it from being held forth as the sense of the committee or Assembly. However, we desire it may be observed, the dissent our Brethren enter here, is not to this Directory, as not agreeable to the Word of God; but as not being such an Accommodation as will serve them!’ All this being considered—besides other debates both before and since, concerning Particular Congregations,—we believe our Brethren have no cause to charge us with laying aside ‘to this day,’ the debate of ‘The entire Power of Particular Congregations which have a sufficient Presbytery for all Church-Censures.’

“xiii. And thus having cleared ourselves from the main charge, and showed that it was not ‘declined, to this day;’ we shall with ease, acquit ourselves of the other also, about denying it ‘the first place;’ for neither is this, justly charged upon us. Whether the debate of The Power of Particular Congregations, might justly challenge ‘the first place,’ namely, before the debates about The Power of Classes and Synods, or not? yet we are sure it hath had ‘the first place’ in

the debates of the Assembly. For all those votes and resolutions forementioned, concerning The Power of Particular Congregations, were passed long before the Power, either of Classes or Synods, was concluded or debated; so that neither was it ‘declined, to this day,’ nor was it ‘denied the first place.’

‘xiv. After all this, as a further evidence of their ‘willingness to dispute’ their ‘Way,’ they mention a paper delivered in [to] the Honourable Committee appointed by the Honourable House of Commons, ‘to find out ways of accommodating different judgments in the Assembly.’ Now, though it might sufficiently clear the Assembly, to answer that no such papers were ever reported to the Assembly, and therefore the Assembly cannot be accountable for them; yet we further add, 1. That this paper was not the act of those Brethren, nor of any party of them alone, but of ‘four’ other members of this Assembly, joined with ‘two’ of them, in a sub-committee; as themselves acknowledge. 2. That this paper, in the utmost they can say of it, did but hold out the main and most of what they practically desired; and how can a paper which was the act of others as well as of themselves, and contained but most of what they practically desired, be a sufficient proof and evidence of their willingness ‘to make known’ whatever they held? 3. There were some nine propositions prepared by the sub-committee, in all which they did not agree; but the parties did, in most of them, counterlock one another [!] At the foot of these propositions, as we are informed by the chairman of that committee, was written as followeth, ‘We having weighed our Brethren’s principles, do find no probability of Accommodation for them ordinarily to enjoy Congregations; unless when it shall happen, in a parish, that the minister cannot administer the sacraments to all in the parish whom possibly the neighbour-ministers, or the classis, may judge fit to be admitted, such persons shall have power to procure to themselves the sacraments, either by the help of a neighbour-minister or some other provision be made by proportionable allowance out of the tithes, according to the wisdom of the State.’ Whereunto our Brethren add as followeth, ‘Or otherwise, if in a parish it happen [that] there be a considerable number of such as cannot partake in the sacraments with the minister and people, they shall have liberty to dispose of themselves as a distinct church, and to choose a minister, or ministers, at their own charge to be maintained to be their pastor. If such a liberty shall seem to the wisdom of this Honourable Committee to be so prejudicial to the peace of the Church as not to be permitted, we humbly desire, the doctrinal principles wherein we differ about Church-Government be taken into serious consideration, and some other way of Accommodation in practice be thought upon as shall seem fit to this Honourable Committee. This,’—say the Brethren—‘was presented to that Honourable Committee, to be transmitted whether to the Honourable Houses or to the Assembly, as they should think meet:’ but before any such thing could be done, it pleased the Honourable House of Commons to supersede the whole business [!]

‘xv. They yet press us further with papers, and tell us how, ‘upon occasion of something brought in by one Brother and entertained, they took hold of that example; and one of them, with consent of the

rest, brought in seven propositions containing matter of difference betwixt us; professing, 'That if this Reverend Assembly would debate them, or any one of them, they would bring in more, until they had brought in the whole Frame; and the Assembly themselves should pick and choose what they would debate and what not. These Propositions'—say they—'were rejected with a refusal to debate any one of them.' The true story of this business stands thus: on March 21st, 1644[-5], it was earnestly desired by several members of the Assembly that 'the Brethren, the dissenters, might be entreated to be a committee, to bring in what they thought further needful for the reforming of our congregations, and what they would desire in reference to their own;' as hath been touched already. This was, by those of the Brethren dissenters who were then present, opposed with greatest vigour. After some time spent in the debate of the business, when the question was drawn up *in terminis*, and ready to be put, perceiving the extreme averseness which was in these Brethren to undertake such a work, we forbore putting the question, lest the Brethren should complain, as they do in this paper, of our 'imposing' upon them. What counsels the Brethren took, we know not; but, March following, after an intimation given in the Assembly by a brother who was none of these dissenters, That one of these Brethren had something to offer about 'the rights of Particular Congregations;' and a motion made and assented to, that he might bring it in; one of them, after some expressions of unwillingness, drew forth a paper containing 'seven Propositions: and this was the true occasion of their bringing in these Propositions, and not, as they pretend, their voluntary taking hold of a paper brought in by another Brother. The Propositions, so far as our notes and records will help us, were as followeth: '1. That there is a Platform of church-government for the Church, laid down in Scripture. 2. That this is immutable, and binding the conscience to the observation thereof. 3. That the Officers which are to be employed in those churches, as pastors, teachers, ruling-elders, and deacons, are of Divine institution. 4. That the People have an Interest in the choice of those officers. 5. That these officers are to be designated, each of them, to their functions, by imposition of hands and by prayer. 6. That what Power these should have, and over whom they should have it, is of Divine institution. 7. Where there is a sufficient number of Presbyters in any one Congregation, then may the two great ordinances of Excommunication and Ordination be administered.' These Propositions, we conceive, were brought in by the 'consent' of all these Brethren, because now they say so; which is more than themselves affirm of any of their other papers, unless the first which was given in, about Ordination; yet themselves, in the debate of them, did not agree upon some of the terms; nor will they, we suppose, say, that all these Propositions contain 'matter of difference betwixt us.'

"But as to the laying of these Propositions aside; we answer, 1. That these Propositions were not to the purpose of what was then before the Assembly, nor what was desired, and expected from us, namely, 'What they thought further needful in the reformation of our congregations; and what they desired in reference to their own:' all

or most of what these Propositions contain having been before debated in the Assembly. 2. They were not tendered as already formed up for dispute; but it was added, by him that brought them in, 'These Propositions we are ready to form up, if the Assembly think fit.' 3. It was then particularly objected, That they had not brought them in with Scriptures and proofs annexed, as had been formerly used in committees; and offer made, several times, that if they would bring them in with proofs annexed, the Assembly was ready to receive them. 4. Neither indeed can they be said purposely to be brought into the Assembly; for when the reporter had read them, he put them up again without leaving either the original or a copy of them in the Assembly; and refused to give them in, though called for by divers; as likewise, another time, another of these Brethren having delivered a paper to a committee of the Assembly, for Accommodation, desired afterwards, that he might have it to peruse and transcribe it; which being obtained, we could never recover from him to this day either the paper or a copy of it; and when it hath been called for in the Assembly—as it hath been often—he still replied that he had it not about him. Only once, he drew it out and read it over, in the Assembly, with speed more than enough; and being desired then to deliver it in, he refused then to deliver it in to the Assembly; but said, if he must deliver it again he would deliver it to the chairman of that committee from whence he had it; who, not being then present, did not then or since receive it from him; though a paper much called for and desired, and often demanded by that chairman. All this while, the Brethren have been complaining about papers they brought in to the Assembly: but all this, is but to shape an excuse for their not bringing in papers as was expected: namely, Their 'Frame' or Model of 'Church-government;' according to the desire and order of the Assembly.

"xvi. The occasion of which Order was indeed, as they say, a book intituled 'The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England,'^a and published here by N. H., and I. H., who, in their Epistle to the Reader say they 'have been informed, that these' their 'Brethren'—speaking of the 'dissenting Brethren' in this Assembly—'formerly tendered themselves, that in case they might be put into a committee, or like meet posture, they would bring in the whole Frame of their judgments in a body, with their grounds and reasons: that now, very lately they gave in [seven] Propositions to be discussed, with promise of more; but neither [not any] of them was debated.' This 'book,' say the Brethren, they 'had no hand in, no knowledge of:' but they do not say they had no hand in giving information to the Prefacers to this 'book:' so they say they had no hand in publishing the papers called 'A copy of their Remonstrance;' but they will not, we hope, say that none of them had a hand in showing or communicating the written copy, or a transcript thereof, either before or since it came in to the Assembly.

"The Assembly finding themselves nearly touched by that misrepresentation which these men had made of their proceedings to the world, and knowing that they had often desired, and almost enjoined,

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 560.

the Brethren to be a committee to that purpose ; but not remembering that the Brethren had tendered themselves unto such a capacity, took the thing into a strict inquiry ; and the most that could be alleged particularly of that nature, for our Brethren, was but this, That upon Feb. 11th 1644[-5], one of them made an offer of being made a committee ; which, upon review of that day's proceedings, we find to be thus ; upon a motion of another brother in the Assembly, That they would use this argument against the Propositions in debate—concerning the lawfulness of Appeals—‘ That if every congregation ought to have all and sole Power, independently, and that their sentence cannot be rescinded by any other Power ; then there can be no appeal to another court ;’ desiring that they would prove such irrevocable Power in congregations ; or, if they did not like the terms of the Propositions, they would be a committee, and bring in Propositions to their own sense : one of the Brethren replied, ‘ With all his heart, because it was said they were still upon the Negative ;’ and, ‘ that [as] it was said abroad, they did not hold forth their mind ; they would bring in Propositions, if the Assembly pleased, to be disputed ;’ which presently was well resented in the Assembly, many of them expressing their approbation of the motion, and that they were very glad to hear it, being that which they most desired, and nothing would please them more than that these Brethren would clearly hold out their judgments ; and the Assembly in the midst of the other debate were going about to make them a committee to bring in what Propositions they pleased, according to the Ordinance of Parliament. And when in the Assembly, it was called to Order it, many having approved the motion, and none speaking against it, the brother who had before professed his willingness, began to object ‘ That they must know first for what they should be a committee ; and, what was meant by—according to the Ordinance of Parliament ; and, that the Assembly must first move the Parliament about it, and then they should see what they,’ these Brethren, ‘ would do.’ And another of these Brethren moved expressly against it, upon the same grounds that are now objected, ‘ That there were many things already concluded ; that it was to no purpose to make such an overture ; that they could not bring in what was their judgments, without contradicting what was already voted :’ whereupon, the offer being made but by one of these Brethren—though indeed, as they use to do, he used the word ‘ we,’—and not seconded by any of the rest, though there were divers of them present, but flatly opposed by one of them, and even by himself clogged, notwithstanding the profession of his ‘ willingness !’ the Assembly desisted, and returned to their former debate about the Propositions before them ; which is the true reason why the motion so well resented in the Assembly, did not proceed. The Assembly therefore, for vindication of themselves from this aspersion, did, upon the fourth of April, notwithstanding [the] much opposition of these Brethren, unanimously resolve upon the question, ‘ That the Brethren of this Assembly that had formerly entered their dissent to the Propositions about Presbyterial Government shall be a Committee to bring in the whole Frame of their Judgments, concerning Church-government, in a body, with their Grounds and

Reasons: in the last part of which Order, we thought fit to retain the words of the Prefacers, though scarce sense.

“ xvii. To this Order they pretend they ‘ yielded’ with ‘ willingness’ provided they might bring it in part by part. With what ‘ willingness,’ their debate against this Order, pressed with vehemency the first day, and repeated again the second day, bears witness, wherein all those disadvantages wherewith this paper elogs the business, were urged and answered; as namely, ‘ The main part of the Presbyterian Government—as namely, that about Ordination; and, Government of Presbyters over many Congregations; and, The subordination of Classical, Provincial, and National Assemblies—had been voted by the Assembly, and sent up to the Honourable Houses.’ And so they were, before the eleventh of February—which yet was the time, and the only time, so far as we can remember—that any of these Brethren made any overture to this Assembly, of bringing in a Model of their Way. And if the voting of these things were not looked upon as advantages; then, why are they pleaded as ‘ disadvantages,’ to have undertaken it on the eleventh of February? Why were they so averse from it on the twenty-first of March, and on the fourth and fifth of April? They cannot but remember—yea, they do remember it was said, ‘ That something of Church-government remained undiscussed;’ but was that all?—it was said, and by several Brethren made evident, that what the Assembly had voted and transmitted to the Honourable Houses, had not so precluded them but [that] they had scope enough still to bring in whatsoever they could assert and prove, about the Power of Particular Congregations; and there was scarce anything voted to the prejudice of the presumed or supposed rights of Particular Congregations, save only in the matter of Appeals. For, whatever had been voted lawful for Classes and Synods to do, did not thereby exclude Congregations from having such a Power likewise, if they could prove that by the Institution of Christ, such a Power belongs to them: besides many other things, which these Brethren suppose to be the ‘ rights of Particular Congregations, and that Christ hath invested them therewith,’ which the Assembly had not determined against: and the question about Excommunication—at least if the Assembly have, as they charge us, ‘ declined to this day, the entire Power of Censures in Congregations,—about Election of Officers, and the People’s Power therein;’ as likewise, the ‘ sufficiency of Election to constitute Officers, without Ordination;’ about the ‘ Constitutions of Congregations; and the way of gathering and constituting of Churches; their Church-Covenant; and the qualifications of those that are to be Church-Members; and what it is doth constitute a man a Member of a Visible Church:’ these and many other particulars, were yet *res integræ*, as was then declared. And it was further declared, that even in those things which the Assembly had voted and transmitted to both Houses of Parliament, yet we did not so lean to our own understandings, nor so prize our votes, but that if these Brethren should hold forth such light unto us as might convince us of an error, we should not only desire the Parliament to give us leave to revise our votes, but to revoke them if there should be cause. And when it was moved by some in the Assembly,

to add a proviso, That they bring not in anything which hath been already determined in the Assembly ; it was gainsaid by others moving, That there might be no such restriction, but that they be left to bring in what they would, so that they brought it in with their grounds and reasons : and accordingly, the questions drawn up March 21st and the resolved April 4th, were without any such restriction. But this reasonable satisfaction was not, we suppose, the ground why they ‘ yielded to be a committee :’ that which overruled the case was, that they ‘ might take away all jealousies that they were unwilling to discover what they held ;’ which whether they can do, or not, by the carriage of this business, time will give them to understand !

“ xviii. Well however, ‘ purposed’ they were, ‘ and resolved among themselves,’ to do this work, but to do it ‘ in as convenient a time as a work of such a compass could, in such a manner as was proposed by us, be despatched by them.’ It seems, then, the ‘ manner purposed by us,’ that they should bring in the Model entire, and ‘ not part by part,’ was it that troubled them. Indeed it was contended for with some earnestness, that they might bring it in ‘ part by part, as the Presbyterian-Government was brought in to the Assembly.’ And one of the Brethren was so earnest in this contest as that he did ‘ professedly disclaim any hand in it, unless it might be brought in part by part.’ For our parts, we counted it our unhappiness, and found it to be greatly to our prejudice, that we were necessitated to bring in the Presbyterian-Government ‘ part by part ;’ but our Brethren know it could not be avoided ; for the Assembly being, by the Ordinance whereby they sit, bound ‘ to treat only of such matters as shall, from time to time, be propounded to them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, and no others,’ could not appoint committees to consult and make preparations for matters of Church-government till they had received an Order from the Honourable House to that purpose. And having received this Order, they stood obliged now to lay by the ‘ Articles of Religion,’ in the review whereof they had hitherto spent their time, and to fall upon the consideration of Church-government, which being now by Ordinance of Parliament put into the hands of the Assembly, and made the subject of our debates, the committees could not have time to perfect the whole platform, but must bring it in by parts as they could despatch them, lest the Assembly should have no work at all before them. But if the Assembly had thought fit to have chosen seven men, and made them a committee to bring in a Platform or Model of Government according to their own judgments without respect to the judgment of other Brethren, and left them to their own time as these Brethren were left, and privileged them from other services and attendance in the Assembly and committees as some of these Brethren have taken themselves to be ; we doubt not, through the grace of God, but they would have brought in a Model of Government perfect and entire, in fewer months than we have waited for theirs. As for the Assembly’s bringing in of the Government *per partes*, it was by constraint ; but our Brethren made it a matter of choice and contest. What the design of this should be, we know not, unless to gain time and conceal themselves still, and detain us yet longer in

expectation and suspense; they having the more opportunity thereby to express themselves in what way they please, and in what they please to be still reserved.

“ xix. It likewise seems to grieve them, that ‘the Assembly, though pressed’ by them, would not declare ‘what they would do with that Model and those Reasons’ they should bring. But let the Brethren consider, whether they did then positively and expressly declare, Whether they would bring in such a Model, ‘though pressed’ to it by the Assembly; and if they would not declare the one, why should the Assembly declare the other? And the Brethren know it is not the custom of the Assembly, to tell committees beforehand what they will do with their Report when they bring it in; but when a Report is brought in, then they consider what to do with it when they see what it is. Moreover, the Brethren need not doubt but the Assembly would at least have made as much use of this, as they were by one of these Brethren advised to make of the paper of this nature given in by the Commissioners of Scotland!

“ xx But the Assembly, say they, ‘hastened^a the voting of what yet remained in Church-Government,’ and ‘when, not long after, upon occasion of debate of one particular point’ wherein they differed from the Assembly, they moved ‘it might be deferred,’ because they should present their ‘Judgments and Reasons’ about it, with the rest; ‘it was publicly answered, That therefore the Assembly should the rather go on to the concluding of it,’ because they ‘intended to bring it in;’ and accordingly the Assembly sent up to the Honourable Houses ‘as well what had been sent up by pieces before, as what was since concluded in one entire Frame.’ For the hastening of the votes, and the sending up our Advice for Government ‘in an entire Frame:’ the Brethren know the reason of it, but they are pleased to conceal it. The Honourable Houses had sent several Messages and Orders to this Assembly requiring them to hasten the despatch of their Advice concerning Church-Government, and to send it up entire: which Messages and Orders of the Houses we are bound to obey by that Ordinance whereby we sit; and it is not free for us to detain our votes, when both or either of the Houses call for them. Our Brethren therefore deal hardly with us when they impute that to us as a fault which was our duty. As for the ‘particular’ which, they say, they desired ‘might be deferred;’ we know not what it was they mean, nor when debated: if they had instanced in the ‘particular,’ we could more clearly have answered to the charge. But if there were such a motion made by them, and if any brother should answer, That their Model being to come in, and like to hold the Assembly in long debate, we should therefore make the more haste to despatch what was before us, that so we might be the more ready to receive what they should give in: though the Assembly be not bound to give an account of the particular speeches of every member, yet we conceive there might be some reason why a man might so speak, especially considering that they were not limited, but left to their own time for bringing in their Model; for there was no day set from the fourth of April, when they were first

^a “Hastened by you,” thus in the Remonstrance.

made a committee, till September 22nd, and then only ‘That about a fortnight after, they should make a Report of what they had done;’ nor had they all this time, declared that they would bring in a Model. But it seems they were resolved to take time large enough, for they tell us—

“ xxi. That ‘the collection of materials’ cost them ‘two or three months.’ Strange! Have the Brethren decried the Government of all other Churches, these many years, and engaged themselves in a new way of church-gathering and governing; and when they are called upon for the proof of that way, their ‘materials’ are to seek? Have they told the world in their ‘Apologetical Narration,’ that they have searched out ‘what were the first apostolic directions, pattern, and example, of those primitive churches recorded in the New Testament;’ and ‘in this inquiry, looked upon the Word of Christ impartially and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out?’^a Do they spend almost three whole pages of the Apology in setting out the advantages they had in their inquiry above all other that were before, either in this or other Reformed Churches, yea, or in New England? Do they profess that in ‘the primitive pattern and example of the churches erected by the Apostles,’ they ‘found principles enough not only fundamental and essential to the being of a church, but superstructory also for the well-being of it;’ and these, to them, ‘clear and certain, etc.’^b And are their ‘materials’ still to collect; and must no less than ‘two or three months’ be ‘spent’ in ‘the collection’ of them? But grant it so; they have had not only ‘two,’ but six months’ time for the preparing of their Model: why is it not yet brought in?

“ xxii. They answer, The Assembly hath ‘ten months since’ received their Dissent and Reasons ‘against the Subordination of Synods,’ which contains ‘a main part’ of that wherein they differ, and ‘is of all other of the greatest moment both to this Church and State;’ yet notwithstanding, these Reasons have not been answered by any Reply brought into this Assembly, and so not ready to be sent up to the Honourable Houses: although the ‘votes concerning subordination’ were sent up, by which ‘we see,’ say they, ‘that this Assembly can assume the liberty, if it so please, to reserve those we shall present, unanswered, as they have done the former.’ We grant, that about ‘ten months since’ these Brethren brought in a paper containing Reasons of their Dissent against the Subordination of Synods, which we presently committed to the same committee that had drawn up the Answer to the former Reasons. We grant, that as long since, our votes concerning Subordination were sent up to the Houses; for these votes having been passed in the Assembly long before, and no dissent to them entered; when upon occasion of the Treaty at Uxbridge, which though it was not then begun, was in preparation; it pleased the Parliament to require us to send up to them what had passed the Assembly in Church-Government; and the Assembly thereupon, appointed a committee to draw up the whole which had passed the Assembly, into a method fit to be presented to the Parliament, and the Report of the

^a Ap. Nar. p. 3.

^b Ibid. p. 9, 10.

committee [was] considered by the Assembly, and the whole voted to be sent up to both Houses. Our Brethren then entered their Dissents to some particular propositions of it; and desired that the sending up of the whole might be respited till they had brought in the Reasons of that their Dissent, which because the Assembly could not assent unto, because of the Order of Parliament calling for them in reference to their preparation to the Treaty, these votes, together with the rest, were sent up to the Parliament before the Reasons of their Dissent were brought into the Assembly; and the Subordination of Synods soon after, voted in both Houses of Parliament, and sent afterwards, among other propositions, to the Treaty at Uxbridge, which made us not over-solicitous of despatching our Answer to their Reasons in all the formalities, because these Reasons and Answers are not to be sent up till called for by the Parliament; and we conceived it not very probable that the Houses would call for Reasons against their own votes. Yet, thirdly, the committee had prepared their Answer to these Reasons in less time than the Brethren say they were put to the expense of collecting of 'the materials' of their Way; for in January last about twelve sheets of an answer to these Reasons against the Subordination of Synods were read and approved in a Grand Committee of the whole Assembly, these Dissenters only excepted; and wanted but the formality of the Assembly's vote. And since, another part of our Answer to their Reasons of Dissent to another proposition, was read and approved in the Assembly. Our Brethren therefore need not to have vaunted themselves as if their papers were such as the Assembly could not or would not grapple with, but 'can assume liberty, if they please, to reserve unanswered.' What remains of this paper, rather reflects upon the Parliament than upon us.

"xxiii. If what they would now bring in 'should be undertaken to be answered by the Assembly,' yet they are sensible 'of so much remediless prejudice, by being bound from replying again,' as makes them 'justly wary.' And surely, if what they should now give in be in their own power, as afterwards they say it is; 'although our former Reasons' given, in former disputes, to both Houses according to their Ordinance were therefore not our own, but to be disposed of by their appointment; yet what we might now give in, we conceive to be in our own power.' If this can be made good, that it is in their 'own power,' namely, in their power to Reply, then is their fear of being prejudiced by being 'bound up' from replying, but pretended. But if there be, indeed, any such restraint, it is from the Honourable Houses, not from us, whose wisdom and piety, we doubt not, will provide that contentions shall not be lengthened to eternity, whatsoever some have threatened; nor doth it stand with reason and equity, that they who are first heard in their own cause, should speak last also. If by being in their 'own power,' they mean in their own power to divulge or to publish; it seems, by the publishing of what they now gave in, that they thought so indeed. But to this, we answer, that there is no greater obligation on them in this kind, than is on the whole Assembly; and they have no reason to complain of that, to us.

“xxiv. For a conclusion, the Brethren say they ‘think the Assembly hath no cause to require a Report’ now of [from] them; ‘nor will that Report be of use, because reports are for debates, and debates for resolves to be sent up to the Honourable Houses, who have already voted another Form of Government’ than what they ‘shall present.’ To which we answer, The Assembly hath still great and just cause to expect a Report from these Brethren: those of their Way having published in print, that these Brethren are willing to do it. The Assembly having ordered it, the Brethren having held the Assembly six months in expectation of it: some of them pleading this very employment as an excuse of their absence from the Assembly, it having been reported in city and country, that the Model was finished, there being no just and satisfactory reason presented in those papers why they should not do it; but only pretences, subterfuges, imperfect and unjust Relations of the proceedings of the Assembly, and other ‘specious diversions.’ But whereas they say, That such a Model would be of no ‘use’ now; we answer yes, of much use in this great business of Accommodation, which it hath pleased the Honourable Houses again to put us upon. Upon which considerations we think, not that the Brethren have no cause to decline the bringing in their Model at this time, but that they have some other cause than what they pretend to, and that something lies behind the curtain which doth not yet appear. Possibly, not any one of them is yet at a point in his own ‘judgment,’ nor resolved where to fix; they having professed to keep, as a reserve, liberty to alter and retract, which, if their Model were given in, they could not so fairly and honourably do. Or, possibly, they are not, all, fixed in one and the same point: possibly, they cannot agree among themselves; for it is easier to agree in dissenting than in affirming: or, possibly, if they *seven* can agree, yet some other of their brethren in the city to whom, it may be, the Model was communicated, did not like it; or if so, yet possibly, the Brethren might foresee that if this Model should be published, there are some who, at present, are a strength to them and expect shelter from them, may disgust it; or at least they ‘are resolved to wait a further opportunity, to improve’ what they ‘have prepared,’ it may be, when the Assembly is dissolved! and so not in a capacity to answer then, or when the Presbyterian Government begins to be set up; when they promise to themselves there will be discontent among the people; and look upon that, it may be, as the most advantageous time of putting pen to paper. But whatsoever the cause be, we commit *our* cause to the Lord, who loves truth and simplicity, and will, no doubt, discover it in due time.

CORNELIUS BURGESS, *Prolocutor pro tempore.*

ADONIRAM BYFIELD, *Scriba.*”

The justice and strength of *our* cause will not suffer from the addition here of “The Picture of Independency Lively, yet Lovingly, Delineated: By John Vicars, 1645.” 4to. pp. 16, with the Imprimatur of “Ja. Cranford” on p. *ult.*

That hunger-whetted Wit, whom royal and prelatical gratitude suffered to ruminate and to die on only his own nausea and their applause,

attributed the inglorious inspiration of "ale, or viler liquors,"^a to this noted Usher at Christ's Hospital School, Newgate-street; and who could, "out-scold the boldest face in Billingsgate," if the authority for this latter representation of so rare a quality be trust-worthy.^b We profess to think more charitably of him, even though he seem to fume and rave in our face. Dispensing, however, with some of the luxuriance of the artist's imagery, we describe much of the remainder as mixed with the usual qualities accompanying the conceit of super-eminent ability: for instance, where the strokes of his pencil mark the lines respectively peculiar to "spiritual pride; self-seeking; new lights; strange enthusiasms; unkind, unbrotherly writing and wrangling against your Presbyterian Brethren;" besides a sufficiency of "that so highly cried up 'Apologetical Narration;'" and more than enough of "the unquestionable, because honoured, truths of the Presbyterian Way, never to be refuted," p. 5; [where moreover is a fine touch at "malicious prejudices against Master Edwards, his pious, painful, and learned preaching and writing against your novel ways, especially your quarrelling against his most learned 'Antapologia!'"

Another compartment, beginning at p. 9, contains requisite touches marking out "pride; self-seeking or self-engagements; causeless schism and separation; peculiar churches out of churches;" and, "palpable schism!" and so happy is the artist that his skilful composition filled his own mind with the like of the poet's

Monstrum horrendum informe ingens, etc.

But notwithstanding that his "Picture" was become so horrifying, he contrived to soften its effects by representing "some" of the figures on the canvass, as "learned," and distinguished for being "more moderate;" emphatically marking, "even your five Apologists themselves!"

Anon, at p. 12 he paints himself desiring "to ask any ingenuous dissenting brother or sister . . . what would they and I have given and done less than ten years ago, and so upward, to have had the Presbyterian Government as it then was and now is in Scotland, to have been established and set up among us, which now, like fools and most ungrateful wantons, ye so condemn, condemn, and vilify, to your great shame be it spoken?" His partiality is visible enough thus far; but it is evidently only not quite so striking in what follows, though his colours have more than a usual brilliancy and contrast: "Neither the parts nor piety of men, though never so outwardly pure and holy, are a right rule for truly wise Christians to walk by; but contrarywise, very dangerous and deceivable: for though from my heart I here profess, as in the presence of God the Teacher of all hearts, that I love and honour very many of the Independent and Dissenting Brethren, both for their learning and holy lives; yet give me leave as ingenuously to confess withal, that I much fear them for their judgment and opinions' sake, which I hold dangerous and destructive; for I say, as the apostle Paul says Gal. i. 8, Though any of you, yea, or an angel

^a See back, vol. i. p. 479.

^b Foulis, in his "Wicked Plots of our Pretended Saints," 1674, Fol. p. 179.

from heaven, preach any other gospel or word than that which Christ and his apostles in the written Word, *hath* delivered unto us, 'let him be accursed.'” It is the fate of genius, to be exuberant; so accordingly he pictures himself, p. 15, uttering, “Let me advise you, my Brethren, to take great heed lest, by your unjust jars, ye come too near the number and nature of those to whom our Saviour pronounces woe, for offending any of his innocent and peaceable ‘little ones’ of the Presbyterian party, his undoubted beloved ones. . . For, believe it, my Brethren, ye give us too great cause to set a ‘mark’ upon you—Rev. vi. [xiii.] 17—for raising and causing such unjust divisions and offences among us, and to wish ye had all kept in New England and Holland still, than thus to come among us to molest our, at first, so hopeful and happy peace and reformation.” The improvement of which is, certainly, the great master-stroke in the whole “Picture:” “Only herein,” he adds, “we may and must see the hand of God sorely upon us, in thus raising you up, who, we hoped, would and should have been a mighty help unto us, to help to whip us for our former unworthy walking!” Thus much for Vicars, at present.

CHAP. LXIV.

ALLIN AND SHEPARD.—THE “DESIRES” OF THE INDEPENDENTS.

OUR 35th chapter affords the requisite preliminary information to the piece which we have appropriated to this place, intituled “A Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions or Positions sent from New England, against the Reply thereto by that Reverend Servant of Christ Mr. John Ball, intituled ‘A Trial of the New Church-Way in New England and in Old:’ Wherein, beside a more full opening of sundry Particulars concerning Liturgies, Power of the Keys, Matter of the Visible Church, etc.; is more largely handled that Controversy concerning the Catholic Visible Church; tending to clear up the Old Way of Christ in New England Churches. By John Allin, Pastor of Dedham, [and] Thomas Shepard, Pastor of Cambridge, in New England.—London, 1648.” 4to. pp. 211.^a

The Preface, dated Nov. 28th, 1645, begins with an allusion to the “profession” made by our Lord, John xviii. 37, followed with these remarks, “We confess we have been too slow in this service of Christ,

^a With singular impropriety apparently, the title-page of this book has been changed to the following, while the remainder of the impression is the same as the above, the preface being subscribed with the joint names: “A Treatise of Liturgies, Power of the Keys, and of Matter of the Visible Church. In Answer to the Reverend Servant of Christ Mr. John Ball. By Thomas Shepard, sometime Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge; and late Pastor of Cambridge in New England. London, 1653.”

not having to this day set forth a unanimous confession of that form of wholesome words which is preached, received, and professed in these churches of the Lord Jesus; and which we are not unmindful of, though our distances and other difficulties may delay the opportunity. But this, in the mean time, we profess in general, That—so far as we know—there is the same blessed ‘Spirit of truth’ breathing in the ministry of the country; the same faith embraced and professed in the churches, which is generally received as the orthodox doctrine of the Gospel in the best Reformed churches, and particularly by our godly learned brethren of England and Scotland. And though errors have sprung up among us, and some are gone from us that we fear were not with us, yet we have borne witness against them. . . Some brief answers sent over to some particular persons, to satisfy our brethren what our Practice is—with some brief touch of our reasons—rather than to discuss those points, have been printed by some without our knowledge or assent, upon what grounds they best know. And some short treatises by some reverend brethren have been published. . . But . . . we have been too slow to clear our doctrine and practice from the many objections, harsh interpretations, and manifold criminations cast upon the same: . . . but now, we see ourselves pressed hereto; . . . for we perceive, by the first Letter of our Brethren, how the withdrawing of Christians from the Liturgy was imputed to us; and by this Reply, . . . we cannot but see what apprehensions are raised of us. Yea, many are apt to think that if we had said nothing, yet our very act in forsaking the churches of God in our dear native country, and the cause of Christ there; together with the practice of these churches, thought to be so different from the Reformed Churches; have [has] been not only a great weakening to the hands of the godly that have stood by the cause of Christ, but also have [has] caused great disturbance to the Reformation in hand. . .

“Yet let us entreat all the godly wise to consider, and look back upon the season of this great enterprise undertaken by us; and the manner of our proceedings in it, with the admirable workings of God’s Providence, first and last, about it; and we think—though we were silent—they may easily satisfy themselves whether this was of God or men, a sinful neglect of the Cause of Christ, or a manifest attestation to the Truth by open profession against corruptions of Worship in use; . . . and that confirmed by no small degree of sufferings for the same. For, was it not a time when human worship and inventions were grown to such an intolerable height, that the consciences of God’s saints and servants enlightened in the Truth, could no longer bear them? Was not the power of the tyrannical Prelates so great, that like a strong current [it] carried all down [the] stream, before it; whatever was, from the law or otherwise, set in their way? Did not the hearts of men generally fail them? Where was the people to be found, that would cleave to their godly ministers in their sufferings; but rather thought it their discretion to provide for their own quiet and safety? yea, when some freely, in zeal of the Truth, preached or professed against the corruptions of the times; did not some take offence at it, judge it rashness, and to be against all rules of discretion,

who since are ready to censure us for deserting the cause? . . . We cannot see but the rule of Christ, to his apostles and saints, and the practice of God's saints in all ages, may allow us this liberty as well as others, to flee into the wilderness from the face of the Dragon.^a But if it had been so, that the godly Ministers and Christians that fled to New England were the most timorous and faint-hearted of all their brethren that staid behind; and that those sufferings were nothing in comparison of their brethren's—for why should any boast of sufferings?—yet who doth not know that the Spirit . . . in such times, doth single out every one to such work as he in wisdom intends to call them unto? . . . It is a case of conscience frequently put, and oft resolved by holy Bradford, Peter Martyr, Philpot, and others, in Queen Mary's bloody days: . . . to which, their answer was, That if God gave a spirit of courage and willingness to glorify Him by sufferings, they should stay; but if . . . not, . . . they might lawfully flee; yea, they advised them thereunto. . . And what if God will have his church and the kingdom of Christ, grow up also in these remote parts of the world, that his Name may be known to the heathen, or whatsoever other end he hath; and to this end, will send forth a company of weak-hearted Christians which dare not stay at home to suffer; why should we not let the Lord alone, and rejoice that Christ is preached, howsoever, and wheresoever? And who can say that this work was not undertaken and carried on with sincere and right ends, and in a holy, serious manner, by the chief and the body of such as undertook the same? . . .

“Look from one end of the heaven to another, whether the Lord hath essayed to do such a work as this in any nation; so to carry out a people of His own from so flourishing a State to a Wilderness so far distant, for such ends and for such a work! . . . only in hopes of enjoying Christ in His ordinances, in the fellowship of His people. Was this, from a stupid senselessness or desperate carelessness what became of us or ours; or want of natural affections to our dear country, or nearest relations?” No surely! . . . What shall we say of the singular Providence of God bringing so many ship-loads of his people through so many dangers, as upon eagles' wings, with so much safety from year to year? . . . giving such healthfulness and great increase of posterity. What shall we say of the work itself, of the kingdom of Christ? And, [of] the form of a commonwealth erected in a wilderness, and in so few years brought to that state that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English colonies in the richest places of this America, after many more years standing? . . .

“Two things chiefly inclined us to undertake this work; first, to clear up such truths as we conceive to be according to the mind of Christ, which were obscured by this Reply: secondly, and that especially, hoping that what we should write would tend rather to a peaceable healing of offences and differences than otherwise. . . Though we be the meanest and weakest of many, to take upon us thus to speak to our dear countrymen, yet through the grace of Christ who put us into the ministry, we have bestowed a great part of our labours in these parts, neither [not] we hope, altogether in vain; which makes

^a Rev. xii. 14.

us somewhat the more engaged and encouraged to write as we do. . . Nov. 28th, 1645."

Thus much only, from a Preface spread over twenty-five pages. From five pages of "Advertisements to the Reader," we take only the close: "The name of this servant of Christ [John Ball], now asleep, is an ointment poured out and precious to us; we could therefore have wished it our portion to have answered the book without the least reflecting upon him, but the necessity herein is unavoidable. This only we add, that whatever weaknesses may pass from us, let them not be imputed to those servants of Christ that set us on work, and have wanted leisure to review what is here done. Every one may not be, in all things, of the same mind with us, for they may meet us in the same end though they use not the same arguments; . . . yet we know that we are not alone in anything, but may safely say thus much, 'That what is here defended is generally acknowledged and received in these churches of Christ.'"

"Chap. i.—Concerning the Title [of the Reply].—Whereas it is called a 'New Church-Way,' we little expected that Brethren studious of Reformation, who have been so exercised with imputations of novelty, would have so readily, and in the frontispiece, cast the same upon us who, with them, desire to walk in the first ways of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy apostles! . . . A new edition of the old church-way of godly Reformers; in some things, perhaps, corrected and amended; is no 'New Church-Way;' or if it be thought the mending of some crooks in the old way makes a 'New Way,' we answer with Junius, in a case not unlike, *Uteunque novam esse videatur, attamen quæcumque sunt vestra, fuerunt nova, ac non propterea novitatis nomine vitiosa, nisi forte novam pro renovatâ et restitutâ accipitis; quo sensu novam esse hanc viam agnoscimus.*^a One thing more in the title page, . . . whereas it is said, 'This treatise of Mr. Ball was penned a little before his death, and sent over 1637,' it seems to be a mistake of the printer; for the 'Nine Questions' themselves were sent over 1636; the Answer returned 1638, but miscarrying another was sent 1639; from which time we longingly expected a return, but . . . we never . . . received any till this printed Reply . . . came occasionally to our hands, 1644.^b Concerning the 'Epistle to the Reader;' . . . we desire our Brethren to consider the date of Mr. Ball's book printed for 'Stinted Liturgies,'^c one chief part of this controversy, and the printed Answer to the Nine Questions; and let that resolve the question, Who of us came first 'volunteers' into the field. . .

"Chap. ii.—'That a Stinted Form of Prayer and Set Liturgy is Unlawful.'^d— . . . Though all of us could not concur to condemn all Set Forms as unlawful; yet we could in this, namely, That though some Set Forms may be lawful, yet it will not follow that this of the English Liturgy is, Therefore, to remove all obscurities and break all snares, and resolve the question in the true intent of it, we were forced to distinguish of Forms, and so touch the true 'Helena' of this controversy: and therefore if any shall narrowly observe Mr. Ball's large defence of Set Forms in general, they shall find those wings

^a Lib. i. Paral. vi. ^b See back, vol. ii. p. 22. ^c *Ibid.* p. 46. ^d *Ibid.* p. 23.

spread forth in a very great breadth to give some shelter and warmth to that particular Liturgy then languishing and hastening, through age and feebleness, towards its last end. . . Concerning Forms of Catechisms and Confessions of Faith, if religiously and perspicuously framed, we account them of singular use—though abused by men,—nor without some sacred allowance : yet from hence to infer the like use of Set Forms of Prayers, neither our reasons nor any other will enforce : for catechisms and confessions—as well as psalms—in the nature of the thing, required, in some sense, a set and limited form ; but public prayers, though they may admit of a set and comely order in the general, to prevent error, yet of their own nature they require no set form, for God gives us no new matter or doctrine daily to be believed, but he gives new matter of new affection in prayer daily. . . We confess there is danger in casting by all forms of confessions and catechisms, lest, through the instability of ungrounded and heady men pretending new light, or searching after further light, the churches adhere to nothing ; and their ‘faith’—as the learned Leyden Professors^a term it,—become ‘fides horaria’ or ‘menstrua’, the faith of an hour or month, and then cast it off the next. And on the other side, there is danger that by imposing such confessions too far, that which is indeed further light be suppress. We, therefore, think it useful and needful to pave out such highways of catechisms and confessions so as the subjects of Christ Jesus our King and Lawgiver may walk therein without shackles ; reserving liberty for further future light in points less clear, yet standing in a readiness always to confess and hold fast the present truth which appears most clear. Concerning Forms of blessing, baptizing, singing Scripture psalms, there is a far differing reason from this case ; for the Lord himself hath left us Forms, in these cases, not only for instruction, but allowing the use of the same ; as Num. vi. 23—26 ; Luke x. 5 ; Matt. xxviii. 19 ; 2 Chron. xxix. 30 ; and therefore, such may be used as He hath left. Yet the Lord hath not imposed—some of these at least—to be used always and only in His churches ; much less doth He allow any men to impose their own Forms upon His churches, or [require any men to] conform to such as are tyrannously imposed. . . The Answer calls [the communion book] not ‘a monument of idolatry’ for some corruptions only found in it,—though the corruptions in matter and manner, be objected as the first reason why we used it not,—but [for] being never commanded of God, greatly abused unto idolatry and superstition, and of no necessary use ; the same that was in popery for substance. . . Hear what a late godly and learned writer speaks, Rejicimus illas precum, cultusque publici formulas, quæ, etc.—ecclesiæ filios. [‘We reject also those forms of prayers and public worship, which, etc.—Sons of the Church.’]^b . .

“ Chap. iii. [1]—That it is not lawful to join in Prayer, or receive the Sacrament, where a Stinted Liturgy is used : Or, as we conceive your meaning to be in this as in the former ; namely, where and when that Stinted Liturgy is used!^c—We have ever conceived that the

^a Synopsis Theologiæ. ^b Apollonii. cap. vii. q. 2 : see back, vol. ii. p. 426.

^c See back, vol. ii. p. 26.

‘Separation’ witnessed against both by yourselves and us, has been such as to separate from the churches of England as ‘no true churches;’ the ministry, as ‘no true ministry?’ *their* separations from corruptions in doctrine and worship; *their* endeavour to enjoy all the ordinances of the Lord Jesus in purity; if we be not mistaken, your judgment and practice, with ours, have always approved. And the question now in hand, is not about a new kind of ‘Separation,’ more moderate, from the churches and ministry of England; but whether the Liturgy of England be not indeed one of those corruptions in worship which you and we had need reject as well as the Ceremonies, and no longer conform to the same? And we heartily wish that the growing endeavours of the godly after more purity of worship, and to be purged from all the pollutions of the ‘man of sin,’ be not too rashly branded with the odium of ‘Separation’ and breach of peace and unity of the Church. . . It was the justification and pressing of ceremonies and other corruptions that drove many to Separation; not the endeavour of further Reformation. So you may fear, the too much conformity of ministers to human impositions, and justification of the Liturgy, etc., have [alienated], and will more dangerously alienate, godly minds from your churches and ministry, and so drive to Separation, than all the principles and progress of the godly in ways of Reformation. . . But what other arguments they [rigid Separatists] have, are, or may be, common to others studious of Reformation, as their arguments against ceremonies are common with Nonconformists; and therefore if some of our grounds be found in them, it doth not follow ‘they are shafts taken out of the same quiver, and peculiar to them,’ as you object. . . Cyprian’s speech is commonly noted, that—*Plebs maxime habet potestatem vel elegendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi*; yet the occasion of it is not so generally observed, which is this—*Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, Deum metuens, à peccatore propositio separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegia sacerdotis sacrificia miscere cum ipsa maxime habet potestatem elegendi, etc.*; that is, ‘The People observing divine precepts, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a wicked minister, neither join themselves to the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest, seeing they chiefly have power of choosing worthy ministers and rejecting unworthy.’ . . There can be no prayer by any man offered to God, but there will be some human frailties attending on it; if, therefore, for this cause we should reject communion in prayer, we should reject the ordinances of God, and never join in any prayer in this world; but the corruptions of the Liturgy are not such, but that they may be more easily cast off than kept. . . ‘Hath not christian wisdom and experience of human frailties lessoned you, dear Brethren, to bear one with another in matters of greater consequence than any have or can be objected truly against the Form of Prayer in use among us?’ The Lord hath ‘lessoned’ us to tolerate and bear with many ‘human frailties’ not only in ‘one another,’ but also in our dear Brethren abroad; but to join with the best of men in conformity to known and gross corruptions in worshipping God, or to stoop so low to the insolent tyranny of usurping prelates as to bear on our backs their whole Liturgy and the corruptions

thereof, we confess we have not yet learned; and now we hope never to go to that school again, to learn the same! . . . We doubt not but Bilney, Latimer, etc., used the prayers and ceremonies of the Church of Rome out of 'human frailty;' yet the service itself and those ceremonies of holy water, holy bread, etc., which Latimer turned to as good use as he could, were evil, and no way to be conformed unto by the godly. . . . This corrupt service-book hath been over-long tolerated and borne withal in the English churches. It deserveth not so honourable a burial as the Jewish worship, but hath stunk above ground twice 'forty years' [Psal. xc. 10.] in the nostrils of many godly who breathed in the pure air of the holy Scriptures, being witnessed against by the writings and sufferings of many godly Ministers and Christians in England and Scotland. . . . When we say it was taken out of the Mass-book, we understand Mass-book in a large sense—as it is commonly taken—for, to speak narrowly, it was collected out of three popish books; the first part, of public prayers, ex Breviario; the second part, namely, the order of administering sacraments, matrimony, visiting the sick, and burials, è Rituali; the third, the order of consecration in the supper, the epistles and gospels and collects, è Missali, as the form of consecration of bishops and priests was taken à Pontificali.^a . . .

“ Chap. iii. [2]—‘That the children of godly and approved Christians are not to be baptized, until their Parents be set members of some Particular Congregation. That the Parents themselves though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord’s supper, until they be admitted as set Members.’^b— . . . Concerning the stating of the question, too much liberty is taken, as in other cases; for neither in the Position nor in our Answer do we limit the question to members in *our* church-order, . . . but expressly extend the same to other churches of Christ, though through error or human frailty defective in matters of order; yea, to the members of any true church, as in the Answer is said. Concerning such as come over [the Atlantic] and are for a time without Seals; it is not because we refuse communion with them as being members of your churches known, or ‘recommended Christians’ as you say: for if any godly man remaining a member in any true church with you, or elsewhere, come so ‘recommended,’ or be well known to the church, we never, under that notion, refuse any; but, giving such other satisfaction as is meet, shall readily receive them, as we always profess; and therefore, we must still call for attendance to the state of this question in its right terms, namely, Whether the children of godly parents, or [parents] themselves though of approved piety, are to be admitted to the Seals, not being members of some particular congregation, or until they be such? ”

“ Chap. iv. . . . It may be useful before we come to the defence of our argument, to take into consideration the nature and order of the Visible Church of Christ, catholic and particular. . . . Concerning which, having digressed awhile, we shall return, we hope, with some advantage of clear evidence, to justify the first argument of the Answer against what is said in the Reply.

“ Chap. v.—A digression, tending to clear the state of that contro-

^a “Altare, Damasc. p. 612.”

^b See back, vol. ii. p. 27.

versy concerning a Catholic Visible Church, in respect of the nature, unity, visibility, and priority, of the same.—.There is no visible society of a church which hath actual and immediate right unto and communion in the visible government of Christ and the dispensation of his instituted worship and ordinances, but such a society as the Lord Jesus hath, in the Gospel, instituted and ordained for that end. We say, ‘actual and immediate right’ unto the same; for though a believer, *quâ* believer, have an immediate right [unto] and actual enjoyment of such benefits of Christ as necessarily and immediately flow from his internal union with Christ, as justification, adoption, etc.; and such rights to christian communion with all the saints in their prayers, gifts, etc., as flow from his spiritual relation unto them; yea, and also he hath a true right to all benefits purchased by Christ, in a due order and manner: yet we say ‘instituted’ privileges and ordinances do not immediately flow from spiritual union and relation to Christ and his members; but are dispensed by Christ to his people, mediately, and in such an order as He hath in wisdom ordained; and this, the nature of visible government and ordinances of Christ necessarily requires. And hence it is, that although the Church, in its nature and essence, and in respect of its spiritual union and relation to Christ and one another, profession of the same faith, etc., have been always one and the same in all ages, yet both the visible government and ordinances of worship, and also the instituted form and order of church-societies, have been various, according to the wisdom and will of Christ; whereby it appears that the order, government, forms of visible church-societies, to which actual enjoyment of visible ordinances doth belong, cannot justly be deduced from the common nature of the Church Catholic, or [from] any respects of reason or logical notions, under which it may fall; but, only, this depends upon the will and pleasure of Christ, who hath, in all ages, instituted the forms and orders of such societies to whom the actual enjoyment of instituted ordinances was given. And hence the argument for a National form of a church to be in the New Testament as well as in the Old, drawn from the common nature, essence, profession of faith, etc., of the church in all ages, falls flat to the ground; for by the same reason it must, then, be in Families only now, as it was about Abraham’s time!” We desist from any further representation of the contents of this long “digression” through thirty-eight pages, referring it to the student who is in quest of an able response to the general theme. The authors remark, however, that “we desire to be excused if we be the more brief in our answer to particulars which now we shall attend unto as they lie in order.”

“Chap. vi.” This, like the preceding chapter, is of a character which does not admit of a perspicuous comprehension, short of the whole of its contents. The largeness of the church at Jerusalem, being argued in the Reply, as being “one and distinct,” but not capable of meeting for worship “in one place” as a congregational assembly; besides the ready answer, that in the Temple “they had room enough,” examples of as great assemblies “meeting ordinarily to edification,” are instanced in “the auditory of Chrysostom; the assemblies of Stepney in London, Yarmouth in Norfolk, and others in our experience;” and further, “Beza, a man not loving to hyperbolize, saith,

that being in Paris there met at a sermon twenty-four thousand:^a and so of a synodal assembly, that they received the Lord's Supper [numbering] no less than ten thousand."^b

"Chaps. vii.—xiii." These are all filled with matters of which much is but the repetition of what, in other forms and connexions, our pages abound with; and the remainder consists of explanation and rectification of misapprehendings and misstatings between the parties engaged.

"Chap. xiv.—'That the power of Excommunication is so in the Body of the Church, that what the major part shall allow must be done, etc.'^c—'. . . Amongst them that hold the Power of the Keys to be given to the church, some distinguish between the power itself which they give to the church, and the execution which they confine to the presbytery: others give the power of the keys with the exercise thereof to the whole body of the church, or if in the dispensation they attribute any thing to the officers it is but as servants of the church from whom they derive their authority; and here lies the stone at which the Separation stumble, and which we conceive to be your judgment and practice, wherein we required your plain answer, but have received no satisfaction.' . . . We are sorry to see this reverend man of God so strongly possessed with a prejudicate opinion, and fear of our concurrence with the [rigid] 'Separation.' Upon what ground it is not said, nor can we apprehend, that neither our flat negation of the Position nor our reference to Mr. Parker as concurring with him, should give him any satisfaction to the contrary. But if that be the judgment and practice of the Separation which is here imputed unto them, namely, That the power and exercise of the keys is in the body of the church, and what the officers do therein is but as servants of the church from whom they derive their authority; if our profession may be of any use to satisfy, we do freely and heartily profess to the contrary: affirming that the authoritative power of transacting all things in the church is in the hands of the officers who minister in the name and power of Christ to and over the church; and that the power or liberty of the community whereby they may and ought to concur with their guides. so long as they rule in the Lord, is to be carried in a way of obedience unto them, and when upon just cause they dissent from them, still they are to walk respectfully towards them. And we think our Brethren are not ignorant that Mr. Parker, and Fenner, give as much to the church in excommunication as we have pleaded for in any of our public writings. . . . 'We judge the community of the Faithful not to be the immediate receptacle of ecclesiastical authority, and so the power of excommunication not to belong unto them:' by this conclusion it appears that however the author began professedly against us as Separatists in this point, yet he follows the cause against Mr. Parker, with whom he seems to be friends. The power of excommunication may belong to the church or community in respect of a fraternal power of judging, though official authority be not formally given to the church but to the officers. . . . Among the papists, and so the prelates, the clergy have long got and held possession of the name of 'the church' but the Testament of Christ will not bear this foundation.

"Chap. xv.—'That none are to be admitted Members, but they must

^a "Calvin, Epist. 332."

^b "Beza, Epist. 65."

^c See back. vol. ii. p. 34.

promise not to depart or remove unless the congregation will give leave.^a . . . —It cannot but grieve us to see how the Replier [is] still not content to take all things in the harshest sense, but will also wind in other matters into his discourse which may make our practice seem far more rigid than it is: first, he urges us as if we brought all cases of removal and the occasions thereof, as marriages, etc., to the counsel of the whole church: secondly, he would, by consequence, infer the like of occasional absence; and now, he weaves in that also, as if it were practised by us to require men to acquaint the church with the place whither they go and the occasions of their occasional absence, which is far from us! . . . Two things we charitably take notice of, to remove over-hard thought of him: first, we consider his spirit might [have] be [en] over-grieved and provoked to this harshness by the withdrawals of many Christians from the ordinances of God because dispensed according to the corrupt liturgy, in which cause he stood too far engaged; and supposing New England ways the cause of it, he was the more sharp; secondly, we consider that this Reply was not intended by him to be published to the world, but to be sent unto us, and therefore he is in our hearts the less blameable. But seeing these things are now published, and the harshness thereof may do much hurt, we were pressed to clear ourselves, wherein if any thing reflect upon the author or publishers, we cannot avoid it. Neither do we write thus as if we would wholly justify ourselves and all the particular miscarriages that haply at one time or other, in some church or other, may have happened. . .

“Chap. xvi.—‘That a Minister is so a Minister of a Particular Congregation, that if they dislike him or leave him unjustly he ceaseth to be a Minister.’^b— . . . If a people or church be never so weak, . . . yet Christ being among them, and they making an orderly and good choice, there can be no blemish in the call, seeing the right is in them; and such a free choice will better stablish the conscience of any godly minister in his call, than if a synod of the ablest ministers should impose him without their free choice; except it can be proved that the right of election is in the synod, which we think will not be done. But be they able or weak, if the people be shut out it must needs make a great main in his call; and if they do not consent to submit to such a one called by others, it will make a nullity, as was showed before. What authority hath he to minister to any church, if they will refuse him; or who shall censure them for refusing, by any rule of Christ? ‘The saving truth of God, and a lawful ministry, are both essential to a true church:’ what then becomes of the ‘church’ when the minister is dead? . . . If a minister be unjustly deposed, or forsaken, by his particular church, and he also withal renounce and forsake them, so far as all office and relation between them cease; then he is no longer an officer or pastor in any church of God, whatsoever you will call it; and the reason is, because a minister’s office in the church is no ‘indelible character,’ but consists in his relation to the flock. And if a minister once ordained, his relation ceasing, his office of a minister, ‘steward of the mysteries of God,’^c shall still remain; why should not a ruling elder or deacon remain an elder or deacon in the church as

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 35.

^b *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 37.

^c 1 Cor. iv. 1.

well? All are officers ordained of Christ, alike given to his church; officers chosen and ordained by laying on of hands alike; but we suppose you will not say a deacon in such a case should remain a deacon in the catholic church; therefore not a minister. . .

“ Chap. xvii.—‘ That one Minister cannot perform any ministerial act in another congregation.’^a—Concerning our true sense and meaning in our Answer to this Position, . . we must ingenuously confess that our expression, ‘ That a minister exercising in another church, doth it not by virtue of any calling, but only by his gifts,’ is not so clear but [that it] may occasion stumbling; yet the next words following do fully express our minds, namely, ‘ that he doth not put forth such a ministerial act of authority and power, in dispensing of God’s ordinances, as a minister doth perform to that church whereunto he is called to be a minister, for so he doth not perform any ministerial act with that authority he doth to his own;’ which further clears up our expression—‘ that he is a pastor of none but his proper flock, although some acts of his office may extend beyond his own flock:’ . . and therefore, in this sense, we may still conclude that if the question be put to any minister so exercising in another church, which was once put to our Saviour, ‘ By what authority doest thou these things?’^b let him study how to give an answer, for we have not yet learned it from this Reply. We confess there are some godly learned servants of Christ who possibly may be otherwise minded, and think that a minister preaching in another congregation doth it only as a gifted man; as the Refuter of Dr. Downham, with others in former times of Reformation, believed also: but we desire that if any difference appear herein, it may be no prejudice to the same cause for substance [which] we maintain, if by sundry lines we all meet at last in the same point.”^c

On referring to our 61st chapter, pages 556 and 557 will show the occasion whereupon a committee of Independents was appointed to bring in to the Assembly of Divines a paper “ wherein they *desire* to be borne with in point of Church-Government.” December the 4th, 1645, they presented their “ Desires”^d in this form: “ Agreeing ‘ in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God,’ in the Directory, according to the Preface;^e and being confident

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 38.

^b Matt. xxi. 23.

^c For the Ninth Position, not noticed in this Defence, see back, vol. ii. p. 39.

^d P. 15 of “ The Papers and Answers of the Dissenting Brethren.”

^e “ Wherein our care hath been to hold forth such things as are of Divine Institution in every Ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the rules of christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the Word of God. Our meaning therein being only that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers and other parts of Public Worship being known to all, there may be a consent of all the churches *in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God*; and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations, to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture; and yet so as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them: but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of Divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further or other materials of prayer and exhortation as shall be needful upon all occasions.” Pref. p. vii. viii. of “ A Directory for the Public Worship of God, throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland,

that we shall agree in the Confession of Faith, forasmuch as we do agree with the Reformed Churches in the Doctrine contained in their Confessions and Writings, as our Brethren do who differ from us in matters of Discipline; we humbly crave,

“ i. In relation to the Ordinance for giving power to classical Presbyteries, to Ordain Ministers, Nov. 10th, 1645.

“ That where there is a Presbytery,—that is, two elders at least,—in any of our congregations, [that] there may be power of Ordination: and, where there is not a Presbytery, [that] those who are sufficiently qualified and approved, for their gifts and graces, by godly able Ministers; being chosen by the People, and set apart for the ministry, with prayer and fasting in the congregation; may, *prima vice*, exercise their ministry.

“ ii. In relation to the Ordinance for the settling of the Presbyterian Government, Aug. 19th, 1645.

“ i. That our Congregations may not be brought under the government of classical, provincial, or national assemblies, in respect of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; but may be permitted to enjoy liberty, as some privileged and exempt places formerly have been permitted to enjoy in respect of the ecclesiastical discipline then exercised. 2. That our Congregations may have liberty to constitute their own Elderships; having a competent number of persons fitly qualified for elders: and, that all men who communicate in the Lord’s Supper, may have liberty to choose their own officers. 3. That we may not be forced to communicate as Members, in those Parishes where we dwell; but may have liberty to have Congregations of such persons who give good testimony of their godliness and peaceableness, yet out of tenderness of conscience cannot communicate in their parishes, but do voluntarily offer themselves to join in such congregations: Which, how it may best stand with the peace of the kingdom, we humbly leave to the consideration of this Honourable Committee. 4. That all such Congregations, as are made up of such as do voluntarily join themselves, having an Eldership which themselves have chosen or accepted of and submitted to, may have power of all Church-Censures and of the Administration of all Ordinances within themselves: yet so as they submit to give an account of any of their proceedings to whom the Parliament shall appoint.”

This document having occupied the day “ in explaining it,” it was ordered, “ That the rest of the Divines, members of this Committee, be made a sub-committee, to consider of the Paper of the Dissenting Brethren, given in; and to meet first between themselves, then with the Dissenting Brethren, and to prepare somewhat against the next meeting of this Committee, December, 15th.” The Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, were “ desired to assist” the said sub-committee. They presented an Answer to the Dissenting Brethren’s Paper, accordingly; which being “ thrice read, after sundry debates it

and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament [Jan. 3rd.] for the taking away the ‘ Book of Common Prayer;’ and for establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales. 1644 [5].” Mar. 13th. 4to. pp. 86.

was resolved, That a copy be communicated to them : and that they are to return an Answer, in writing, to the Grand Committee, by Tuesday sevensnight. This was complied with December 23rd, and on reading the Answer, a paragraph of the sub-committee's, or Presbyteries', paper was first read, and then a paragraph of the Independents' Answer.

“ AN ANSWER TO A PAPER, ETC.

“ As to the Preface :

‘ Although [say the Presbyterians] it would have been a far more comfortable and happy way, and more agreeable to the peace and edification of the Church, and a means to prevent the danger of Schism and many other mischiefs ; and which we have always much rather desired to have pursued ; [that is] the Method appointed by the Honourable Houses ; and, in the first place, to have Endeavoured an Accommodation : yet, our Brethren professing, That an Accommodation was now impossible ; and, That the nature and present state of the business, doth lead them to desire a forbearance ;—in both which, we yet humbly conceive they are mistaken,—upon serious consideration had of their Paper to that purpose, we have found it needful to *premise* these three particulars—’

“ Answer : As ‘ Accommodation ’ would have been more advantageous and safe for us [say the Independents], because it would have set us in the *same state* with our Brethren, so we have earnestly pursued it ; and according to the ‘ method appointed by the Honourable Houses,’ we did, in the first place, *endeavour* an accommodation ; and, in a sub-committee made a great *progress* therein, which we presented to this Honourable Committee twelve months since : but the impediment to it was the insisting on, by our Brethren, ‘ That the Rule must first be resolved upon.’^a But now, that the Rule is resolved on by the Assembly and established by the Parliament,—we having, according to our consciences, entered our dissent unto, and given in Reasons to the Assembly against it,—we cannot go on in the way of ‘ Accommodation ’ according to the former Method ; because ‘ accommodation ’ is an agreement in one common rule, and we do not presume to seek a *new* rule to be made.^b

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 447.

^b From the impossibility of inserting, here, the whole of “ A REPLY to ‘ An Answer,’ brought in to this Honourable Committee, Dec. 23rd, 1645, unto ‘ a Paper’ formerly tendered by a Sub-Committee of the Divines of the Assembly,” which consists of seventy-two pages, foot-notes to the “ Answer ” are resorted to : and by this expedient, a mass of repetitions is avoided, and innumerable connecting and documentary clauses and phrases are dispensed with. The Repliers remark on the paragraph to which this note is appended that, “ The Honourable Houses being pleased in their Order, to prescribe this method of proceeding ; . . which Order . . they have . . thought good to renew ; we conceive our Brethren—as well as ourselves—were obliged first to have *endeavoured* an obedience to it, before they declare that that is, in their judgment, impossible to be done which the wisdom of the Houses, notwithstanding they were not ignorant of the cause upon which that pretended impossibility is grounded, have [has] been pleased to require : and therefore we humbly declare, That the only stop of *endeavouring* an Accommodation is in our Brethren themselves . . . And for the ‘ progress ’ which they say was formerly made, . . that should the more have encouraged them at this time in the same endeavour. But indeed . . the Sub-Committee declared, . . “ They [we Presbyterians] could not perceive any willingness in them, to take any such congregations as ours : . . 2 That they [the Independents] did not yield any thing towards any union with us, but every where put in exceptions ; . . so

“ That ‘ impossibility ’ of Accommodation which was spoken of was then, withal, explained to be only in respect of the Rule as now it is established : for otherwise, as touching the nature of the thing simply considered, without a supposition of such a Rule either voted by the Assembly, or established by the Honourable Houses, we have, from the beginning professed, That we and our Brethren did agree in common principles enough ; and sufficient to have preserved the churches, and saints in these kingdoms in peace.^a And when the Honourable Houses renewed this Order, they having not seen, as we humbly conceive, the difference of our judgments in point of ‘ subordination of assemblies,’^b and our Reasons against them, they might think that we might *accommodate* with the Rule they have set forth. Neither will such a ‘ forbearance ’ as we seek, endanger [or, incur the danger of] ‘ Schism,’ because there may be a variation in a greater latitude from a Government that is established on a ‘ divine right ;’ much more, from one which is not established upon ‘ jus divinum.’ When the ‘ Government ’ itself hath its authority but from the State, a ‘ forbearance ’ from it by [authority of] the State, with laws to prevent contention, cannot be ‘ schism,’ or any way *endanger* it :^c the nature of ‘ schism,’ according to the Scriptures, consisting in an open breach of christian love, and not in every diversity of opinion or practice :^d “ yea, as both others and we also have found, the great cause of ‘ schism ’ hath been a strict obligation of all to a *Uniformity* beyond that of the Apostle, That so

that . . . they did, in a manner, fully demand . . . the same things by way of exception, which they now crave by way of Toleration . . . 3. They desired the ‘ liberty of gathering Members ;’ . . . but now, they wholly insist upon it.” . . . P. 43. 44.

^a 1. “ If so, that again should have encouraged them to proceed in the treaty of Accommodation. 2. We conceive those ‘ common principles ’ are those only which . . . they misapply to an Independency ; and if the ‘ peace ’ of the churches must have been ‘ preserved ’ . . . it is evident it must have been procured, not by an Accommodation. ; but by our going over to our Brethren . . . 3. Whatever agreement may be in other things, there is none in that which is fundamental to the very constitution of churches, namely, the qualification of members. . . 4. They make no mention of any mutual bond, to preserve churches in truth and godliness ; . . . wherein we think their way is much defective. Nor, 5. do they tell us how others, whom they look not on as ‘ saints,’ shall be dealt withal, and brought in ; they having in their way, no pastoral relation unto any such : . . . but our way will continue to be . . . effectual to that purpose, if we be not disturbed in it by our Brethren’s opposition.” P. 44. 45.

^b “ Let our Brethren join with us in the rest, and we doubt not to find out some expedient to ease them in this particular.” P. 45.

^c “ Their observation [here] . . . doth not only lay an aspersion on the Rule, as if it . . . had nothing of the will of God in it ; but doth clearly open a wide gap for as many as . . . can be persuaded of a ‘ Divine right ’ *elsewhere*, to shake off their obedience and submission unto it [!] Nor can ‘ laws ’ . . . hinder such a dangerous consequence : for who will not hold himself bound, upon such premises, to contend earnestly for the way of God, against a mere human constitution ? Who will not rather lay hold on the privilege of a Toleration, to be amongst these of ‘ the godly party ’—as they call themselves,—and ‘ in the Way of Christ ’—as they speak ; than to continue under such a Rule and in such a communion for ‘ government,’ as is charged to be merely of a human original ?”—P. 46.

^d “ We see not how our Brethren can acquit themselves even by this rule, when they openly profess a necessity to recede from our churches, as members ; while yet they acknowledge them to be true churches of Christ !” P. 47.

far as we have attained, we should walk by the same rule; and if any be otherwise minded, God will reveal it in his time. Phil. iii. 16, 15.”^a

“To the [Presbyterians’] first three Premises :

‘That whatever forbearance we shall agree upon, we take it for granted upon our Brethren’s Preface, 1. That the same Directory for Worship, and the same Confession of Faith, shall be imposed upon them, in the same manner as it is imposed upon us. 2. And therefore whosoever agrees not in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God in the Directory, according to the Preface; and, shall not agree in the Confession of Faith, nor with the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches contained in their Confessions and Writings, as we do who differ from these Brethren in matters of Discipline, shall not have the benefit of this indulgence. 3. If any shall practise any thing contrary to the Directory; or write, publish, or declare, any Doctrine contrary to the Confession of Faith, he shall be liable to the same penalties that we ourselves are for the like offence.’

“Answer: In general, we only say, affirmatively, That those who do ‘agree’ in these ‘things that contain the substance, etc.’.. may lawfully be *tolerated*, according to the Word of God, in such things as we desire: but we meddle not with the negative, or Impositions; or to set the bounds and limits of ‘forbearance’ unto all tender consciences. Yea, before we brought in this Paper we, not knowing but that the Honourable Houses might intend a consideration of the general rules, ‘How far tender consciences might be forborne according to the Word of God; and, as might stand with the peace of this kingdom,’—professed, That we presumed not to limit it to our judgments, nor would bring in any other Report than about the general rules of Toleration, unless the Honourable Committee did determine and limit us; which accordingly was done: it being also declared, That they were sure that we were intended, and the matters of difference in church-government between us and our Brethren in the Assembly: yet we, to wipe off such aspersions, prejudices, and suspicions, as were upon us, and to make a full and candid Declaration of our judgments and agreements in point of Doctrine and the Substance of Worship, did add that Preface;’^b which now having done, by these interpretations which our Brethren present [to this Honourable Committee] we should not only take on us to call upon the Parliament to exclude other ‘tender consciences’ from this ‘forbearance’ and to impose [place a burden] upon them, but make *impositions* of [a] Directory and Confessions of Faith in the latitude of the Body of Divinity, and not in fundamentals only; and that, not only upon the ministers but upon all the people of this

^a “Although no ‘Uniformity’ were necessary against ‘schism’; yet to our Brethren, by virtue of their covenant, it is *aliquousque* necessary, so far as the apostle directs, Phil. iii. 16.: therefore .. acknowledging .. that they can occasionally join with us in all acts of worship; we conceive they ought .. to act .. with us by one common rule, and not .. in separated Congregations.” P. 47.

^b “If they mean the *agreement* of their own Persons, who brought in that Paper, in these things; we know not any necessity of so doing: .. but if they mean all others of that judgment we conceive it a difficult thing to affirm that all such do *agree* .. as we and our Brethren do. And therefore, except our interpretation of it [‘point of Doctrine and Substance of Worship’] which they dislike, be admitted; we cannot look on it [the agreement] otherwise than as a cipher before a number, which is of no signification at all.” P. 48.

kingdom; and that as a qualification for receiving sacraments!^a Our Brethren's principles may be larger,—for power, in ecclesiastical assemblies, to determine and impose circumstantial orders, in worship, as well as in the substance; and therefore, for us to join with our Brethren, to have all those things imposed on us which they can bear, seems hard to us.^b

'Which things being premised,' say our Brethren, 'we have found it needful and most consonant to the business, to take first into consideration the Third Proposition of our Brethren's particular desires under the head of Presbytery; unto which, all the rest, have so necessary a relation, which they have offered to this Honourable Committee: concerning which we humbly conceive—1. That this *desire* of our brethren is not to be granted to them *in terminis*; for the reasons which we herewithal humbly offer: 1, Because it holds out a plain and total separation from the Rule, as if in nothing it were to be complied with, nor our churches to be communicated with in any thing which should argue church-communion. More could not be said, or done, against false churches.'

"To this first Reason,^c—Answer: 1. A 'desire,'^d to have liberty for multitudes^e—that cannot, out of a tenderness of conscience,^f partake, as members in your churches,—to gather into congregations to

^a "Our Brethren misinterpret our intentions; . . for we desire to have no more *imposed* on our people, than they, in that case, do on theirs, namely, that they appear to us to be orthodox." P. 48.

^b "We wonder at our Brethren's conclusion of this point . . for 'power; . . seeing our proposition *in terminis* doth mention nothing but 'agreement in substance,' according to their own words: therefore for them to ²refuse to join with us in settling those things which they declare they *agree* in, seemeth 'hard' unto us! and doth too much intimate an unwillingness to come to that nearness of conjunction which may settle us in one body without offence." P. 49.

^c "We premise . . to our reply, 1. They seem to grant, that 'a plain and total separation'. . . as no 'true churches,' is not to be indulged. . . 2. They suppose some things . . so far offensive to 'multitudes,' . . that they will not dare 'partake, as members,' therein. This is a hard judgment. . . We desire the particular matters of offence may be expressed; professing our earnest endeavour . . to remove whatever may hinder comfortable 'communion' . . 3. We desire to know, whether every person's bare alleging 'tenderness of conscience,' shall be sufficient: . . what shall be the rule of discerning, or who the judges? . . 4. Upon the dictate of an erring 'conscience' . . 'multitudes' . . may really disallow churches . . in some particulars wherein they are pure; and set up others: . . and consequently as many several sorts of churches may be set up . . as erroneous consciences may suggest. If our Brethren conceive this ought not to be done in different cases from theirs; they must give us leave to judge that neither in theirs it ought to be done. 5. Whereas they give a character of those whom they desire indulgence for, . . in several particulars expressed in their third paragraph, we desire it may be declared that none other shall have the benefit of that indulgence which shall be granted, than they who are thus minded." P. 49, 50.

^d "We answer not to the English; for who ever called desire of liberty, a separation?" P. 51. [These Presbyterians have taken, as the passage shows, an unwarrantable leap to their illogical conclusion.]

^e "But to the matter: We know not whom they mean by 'multitudes': if Congregations, we would gladly know where they are; . . for it is dubious unto us whether there be 'multitudes' of such who are thus minded. If single persons, we have already expressed our sense how far they may be indulged." P. 51.

^f "We much doubt whether such 'tenderness'; . . as that it may be withal an erring 'conscience;' can be a sufficient ground to justify such a material separation as our Brethren plead for. . . It doth not bind to follow such a positive precept as, possibly, may be diverse from the will and counsel of God; of which kind we conceive this, of gathering separated churches out of other 'true churches' to be one." P. 51.

enjoy the ordinances; [though] not only professing your churches to be true churches,—yea, not daring to judge them for that;—for which they are, in respect of their own consciences, enforced to, namely,—to preserve themselves from sin against their consciences,—to remove from that communion with them; and, though gathering into other congregations for the purer enjoyment—as to their consciences—of all ordinances, yet still maintaining communion with them as ‘churches,’—as is expressed in the third paragraph,—is far from ‘separation:’ much less ‘a plain and total separation.’ The Assembly having, in what they have given up unto the Honourable Houses, said thus, ‘Nor is it lawful for any member of a parochial congregation, if the ordinances be there administered in purity, to go and seek them elsewhere ordinarily;’ so as [consequently] in case the Lord’s Supper be not ‘in purity administered,’ a removal is allowed ordinarily:^a and this, is not setting up churches against churches, but neighbour sister churches of a differing judgment. If the purest churches in the world,—unto our judgment, in all other respects,—should impose as a condition of receiving the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper any one thing that such tender consciences cannot join in,—as suppose, kneeling in the act of receiving; which was the case of Scotland and England,—if they remove from these churches and have liberty, from a State, to gather into other churches to enjoy this and other ordinances, here is no ‘separation!’^b

“2. A ‘plain and total separation from the Rule’ is not in such churches, unless they wholly, in all things, differ, by setting up altogether differing rules of constitution, worship, and government.^c Now, in the churches we desire, we shall practise the most of the same things, and these the most substantial, which are found in the Rule itself; the same ordinances of Worship, in the Directory; the same officers—pastors, teachers, ruling elders,—of the same qualification required in the Rule; the same qualification of members [which] the Assembly itself holds forth^d to have been in the primitive churches,

^a “. . . Except he think fit to change his dwelling; in which case his removal is without offence. It is one thing to remove to a congregation which is under the same rule; another, to . . . a different: . . . in the former case, a man retains his membership, though, for some defects, he seek elsewhere till those defects be, by the care of the officers, . . . cured; in the latter, he renounceth his membership upon difference of judgment.” P. 52.

^b “That which is evil . . . any member must forbear to do, yet without ‘separation’ . . . till all remedies have been tried . . . They who thought ‘kneeling’ . . . unlawful, . . . did not renounce membership, but did, some of them . . . defend our churches against those of the Separation. Those words, ‘If they have liberty,’ &c. seem to imply that otherwise that ‘liberty may not be taken’ . . . but we think our Brethren will not abide by that sense, having now, for some years, without leave from the ‘State,’ gathered themselves into separated churches. . . The nature of ‘separation’ is not to be measured by civil acts of ‘state,’ but by the Word of God: . . . ‘separation’ was not in being in the apostles’ time, unless it were used by false teachers.” P. 52.

^c “Of this assertion we expect some proofs. . . The most rigid Separatists themselves,—who boast of their separation,—hold the same rule . . . for substance with our Brethren: . . . they must boast no longer of their separation, which is become, by this means, none, or no ‘plain and total’ one.” P. 53.

^d “They say so much of their agreement with us, that we cannot conceive any sufficient ground left for their ‘separation’ from us. But here they leave out

namely, 'visible saints that, being of age, do profess faith in Christ and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Christ and his apostles;' and these officers, to join into one Eldership, in all acts of government of the church: holding also, the same censures, namely, of admonition and excommunication; and absolution and receiving in, upon repentance: and who, wherein they differ from the Rule, will be accountable of [for] all their ways and tenets unto those whom the State shall be pleased to appoint.^a

"And, 3rdly, Holding and retaining communion with Neighbour Churches, in baptizing our children,—as occasion may fall out, or absence of our ministers,—in their churches; and by occasional receiving the Lord's Supper in their churches,^b and receiving such members of theirs as are above mentioned, unto communion with us also occasionally: also, our ministers to preach in their congregations, and receive theirs also to preach in ours, as ministers of the Gospel, as mutually there shall be a call from each other:^c and when we have any cases difficult and too hard for ourselves, electively to advise with the elders of their churches:^d and, in case of controversy, not to refuse to call them in for the composing of it:^e further, in case of the choice of elders, to seek the approbation, and right hand of fellowship, from godly ministers of their churches^f together with our own; and when an ordination falls out among us, to desire the presence and approbation of their elders with our own:^g and, in case any of our churches mis-

'infants' which the Assembly did express; and amongst censures, suspension, in which they agree not amongst themselves. . . We desire our Brethren to consider,—if every small and circumstantial difference amongst those who agree in 'most' things, and those 'most substantial,' shall be a sufficient ground to gather churches out of churches into a separate and different communion,—how the Church of God shall ever be kept free from rents and divisions!" P. 53, 54.

^a " . . . Albeit our Brethren insinuate much respect and submission to 'the State,' yet we find not that they petitioned the State or obtained leave from them to practise their own church-way; but did it of themselves, and that by way of anticipation to the State when it had declared a resolution to reform the church according to God's Word: and we believe they would continue as they have begun though 'the State' should forbid them." . . P. 54.

^b "This serves much to strengthen our grounds for the Presbyterian Government, and to weaken Independency." P. 57.

^c "No need then of separate churches for the exercise of their ministry." P. 57.

^d "Ordinarily, then, they will assume a power to determine controversies and cases of conscience, within themselves. . . . This intimates another and greater power, . . . to call synods . . . when they please, themselves: which liberty, of what consequence it may prove to the State, we leave it to this Honourable Committee to consider." P. 57.

^e "This is *ad libitum*; they will have no arbitrators but whom and when they please. They shall have but a consultative power for counsel; they [themselves] will still reserve a liberty of after debates, and the final determination of every controversy." . . P. 57.

^f "But unless our 'ministers' be judged 'godly' by them, they intend to exclude them: and [but], herein, if they will void their election upon these ministers' dissent, they say something; but otherwise, it is but a compliment to get countenance . . . when it may be had; . . . and when not to be had, to neglect it." P. 57.

^g "It would please them to have our presence justify and allow their practice; but they will not permit us to concur with them in the act of 'ordination.' . . . With them, any two elders, though neither of them be a minister of the Word,

carry through mal-administration, or neglect of censures, to be willing upon scandal taken by their churches, to give an account as to sister churches offended; ^a and to esteem and account, as we do, a sentence of non-communication by them as churches, against us, upon such scandals wherein they are not satisfied, a heavy and sad punishment, and to be looked at as a means to humble us, and an ordinance of God to reduce us; ^b all this, is more than ‘as if in nothing’ they ‘were to be complied with, nor’ their ‘churches to be communicated with in any thing which should argue church-communication.’ More is ‘said’ and ‘done’ by these that account them ‘false churches.’ ^c

∴ “To the second Reason:

‘It plainly holds out the lawfulness of gathering churches out of true churches; yea, out of such true churches which are endeavouring further to reform, according to the Word of God; whereof we are assured, there is not the least hint of an example in all the book of God.’

“We answer, 1. That this Reason is founded upon this supposition, That nothing ought to be tolerated which is unlawful in the judgment of those who are to tolerate! And if so, then by the like reason, no State, no Assembly, no Presbytery, is [are] to tolerate any practice or opinion which they account to be in the least erroneous. ^d 2. The way we are to go is not to dispute, what is unlawful or lawful in itself; because we are upon the point of Forbearance, in what is thought unlawful. ^e 3. For that addition, ‘out of such true churches which

make a sufficient presbytery to this or other purposes. And indeed, they look on ‘ordination’ but as accidental to the calling of a minister, and place the essence of it in the people’s choice and acceptance.” P. 58.

^a “We have not hitherto been so respected, as churches of God, unto whom offence ought not to be given.” . . P. 58.

^b “For the ‘sentence of non-communication,’ we do not well understand it, nor the grounds out of Scripture for it. We know not how a power to inflict by way of ‘sentence’ . . . by virtue of a Divine ‘ordinance,’ . . . can be severed from all kind of jurisdiction: if our Brethren could clearly state and prove this point, it might, haply, afford some further light towards an Accommodation, instead of a Toleration.” P. 58.

^c “In most of these particulars, they have *de facto* estranged themselves from us . . . and, therefore, we have reason to question in what sense they account our ministers and churches true. . . To ‘separate’ from those churches ordinarily and visibly with whom occasionally you may join without sin, seemeth to be a most unjust separation. All the communion here spoken of is but *ad placitum*: we desire to know, whether our Brethren will be bound to these particulars, as conditions of the Indulgence to be granted: as, 1. That no officer be chosen in their Congregations, without the consent of the churches in that classis [of ours]. 2. That they and their members give an account before the officers in the classis; who shall, as they see occasion, assemble to require it of them. . . Our Brethren have taken out of our congregations into theirs without showing any cause; and their silence in this particular, implies [that] they intend to do the like for the time to come; though they cannot be ignorant of the great offence our ministers and people do take at it. 3. . . Whether they will submit the power of jurisdiction in their Particular Congregations to the power of arbitration which they give to Synods; or will rescind any sentence, upon the determination of a synod, or at the command of the State?” . . P. 55, 56.

^d “We deny this affirmation: our reason is not founded upon the supposition ‘that nothing unlawful may be tolerated;’ but upon the supposition of unlawfulness to tolerate the gathering of churches out of true churches.” . . P. 59.

^e “This is not the first time our Brethren have waived the ‘dispute’ of the lawfulness of their church-gathering. . . 2. We are here to debate the lawfulness of

are endeavouring to reform,' we say, 'The reformation which the Assembly hath ultimately pitched upon, satisfies not our consciences; as our Brethren know.' 4. For that addition, 'that there is no hint of example in all the Book of God, for gathering churches out of churches,' we shall only, at this time, humbly present the nature of the thing, or Case, itself, as it lies in our consciences, and as in the Assembly we also stated it:—

"The Case is this,—A multitude of believers, after all means used to obtain light to satisfy their consciences in what to them is sin in partaking of the ordinances as members of the churches they live, or have lived, in; by which, so long as they continue in these churches they shall be debarred from these ordinances, though it be all their days; and, although the opinion be judged an error by those churches they live in, yet of no higher nature than those errors for which they are not to be suspended from any ordinance by censure, or cast out of the church; and [who,] in all other things, are such in their opinions and practices as are meet partakers of communion with Christ in all ordinances which, as their right as members of his mystical body, he hath given to them as [he hath] to their brethren:—in this Case, there is no Obligation laid, by Christ, either on the persons themselves, for ever to continue in those churches; or on the churches they live in, to withhold them from removing to other churches, free of that which would defile their consciences; or, when there are no such churches in the place they live in, [not] to *gather* into churches wherein they may enjoy all ordinances without sin. This assertion, as thus stated, we are ready to debate when this Honourable Committee shall think fit.^b

"To the third Reason:

'In granting this, the Parliament should grant liberty to destroy and pull down what themselves are endeavouring to set up.'

'forbearance,' and may insist upon any proper medium to that end; . . . that point of church-gathering, is one of the most necessary. 3. . . There are great degrees of danger or mischief in things 'unlawful;' some are . . . less tolerable in the nature of the thing than others." P. 59.

^a "Our Brethren had such gathered churches before any ultimate resolution of the Assembly was known, or in being. 2. What 'the Assembly' hath done, in great measure doth satisfy our Brethren! Why else, profess they so great an agreement with the rule in most things, and those most substantial? 3. If our Brethren had brought in their Model of Government, as was ordered April 4th, the Assembly would have embraced any light they should have found therein. . . 4. . . We have set ourselves no bounds but the Word of God and example of the best Reformed Churches, and therefore we are still reforming; and separation is the more inexcusable." P. 59, 60.

^b "We desire it may be noted, how they waive the main business, Whether there be any example in God's Word for gathering churches out of churches? We take it for granted [that] no instance can be given by them, because they produce none. As touching the Case which they propound, we are ready to join in the debate, when it is stated by mutual agreement. At present we offer . . . 1. Whether it doth not imply, that every one must have a liberty . . . suitably to his own principles: which opens a gap, for all sects to challenge such a liberty as their due. 2. Whether from hence it doth not follow, that an erroneous conscience doth bind a man, . . . when indeed, though he see it not, the prescript thereof is contrary to the rule of God's Word. . . 3. Whether this liberty be not denied by the churches of New England: . . . and, whether we have not as just ground to deny this liberty as they?" P. 61.

“ Answer : An exception doth not make void a rule ; especially such a one as is not founded on a *jus Divinum*, and where it is in the power of those who make the rule to grant a forbearance from it. The Reformed Churches grant a forbearance, and yet their general rule stands. And we, in our Desires, do submit to this Honourable Committee to find out such ways as may best stand with the peace of the kingdom.^a

“ To the fourth Reason :

‘ The indulgence they seek, is a greater privilege than they shall enjoy who shall be under the Rule ; as may appear in several particulars : 1. Such as own the Rule, must live in the same parish with the other members of their church. These [other] may live anywhere, and be of any church they please ; yea, though a church of their own way were in the place where they live. 2. If such, as live under the Rule, would better themselves in living under the pastoral charge of another minister, they must remove their dwelling : these [other] need not.’

“ Answer : The privilege of those *ministers*,^b who submit to the Rule, is, to be ‘ capable of all ecclesiastical preferments ;’ which we are not. They find no need of indulgence to their consciences, as touching the Rule established, which we do. Possibly their consciences may be scrupled in the same or other things *hereafter* ; and [then] they [might] have the privilege of the same addresses for relief we [now] have ! And as for the two particulars therein expressed [in their fourth Reason.] we say first, It is a privilege, and much to be desired, to dwell near together ; and we also, shall endeavour it as much as may be, for mutual edification : secondly, It is the right of every man, we humbly conceive, to choose his own minister ; whereas the parishes and their bounds by dwellings are but of Civil right, provided the State be pleased to take some order, that it may be known whither every man doth resort.^c

“ To the fifth Reason :

‘ This would give countenance to a perpetual schism and division in the Church ; still [ever] drawing away some from the churches under the Rule : which also,

^a “ An ‘ exception ’ may be of so great a latitude as by consequence and virtually, it may ‘ void ’ the rule : and of that nature we conceive this exception which our Brethren desire ; for it doth actually evacuate it to all . . . of their judgment ; . . . which we have cause to fear, if once tolerated, will be no small number ! . . . Whether the ‘ rule ’ be ‘ founded on a *jus Divinum*,’ or not ? is not our question : though if we would speak *ad hominem* . . . our Brethren’s principles would not allow them to agree in most things . . . if there were no ‘ Divine right,’ in their judgment, to found ‘ the rule,’ in those particulars, upon. But we find our Brethren very willing to insist on and wind in that notion on every occasion. We will not busy our thoughts in conjecturing the reasons of it. . . . Nor is it our question, Whether they who make a ‘ rule ’ may not grant a ‘ forbearance :’ but, Whether a ‘ forbearance ’ may not . . . disannul the rule ? . . . We think our Brethren cannot find *many* ‘ Reformed Churches ’ that tolerate Separation at all ; nor any one that doth it in so unlimited a manner [as they desire], and that not by connivance only but by a law.” P. 62, 63.

^b “ We speak of the privileges of the people ; they understand us as if we meant *ministers*.” . . . P. 64.

^c “. . . That ‘ it is the right of every man, to choose his own minister,’ . . . we will not dispute, but certainly some would deny ; and it will be like [ly] to breed much confusion, and render that extreme[ly] difficult if not altogether impossible, which they propound as the only remedy for the magistrate. . . . But granting this assertion ; . . . then, . . . they shall enjoy their ‘ right ’ absolutely ; which those who are under the Rule cannot do without removing their ‘ dwellings.’ ” P. 64, 65.

would breed many irritations between the parties going away and those whom they leave; and again, between the church that should be forsaken and that to which they should [happen to] go :

“ We answer, 1. What hurt the abuse of words and, among others, this of ‘ schism ’ hath done in the churches, our Brethren know, and we all have felt ! Wherefore, seeing as yet the Assembly hath not debated, nor the State determined, What Schism is ? we desire our Brethren that, in the seeking to countenance that way which they think is right, they would not seek to cast an odium upon their Brethren who differ from them,—and yet together with them desire, in faithfulness, to know and obey the mind of Christ,—by fastening such a name upon them or their way.^a 2. What we *desire* Forbearance in will countenance only this, When men, who give good testimony of their godliness and peaceableness, after all means used, in faithfulness, to know the mind of Christ, they, yet cannot, without sin to them, enjoy all the ordinances of Christ, and partake in all the duties of worship as members of that congregation where their dwelling is, [that] they therefore, in humility and meekness, desire they may not live without ordinances ; but [that] for the enjoyment of them for their edification in their spiritual good, [they] may join in another Congregation : yet so as not condemning those churches they join not with, as ‘ false ; ’ but still preserving all christian communion with the saints of the same body of Christ,—of the Church catholic, and join[ing] with them in all duties of worship that belong to particular churches, so far as they are able. If this be called ‘ schism, ’ or ‘ countenance ’ of schism, it is more than yet we have learned from the Scriptures, or any approved authors.^b 3. And as for that ‘ irritation ’ our Brethren speak of ; as

^a “ Had the word ‘ schism ’ been left out, the [our] reason would have remained strong : . . and yet to that . . they offer no answer at all, but fastening on this word ‘ schism ’ labour to divert the odium thereof ; which yet in the original sense thereof, differs no more from ‘ division ’ than Greek from Latin in expressing the same thing. That ‘ the abuse of words ’ hath done much hurt, we willingly grant ; but that may be as well by calling evil good, as by calling good evil : . . so we desire [our Brethren] that by assuming the name ‘ of tenderness of conscience ’ to their dissenting from the Rule, or of a ‘ church-way ’ or ‘ church-order, ’ to their way and godly party, they would not reflect ‘ an odium ’ upon us, or the churches under the Rule. And although ‘ the Assembly ’ have not debated, ‘ nor the State determined ’ . . any otherwise than the declaring of what is *rectum* is the declaring of that which is *obliquum*, yet both have *covenanted* ‘ to endeavour the extirpation of *schism*, ’ and so are bound to give no ‘ countenance ’ unto any just [!] occasion thereof. And, however the Government which the Assembly hath advised, and the State already, in part, established, hath had a sufficient load of ‘ odium ’ and aspersions cast upon it by some who would, thereby, gain reputation to their own ‘ way ’ in so doing ; yet we conceive it both unworthy to seek ‘ countenance ’ unto that which we think ‘ right, ’ by casting ‘ odium ’ on our Brethren who ‘ differ ’ from us, and ‘ yet together with us desire, in faithfulness, to know and obey the mind of Christ. ’ ” ..P. 65, 66.

^b “ To show the justness of this ‘ desire ’ of theirs, they first put a case, and then conclude, ‘ If this be called ‘ schism, ’ etc. ’ . . The putting of cases is a usual way of slipping out from the force of a reason when no other answer can be given. And we ‘ desire ’ our Brethren to give us their judgment upon their own case propounded, as the face of it may be shown in another glass ! Suppose, some members of their own Congregations have such scruples as that they ‘ cannot, without sin to them, enjoy all the ordinances of Christ, etc. ; ’ . . are these divisions and sub-

we humbly conceive, it will be according to the temper of men's hearts if such a practice meet with men whose hearts are gracious, it will only *irritate* them to search further into the mind of Christ, and to walk before their brethren with more exactness; and to exercise love, meekness, and *forbearance*, towards their brethren who differ from them; and such 'irritation' there is no great cause that either we or our Brethren should make complaints of:^a if this liberty meet with corruption, it is like enough there may, accidentally, be an 'irritation' to sin; but the way, then, to oppose such corruption is by instruction, prayer, walking convincingly before them; and if they grow turbulent, to call in the help of the Civil magistrate; but not to give that respect to their corruptions, as to deny to men who give undeniable testimony of their godliness that use of the ordinances of Christ that they may, with the peace of their consciences, enjoy.^b

divisions as lawful as they may be infinite? or, must we give that respect to the error of men's consciences, as to satisfy their scruples by allowance of this liberty to them? . . . Doth it not plainly signify, that error of conscience is a protection against schism? . . . We shall not mind our Brethren how 'testimonies of godliness' are not always infallible protections against schism or heresy, lest it should be judged a casting of 'odium'! . . . Who shall keep the door of this 'Forbearance,' being once set open, to prevent the entrance of such as are not in this manner qualified? . . . And . . . the Toleration may become a sanctuary for such [members] of our churches to flee unto at pleasure, from the government, upon such ends as are not at all conscientious, but corrupt. We therefore conceive it necessary, for preventing manifold inconveniences, that amongst all other means used in faithfulness, this be one, That each person give account of his scruples to the eldership, or congregation, where he dwells, that so he may either receive satisfaction, or have, from them, a testimony of godliness and peaceableness! . . . We shall be glad to hear, from our Brethren, that they can be '*members*' of that congregation where their dwelling is:' if otherwise, to say they cannot 'partake in all,' or 'enjoy all;' is but concealedly spoken. . . This 'desire,' of joining in 'another congregation,' is but *petitio principii*, and no answer to our reason against it. . . The 'not condemning' our churches 'as false' doth little extenuate the separation; for divers of the Brownists' . . . in former times . . . separating, is a tacit and practical 'condemning' of our churches, if not 'false' yet as impure, *eousque* as that, in such administrations, they cannot be, by them, 'as members,' communicated with 'without sin!' . . . We do not find our Brethren willing to have 'communion with the saints' as '*members*' of our congregations, but as members of 'the Church catholic;' which is as full a declining of 'communion' with us, as churches, as if we were 'false' churches. And whereas 'our Brethren say that the 'Forbearance' they desire will 'countenance *only this*,'—which is speciously represented with all favourable circumstances in the case,—we conceive, under favour, that the 'desire' of theirs, in [this] their *second* proposition, goes somewhat further: . . . it is one thing, for a scrupulous conscience to have liberty to 'join in another congregation;' . . . and another thing, to have liberty to be active, and to gather members out of our churches, as is implied in the 'desire.' . . . The Brethren having framed a case . . . conclude thus, 'If this be called schism, etc.' . . . we conceive the causes of separation must be shown to be such as *ex natura rei* will bear it out; which hath not yet been done; . . . and therefore we say that the granting the liberty desired, will give 'countenance' to 'schism.' . . . And we 'desire' our Brethren to show out of 'Scriptures' and 'approved authors,' what they have learned concerning schism: . . . we conceive, that it is the *cause* of the separation from communion, which gives both name and nature to schism." P, 67—74.

^a "We know no evil which may not be excused by such a dilemma as this." . . . P. 75.

^b " . . . This liberty meets with more whose 'corruptions' are too strong for their graces, than whose graces do make only good use thereof. . . The trouble of the

“ To the sixth Reason :

‘ This would introduce all manner of confusion in families, where the members were of several churches ; and exceedingly, if not altogether, hinder the mutual edification that might be afforded and received amongst them : and ‘ specially in great families, it would be impossible for the governors to have a sure account of all their family’s attending upon the ordinances, when twenty of them may, possibly, be of twenty several churches ; and much less take account of their profiting by the ordinances.’

“ Answer : i. In general, our judgments do thus far agree with yours, that, except upon very weighty considerations, husband and wife, masters and servants, should partake together in the same ministry.^a ii. If it should happen to be otherwise, 1. ‘ all manner of confusion ’ would not hereby be introduced into ‘ families ’: for, can our Brethren think that persons, agreeing in all the fundamentals of their faith, and in their judgment and practice joining in all the same duties of piety, in the family, and also agreeing in the same duties of public worship, for the substance, though not living under the same individual ministry ; yet [that] unless they do agree also, in a Uniformity, both public and private, they must needs run into ‘ all manner ’ of confusions ? Hath either nature or the Gospel put such a necessity upon uniformity in lesser things, to keep ‘ families ’ from confusion ? If this were the Gospel, then, except it prevail upon the opinion of those whom it converts to such a uniformity,—which it seldom doth,—it must, by this principle, of necessity subvert human society by bringing ‘ confusion ’ into families, which we conceive to be a great derogation to [from] the Gospel.^b 2. Neither would it ‘ exceedingly ’, much less ‘ altogether ’, hinder the mutual edification that might be ‘ afforded and received amongst them.’ For, first, although persons of the same family not living under the same ministry may, in some respect of family duties, not so fully edify as otherwise ; yet in a great measure they may : and

‘ Magistrate ’ is not likely to be so great in taking away the fuel as in coming always in to pour water upon the fire when it breaks out ! And as to that which they say, that such ‘ respect ’ is not to be given to men’s ‘ corruptions, as to deny, &c.’: this implication is scandalous. . . We may have ‘ respect ’ to men’s corruptions so far as to prevent the ‘ irritation ’ of them. . . It is our earnest desire and prayer, that our brethren might ‘ enjoy ’ the ordinances ‘ with the peace of their consciences.’ . . or, that they would rather deny themselves of their full liberty in every point, than redeem it at the price of so much danger and disquiet to the churches of God.” P. 75—77.

^a “ We take what they grant us ; and cannot but think it strange . . there should yet be such ‘ weighty considerations ’ behind,—though they call the difference betwixt us ‘ lesser ’ matters,—as to . . ground an allowance for wife, child, servant, to withdraw from that authority which the master of the family hath, to rule and oversee them in religious duties.” P. 77.

^b “ *It is not* the mere want of ‘ uniformity,’ as our brethren would infer, which doth necessitate this ; but such a positive difformity in opinion and practice as that they who live together and lie in the bosom of one another *cannot*—which is more than simply *do not*—serve God together in public ; but divide asunder not unto a several ministry only, but—which is much more dangerous—unto a separated ministry : . . it is impossible for a family thus contrarily . . instructed, to join together in mutual edification at home without ‘ confusion.’ . . The very several contributions unto the maintenance of several ministers, . . may not only be a burden to the state of a man but much more to his mind, when, being persuaded his wife or children are in a sin of separation from him, he must yet be at charges to allow them therein.” . . P. 78, 79.

if there be a zeal and good conscience, in any of the family, to be helpful in good conference, etc., it is no such great hinderance to hear, in several places, or several preachers,—as scholars, reading several books, and then conferring! Many good Christians have, for edification, purposely practised it; and it hath some advantages for ‘edification,’ which the other way hath not.^a Secondly; that further degree of ‘edification’ which comes to the persons in a family by going all to the same ministry, amounts not to that proportion as to countervail the want of enjoying the public ‘ordinances’ for ever; which, compared with family duties, simply considered, have had the pre-eminence, both in respect to God’s glory and the edification of souls, in all men’s consciences: which [public ordinances] cannot [respectively] be enjoyed by many, that yet are truly conscientious, except the liberty petitioned [for] be granted.^b iii. For the ‘account’ governors ‘in great families’ are to take of ‘all,’ in their family’s attending upon the ordinances, and of their ‘profiting’ thereby: we answer, The churches we desire being constant and fixed, it is no more ‘impossible’ than it was for a godly tutor in the University to take account of his pupils, having liberty to go to several churches.^c And, iv. Whereas it is heightened that ‘twenty’ of one family ‘may, possibly, be of twenty several churches’; we suppose, if the State be pleased to grant us the liberty we petition for, that they in their wisdom, to which we have referred ourselves, will take into consideration the limiting such Congregations to a certain number; and, then, there may not be ‘twenty churches,’ in any city or town, to divide themselves into!^d

“But the truth is, those that thus plead against this permission which we desire, as insufferable, must certainly suppose that men are to be tied throughout this kingdom to their own ‘parish’ churches where they live, both masters and servants; and that, not only for sacraments but for constant hearing: which, how burdensome it was in

^a “Our brethren grant that this course hindereth such *full* ‘edification,’ in ‘some respect,’ as might otherwise be had; and surely this ‘some respect’ is a very great one! . . . ‘Scholars’ may better profit by ‘conferring’ their observations out of ‘several books’ than ordinary people by bringing broken, and, it may be, mistaken and incoherent notes from ‘several’ sermons. . . . And though some in the family may have ‘zeal and good conscience’ to help the rest, yet what will this avail those whose understandings and memories being weak have none to improve and further them in the things which they heard themselves? . . . Our brethren do confess that there is a further degree of ‘edification’ . . . by going all to ‘the same ministry.’” P. 80, 81.

^b “What ‘ordinances’ must our Brethren ‘want for ever’? . . . We confess [that] to ‘family duties, simply considered,’ ‘public ordinances’ are to be preferred. But if one must be lost for the other, we think that which is *causa per se* of such an inconvenience,—to wit, such a separation,—is even *eo nomine* unjust.” P. 81, 82.

^c “What time will there be for receiving an account of so many sermons? Add hereunto the different hours of going and returning, which may exceedingly hinder family duties; none of which inconveniences will be remedied by the *fixedness* of the separated churches.” P. 82.

^d “We know not how the principles and grounds of our Brethren’s desire can allow them to rest in any set number [of ‘churches’] if they prove too few for such multitudes as they may gather out of our churches into them; for their petition being indefinite for multitudes of persons, cannot be well definite for number of places, or Congregations!” . . . P. 83.

former times, the godly people are very sensible of; and now, in the time of reformation, it [this reformation] finds many ministers who cannot be cast out, by order of law, though bad and unprofitable; as appears by the leaving them out of the classes [!] and shall the people be tied to live under them as their ministers who are not worthy to join in government with yourselves? And, for time to come, as places are void[ed] they must be supplied by the choice of others for them, or by themselves: if by themselves, all 'parishes' are not reformed as concerning the people; and whereas the major part being, generally, the worst, the ministers chosen, by them, will be such as the godly cannot live under their ministry: if by others, those that are the choosers may also be such as they cannot be denied, by law, their right in choosing; and so also, unprofitable ministers may be put upon the godly people: and, if they be not tied to their parishes, the weight of this Reason, and the inconveniences presented, will fall more heavily upon the numerous [or vast] multitude of parishes in city and country."^a

The Independents having handed in to the Honourable Committee, the portion of all that they intended to present, "After some debate, upon the cautions *premised*^b in the paper of the Sub-committee presented Dec. 15th, and drawn out of the [Dissenting] Brethren's preface,^c it was resolved, by the Honourable Committee, That both the affirmative and negative of the second caution^d shall be put unto the Question; and accordingly it was Resolved, 'That they which agree in the substance, etc.:' and again, 'That such as agree not in, etc.:' This ended, the Dissenting Brethren's Paper "this day brought in," was referred to the Sub-committee "to consider of it;" and the Dissenting Brethren were to go on with their "Answer," in continuation, as above. The latter was accomplished, and presented, February 2nd, 1645-6, with this introduction, "Though it is our desire rather to answer to the Papers brought in by our Brethren, before we go on any further; yet because the Committee requires us to go on, we humbly submit these Papers to the consideration of this Honourable Committee."^e

^a "To the pains which, in this paragraph, our Brethren have taken in setting forth for the present, and prophesying for the future, of the unprofitableness and unworthiness of the 'ministers'; . . . we will reply no more but this, That it is a crimination which might well have been spared in a time of endeavoured and covenanted Reformation. . . . Neither is it equal, to argue from the former times of unjust vexation, when men were tied to their parishes though there were no preaching minister, or one who preached errors or opposed godliness; unto these times, wherein men have *covenanted* against every thing that is of this nature. Nor do we believe that our Brethren mean that only such should be allowed to gather into their Congregations who live under bad and unprofitable ministers, though that be the only *medium* here used against our reason. . . . And where the 'ministry' is without just exception, we refer it to our Brethren's own consciences and to the practice of their Congregations, to say how fit it is that the members should ordinarily much less constantly, seek the ordinances elsewhere." P. 84, 85.

^b See back, p. 47.

^c Dec. 4th. See back, p. 43.

^d "And therefore whosoever agrees," &c.

^e March 9th, 1645-6. The Committee met again; when was presented "The Answer of the Sub-committee of Divines unto the Fourth Paper of the Dissenting Brethren'. Our Brethren . . . are not pleased to take notice of those particulars of

“ Our Brethren say,

‘ 2. That none are to be allowed, upon differences only in matter of Government, to withdraw communion from us in things wherein they declare an agreement: but seeing it is confessed, in worship and doctrine, we are one, and have covenanted to endeavour the nearest conjunction and Uniformity; there may be no such indulgence granted to any, as may constitute them in distinct separate Congregations, as to those parts of worship where they can join in communion with us; but only some expedient may be endeavoured, how to bear with them in the particulars wherein they cannot agree with us.

‘ 3. For this purpose, we humbly offer, 1. ‘ That such as, through scruple or error of conscience, cannot join to partake of the Lord’s Supper, shall repair to the minister and elders for satisfaction in their scruples; which if they cannot receive, they shall not be compelled to communicate in the Lord’s Supper: provided, that in all other parts of worship they join with the congregation wherein they live, and be under the government of that congregation. 2. That such as, in this manner, are under the government of that congregation wherein they live and are not officers therein, being of the Independent judgment, shall seek satisfaction as in the former proposition; which if they cannot receive they shall not be compelled to be under the power of censures from classes or synods: provided, that they continue under the government of that congregation, and that no man who hath submitted to classes and synods shall decline them in any case, *pendente lite*.’

“ Answer: i. This supposeth what our professed judgment is and hath been against; namely, to be members or pastors of the Parishes, as they now are.^a For the Honourable Houses think not meet as yet,

Forbearance which are [were] offered to consideration, though this would much have . . . encouraged us to have studied some further means for their Accommodation; neither do they bring in any reasons out of Scripture to justify their desire of that which, we say, cannot be granted them *in terminis*. But thus they begin, ‘ Though it is our desire rather to,’ &c. To which we answer, That before our last Papers were brought in, they were ordered by the Committee, to consider of this former Paper, and had a month’s time so to have done, but have still declined it, upon other reasons than they here express; and seem more willing to lengthen the work into tedious and fruitless disputes against those things which do not please them, than to express a real endeavour of bringing things to an Agreement so far as may be, by so much as taking notice of those parts of our Paper which tend thereunto, leaving therefore the last two paragraphs of our Paper utterly unobserved, they single out only one Proposition; against which, this present Paper of theirs is wholly directed.” P. 95.

^a “ What that is which they call their ‘ professed judgment ’ would much more clearly appear unto us if we could ever obtain that which hath been so long and so much desired, namely, a full and distinct Model of their Way. . . Why our Brethren should make the notion of ‘ parishes, as they now are,’ as a ground of Separation when they know further Reformation is *covenanted* and intended, we know no reason: . . . must a man refuse to live in any part of his house, because some one chamber or other is out of repair and about to be mended? It is no good logic as to our own houses, and we think it is no better as to God’s. . . And if our Brethren may be neither ‘ members ’ nor ‘ pastors ’ of any of our congregations, how come they—or what calling have they—to have any ministerial relation at all unto them? They preach to them, they receive maintenance from them; when a delinquent pastor hath been sequestered, they have entered upon his place and received the profits of it. We know our Brethren do not preach to our people as apostles, evangelists, or prophets; nor without any ministerial mission: and if they preach the Word to them *virtute muneris*, as the ministers of Christ and as unto professed Christians, not as unto pagans;—as we hope they do;—why they may not stand in relation of membership as well [as] of ministry or teaching, *eousque* at least as they do doctrinally agree with us, we know no cause. We look upon preaching the Word as an office which no man ought to exercise except he be ‘ sent,’ Rom. x. 15: if our Brethren may be unto our congregations *aliquousque et quoad hoc* officers; why not, in like manner, members? . . . The church of Israel was forty

to give power to the ministers, by a law, to purge the congregations so far as the Assembly itself desireth;^a and we have not, as you know, presumed to seek the alteration of the rule established:^b and the rule for purging the Parishes given up, by the Assembly itself, to the Honourable Houses, is not only short but exclusive of what we, in our consciences, think is required by God for the Qualification of members:^c so that it is not, to us, in view how the Parishes shall be reformed to that which will satisfy our consciences.^d And as the Divines of the Reverend Assembly have said, ‘They cannot, without sin, administer the ordinances to the Parishes as they stand,’ so neither can we continue or become members or pastors, according to our principles; and we humbly desire that our consciences may be considered herein, for ‘forbearance’, as our Brethren desire that theirs may for ‘power’ by a

years together without ‘circumcision’ in the wilderness: and is it unlawful for Christians who live in kingdoms, where there are not . . . every office or ordinance, . . . to live as ‘members’ in those churches? . . . Especially when some expedient is endeavoured, to cure that defect as to them [our Brethren]; and when Separation—both by the intrinsical evil of itself and by the example which is thereby given, unto as many as will, to despise our churches; and by the pernicious use which ill-minded men may make of it, to hinder both reformation in the church and tranquillity in the state—doth evidently threaten so much danger unto us!” P. 97—99.

^a “They herein intimate, that the Assembly *hath* desired a ‘power’ to be given ‘to the ministers’ more than the Houses think fit to grant. We desire our Brethren to show where the Assembly *have* desired or advised the power, which they [the Assembly] conceive needful for ordering of the church, to be placed in ‘the ministers,’ without mentioning of others who concur with them. If they cannot, they must give us leave to look on such expressions rather as artifices than arguments. But have our Brethren at all waited to see what ‘the Honourable Houses,’ with the advice of the Assembly, would do in the Reformation of the church? Did they forbear Separation till it appeared what ‘power’ the ‘Houses’ would grant? . . . Sure we are that we are little beholding to our Brethren for helping forwards those desires of ours, for such a measure of Reformation as themselves acknowledge to be good, and we believe to be sufficient, when one of them hath publicly professed that ‘he would not join with us while he lived;’ and it was said in the open Assembly that ‘Though the thing desired was good, yet they would not concur with us in it, because it would be a hinderance unto them!’ . . . We cannot see what singular excellency the Reformation which our Brethren would seem to aim at hath above what the Assembly have advised; for they [our Brethren] have told us, that they would admit ana-baptists,—and we suppose, upon the same grounds, Antinomians and Arminians,—into communion. And one of our Brethren hath said, that ‘In their way, if a man declare himself willing to join in all the ordinances of Christ so far as he knows; this is covenant sufficient to join himself with them;’ we think that most in our churches within the power of the Parliament, have undertaken as much as this comes to, in the national covenant.” P. 99, 100.

^b “. . . Our Brethren ‘seek’ no alteration in the Rule, because they intend not to be subject to it. The more defective the Rule is, the more colour will they have for Separation; . . . and are likely to gain the more people from us! . . . We believe their piety would dictate and justify as great a presumption as this they speak of, if their wisdom did not look upon it as inconvenient to themselves!” P. 100, 101.

^c “. . . In their last Paper they told us that they had the same rule, for qualification of members, which the Assembly itself holds forth; here, they say, our rule is ‘exclusive’ of what they, in conscience, ‘think is required’ *nemo tam prope tam proculque nobis*: this constrains us to importune them for their rule.” P. 101.

^d “We think this is no good argument for separating from true churches, because it is not, ‘to us,’ in view ‘how’ they shall be reformed! . . . P. 101.

law.^a ii. If we could ; yet, according to what is proposed, we must for ever want that great ordinance of the Lord's Supper : which cannot but much prejudice us to the elders and members of the congregations from whose communion we thus separate, and yet we must be under their government and censures thus prejudiced by us ; which how unreasonable it will be, we desire our Brethren to consider.^b iii. All this supposeth, also, that we are to be under the Government of a Church whereof we are not members ! For *we* account not living in the parishes to be sufficient to make a member of a church ; nor did many of you.^c iv. It supposeth this ground,—the reason of which we see not ; only the charity of it, we cannot but wonder at!—that because we come so near in doctrine and worship and communion with you, therefore we must not have an 'indulgence' in a difference which yet concerns the edification of our souls by ordinances that are so necessary.^d

^a “. . . They would fain make our desire look like a desire of 'power,' theirs only as a desire of 'forbearance ;' when, in truth, they desire a greater 'power' than we either do or dare desire. We desire to keep away only those that are scandalous, and to have a 'rule' to strengthen us therein ; they do not only keep all such away but many more, without either 'rule' warranting them or a 'forbearance' permitting them. Some better way would [should] be found out to further their own desires than by misrepresenting ours.” P. 102.

^b “ It doth not follow, if they be members of our congregations, that they 'must for ever want' the Lord's Supper ; except they will say, that unto the receiving of the Lord's Supper it is, necessarily, requisite that a man be a formal member of this congregation where he receives it : if they affirm this, what then becomes of their occasional communion ? If not, why may not some expedient satisfy them in this, to prevent so great an evil as Separation ? for they, here, do themselves profess separation from 'communion' with us ! 2. . . If such persuasion of conscience, when men cannot receive the ordinances but according to their own *private* principles, shall be a sufficient ground for renouncing membership ; we desire our Brethren to consider, how long not our churches only but their own, or any other churches in the world, shall be free from incurable unquietness. 3. If our Brethren's consciences, through error, do cause 'prejudice' against them ; is it 'unreasonable' for them, to be under the government of that church which is 'prejudiced' by them ? May they with good reason, scandalize the church by Separation ; and the church have no reason to govern them ? Then, prejudicating or scandalizing errors are a *supersedeas* to all government ! We do not then wonder, that errors and perverse opinions so much abound. It may be, they are all but the *mediums* to liberty, and exemptions from government ! 4. There can no such 'prejudice' remain against them, if what they do they do only by virtue of a special indulgence.” P. 103, 104.

^c “ What our Brethren mean by 'All this,' we know not. . . Our Proposition . . . hath not one word of 'government,' to this sense, in it ; but only of 'communion'. . . It doth expressly suppose that they may be members in a church and hold a practical 'communion' so far as they do doctrinally agree ; and, to those purposes, having Forbearance as to those other ordinances wherein they differ. But it is worth the observing, how our Brethren avoid 'government' by withdrawing of membership : cut out their names, as it were out of the College-book, that they may free themselves from the Discipline thereof ! . . . We grant that 'living in parishes' is not 'sufficient to make a member.' A Turk, or pagan, or idolater, may live within the bounds of a parish : . . . a man must, therefore, first, in order of nature, be a member of the Church Visible ; and then living in a parish and making profession of Christianity, he may claim admission into the society of Christians within those bounds.” P. 104, 105.

^d “ We think our Proposition was not so destitute either of 'reason' or 'charity,' as our Brethren would seem to charge upon it : the 'reason' in it was this, That doctrinal agreement should preserve practical communion ; . . . the 'charity' this,

“For the Reason the Reverend Brethren do give [under head 2],

That ‘Seeing it is confessed, in worship and doctrine, we are one, and have covenanted to endeavour the nearest conjunction and uniformity; there may be no such indulgence granted to any, as may constitute them in distinct separated Congregations, as to those parts of worship where they can join in communion with us:’

“I. We answer,—Whereas the ‘Uniformity’ sworn to, in the Covenant, is now urged here upon this occasion; and continually upon the like, turned as the great argument against us, in pulpits, presses, and ordinary treaties; as if what we desired were contrary thereunto:^a this argument cannot hold against us, without affixing an Interpretation upon that part of the Covenant; and that, according to our Brethren’s principles only, to the prejudice of ours,^b who, when we took this National Covenant, were known to be of the same principles we now are of. And yet this Covenant was, professedly, so attempered in the first framing of it, as that we of different judgments might take it; both parties being present at the framing of it in Scotland!^c And if this should be the way of urging, it is as free for us to

first, That we did desire to continue fellow-members with our Brethren in church-unity, and to prevent Separation: secondly, That for that purpose we did advise some expedient to be endeavoured: . . . we leave it to all men to judge whose ‘charity’ is greatest. . . . We think that ‘charity’ binds Christians to prevent all unjust and needless Separation. And suppose Brownists, Anabaptists, or Antinomians, were in our Brethren’s Congregations, and they [our Brethren] should find out some expedient to hold communion with them still and so prevent their Separation; would this be esteemed a breach of ‘charity’? Or, is all expedience, to this purpose, impossible, save only renouncing of membership?” . . . P. 105, 106.

^a Thus far, our Brethren have made observations on our advice; in all that follows, they endeavour to answer the reasons of it: where we cannot, by the way, but take notice what an edge our Brethren have against ‘UNIFORMITY;’ and how ‘hastily,’ as it is said of Ben-hadad’s ‘servants,’ 1 Kings xx. 33, they ‘catch’ at that word, to make a large discourse upon it, although had that word been left out of our Paper the force of the reason would have been the very same which now it is. Their answer to our reasons is partly argumentative, and partly historical. . . . They tell us that ‘The ‘Uniformity’ sworn, &c. is . . . ‘turned,’ &c.: how it is elsewhere ‘turned’ against them, by others, we know not; . . . but sure by how much the more they hear of it abroad, by so much the more reason have they to lay it to heart; and to consider, whether that great *growth* of sects and errors in the Church, under which it groaneth at this day, have [has] not, occasionally at the least, . . . *grown* out of that liberty and those principles for latitude and difformity as well in practice as in judgment, which our Brethren so much plead for, and allow unto themselves: but for our mentioning it in this Paper, we think it very seasonable, and suitable to the matter for which we allege it; not with any desire of opposition, or to turn it ‘against’ our Brethren, as their phrase is, but out of a sincere zeal to the peace of God’s Church, and to the preventing of unnecessary Separation.” . . . P. 106, 107.

^b “Our Proposition was never intended for an ‘argument’ against them, but for a means of Accommodation, . . . not drawn from any private interpretation of the Covenant; which we dare not assume the liberty to affix thereunto, however our Brethren would insinuate the contrary; but from the words themselves. . . . The evidence of our reason doth appear, that since we have covenanted to ‘endeavour the nearest,’ &c.; therefore . . . wherein we profess to be of one mind and judgment, that ‘conjunction’ should be practically preserved.” P. 107.

^c “Their ‘principles’ . . . might have been much better ‘known’ would they have given a free and full account of their judgment to the world, in an affirmative way; and not always kept themselves on the negative part. . . . But we wonder our Brethren should be so intimately acquainted with negotiations of State as to tell us that the ‘Covenant was, professedly, attempered’ to ‘different’ principles [judgments]

give our Interpretation of the latitude or nearness of 'Uniformity' intended, as for our Brethren; we having been present at the debates of the Assembly about it, and well know and remember the sense that there was held forth thereof.^a And further, the Assembly being appointed, by Order of the Honourable House of Commons, bearing date Sept. 15th, 1643, to set forth, in a Declaration, 'the grounds that have induced the Assembly to give their opinions, That this Covenant may be taken in point of Conscience;' according to which, some of us were, by a committee, entrusted to bring in materials to that purpose, and accordingly did; which materials were committed to one of us, by a sub-committee, to draw up, and among many other things that which follows, as grounds of taking the Covenant as touching that first Article, namely, 'That we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and *uniformity* in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government, Directory of Worship, and Catechism; that we and our posterity after us may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.'^b This 'endeavour,' in our places and callings, for 'Uniformity,' we apprehended the meaning of it to be—

"That as in our ranks and stations, we should endeavour it; so according to those general warrants of the Word, to regulate such an endeavour in the use of means whereby to accomplish it. And, therefore, as for the pattern, the Word of God is to be in our eye; so for the way and means and progress in reducing the Churches to such a Uni-

and to different parties! It seems, to us, an indecent assertion, . . . that Commissioners were sent into the kingdom of 'Scotland' as [to?] different 'parties,' to be treated with under such a notion. Sure we are, our Brethren did not take the Covenant with any *salvo* to their own 'principles;' and if it were made as a 'National' covenant—as we know it was—what reason is there to think that it was particularly 'attempered' to them more than others who have consciences as well as they? Doth not this seem to lay an implicit obligation upon the Parliaments of both kingdoms, as if neither of them might do anything in prejudice of our Brethren's 'principles,' lest it might be interpreted as done contrary to the professed temper of the Covenant, and consequently to the scope of it? These, to us, are strange intimations!" P. 107, 108.

^a "We have argued from the very words themselves; and so we all must do, or else we can make no use of it. . . We remember, indeed, that the Assembly gave their 'sense' by vote touching Prelacy, which was after inserted into the body of the Article; but for other particulars concerning which no vote passed, this we know, that no member of the Assembly could give any other sense but their own as single persons; nothing being the 'sense' of the Assembly but what appears to be so by their order or resolve; and that if one speak anything as his sense, the rest being silent, their silence is not to be taken for a consent." P. 108, 109.

^b Whatever was done by one or more of these Brethren, by way of comment upon the Covenant or any Article thereof, was not done according to the forementioned 'Order,' seeing it requires only a Declaration of the 'grounds' upon which the Assembly gave their opinion concerning the lawfulness of taking the Covenant; not an explanation of what private men conceived to be the meaning of it. And surely that which is here obtruded as the 'sense,' and the only 'sense,' in which these Brethren judge it lawful, never passed the vote, never was so much as debated in the Assembly; and therefore cannot possibly come within the compass of those 'grounds' which the 'Order' relates to. But that which we wonder most at is, that our Brethren should a little before charge us, without cause,—as hath been showed,—of a crime, and should presently fall into the same sin themselves! For what is, if this be not, to 'affix an interpretation upon the Covenant,' suitable to the 'principles' of one party and exclusive of those of another?" P. 109, 110.

formity, such rules are to be observed as the nature of such a work will bear, and which the Apostles—who had infallibility!—observed, in reducing the Jews and those of the Circumcision, and the Gentiles, to a Uniformity; and without tyranny, and pressing men's consciences beyond the several degrees of light which God vouchsafes to several Churches more or less.^a So that although there be one pattern in our eye in common, which all our consciences swear to bring all to, yet, *de facto* and in the providence of God, it so falls out in the Reforming of Churches, now, after anti-Christianism hath overspread and corrupted all, that the *light* grows every age more and more to the perfect day and the coming of Christ, who is to melt that 'man of sin' by the increasing brightness of his coming. And so, both of persons and churches, some see more, some see less; and as we see in the Reformed Churches at this day; and will certainly fall out thus, in these of ours. Now therefore, in this case, that *rule* for effecting this 'Uniformity' must certainly be no other than what the apostle gives, 'As far as we have attained, let us walk by the same rule,' Phil. iii. 16: and therefore, the way is to see how 'far' we have 'attained,' and set down wherein we agree—as in all substantials of faith and worship it is

^a "Our Brethren here give us such an explication of 'Uniformity' as indeed may suit to any the most difformous churches that are; who will all tell us, that they propose to themselves the right 'pattern,' rules and examples; and from thence are instructed into difformity with [from] others. It is not a 'uniformity' of 'endeavour' which we are bound only unto, but to 'endeavour' a 'uniformity' in the particulars expressed, namely, 'as in doctrine and worship, so in form of church government.' We all must readily agree, that 'the Word of God' is the rule, in all respects, for Reformation; and the Apostles' examples to be followed, in all things of perpetual equity: but doth not 'the Word of God' press upon us *Unity* of judgment and practice; to be of 'one mind,' of 'one accord,' 2 Cor. xiii 11, and Phil. ii. 2; not to 'cause divisions, &c.' Rom. xvi. 17; to speak the same thing, &c.' 1 Cor. i. 10? or, did 'the apostles' ever endeavour such a 'Uniformity' or so much as call it so, as was nothing else but a doing every man according to his own light, . . . that which is right in his own eyes,' Jud. xvii. 6. ? did they not suppress the contentions of men by the 'custom' of 'the churches of God,' 1 Cor. xi. 16; and 'ordain' the same practice 'in all churches,' 1 Cor. vii. 17; notwithstanding our Brethren's distinction of difference of 'light?' For the case which our Brethren mention of 'reducing those of the Circumcision and the Gentiles to a uniformity,' were they not thereunto brought by a *synodical* determination, Acts xv. ? and did not the apostles bind the 'burden' of some 'necessary things' on the churches, albeit there were in those churches gradual differences of 'light?' We could be glad our Brethren had explained themselves when they speak of 'tyranny' and 'pressing men's consciences,' because under that pretext many oppose all kind of Government; and many most injuriously represent Presbyterial government as formidable and tyrannical. Our Brethren, in their way, exercise the same kind of power, and that with more rigour! The relief which the law of nature allows, to appeal from an unjust sentence to a power which may correct it, they deny: christian professors, though neither ignorant nor scandalous, they shut the door against and keep out of communion: they do, doctrinally and practically, condemn all churches which are not independent; . . . and may, according to their principles, assume a power to inflict the heavy sentence of 'non-communication' upon them when they see occasion as a punishment to reclaim them! Lastly, we suppose our Brethren will grant these two things, 1. That a member of a Particular Congregation may be excommunicated for heresy or schism; 2. That the officers of several churches may convene and pronounce a sentence of 'non-communication' upon other churches: surely, except our Brethren resolve to tolerate all sects and heresies whatsoever, they also may soon lie under the charge and odium of tyranny!"

certain we shall,—and so to ‘walk’ by that, as ‘the same rule!’ And then, in such matters wherein men are otherwise minded, to leave it to God, and such good means, that God may reveal it to them in his time; as his promise is.^a

“‘But if a Uniformity, for uniformity’s sake,—and [for] so the argument of our Brethren here runs,—that is, affecting Uniformity so much as not to regard men’s consciences; should be pressed and urged by such means as formerly, without respect had to that variety of *light* in matters of a lesser nature; this, were beyond the callings and warrants of the Word, and will prove a perfect tyranny; and will be so far from being a means of ‘love,’ which is aimed at, that it will lay the foundation of confusion and dissention, as formerly it did! It is with churches as with men, and particular[ly] saints, they are of several sizes and growth, of several statures; and as men are left to be more or less holy as God by good means shall make them, so must churches. As it were against nature to stretch a low man to the same length with a taller, or to cut a tall man to the stature of one that is low, for Uniformity’s sake; so, to bring both more grown or more reformed churches to a middle stature, for compliance with others and for mere Uniformity’s sake!’^b

^a “We easily understand what our Brethren mean by the overspreading of ‘antichristianism;’ and how they do tacitly charge all, who dissent from them, with no meaner a guilt. . . But let us admit what our Brethren say, that ‘antichristianism’ is to be melted away by a *growing* ‘light;’ doth any such growing light appear at this time? We confess there is great crying up of ‘new lights!’ but under that notion, do not old and decried errors of Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Brownism, yea Arianism and Photinianism, break forth, to the great scandal of the church? . . . Whatever this ‘light’ is, must it not increase in the next age, as well as in this? And must that ‘new’ light then ‘melt’ away the antichristianism of Independency, as that doth, in this age, the antichristianism of Presbytery? And shall government in every age, be changed according to differences of ‘light?’ Have not our Brethren found out a *jus Divinum* for their way in Scripture? We so understand them; and must some ‘increasing brightness’ hereafter abolish that? To us, such principles tend to very scepticism. . . May not the magistrate, out of a care to preserve the churches which are under his government and protection, in unity, . . . allow one way of government and disallow another—as they [those] have done in the case of the Liturgy and Directory, and in the case of Episcopacy and Presbytery,—without reserving a *salvo* for such as shall in judgment differ from the alteration which they have made? . . . Surely, if our Brethren’s principles extend to such a latitude for other men’s judgments as well as for their own, which we know no reason why they should not, they put them in a fitter temper to covenant multiformity than ‘uniformity!’” P. 112—114.

^b “We know not what our Brethren mean by ‘uniformity, for uniformity’s sake.’ We think they asperse us in such expressions, as if we laid grounds for ‘tyranny,’ or intended not to ‘respect’ the consciences of men. We desire ‘uniformity,’ for order; and order, for edification: we desire it as it is expressed in the letter of the Covenant, by which our Brethren are bound as well as we. . . But to touch that point of ‘variety of light;’ we desire our Brethren to answer us in this one thing, Whether *some* must be denied the liberty of their ‘conscience’ in matter of practice, or *none*? If *none*, then we must all renounce our Covenant and let in Prelacy again! and all other ways. If a denial of liberty unto *some*, may be just; then ‘uniformity’ may be settled notwithstanding ‘variety’ of light; without any ‘tyranny’ at all. We acknowledge degrees of ‘light’ and ‘growth’ amongst men; and do not affirm that some must be kept under for conformity’s sake with those who are worse than themselves; or that all matters of difference in judgment must be authoritatively decided ‘for uniformity’s sake;’ yet hence it

“ ‘ And this suits as with the rules of the Word so with the scope of the Article ; for, first, look what kind of Uniformity, in confession of faith, the like in matter of worship and government is to be intended ; and that the rather, because directions for government and worship are the more remote from all Christians’ knowledge, and, perhaps, more obscure in the Word, and are the special controversies of the times. Now, as in matters of faith, you would not, for Uniformity’s sake, determine all differences in judgment but fundamentals,—and a ‘ uniformity ’ therein is all intended,—so, by analogy, in point of worship and government. And secondly, the end is, that God may dwell amongst us, who is the author of ‘ peace ’ not of ‘ confusion, ’ in all the churches 1 Cor. xiv. 33 : which ‘ peace, ’ whilst in his providence men’s judgments do and will differ, will never be attained by a rigid ‘ Uniformity ! ’ ^a

“ But this Order of the Honourable House of Commons, so necessary for the satisfaction of all differing judgments, as at first, to take the Covenant, so, to continue steadfast therein ; and which would, in all likelihood, have laid a foundation of ending this and other differences, was superseded to this day. ^b

“ II. We answer,—That we willingly again do profess, that in the substance of ‘ worship and doctrine we are one, ’ and of the same judgment, with our Brethren ; yet to practise and enjoy those parts of

doth not follow, but that as one Confession of Faith and one Directory of Worship, so also one Form of Government and Constitution of Churches may be settled : for we are sure that in this general, our Brethren agree with us, That one way, for the substance of it, is necessary for all ; though touching the particulars we are at difference. . . . May not churches differ in ‘ light, ’ and agree in government ? . . . If the magistrate should think fit to settle their way by a law, would they allow a Toleration to Episcopacy, Presbytery, Brownism, Erastianism, or any other government excogitable by the fancies of men, upon this reason—Because men must not, ‘ for uniformity’s sake, ’ be pared or stretched to the measure of other men ? . . . Did ‘ the Apostles ’ and elders of Jerusalem ‘ cut tall ’ men and ‘ stretch low ’ men, when they ordered ‘ necessary things ’ for mutual peace ? We will not envy our Brethren their tallness ! We will [would] desire to be low, in our own eyes as well as we are in theirs. We confess our day is but ‘ the day of small things, ’ yet we hope it is a ‘ time of love ! ’ Far be it from us to say we are ‘ rich, ’ and stand in ‘ need of nothing ; ’ yet we hope when Presbyterian Government is up, we shall labour, both by our ministry and discipline, to present our members ‘ blameless, ’ before Christ ! Our Brethren have nothing but what they have received ; and time was, when he who was ‘ taller ’ than all his brethren, by the head, was laid aside, and a ‘ low ’ and lowly person came in his room ! ” P. 115—117.

^a “ Our Brethren do, all along, insist upon a wrong ground, namely, ‘ difference of judgment ’ which, in our Proposition, the ‘ uniformity ’ mentioned is evidently restricted unto unity of judgment. ” P. 119.

^b “ That there was an ‘ order ’ and ‘ superseded, ’ we acknowledge ; but that it was intended ‘ for the satisfaction of *different* judgments, ’ we deny. . . . The use these Brethren made of it was . . . to have given in their private sense of the Covenant ; which they very much contended for, and the Committee of the Assembly together with the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, opposed, as destructive and inconsistent with the end of the Covenant. For the superseding of it, . . . the House of Commons made this Order upon it, Feb. 9th 1643, ‘ An Exhortation touching the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, . . . was . . . ordered to be forthwith printed : ’ so that in obeying that latter Ordinance, we conceive that both that and the former Order of September 15th then foregoing, and now insisted so much upon by our Brethren, were fully satisfied. ” P. 119—121.

worship as ordinances of a church, there is, as to our consciences, necessarily required—as the seat and subject of worship and other ordinances—a church-state; and those, such churches as where we may be members, and ‘join in communion’ therein as members without sin, which we cannot do; as we have all along, professed; and such churches as wherein we can enjoy all ordinances, which is denied us here, in this paragraph.^a So that the only way left to reduce us to a ‘uniformity’ and ‘conjunction’ in the same practices, is to allow us such Distinct Churches from yours, according to our principles;^b in which, and by means of which, we shall hold all possible communion and conformity with yours. Whereas otherwise, we shall only retain a uniformity in judgment; whereas that ‘uniformity’ the Covenant much rather obligeth you and us all unto, is that which may be a uniformity in practice, with satisfaction to all men’s consciences, and their edification.”^c

^a “We know not any Ordinance which will be ‘denied’ them in our congregations. Have they ‘all ordinances’ in their own churches? Do not they hold Ruling Elders? . . . or, may they be, in their own churches, without some one ordinance, and not in ours? If they should think anointing of the sick with oil, or washing of feet, be an ordinance; will they be no ‘members’ where they cannot enjoy these? To determine Controversies of Faith, and Cases of Conscience, judicially, is an ordinance; if they be of no church but where that is exercised, and the liberty of opinions judicially restrained, their churches would soon be dissolved, and they would find it, we believe, difficult to gather more.” P. 122.

^b “As for their own expedient for ‘uniformity and conjunction;’ . . . we look upon it but as a riddle. . . What churches under heaven may we not hold conjunction, uniformity, communion with, upon such terms?” P. 123.

^c “This, to us, sounds as if they did not only desire liberty of conscience for themselves but for all men; and would have us believe that this is all the ‘uniformity’ which the Covenant requires, that we should ‘endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity,’ yet so as that we may leave all men to the liberty of their ‘consciencess!’ We hope our Brethren have some other meaning; yet, at present, these expressions savour so much of such a sense, that we cannot understand what they do mean less than this. And whether that be the sense of the Covenant, we humbly leave, together with this whole Paper, unto the consideration of this Honourable Committee.” P. 123.—“After the delivery of this Paper [Mar. 9th, 1645-6], the Committee of Lords and Commons and Assembly of Divines, adjourned to a day; but being diverted by other occasions, have not since had any meeting, and so there was no further proceeding in that business.” *Ibid.*—About the year 1656, Richard Baxter made the first of his three ineffectual trials for union between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and having applied to Nye to give “in writing, all those things which of necessity must be granted by the Presbyterians,” Nye referred him “to the Debates in the Assembly, . . . which are in print.” Baxter’s Life, 1696. Lib. I. pt. ii. p. 18. The second effort was with George Griffith M.A. [See Wilson’s Hist. of Dissenting Churches. 1808, 8vo., vol. ii. p. 516.] about 1658. Baxter *sup.* p. 193, with pt. iii, p. 61. The third, was with Dr. Owen, in 1668-9, who kept the papers “near a year and quarter,” and returned them, saying, ‘I am still a well-wisher to those *mathematics!*’ without . . . ever giving me any more exception against them.” Pt. iii. p. 69. And see Orme’s Life of Owen, 1820, 8vo. Chap. x. p. 311, 312.

CHAP. LXV.

BASTWICK AGAINST INDEPENDENCY.

It will be of service to the reader to review our former particulars, near the end of our 32nd chapter, of the eccentricities of him who is here largely to engage attention, and is thus introduced: "Independency not God's Ordinance: or, A Treatise concerning Church-Government, occasioned by the Distractions of these Times. Wherein is evidently proved, That the Presbyterian Government Dependent, is God's Ordinance; and not the Presbyterian Government Independent.—To which, is annexed a Postscript, discovering the uncharitable dealing of the Independents towards their Christian Brethren; and, the fraud and jugglings of many of their Pastors and Ministers, to the misleading of the poor People not only to their own Detriment but to the Hurt of Church and State; with the Danger of all Novelties in Religion.—By John Bastwick, Dr. in Physic.—2 Cor. xiii. 8; 1 Thess. v. 21.—1645." 4to. pp. [146] 168.

Starting without any other preface than Paul's exhortation Eph. iv. 1—6, "There is now," says this impassioned advocate of the newest 'Church and State' alliance, "singular use of it." He proceeds by saying, "It hath ever been observed, that diversity of judgment and opinion hath made a difference in affection: the difference between the Jews and the Samaritans in points of religion, made the Disciples desire that 'fire' might 'come down from heaven'^a to end that controversy. The difference between us and the Papists, and the diversity of opinions between [among] us, made them—because they could not bring down 'fire from heaven,' fetch it out of hell—to blow up the Parliament; and because that had not the desired effect; and the diversity of opinion still remaining, makes . . . that nothing can expiate their indignation against us but the utter interecion and destruction of us all; and this,—and this only—next unto our own sins, is the cause of all those fatal calamities this miserable kingdom is now embroiled with. . . . The contemplation of the sad condition that will inevitably come upon that land, kingdom, and church . . . where there is such diversity of opinions, and by reason of them such difference in affection, put me chiefly upon this employment, to see and try if, by any possible means, I could, by showing wherein the difference between the Brethren lieth, be an instrument of a good accord amongst them; resolving with myself, by God's assistance, whatsoever others do, to observe, to the uttermost of my abilities, 'the royal law.'^b . . . The truth is, the misunderstanding of each other's opinions and the misprision of each other's intentions is the only cause of this diversity of affection. . . . And therefore as Abram said unto Lot, so say I to all those that love the Truth in sincerity, and wish the peace of Zion, Let not us contend;

^a Luke ix. 54.^b James ii. 8.

especially, with evil language, ‘for we are brethren ;’^a we have one Father ; we worship one God ; we have one light, one Truth, one Way. And this I profess to all the world, that I ‘contend’ not for victory, but for that ancient Light ‘the faith once delivered unto the saints ;’^b for that Truth which we have heard ‘from the beginning ;’ for the old ‘Way,’ ‘the way, the truth, and the life ;’^c and for the honour of that Church against which ‘the gates of hell’ can never ‘prevail ;’ in the which, there are all those undeceivable marks as are able for ever to declare her to be built upon the foundation of ‘Peter :’^d in which, the Gospel of Jesus Christ is purely and sincerely both preached and believed, and where the sacraments are rightly administered ; and in the which, there is the true invocation of God, and all other requisites that make her a true church, and from which there is no just cause of separation !^e

“That I have dedicated this Treatise to no man, nor sought the patronage of any Authority, no mortal creature I presume will blame me knowing my reasons. For writing in defence of the Prerogative Royal of Kings against Papal Usurpation, I dedicated my book unto the King ; . . . but all men know what misery, to the ruin of me, my wife and many small children, came . . . by it through the . . . exorbitant authority of the Prelates. So that for my duty and loyalty to the King, I had a prison for my reward, and the scorn and contumelies of the world to comfort me in it. And when I most humbly petitioned his Highness, . . . either that his Majesty would be pleased, but for one hour, to give me a hearing of my just defence, or . . . that at least he would grant me that liberty in his kingdom that he denied not to crows and kites and other vermin, that I might provide for my young ones ; and if his Highness would not be pleased to condescend unto either of the former just demands, that then he would give me leave to depart the kingdom ; . . . yet his Majesty vouchsafed not to yield unto any of these my requests, nor to any other petition put up either by my poor distressed wife or calamitous children ; so that, without any wrong unto his Majesty, I may truly say that Paul found more favour from a heathen Roman Cæsar than I had from a Christian King, the ‘defender of the faith !’ After I saw all possibility of relief was now taken from me, I writ my Apology to the Bishops themselves ; discovering unto them their unjust proceedings in their Courts, and their iniquitous dealings, towards myself, . . . without any offensive language, and without any perturbation of spirit ; and dedicated this my book to the Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council . . . imploring their patronage. But they, as is well known, of patrons became my unjust judges ; and after they had made me a spectacle to men and angels, and exposed me to the scorn and ludibry of the world, sent me into banishment, where I lived a living death and a dying life, and suffered such intolerable misery of all sorts as would exceed belief to relate, and I am most confident, if all the particulars were truly known, the world never heard the like ! And there I had ended my doleful life, had not God of his infinite mercy called this Parliament, and put it into their hearts to redeem me from

^a Gen. xiii. 8.^b Jude 3.^c John xiv.^d Matt. xvi. 18.^e P. 1—3.

my captivity . . . Now, because by my sad experience, I found that I could, neither from king nor nobles, have protection, I resolved never any more, in God's matters, to shroud myself under any covert but Divine Providence; and that, I with an assured confidence, promise myself. Especially when I now maintain the prerogative royal of the King of saints, and King of kings, the Lord Jesus Christ; . . . whose dignity and royalty, in all this dispute between me and Mr. Walter Montague, I have to the uttermost of my power maintained.^a . . .

“If any man should go about to persuade me that there were any other Governments established in the church of God than an aristocratical and a Presbyterian one, I should, notwithstanding all human reason to the contrary, submit myself to that kind of Government, as being most confidently assured that it is warranted in God's Word. . . This is no new opinion of mine, but that which I have once and again suffered for. . . This Word therefore, I desire all my Christian brethren . . . to take into their hands, . . . and with a virgin judgment, not ravished with any previous or anticipated opinion, to come and approach the altar of truth; and so consider and examine which of these opinions the brethren on both sides now sacrifice themselves unto, be the offering that will best endure the *fiery trial*; namely, Whether the Presbyterian Government Dependent, or a Presbyterian Government Independent, both now laid upon the altar,—be the acceptablest service and best pleasing sacrifice.^c

“The Brethren on both sides, agree about the rule in deciding of this controversy; and make the written Word the rule. They agree also about the materials; both acknowledging a Presbytery. The difference between them is only about the mould and manner of the offering. I will therefore state the question between us; and show wherein we differ: and then set down my own opinion, with my reasons; and after, endeavour to be a Moderator for determining of this unhappy difference. . .

“There is a twofold question between us they call the ‘Presbyterians’ and our Brethren they term ‘Independents’: the first is concerning the Government of the church, namely, Whether it be Presbyterian Dependent or Presbyterian Independent? The second question is, Concerning the Gathering of churches: but of that in its due place.

“The first question is, Whether many congregations, or christian assemblies,—commonly called ‘churches’ in our dialect;—in the which there are all the acts of worship, or all ordinances; as the pure preaching of the Gospel, the due and right administration of the sacraments, the true invocation of God, discipline rightly executed, and all other performances which make for the essence and form of a true church; and in the which assemblies likewise they have all such offices and helps of government as, in their several places being rightly employed, may serve for the edification of the same, and mutual comfort and benefit of each other, and the preservation of all,—as presbyters, elders,^d deacons, and all other officers:—I say, the question between us and the

^a P. 3—5.

^b 1 Cor. iii. 13—15.

^c P. 5—7

^d “As presbyters, both preaching and ruling:” *sic* in The Utter Routing, p. 7; *infra*.

Brethren is, Whether all these several congregations and assemblies may be accounted but one church; or make but one church within their precincts, and to be under the government and rule of one Presbytery or a council or college of many presbyters together, upon which all the congregations and several assemblies under it are to depend; and to which, in all weighty businesses, they are to appeal for any injury or conceived wrong or scandal, or for redress of any abuses in doctrine or manners, and for the exercising of church-discipline upon incorrigible and scandalous offenders, as admonition for giving offence, suspension from the ordinances till amendment and reformation, or, if obstinate, excommunication? Or, Whether every one of those particular congregations or assemblies, be they never so small, severally or considered apart and by themselves, be Independent; that is to say, have full and plenary authority within themselves, without reference to this or any other great council or Presbytery; for transacting or determining all differences about faith or manners amongst themselves, or for the redressing of any grievances or abuses, or the exercising of the power of discipline or jurisdiction, and from the which there is no appeal for relief, though the parties offended conceive they have never so much injury or wrong done them? In a word, Whether two Presbyters with a slender congregation have an absolute kind of spiritual sovereignty among themselves in their own congregation, and as ample authority as was given to the whole college of the apostles, Matt. xviii. and to the whole Presbytery in the church of Jerusalem? . . .^a

“Now then, if it shall be made appear, out of the Holy Scripture, That all the several churches we have mention of in the New Testament were all particular corporations or associations, and governed by a common-council of presbyters, or by a presbyterial government in each of them; and, that there were many assemblies and congregations in those several churches, and all of them had their distinct officers amongst themselves, in the which likewise they had all the acts of worship amongst themselves, and did partake in all ordinances of church-fellowship, . . . and yet made but one church, and were all governed by a common-council of Presbyters or by a common Presbytery within their Precincts; then, it must, of necessity, follow, That as the mother-churches were first governed, all the daughters, to the end of the world, must be so governed. . . . So then, the question in hand between us and our Brethren, is, Whether there were many congregations and assemblies in any of those primitive churches; as in that of Jerusalem, the mother-church; and many elders or presbyters in that church, and all other officers; and, Whether all these congregations or assemblies were one church, and these presbyters and officers all of them elders and officers of that one church; and, Whether all those congregations and assemblies were under one presbytery?^b . . . Our Brethren do make the church of Jerusalem the pattern of their proceedings.”^c

^a P. 7, 8.

^b “Which is the opinion of the Presbyterians; and the contrary, that of the Independents.” The Utter Routing, p. 11.

^c P. 10, 11.

Here we quit this work of Bastwick's, in its first or original state, to take it up under its other or matured form swelled or puffed into the cumbersome thickness of seven hundred and eighty-two pages under as extravagant a title as perhaps any prolix penman of even that age could draw out; witness, "The Utter Routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the total overthrow of their Hierarchy, that new Babel, more Groundless than that of the Prelates: Or, 'Independency not God's Ordinance;' in which, all the Frontiers of the Presbytery with all the Quarters of the same, are Defended against all Enemies. And all the Forces of the three Generals and Commanders of the Sectaries, Hanserdo [*sic*] Knollys, J. S. [John Saltmarsh,] and Henry Burton, are all Dissipated, with all their whibling [whiffing] Reserves, and the Field of Truth still kept; viz., 'That the Presbyterian Government Dependent is God's Ordinance, and not the Presbyterian Government Independent.'—Unto which is annexed an Appendix, in way of Answer to Henry Burton, Clerk, one of his Quondam Fellow-sufferers: in the which, all his calumnies are wiped away by the Sponge of Innocency, and the 'Postscript' vindicated; the Honour also of all our renowned Generals and Commanders is vindicated; the Honour of the City of London, the Honour of our Brethren, the Scots, the Honour likewise of all the Presbyters through the Kingdom, are vindicated from the Obloquy of all the Independents and Sectaries; and their due Praises given unto them, in their several Ranks and Orders, as next under God, to have been the principal and primary 'Repairers' of our 'Breach,' and the 'Restorers' of our 'Paths to dwell in' [Isa. lviii. 12:] the Honour of all which, the Sectaries wholly and solely ascribe to their Party.—By John Bastwick, Captain in the Presbyterian Army, Dr. in Physic; and Physician in ordinary to all the *III*-dependents and Sectaries, to sweat them with arguments twice a year gratis, Spring and Fall; who, discovering their Distempers and Maladies, finds, by the several symptoms of their Diseases, that they are very Unsound, Root and Branch, and therefore ought,—with their venomous and intolerable Toleration of all Religions,—to be shunned and avoided, as a Company of infected Persons, by all such as are sound in the Faith.—Matt. vii. 15.—1646." 4to. pp. 120 not paged, and 662 paged.

We cannot desist from increasing the reader's risibility by transcribing portions from two of the four encomiastic pieces which usher in the to-be-fascinated victim to "The Victorious, Worthy Mr. John Bastwick, Dr. etc.," whose "approved and transcendent worth, the Independents and Sectaries of our times, do labour to obscure with their black-mouthed railings, false accusings, sinful reproachings, self-conceited slightings, proud scornings, unworthy and unchristian vilifyings."

"To set forth all thy parts—learning and skill—
It were a work too hard for Homer's quill;
And Virgil's poem, excellent in verse,
Would come far short thy virtues to rehearse.
Were they alive and should it take in hand,
Thy worth's above their muse to understand.

To speak thy praises fully they would find
A task not easy, though both were combin'd
To make a record."—

S. B.

G. L. another of these trumpeters, writes of

"A Toleration,
Which to Christ's faithful Spouse doth bring great scandal.
Such wasting 'New Lights' show Thieves in the candle,
Who from Christ's Fold, his Church, the *fat-sheep* steal;
Saints, converts, zealots, rich men, in our Weal :

But thou well-prov'st their sacrilegious theft,
Christ nor his blest Apostles, ever left
Them such a pattern."

We now enter upon the Epistle "To the Ingenuous Reader," purporting to touch again on the main argument in such proportion as we are compelled to confine ourselves within.

"Christian Reader,—When it was but noised abroad, after my return from my last imprisonment, that I was writing against Independency, it would exceed belief if I should relate the indignation of all that party : . . so that, at that time, there were no less nor fewer ignominious calumnies cast upon me . . than were uttered . . upon the late coming forth but of the title and frontispiece ^a of the ensuing Discourse; many of them affirming that I was 'a vain-glorious, wicked fellow,' that I was 'mad,' etc. So that it seems it is a greater *piaculum* by far, now to write against the Independents and Sectaries, than *scandalum magnatum* was a few years since.

"Truly, at that time I could scarce pass by any of them,—as I cannot at this day,—without some contumely or other. . . I could never meet my brother Burton but he would always, after his salutation, in a deriding and scornful manner, ask me when my 'Book' came forth, telling me that he expected 'some monster!' It seems he thought I was bringing forth such a prodigious brat as he, not long after, laid at my door; which, though it were a 'monster' indeed, born with teeth and nails, and did nothing but scratch and bite me,—yet coming from his loins, my brother and quondam fellow-sufferer, I gave it entertainment, and for the love I bear to him, I have ever since dandled it upon the knee of my affection. Now as soon as I had . . sent him my Book, . . he very liberally expressed his thanks for it, and his opinion concerning both it and myself. . . He asserted I was 'crazed,' . . and had need of some 'hellebore;' and spake of me as an 'apostate' and a 'persecutor;' who before he knew my differing opinion from him, both prayed for me and immoderately praised me. Such is the uncertainty of all that is under the sun! . . And withal, he triumphed that he would give me 'a speedy answer;' making nothing of what I had written:—as it is usual with all the Independents to vilipend and slight whatsoever the Presbyterians either speak or write.—And meeting with another Independent, not many days after, he told

^a The author's *effigy* was set before his "Indep. not God's Ord."

me that there were 'twenty pens at work' against me. . . Howsoever, it was some months before I heard from any of them in print, yet all that interim . . . there was scarce a weapon in all the arsenal of calumny that they used not against me.

"Now after some months, one Hanserdo [Hanserd] Knollys coming to me told me he had writ a Moderate Answer unto my Book;^a complaining that the Presses were all shut against 'them,'—though the whole kingdom know, and their daily scribblings in print can witness, the contrary;—whereupon, to take away, if it were possible, all occasion of their calumnious tongues, I writ unto Reverend and Learned Master Cranford, entreating him that he would, 'for the stopping of all their mouths,' license his book, which he willingly, to pleasure me, condescended unto, giving his reason withal in writing. . . why he made such 'a transgression:' the which Master Knolly's concealed; wherein he dealt not candidly, for it gave great occasion to the Sectaries to traduce Master Cranford not a little. And after this was printed, came forth another pamphlet, by one J. S. called 'Flagellum Flagelli: Or, Doctor Bastwick's Quarters beaten up;'^b which was the cause of the title and inscription of this book. And I being, not many weeks after, at Westminster, some asking me there, why I had not yet replied unto them? I answered, not in a 'triumphing' manner, as my brother Burton relateth^c but merrily, yet in respectful terms, that I understood

^a "A Moderate Answer unto Dr. Bastwick's Book, called 'Independency not God's Ordinance.' Wherein is declared the manner how some Churches in this City were gathered, and upon what terms their members were admitted; that so both the Dr. and the Reader may judge how near some Believers, who walk together in the Fellowship of the Gospel, do come in their Practice to these Apostolical Rules which are propounded by the Dr. as God's Method in gathering Churches and admitting Members.—By Hanserd Knollys.—Printed and published according to Order—Imprimatur, Ja. Cranford, 1645." 4to. pp. 20. This is the Answer of a Baptist, so called; but it does not appear to be known among those who assume that term.

^b "In two or three Pomeridian Exercises, by way of Animadversion upon his First Book, intituled 'Independency not God's Ordinance.'—By J. S., M.A.—Published by Authority, 1645." 4to. pp. 20. This writer was John Saltmarsh, whom Fuller describes as "a person of a fine active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher; but no friend to Bishops and Ceremonies." Worthies. 1662, Fol. Pt. iii. p. 212. He is ranked among the Antinomians.

^c In p. 1, of "Vindiciæ Veritatis: Truth Vindicated against Calumny. In a Brief Answer to Dr. Bastwick's two late Books, intituled 'Independency not God's Ordinance,' with the Second Part, styled 'The Postscript, etc.' By Henry Burton, one of his quondam Fellow sufferers. 1645." 4to. pp. 34.

"This Answer," Burton tells the Reader, "was long ago so conceived and formed in the womb, as the slow birth may seem to have outgone its due time. It waited for the 'Postscript;' which coming forth, proved such a strange creature, as some friends would not have me foul my fingers with it. Hezekiah's word to his people was, in such a case, 'Answer him not?' 2 Kings xviii. 36. But finding that he still pursued me with his incessant provocations in more books since, I thought of Solomon's counsel, 'answer not,' and yet 'answer:' Prov. xxvi. 4, 5. For I perceived that no Answer coming, a tumour began to grow, which needed timely lancing: . . . Therefore I hastened, at length, as fast as before I was slow, if possible to recover our Brother. 'So as, if I be quick and short with him, it is to save him with fear, plucking him out of the fire:' Jude, 23. I am plain, and that's all. Farewell."

The piece itself begins, "Brother Bastwick, I had resolved, for a time at least,

my brother Burton's book was coming forth against me, and when once that appeared, 'I would answer them all together.' . . Now they having their enmissaries and listeners in all corners . . that which was spoken by me, they related . . in other language than I uttered it; the which pro-

as I have done, to have been silent in these controversies, though provoked² not a little; but now your two books you lately sent me, as also your late triumphing at Westminster, that 'The man in Friday-street had not yet answered your book, as was given out,' provoked me afresh in arcanam descendere to take them both to task, and so *nna fidelia duos parietes*. And if the perusal of them be not enough in lieu of thanks, I have returned you a compendious Answer; wherein you have bound me by a double judgment; the one, for the Cause; the other, for my person. But you will say, You have not named me in either of your two books. It is indeed true: but give me leave to tell you, you have vellicated me, plucked me by the very 'beard!' . . What? use a brother so; and a quondam fellow-sufferer too? Yea, and to take him so disgracefully by his 'white' beard too, and that with a scurrilous epithet, calling it 'A great white basket-hilted beard!' 'Postscript,' p. 44. . . I do not purpose to retort or retaliate your little expected and less deserved calumnies, lest I should therein be like unto you." P. 1, 2.

"But, how comes it to pass, that my two fellow-sufferers and myself should fall at this odds? Was it by any Divine Providence ominated or presaged by your two standings on one pillory, and mine alone in the other, that we should now come upon one theatre to become spectacles to the world by mutual dicladiations, as if one pillory should contend with the other? Or did the distance of the two pillories bode any such distance in our present judgments? But yet, oh! O, never be such a distance in our affections: . . herein at least, ever we be a threefold cord, not easily broken. But the will of the Lord be done. . . P. 2.

"You bring the Scripture for you. Come on, Brother, let you and me try it out by dint of this sword: and truly, I shall by the help of God, make no long work of it. You spend above eleven sheets wherein you have woven sundry long-threaden Arguments to measure out your 'Dependent Presbytery,' as holding parallel with the line of Scripture. Now you must pardon me if I shall assay, according to an old proverb, with one stroke of Phocion's hatchet to cut in two the long-thread of your Alcibiadian fluent and luxuriant rhetorizations. For answer; first let me ask you a question: Whether those many congregations you so call, you do not understand to be so many distinct and particular entire church-bodies, or churches respectively? If they be, tell us if each of these churches be not, in its prime and proper notion, an entire church, without or before it be united in such a Presbyterian combination and government as you speak of? And if so, Whether it be *de esse*, or *de bene esse*, of the being, or only well-being of each particular church, so to be united and combined into a church collective, of many churches into one? If you say, It is of the being of a church, to be yoked with other churches, as into one; then, What being had that in Abraham's family, seeing there were then no other churches in the world but that? And if that were extraordinary, as perhaps you will say; then say I, When churches are multiplied and combined into one, whether is this church collective, dependent or independent? If dependent, then not an entire church, but subordinate unto or dependent upon some greater assembly. But come we to the highest of all, a general council of all the churches in the world: is this now, a church dependent or independent? If independent, then there may be a church independent in the world; and so the first particular church in the world was no less an independent church, in reference to other churches. And, if all churches in one œcumenical council, as one church, be dependent, then whereupon dependent? Or, is it a dependent on itself? That were blasphemy, to say it. Whereupon then? Surely on the Scripture, or nothing! All churches, then, are dependent upon the Scripture, necessarily; not so necessarily, one church on another, whether particular or general. *Ergo*, all particular churches being not necessarily dependent one upon another, nor one upon many, but absolutely dependent upon the Scripture for their ultimate or final resolutions, are no less independent upon other churches; because all the churches in the world put together cannot, of themselves, give forth one infallible oracle; as to

voked him afresh, as he saith, p. 1, 'in arenam descendere, and to take both my books in hand,' and so una fidelia duos parietes; and although he was dissuaded from fouling his fingers with my 'Postscript,' as he confesseth; yet 'being,' as he saith, 'bound by a double engagement,—

say, This we command to be believed and observed. This is Antichrist's voice, 'Volumus et jubemus:' Platina, in Vita Bonifacii, 3. The church, or churches, may show their reasons from Scripture, and labour to persuade, but cannot bind them upon faith or conscience; this, the Holy Ghost and Scripture can only do." P. 7, 8.

"I come to your question, namely, 'Whether ministers of the Gospel, etc.?' Surely, if any, then 'ministers of the Gospel' may 'gather churches:'. . . aye, but not of already congregated assemblies of believers to select and choose the most principal of them! Indeed this is something to propose: but tell me, brother, who is it that doth this? You apply it to us all, and to me in particular, but I deny that I so do; and I dare say the like for others." P. 12. "'Aye,' say you, 'but we gather christian churches out of christian churches:'. . . surely then, it is God's Word that calleth Christians to come into a more reformed church-way! . . . Nor do we separate from the churches as 'christian,' as you call them, but from their corruptions; separating 'the precious from the vile' [Jer. xv. 19.] as from something antichristian." P. 13. "But you say 'We admit of none into our society but such as shall enter in by a private covenant.' Now the very name of 'Covenant' is become a bugbear to many! But it is mightily mistaken, as I have showed in my 'Vindication;' for it is nothing else but a declaration of a free assent and voluntary agreement to walk in the ways of Christ, etc. So that it is not the name of 'covenant' that is so terrible, but the order of church-communion; and this, to those only that having used to walk without a yoke—as the Scripture calls the sons of Belial—love not to come under the yoke of Christ; than which to a willing hearer, nothing is more easy and sweet [2 Cor. vi.]" P. 14. "You tell us, 'That our gathering of churches, hath no example in Scripture; and, as for Christ's disciples, they were all sent to gather in 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' [Matt. x. 6;] they went not to gather in converts amongst converted men, etc.' Now, we cannot have a more pregnant and warrantable example in all the Scripture, than this: nor can you deny but that the Jews were a church when the disciples gathered churches out of the church of the Jews; and, that church of the Jews generally believed that the Messias, or Christ, was to come: . . . much more, churches may be gathered out of nations or kingdoms of the world though for their general profession of Christianity every such nation or kingdom be respectively called a church, and then not of Divine constitution as that of the Jews was, even when churches-christian were gathered out of it!" P. 18. "But, do you not know that there are three special visible marks of a 'true' visible church; 'the Gospel purely preached; the sacraments duly administered; and discipline rightly practised?' Homily, Second Sermon for Whitsunday.—All which marks together, the Church of England, for aught I know, is yet to seek." P. 20.

"Have we, 'all the pulpits in the kingdom?' I hope your brother T. E. [Thomas Edwards] by his pen and preaching, and you by your pen, will take order for that, that we shall not have 'all the pulpits;' no, nor yet any at all, with your good will! Witness, that late misrule at your town of Colchester, upon your books and T. E's preaching. And therefore, this may be placed among your 'grolleries.'" P. 24.

Upon "The Postscript," Burton remarks, p. 19, "Surely, there is so much fire in the bowels of your 'book' as in the Trojan horse, that a wonder it is it hath not all this while set itself on fire, and with itself—like that 'tongue' in Jas. iii. 6, the whole 'frame of nature!' And for your 'brain,' you may do well to use your physical inspection!" "How comes it," he remarks, in another place, "that you fasten upon your brother such a false gloss as that he should 'persuade the people,' and 'make them believe' that from 'Christ's words' they 'have good warrant and ground to fight against their christian brethren?' Brother I must needs here challenge you of extreme violation not only of brotherly charity but even of the laws of common humanity. . . Now the Lord Jesus Christ reprove you for this, and give you repentance. . . And for the 'grollery and dotage you put upon

the one for the cause, the other for his person,—he hasteth, at length, as fast as before he was slow, to give me an answer to them both! And howsoever I had not so much as named him in either of my books, but only sent him them,—he having desired it,—yet he being not capable of the good counsel that was given him by his friend, fouled not only ‘his fingers’ with me, but the whole man, soul and body; picking a groundless [?] quarrel with me, telling me . . . that I had ‘vellicated’ him, and plucked him by ‘the very beard;’ and as the Prelate of Canterbury said once, that when I writ against the Pope I ‘meant’ him, so my brother Burton imagined I meant him, because in my ‘Postscript,’ p. 44, I had these words that ‘not only the novices, younkers, and fresh-water soldiers, but grave men, in their great white basket-hilted beards, with their swords in their hands, came out to fight against their Brethren for their Independency:’ which merry expression of mine, though I spake in the number of multitude, he applied unto himself; . . . as if there had been none amongst the Independents in ‘white basket-hilted beards’ but himself? Which moved him to great choler and indignation against me, and so enraged him that he showeth nothing but passion through his whole book; . . . in the which he tells me that the Wise-man saith, ‘The beauty of old men is the grey head,’ yea ‘a crown of glory, being found in the way of righteousness:’^a but if . . . found in the way of error, schism, and unrighteousness, then that place is not for his purpose.

“Now I shall refer these two questions, or queries, to the judgment of all solid Christians, first, Whether or not, my brother Burton be ‘found in the way of righteousness?’ secondly, Whether Independency be ‘the way of righteousness?’

“. . . I shall take liberty to make use of some of Reverend and Learned Master Calamy’s words, for the more corroborating the judgment of the reader concerning this first question. He, in his ‘Just and necessary Apology’ against my brother Burton’s unjust invective concerning ‘Truth shut out of Doors,’ hath this expression, . . . ‘His words are swords and spears. . . He fights with his heels rather than with his head, and kicks rather than argues, and whips rather than answers. Scarce any man since Montagu’s Appeal hath written with

your brother, as abusing the Scripture, when yourself most grossly abuse both it and him; assure yourself your brother is not yet come to that ‘dotage,’ but for all your vauntings on your part and vilifying of his, he dare, through the help of Christ, deal with Dr. Bastwick hand to hand as neither admiring your learning nor envying your Roman buff wherein your chief strength most lieth, except in your scoffing, scurrilous, malicious, bitter-biting, yea bloody, language; in which faculty, as *facile princeps*, you do so *tripudiate* and glory.” P. 29.

An Appendix, on p. 22, contains some touches upon his ‘Brother Prynne’s latter books, ‘Truth’s Triumphant, etc.’ and ‘A Fresh Discovery, etc.’ which, says Burton, “I have merely, God is my record, out of tenderness to the present state of things, forborne to answer.” And he calls upon Prynne, p. 34, to “read over my ‘Vindication’ once again, wherein he may clearly see how the Scripture all along sets up Christ as the Governor and Lawgiver of His Church; excluding all human wisdom and power from intermeddling in the regulating of His kingdom by man’s Lesbian rule.”

^a Prov. xx. 29; xvi. 31.

more bitterness^a. . . What Mr. Calamy says of him may also truly be said of 'Cretensis'^b and all those of that fraternity. . . Whether, therefore, such men . . . though they come to us in 'grey' heads, 'be found in the way of righteousness,' when their dealings are so palpably unjust, and their opinions so schismatical, heretical, and erroneous, I leave it to the judgment of all such as know what the way of 'righteousness' is.

^a The following particulars give some insight into this quarrel. "Truth shut out of Doors: or a brief and true Narrative of the Occasion and Manner of proceeding of some of Aldermanbury Parish, in shutting their Church-doors against me. Published for the clearing of the Truth from false Reports; and, more especially, for the satisfaction of those worthy Underwriters who chose me to perform that Catechetical Lecture, to whom I ought to give a just Account of my Carriage therein. By me Henry Burton. 1645." 4to. pp. [7.] The occasion of this, was a catechetical-exposition at a Tuesday-lecture, each fortnight; wherein Burton "was to reduce the doctrines of Scripture into a methodical body of divinity;" but Sept. 23rd, 1645, he gave offence by stating some "truths" offering themselves in course, which Mr. Calamy represented as unseasonable; namely, "'That when the Parliament of England is sitting and labouring to settle things, and when Ministers are studying to settle religion, and labouring to heal our breaches, that at this time men should be separating from us, while we are reforming; that while a house is a purging men should separate from the defilement, and not wait to see what the purging will be: nay, that it should be preached, That it is idolatry to wait [for] the Parliament or Assembly: that this is above all corporal idolatry: that this is more than corporal idolatry, to wait till the Parliament and Assembly settle a government. What is this, but to crowd in people into secret congregations, by telling them it is idolatry to see what Parliament will set up? Shall we not be ashamed and confounded for this, that there should be such discouragements of men to wait and tarry to see what light the Assembly will give in?' . . . It seems," says Burton, "he was so informed by his clerk: . . . maliciously confounding things together, which he took by snatches. . . My words are altogether perverted. . . I spake not in the least derogation either of Parliament or Assembly, as you altogether have aggravated; never naming them but with honourable mention. . . This matter . . . was promoted as high as Sion College!" *Vide passim*.

Burton's tract was succeeded by "The Door of Truth opened: Or, A brief and true Narrative of the Occasion how Mr. Henry Burton came to shut himself out of the Church-Doors of Aldermanbury. Published in Answer to a Paper called 'Truth shut out of Doors:' for the Vindication of the Minister and People of Aldermanbury, who are in this Paper most wrongfully and unjustly charged; and also, for the Undeceiving of the Universities, and of all those that are misinformed about this Business.—In the Name and with the Consent of the whole Church of Aldermanbury.—1645." 4to. pp. 18. "We do not write this," they say, in. p. 2, "as if we would anyways undervalue Mr. Burton's great sufferings; for which, we bless God, and for which we shall always honour him; and we do believe that therein, he did great service to the churches of Jesus Christ. But howsoever we could desire him to remember what Cyprian saith, Ep. xi. xxiii., of one Lucianus, that had endured much for Christ's cause in times of persecution, and yet afterwards in times of peace presuming upon their former sufferings did venture to do many things which did much tend to the great disturbance of the Church." From pages 4 and 9, we infer that the ground of offence was Burton "preaching his Independent opinions amongst us." Also, because that in p. 16, are these words, "And that all men may likewise be fully convinced of Aldermanbury's true and good affections toward Mr. Burton, we do here profess to all that read these lines, That if Mr. Burton will be pleased to forbear preaching his Congregational Way amongst us, and preach such things wherein both sides agree, we will readmit him with all readiness and cheerfulness."

Calamy's tract mentioned by Bastwick above, was occasioned by another of Burton's under the title of "Truth still Truth, though shut out of doors." 1646.

^b John Goodwin.

“ And now I come to my second query. . . My brother Burton writing in the name of all the Independents pretends . . that they are all dependent upon God’s Word for all their proceedings; and affirms moreover, p. 5, that all their new-gathered churches and several congregations are all dependent one upon another: both which assertions of his are most false. . . There is not so much as one example in all the sacred Scriptures for any of their new practices wherein they differ from us; and which is more, they all of them withhold the truth from the people in unrighteousness. . . All their proceedings, in their several congregations, are carried on in an arbitrary way: . . so that it lies in any one of their church’s breasts . . whether they will so much as confer; . . and if they do . . it is still voluntary whether they will give each other an account of either their censures or proceedings; for they all pretend as absolute a sovereignty and jurisdiction within themselves severally as any free states or commonwealths. . . They are deadly enemies one to another, as can sufficiently be proved,—although they all agree together to persecute the Presbyterians, as Herod and Pilate did well accord to persecute Christ;—for I myself have heard the Independents protest against the Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, and Seekers, and many other of the new fraternities, proclaiming them all ‘sectaries.’ And on the other side, I have heard those several societies rail against all the Independents; especially [against] those Homothumadon Dissenting Brethren, in the Reverend Assembly; saying, that they had ‘a better and a more charitable esteem of any of the Presbyterian ministers than of them:’ and they do unanimously accuse all the ministers of New England of as great tyranny as the Prelates! . . What unrighteousness then is this in my brother Burton, and in all the Independents, to affirm ‘that in all their churches there is a dependent independency, or an independent dependency;’ which is but a contradictory bull at best, at the baiting whereof a man . . might make far better sport than he did, some years since, in ‘Baiting the Pope’s Bull.’^a . . But the unrighteousness of their way will yet more perspicuously appear, if we but look into some other of their practices which I shall, by and by, instance: the very consideration of the which,—the better to stir up thy attention,—makes me boldly to conclude of them all, That whatsoever they pretend, and whatsoever shows of seeming holiness they hold out to the world, they are unsound root and branch; and [are] neither the godly party, nor the praying people, nor the only ‘saints,’ but the most pharisaical brood that ever yet appeared in the world: and more injurious to Christ the King of his Church, and to his royalty, and to all his holy, faithful ministers and servants, than even the Pope or any of the Prelatical party were: and more malicious and treacherous to the saints and truly godly and precious ones, and more opposers of all Reformation, than ever the Cavaliers were: and many of them greater enemies to Church and State, and the welfare of both, than either Strafford or the Prelate of Canterbury! . . They that have a desire to see this charge made good, shall find it . . in the following discourse, . .

“ But I will now come to some instances. . . They that are acquainted with the Independents’ doctrine, words, and practices, hear them talk

^a See back, Vol. I. p. 472.

of nothing but of their own sanctity and of their perfection ; saying, ‘ God can see no sin in them ;’ and although some of them do not profess so much in words, yet in deeds they allow of that doctrine.”

This most unjust imputation against a whole denomination whose doctrinal purity has been marvellously unchanged through the successive ages of its public prominence, upon whose good name various enthusiasts, the mushrooms of their day, reflected odium such as when error bears the semblance of truth, truth itself is discredited, might be pleaded for our stopping here, and consigning Bastwick again to the merited obscurity into which even his own denomination had suffered his defence of their cause to sink ; but we prefer truth to prejudice, and shall still pursue and record what may contribute to diversify if not to adorn and confirm our historical narrative.

Notwithstanding that he had so lately shown that “ the Independents,” protested against those many others whom he designates “ sectaries ” Bastwick must needs continue to defame them all alike : “ All the Independents and Sectaries . . run through town and country and wheresoever they come get up into the pulpits and preach with such impudency, impiety, and blasphemy, as it is not lawful to name : . . and ruffian-like, they go in their hair and apparel : . . therefore in this point, of fear and reverence, . . the way of the Independents is not that either of the lowly apostles or of the old Puritans.” . . Some space after, we arrive at this notable passage, “ This also can be proved, that many of their Independent itinerary preachers run from place to place preaching against the nobility and gentry, against the city, and against the Reverend Assembly, against the Directory, against tithes, against the Presbytery ; yea against all that is called authority, and against all our gallant, renowned, and valiant Presbyterian soldiers ; saying in their sermons ‘ Come out, ye old, base, drunken, whore-masterly rogues ; show what you have done for the safety of the kingdom :’ ascribing all the glory of those noble victories to their own party !” Elsewhere, we meet with a passage which certainly surprised, and, if true in the tenor of it, is calculated indeed to humble us : “ Truly” says Bastwick, “ it is most notorious that the sectaries and Independents are very ‘ loose in the sanctifying of the Lord’s-day : . . and it is ordinarily observed that all the Independents and Sectaries, in the Army and through the kingdom, will frequently journey on that day ; and for the *homothumadon* predicants, they are trundled about on the Lord’s-day in their coaches with four horses . . A tumbrel, or a dung-cart, were fitter for these proud and profane fellows to be carried about in.” May not the following paragraph account for much that we have been reading ? “ I could say much, upon my own experience, how many of the Sectaries seemed not a little to honour me, and spake as well of me as of any man living, before they saw they could not prevail with me to be of their mind ; . . but as soon as they perceived that I was immovable in my resolution, their love turned into implacable hatred.” Who would have expected this, of our predecessors ? namely, “ You should rarely . . behold any gold or silver lace on any of their apparel [the old Puritans] except they had been of noble parentage or of some very great and rich families, or in some eminent place of authority, and that was always very sparing ; and for cuffs at their hands, not one

of a thousand . . . were ever seen in any : and if they, at any time, upon any festivity or at any solemn entertainment . . . appeared in any, they were commonly such little sucking ones as a man could scarce discern them. Now, if you look upon all the Independents generally, through town and country, though they were never born to any estates nor were of any repute till that out of the ruins of the kingdom, by their sectarism and indirect dealings, they have attained to some wealth, you shall find them the only gallants of the world ; so that one that should meet them would take them for roasters and ruffians rather than saints ! Yea, you shall find them with cuffs, and those great ones, at their very heels ; and with more silver and gold upon their clothes and at their heels,—for those upstarts must now be in their silver spurs,—than many great and honourable personages have in their purses. . . . You shall find their houses furnished rather like noblemen and peers than ordinary men ; and ye shall see more plate in their dwellings and all things with more bravery and elegancy than in the palaces of the grandes of the earth. And their fare and diet is so delicious, and set out with such curiosity of cookery, and all things correspondent to it in respect of all sorts of wines and delicacies . . . as they exceed the very princes of the world, by report of those that have been at their entertainments. . . . And their very Predicants are grown so dainty, that they must be served before the lords and mighty rich men, in all markets, for they will outbid the greatest of them for the satisfying of their palates. . . . Gentlemen, I say, have asserted unto me that whatsoever things were thought some ten years since, to be rarities in all princes and noblemen's houses . . . they met daily with them in every ordinary Independent and Sectary's house, upon all occasions : . . . and they observed that generally, there was more luxurious entertainments now amongst them in these times that called for mourning and fasting than ever were in the richest subjects' houses in the times of the kingdom's prosperity. . . . There are multitudes of distressed godly families drove from house and home and have been made a prey to the spoilers, whom the Sectaries will see lie famishing in the streets rather than they shall receive the least relief from them unless they will become of their fraternity, which many of them, to my knowledge, out of mere necessity were forced to be ! . . . Telling them that they should go to those that were of their own party, and to the Collectors in every parish ; saying, that they must have a care of such as were in church-fellowship with them. And thus they have shut up all bowels of compassion, . . . especially to all those that are of the Presbyter way. . . . Yea, they are come to such a height of indignation against the Presbyterians . . . as they will wish their ruin. . . . They in the Army, spoil and rob all the Presbyterian soldiers of their due honour and praises, in all those glorious victories God hath crowned that whole army with. . . .

“ Brother Burton cometh out against me with his ‘Phocion's hatchet,’ which I cannot but speak something of before I conclude this my Epistle to the Reader.

“ ‘ You bring,’ saith he, p. 7, ‘ the Scripture for you : come on, brother, let you and me try it by the dint of this sword ! . . . Now you must pardon me if I shall assay, according to an old proverb, with one

stroke of Phocion's hatchet to cut in two the long thread of your Alcibiadian fluent and luxuriant rhetorications!" Thus he."—"Surely none but a bad cause and an unwarrantable way, had need to make use of such a weapon." Thus Bastwick.^a This ended, we are arrived at the Epistle. "To all the 'Homothumadon' Independents, Assembled and not Assembled; with all the Sectaries and Stragglers under their several commands, and to all the 'Burtonians'; Valere et Sapere!

"Gentlemen,—A godly conscientious Christian, not long since being in company with one of the chiefest of your society, and bewailing . . . the many dangerous opinions and blasphemous heresies that have . . . sprung up since your New Lights appeared on our horizon, . . . tending to the ruin of Church and State; . . . he demanded of him, what he thought now was the fittest course to be taken for the hindering of the over-spreading of them, seeing men generally began to leave the public [Presbyterian] assemblies: . . . to whom that gentleman of your party replied, that no other means ought to, or could lawfully, be used, but *sweating* them with arguments! . . .

"I being a physician, and very well acquainted with all your distempers . . . offer myself to be your physician in ordinary and to follow the method prescribed. . . Now I have made good provision of it, because some of your way . . . speaking to a Reverend Presbyterian minister, in a vapouring manner, said that 'The Independents were exceedingly beholding to me and Rev. Mr. Edwards;' affirming that we 'bred more Independents than any two of the kingdom besides.' And this [speech] I believe to be true, not only because I know the honesty of the man, but because I find it printed, by one of your brethren, 'That bishop Wren was not more mischievous to the Prelacy, than Master Edwards hath been to the Presbytery; and because Master Welde, a wonderful learned man! writ unto me, not long since, wondering 'who hired me to make so many Independents.' . . .

"That which I have now to say in the first place, to all you leaders and guides, is earnestly to entreat them . . . that they would unfeignedly bewail the errors of their ways, and repent of their seducing and misleading of the poor people: . . . and in the second place, I desire all you that have hitherto been misled and carried about with every wind of their new doctrine, that now you would more anxiously prove and examine all things, and hold fast that which is good." . . .

We are next fallen upon what Bastwick calls "The Antiloquy,"^b a sort of long introduction, compared with which our gleanings must be very disproportionate. Here then we find the Doctor saying, he finds two sorts of Independents; . . . the 'Homothumadon,' that at this day swarm through the whole kingdom,—if their own brags may be believed,—are the universality of all the sectaries, who generally hold,

^a Burton intended to signify that he could easily make Bastwick himself destroy his own argument; this classical way¹ of signifying it, vexed Bastwick exceedingly. See back p. 75, and Adagia Erasmi. 1617. fo. 485.

^b So called because Bastwick under this head, controverts the usual interpretation of the phrase *ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* Acts ii. 1; which the Apologists had stood upon in the Assembly of Divines. Bastwick would have had 'time' substituted for 'place;' but the context renders his object nugatory.

That there were no more believers in the church of Jerusalem, and in all other the primitive churches within their respective precincts, than could all ordinarily meet in one Congregation to partake in all acts of worship; and from thence, out of this their imaginary opinion they form all their several churches, calling their assemblies ‘The Churches of the Congregational Way:’ and to this their opinion, they stick and cleave immovably. The ‘Burtonian’ Independents,—of which, my brother Burton is the Corypheus and Antesignanus, and from whom they have received their doctrine,—they hold and believe, that there were many congregations and assemblies of believers in the church of Jerusalem; but deny that those several congregations were ‘churches’ properly so called. . . We find it by hourly experience, how many hundreds are daily misled and seduced by the error of a few temporizing, unstable, Presbyters who are turned Independents, and what a deal of mischief they have done here amongst us, so that not a few places can contain their proselytes; and all this without the help of any miracles. And we see daily, if but any rich and crazed gentlewoman, or any confounded lady, turn Independent; or if but any unstable man of any eminency revolt from the Presbyterian way; what a noise is by and bye made at it, and how many giddy-headed men, and women especially, are seduced by it, and that without any prodigies. . . There were none in all the city of London that more honoured the Scots, to my knowledge, than they: none that entertained them more nobly and freely, which was the honour of our nation, and for their own reputation: none that frequented the ministry of the Scots more, and that more zealously attended upon it every Lord’s Day while they were lodged by London-Stone, than they: so that I do not know, at this time an Independent in London,—especially of the principalest of them,—that were not then great lovers of the Scots and very desirous of that church-government here in England that is now amongst them, and which they have since covenanted for; yea, they were the only people that brought in the Scots, and yet behold now the vanity and instability of all these men, there are not any, either in city or country, that more malign them, and are now greater enemies to them and the Presbyterian government, than these very Independents. . . So they deal with all, . . calling them . . ‘Presby-tyrants’ and loading them with all manner of reproaches, so that they have made them all through the kingdom, so hateful and infamous as they cannot dwell safely in their houses, where there is any increase of them. . . They have so scared and terrified the people that now the name of a Presbyterian is formidable to many; and it is enough to hinder any from preferment that they can but blast with the name. . . It is well known that not one of a thousand of them before the wars began, was worth anything, yet now they are known to be very rich and wealthy; when such as were born to great estates . . are, many of them, destitute of livelihood, and many more of them, by the calumnies and lies of the Independents and Sectaries, are now in disgrace and all their service is forgotten. . . This I thought fit out

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 382.

of love to my country, and out of my desire of all men's salvation, to speak."

The reader is prepared to accompany Bastwick, so far as can be instanced, in continuation of where we broke off.^a It were however perfectly vain to attempt to reduce his confused reply to Knollys concerning "Diotrephes," occupying at least forty pages, to establish that "he was the first that opposed the Presbyterian-government; and for which he was by St. John sharply reprov'd."^b The "domineering Prelates"^c might contest the point between that and the Episcopal-regiment; but both parties choose to overlook the impossibility of either kind of government being then organized and dioceses or precincts parcelled out in the existing Pagan States, who would never permit *imperium in imperio* to encroach on their territorial authority and so to ensure their subversion. The long course of intolerance and persecutions too would totally prevent the practical working of either system. The Congregational system alone is practicable for all Scriptural purposes in all places and ages; while it is also the most blessed with the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, and the least inimical to the power and peace of secular communities, from the impossibility of their acting simultaneously; the conservative moral virtues they diffuse, being no less a blessing than can be truly predicated of the rival systems.

What has been just stated is no way contradicted by the annexed representation, presented as a virtual reproof to all those who declaim against the absoluteness of Independent churches. "They are so many free States and Republics, every one of them ruling within themselves as absolute magistracies. And therefore, upon all occasions if any difference arise between member and member in those churches, or between church and church, as often they do; as other countries and commonweals send their ambassadors to each other upon any difference, or about State Affairs; and as the House of Commons sends to the House of Lords, and the House of Lords to the House of Commons, by their messengers; and as all businesses are to be done in the name of the States, and in the name of either Lords or Commons; so, those little sucking congregations and churches though they consist of but ten or twenty apiece, and although never a one of them knows any more what belongs to government than the horse Master Knollys preaches on when he goeth into the country, yet they send their officers, in the name of the church, to any other of their churches, upon any difference or about any of their grolleyes [*sic*],^d with as great state and grandeur as if they were very absolute principalities."^e

In wading through Bastwick's verbosity^f we feel somewhat painfully that a man of his acquirements should so prodigally spend his labour, and tax his reader so unjustly, as is sufficiently evidenced in a succession of such reasoning as this: "I demand therefore, . . . Whether Christ was well baptized, or not, by John the Baptist? I presume they will

^a See back p. 72.

^b P. 16.

^c Knollys, p. 6.

^d See back p. 76.

^e P. 55.

^f "His tedious tautologies all along; being the bombast of the book." Burton, *Vindiciæ Veritatis*," p. 22.

not deny but that he was perfectly baptized : and if Christ himself was well baptized, then all that were baptized by John were also well baptized, and were perfect and complete Christians [!] for John was sent of God to baptize.”^a But it seems that to negative this argument, a consequence follows dreadful to contemplate ; “ The Papists and the Independents here agree [!] They *both* deny that those believers that were baptized by John the Baptist into Christ to come, were formed into a Christian church or Churches ; for we have J. S’s formal words in this his answer . . . confidently denying that they were ‘ made Christians ;’^b and my brother Burton in express terms, p. 9 of his book, accordeth unto him, saying . . . we take ‘ no notice of them as formed into a church or churches,’ and p. 16 of his book, he produceth the Papists’ doctrine to prove this their opinion to be legitimate.”^c

Whoever shall undertake to investigate Bastwick’s wandering discourse, will, if he be not entirely confused, be astounded at his exaggerations. We profess our inability to reconcile his estimates of the numbers of Believers in Jerusalem even anterior to the Crucifixion, with the Scriptural statements upon that awful occurrence, and again concerning the Ascension, which do not imply that the Faithful were so vastly numerous, and moreover “ moulded ” already into a church of such extent as was impossible to meet in one congregation.

We turn with Bastwick himself from this subject in debate, to where he introduces a representation of characters and circumstances which, we would fain believe, shows only his disposition to calumniate, and his success at distorting what might be honest and of good report into qualities of another complexion. Thus what was composed with an ill-intention becomes a portion of our historical ingredients. Having previously accused those whom he is about to reproach with making “ factions, rents, and schisms, in the church ;” and, “ preaching up the Congregational Way ;” and having “ brought an odium and hatred of the Presbytery amongst the people ;” and “ laboured also with all their might to hinder the reformation of religion [!] and to break the union between the two nations, Scots and English, and, “ to bring in a toleration of all religions under the name of ‘ liberty of conscience :’ ”^d having previously done all this, and more, he goes on to say, “ It is ordinarily observed that howsoever they call themselves ‘ the holy people’ and ‘ godly party,’ there is none more covetous : none are more taken up with the pleasures and bravery of the world ; none more envious and malicious ; none more proud, haughty, and supercilious, none more greedy and having, than they, and none more worldly ; so that you shall find them ‘ at the receipt of custom ’^e through the kingdom—more toll-gatherers—which was amongst the saints of old counted a trade incompatible with holiness and godliness, for Publicans generally were all esteemed the worst and wickedest of men ! Yet I say, the Independents at this day, for the universality of them, are taken notice of for their worldly-mindedness, so that through the whole realm you shall find them in all the Excise-offices, in all the Custom-houses, and in all the gainful places and employments by sea and land ; in all the Com-

^a P. 97.^b Saltmarsh, p. 8.^c P. 107.^d P. 318.^e Matt. ix. 9.

mittees, in all gainful offices in the Army and through all the Courts of the Kingdom; neither are there any that aspire more to all places of honour in all parts of the land than they, and make more use of their friends by running, riding, and letters, for the hindering of any other but themselves in attaining places of dignity and emolument wheresoever they are vacant, as daily experience teacheth us, and as it can be proved by a cloud of witnesses; yea, so notorious are their covetous and ambitious designs to all men, that the very malignants can say, That they have got all the rich plunder into their possessions, and have made themselves wealthy with the spoils of others! And especially those that come out of New England have been taken notice of, amongst others, to have bought things plundered, of mighty worth, at small rates; and have sent them over thither, insomuch that the very Cavaliers and gentlemen of good rank and place have told me, that if ever they got the day, they would make a voyage into New England to demand their plundered goods of them. And it is well known what vast sums of money have been gathered through the kingdom of godly people, under pretence of relieving the poor saints there, and for the sending over boys and young children; and so they have, all of that party, bestirred themselves in getting of monies, under the pretext of good uses, and buying of plundered goods, as if they had studied nothing but the getting of earthly things. So that wheresoever there is any money stirring, or any gainful offices, thither do the Independents fly like a company of flies upon a galled horse's back! Yea, their very ministers have got all the gainful Lectures through town and country; many of them having two or three very profitable ones at once, the least of which, by report, would maintain two or three families; whenas many more learned than themselves, cannot get bread to put in their children's bellies: so that they are generally cried up, and other godly and painful ministers are despised through their calumnies and crafts, so that all men may easily perceive that the world and they are very good friends; whereas, the holy people of old cared not for the things of the world. And for bravery and gallantry, and all manner of voluptuousness, they exceed all men; yea the very 'daughters of Jerusalem' never *minced* it more^a than the Independents' wives and daughters do, nor ever enjoyed greater pleasures than they; insomuch that it is one of the infallible notes of the *ill-dependents*, both men and women, to exceed all others in bravery and delicacy. Never was there such a gallant generation of saints since the world began; yea, their very ministers and their dames, go rather like *Ruffians* than the holy and mortified people of God and matrons of old: insomuch that some of the *ill-dependents* themselves were heard to say when my last book came out in my own defence against John Lilburne,—where I made myself merry with them; at the which so many of them stormed against me with indignation,—at that time I say, some of the Independents were heard to say, That what Dr. Bastwick had writ merrily was too, too true! for the truth is, say they, They are too much given to their pleasures and to good cheer; and many of them are abominably proud and covetous,

^a Isa. iii. 16.

and gaping after honour and riches ; and are so unbridled in their expressions, and so disorderly in their carriages, and many times so insolent in their behaviours, as they justly give offence and scandal both in word and deed to many that, otherwise, would have harboured better opinions and conceits of them : and that that I now say, and a great deal more, can be proved. And amongst other things, they related, That they, being present at the Committee of Examinations, never saw any man more injuriously abused by any than I was : insomuch that they admired my patience [that] I could carry myself at that time so calmly towards them ! So that, if need be, I shall be able to produce good witnesses, from amongst the *ill-dependents* themselves, that by their testimony shall make good this my charge against them for their worldly-mindedness and extreme pride and insolency, and their unchristian dealing towards their Brethren.

“ I shall not want the witnesses also, of some, and they of good quality, that have fallen off from walking with them, who are ready to attest that the sole and chief moving cause of their disliking their companies was for the very reasons I have now specified ; who will affirm that they ‘ could not continue in so costly and chargeable a religion, they having found a cheaper way to heaven.’ It will also be proved that, whereas many before they came acquainted with them and to be of their Fellowship, they could for three or four hundred pounds a year maintain themselves and their families, and do a great deal of good to many distressed people and indigent and persecuted Christians ; but since they grew into acquaintance with those of the Congregational way, what with the entertainment of them and their party, and presents, and what with their frequent relieving of those of that fraternity, it hath stood them in eight hundred, nine hundred, a thousand pounds yearly ! Yea, some times more, so that it has been admired [at] how they have subsisted ! And, it is well known that one of their chief designs is to get into their Societies the chiefest and richest people everywhere, and especially the more honourable women, by means of which they exceedingly strengthen their party, for those poor creatures not diving into the subtlety of their proceedings, and being carried on with a blind zeal, conceive they can never do too much for them ; and therefore, upon all occasions, stir up their husbands and friends to advance the Cause, as they call it, and to the uttermost with their power and purses to promote it. And hence arise those factions on all sides ; everyone of them, in their particular places, seeking the maintenance of their party. Hence it is, that there are so many days, amongst those of the Congregational way, set apart ‘ for the seeking of God,’ for that is their language,—for the gaining of some great and wealthy personages into their new-gathered churches, which they call the ‘ conversion’ of them, when indeed it is nothing but the perverting and misleading of them into the by-ways of their errors. I could, if need were, instance many a godly family that were known to be of approved integrity, piety and holiness, before these men appeared in the world, and yet are now reputed ‘ the holy people’ and ‘ Saints,’ and only for being of the Congregational way !”^a

^a P 327—329.

“ I myself have heard many of them say that it is ‘ unlawful to fight for religion ;’ and they professed that when they went out with the sword in their hands, they fought ‘ only for the liberty of their consciences ; and for a toleration of religion, which is a part and branch,’ as they said, ‘ of the subjects’ birth-right.’ ”^a

“ I demand of any man but of a moderate temper, Whether those that with most opprobrious terms do calumniate our Brethren the Scots ; and detract from their honour and due praises, who came in for our assistance and help, and for our aid and deliverance ; and have been, under God, one of the principal means of our preservation ; whether, in their so doing they work righteousness ? . . . In reading over the writings and the sermons of the *ill-dependents*, they shall find little other than unrighteous dealing, of all kinds, against magistracy, ministry, and all their Presbyterian-brethren and fellow-soldiers ; for they slight them all, and make nothing of all that ever they have done : for all the glory of all the famous victories, they assume unto themselves ; and attribute the honour and glory of them to that army they call ‘ the praying army,’ as if none of the Presbyterian soldiers either prayed, or deserved any share in the honour of those victories. . . . It is well known that, in the army, there are ten if not twenty Presbyterians to one Independent ; and all men know likewise, that many of them [the Presbyterians] are experienced soldiers ; whereas not twenty of them [the Independents] before these times ever saw the face of an enemy. And it is likewise acknowledged by all impartial men, that they have ever fought as valiantly as any Independents, and have stood to the battle when many companies of them ran away, as can be proved. Notwithstanding all these things, the Independents ascribe the honour of all those victories to their own party ; and say the Independents got this and that victory, and only because, perhaps some of their colonels and a few other Independent commanders had the leading up of the Presbyterian forces, and they that under God did the work lose their due praises amongst the people ! . . . They have so enraged the people, everywhere, against all our godly and painful ministers that they are looked upon with an evil eye through city and country ; and yet they pretend love unto them in words, and call them ‘ Brethren ’ at every turn, and their ‘ godly brethren,’ and yet would starve them if they could, and . . . take away . . . their tithes, the only maintenance by which they should support themselves and their families.”^b

“ Now that the *ill-dependents* daily practise all these things, can be proved by a cloud of witnesses : . . . especially the late conspiracy, of many of them, against the life of that honourable gentleman, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, and many more of the high court of parliament ! ”^c

^a P. 335.

^b P. 340—344.

^c P. 347. It seems that for some reason not recorded, Bastwick was “ cited and commanded to appear at the Committee of Examinations about that business,” where he found “ a rabble rout of odd fellows,” p. 351 : he adds, “ when I saw so rude a company, and *hearing* withal that they were of *all* religions, and that they had combined together by swearing to take away the lives of many in the House of Commons, etc.” From this it is not difficult to gather that others than Independents, if any such there were, might be most concerned.

“The *ill-dependents* may not here pretend that their ministers can preach and pray well; and that those of their fraternity have many of them, excellent gifts; for gifts are not sufficient to make saints, but grace is that that makes saints. . . All they, therefore, that work not righteousness towards their neighbours, but do them evil and slay and murder them in their reputations and honour, they are no saints: but such are the *ill-dependents*, notwithstanding all their gifts.”

“They fill the whole kingdom with clamours against me. . . The time was, when I writ my ‘Letany’ for to make myself and my fellow-prisoners merry in our bands, that when many grave men liked it in private yet dissuaded me from making of it public, that those that are now the great sticklers of the Independent party, against all the counsel of my grave friends persuaded me to print it; protesting that they thought it would do the Prelates more mischief than any book that was seriously penned against them; . . and through their importunity they prevailed with me to give them the copy, and it was printed and liked so well of by that party as they commended me with all the praises man could extol and magnify a man with. . . Now I say in this, that the Independents did so well like of my ‘Letany’ and the merry passages in that book, and are so highly offended at my mirth in my just defence against them that are equally guilty with those they most mortally hate; and in that they so harshly accuse those expressions in my book which I have but borrowed from them, saying that ‘none that useth such can have a dram of grace in them;’ in all this, they are very partial and unjust judges: . . and they may remember that the Lord condemned such as made a man ‘an offender for a word.’”^b

“I demand of any well-grounded Christians, Whether they believe that those that run from place to place, and join with any wicked and ungodly men and seek their advancement, and that to places of the greatest trust in the kingdom; and prefer them before such as they daily acknowledge to be godly and truly religious; and will run from Committee to Committee to do the most wicked and vile men and known ‘Malignants’ any courtesy, and will in word, countenance, and deeds, favour and honour them!—whether they think that in any such men’s eyes . . a vile person is contemned? . . Now that this is the daily practice of the Independents, I undertake upon my life, to prove it by a cloud of witnesses. And that there is not the vilest person, nor the wickedest wretch, that they will not join with, to do any of their Presbyterian Brethren a mischief: . . yea, it can be proved that when the Independents have been demanded by some godly and orthodox ministers, Why they have left the public assemblies, seeing there was now no ceremonies nor anything in their doctrine that they could find fault with? they have replied, that it was in regard that their congregations ‘were mixt;’ that ‘tag-rag, and all sorts of men, were admitted to the Sacrament, with whom they could not join!’ Whereupon, the ministers, that they might remove this scandal and offence, laboured by all means to persuade the people so to behave themselves as they might manifest unto all men they were worthy communicants; otherwise professing

a 318, 319.

b Isa. xxix. 21.

c P. 355.

unto them that they durst not administer the Communion unto them : and therefore for some months, abstained from the public administration of the Sacrament ; and used all their best endeavour, in that interim, by their faithful and painful preaching and exhortations, to fit all men for the better receiving of the Sacrament ; and that by this means, they might gratify their [the Independents] tender consciences. I say, in this interim of time it shall be proved that these Independents, whom those godly ministers had such a desire to please, went unto these wicked and ungodly men that the ministers excepted against for their conversation as ungodly and profane, and joined with them against their ministers ; saying unto them, What ! will you give tithes and maintenance to such ministers as shall thus deal with you as to deny you the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ? Surely, were I in your condition, and were I a member of your congregations, I would never own such a man for my minister, nor ever give any allowance to any such as would not administer the Sacrament unto me ! By which practices of theirs they have made those painful ministers so odious to the people, by joining with those wicked varlets, as they have not only deprived them of their livelihood and maintenance, but so persecuted them with all manner of reproaches and evil language as they have forced them to leave their places, and to wander about the world, to get themselves a poor living for the supportation of themselves and their distressed families."^a

Can the several parts of the foregoing paragraph be proved justly to cohere ? Every part may be true, and yet make up an entire misrepresentation ; this is so apparent as that it must raise suspicion in friend and foe alike : hence it is that extravagant charges refute themselves. Mixed or indiscriminate Communion we have found to be a standing complaint against the Prelatical church ; and now we see it admitted to have been equally so when the church was under another rule, till propelled at length by an irresistible pressure its then rulers sought a remedy. And if there were no effectual remedy but at the cost of such voluntary privations as a due regard to the solemn nature of the offence required, an abundant reward was in reserve for those faithful servants of Christ who hesitated to continue a practice which could not but be perpetually bringing dishonour on His great Name, though utter destitution and want were before them. What unholy means were used, particularly by Independents strictly so called, to cure this evil in the Church of England under its new organization, their successors must ever lament ; but they will still be prepared through all time to denounce it as an enormity liable to be visited with the punishment of those who "cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel."^b Bastwick was evidently writing under deep mortification and with bitter resentment. As we have not shunned to record every thing that has come before us disadvantageous to the body whose true history we are developing, so it is our resolution to continue, trusting in our belief that we are perpetuating even so far the cause of God and his Truth.

Thus then, Bastwick proceeds, "And that all the Independents are

^a P. 361, 362.

^b Rev. ii. 14.

notorious Covenant-breakers, or assenters unto such as violate their oaths and promises both to God and men, all the kingdom can witness for me; especially those ministers of the Reverend Assembly with whom the Dissenting Brethren have broken all promises and solemn agreements; not once but many times." His inference hereupon is more ludicrous than logical: "Now," says he, "when all the churches of the Congregational way consist of such members as these are, it follows that *they* are 'mixt' assemblies as not consisting of visible saints, and therefore ought justly to be separated from and not communicated with in holy things! and that, from their own principles; for they pretend they separate from our assemblies only because they are mixt of tag-rag, 'and such saints as Job^a would not set with the dogs of his flock.'"^b

The strides from place to place through this volume of Bastwick's, are not wider than the profusion of its contents, paradoxical as it may appear, compels us to make. Saltmarsh, alluding only to what he called "interfering tautology and great confusion"^c in "Independency not God's Ordinance," Bastwick took fire at it here,^d but his battology is so surfeiting that the whole work is thence more cumbersome than profitable.

"That the Brethren," he says, "should complain of persecution amongst us, and of evil usage, . . . showeth little gratitude in them to all the Christians both through city and country. For if they remember, when they came over [from abroad] . . . they were more honoured than any of those famous and learned ministers that had undergone the labour and heat of the day; and they were preferred before them all, and settled in the prime Lectures of the kingdom, and had more honourable maintenance than was usually given to any Lecturers before them."^e . . . They "have all respectful usage, and the only esteem of the people, and are more followed than all our learned, godly, and painful ministers; and yet they cry out of persecution, . . . persuading the people that the Presbyterian way will be as bad or worse than that of the Prelates."^f

"It is well known . . . that godly Christians, and people of approved integrity and of holy conversation . . . who offered themselves to be admitted members upon their own [the churches] conditions, yet were not suffered to be joined . . . only because they were poor. And this very reason was given unto them for their non-admission, That they would not have their church over-burdened with poor! And others desiring that their children might be baptized in their congregations, . . . for answer it was told them, That they could baptize none but such as were infants of their joined members,—which is their practice,—and wished them first to be made joined-members in one of their churches. Whereupon they thought that there was no congregation fitter for them to join to than to that pastor's assembly that had given them this counsel; and . . . for answer, it was replied, 'That the congregation of which he was pastor consisted of great personages, knights, ladies, and rich merchants; and such people as they being but poor could not

^a Job. xxx. 1.
^d P. 468, 469.

^b P. 362, 363.
^e P. 362

^c P. 15.
^f P. 564.

walk so suitably with them! Withal he said, He could do nothing without the consent of the congregation: wherefore he persuaded them to join themselves to some other congregation, among poor people where they might better walk and move comfortably in fellowship with them. . . If they be rich, they are speedily received, nay invited to be members.^a

“ Now I say, If the Independent-Presbyters do so timely begin their absolute lording of it, what would they do if their government were established by authority ?”^b

“ For the moral law, many of the Independents themselves, as I can out of several of their writings, prove, hold that it is not alterable; . . and if they grant this, as they do, they must likewise acknowledge that all the sanctions of it, and penalties, are also in force; . . or else either God is changeable or the ‘ law is altered:’ both which I have yet so good opinion of some of them, as I am confident they will not assert. And therefore they must necessarily yield unto this—If God and his moral worship, or law, be the same and unalterable, they must, I say, then also accord unto this—That whatsoever was not then to be tolerated in religion is not now to be suffered, but severely to be proceeded against. . . Now by all those his holy laws made unto his people of old, and by the practice of all his holy servants and prophets, he hath declared how much he detesteth and abhorreth the toleration of all religions; and not only by his words often reiterated, but he hath also declared his displeasure by the punishment, and immediate judgments he laid upon idolaters; as in Exodus xxxii. 26, 27, where Moses *from the Lord* said, ‘ Who is on the Lord’s side ?’ etc.: here we find that in God’s quarrel, and for the vindicating of his honour, we may neither spare brother, companion, nor nighest allies! So that if God would not then tolerate all religions, he will now much less endure it amongst us; especially when he hath so often manifested his displeasure against us, as we may see also, Numbers xxv. 2—5.”^c Such was Presbyterian “ zeal ” formerly! Are we not correct in denouncing it as “ not according to knowledge ?”^d For where we ask, is *our* living “ Moses ” to tell us, infallibly, “ Thus saith the Lord God of *Israel* ?” Where is *our* authority to “ slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour ?” Is the rebuke of our Lord to his two disciples,^e no lesson for all his followers? and has He not told us that infidelity and rejection of him, are reserved for judgment “ in the last day ?”^f Furious as they were against each other at this time, Papists and Presbyterians were agreed on the principle of persecution. Had the Edwards’s and Bastwicks confined themselves to passive resistance against Toleration, allowance might be made for mistaken judgments and secular views, but the records of their dishonour can now only be extirpated with their own history. Had they written and preached sound doctrine on this point, “ the word of the Lord ” would have been “ glorified ;”^g but as it was, their labours came to nought, and that measure they would mete has been meted out to them!

^a P. 567, 568.

^b P. 569.

^c Γ. 588, 589.

^d Rom. x. 2.

^e Luke ix. 54—56.

^f John xii. 48.

^g Thess. iii. 1.

“I will take the liberty to say thus much to St. Cretensis,^a That [that] reverend, learned, and ever to be honoured Master Thomas Edwards, whom he so much vilipendeth and slighteth, calling him ‘a thimble full of dust,’ will walk like a noble lion, when he, like a cur or bandog, shall go bawling by him. And withal I would advise him to take heed of that thimble;’ for two or three fillips more of it upon his great noddle may so stagger him as he may haply never recover again; and for aught I know or can discern, God can make half ‘a thimblefull’ of that ‘dust’ to put out his and the eyes of half the Independents and sectaries in England.”^b

“The Independents say there is no precedent of any corporal punishment laid upon any, under the New Testament, for matter of religion, that magistrates ‘should follow.’ But I conceive the example of our Saviour may suffice for their imitation, who whipped the buyers and sellers ‘out of the Temple’ for merchandizing there,^c and therefore laid ‘corporal punishment’ upon them! And truly if the magistrates now should whip all the buyers and sellers of their new and blasphemous doctrines out of their several new temples and churches, I am confident it would be very pleasing unto God, and Christ’s example would justify and hold them out in this their so doing; for who can they better imitate than the King of his Church? Yea, we see ‘corporal punishment’ threatened against the churches of Pergamos and Thyatira, etc., and afterwards inflicted upon them by God himself, for suffering those false prophets and teachers amongst them;^d yea, we see Acts xiii. that Bar-jesus [Elymas,] for but labouring to hinder the proconsul from hearing the Gospel, was, by Paul, struck with blindness for it, by God himself, to teach all magistrates that those deserve punishment that hinder the preaching of the faith, but much more those that corrupt it ought to be punished. And we have another example of ‘corporal punishment,’ for when there was no magistrate to punish those ‘exorcists,’ those sons of Sceva, the Lord suffered the devil, which could not enter into a swine without his permission, to be his executioner, and to lay ‘corporal punishment’ upon them,^e for abusing his name and his authority. All which . . . may serve to instruct all magistrates in their duty for the punishing of all false and heretical teachers and seducers.”^f

“And truly, if ever there were a time that called for an establishment of one religion, and a settled government with uniformity in a Church and State; and a suppression of all heresies, sects and factions, from the magistrates’ hand, and a punishing of all false teachers; now it is, when by the sad effects already of divisions and variety of opinions, we may well perceive what ruin will come upon the three kingdoms, if there be a toleration of all religions granted.”^g

When drawing near to a close, Bastwick thought it expedient to give his opponents a remembrancer of having been guilty of the blood of the prophets, and destroying religion; and that they who had assented to their doings made themselves equally guilty with the actors of them.

^a John Goodwin.^b P. 592.^c John ii. 15, 16.^d Rev.. *passim*.^e Acts xix. 16.^f P. 600.^g *Ibid.*

“And so,” he says, “our Saviour in his time accuseth the people as well as Herod, for slaying of John the Baptist, saying They ‘have done him whatsoever they pleased.’” They! which *they?* all the Nobles that sat at table with Herod that did not dissuade Herod from that bloody and tyrannical act, and all the people that liked well of it; the sin of this Nation, who *assented* unto the bloody decrees and censures given in the High Commission Court and in the Star Chamber; and in all other unjust courts, the people that assented unto all their cruel censures against God’s people, and liked well of it, are as equally guilty; who would ordinarily say, that had they been judges, they would have done the like; and, ‘that they were men worthy of death! which made them, I say, as equally guilty as their wicked judges and executioners.’ Now for the sage inference from these and the like premises: “And therefore, those that but *assent* unto a toleration of all religions, are as guilty as the actors of it!”^b

“Nay, how unreasonably do these men deal with their Brethren? They plead for a toleration of all religions here in England, and yet in New England banish men into islands from amongst them, for dissenting from them in their new model of church-government.”^c

“I have so good an opinion of all moderate-minded Christians, that when they shall seriously weigh and consider what I have here writ and truly and faithfully set down, that those men that have formerly been alienated from them will again, being now undeceived, return, every one of them, to their pastors by whose ministry they have been converted; and that all other understanding men will not only have more charitable thoughts both of the ministers and believers of the [Presbyterian] Church of England, but will likewise look more narrowly into, and examine more diligently, all those new ways; and by finding them out to be indeed but new, will seek for the old way and walk in it.”^d

Bastwick having put, as he would make the world believe, the Independents to the rout, holds a “parley”^e with one of them in “An Appendix, in the which, all the reproaches and truth-gainsaying calumnies so injuriously and causelessly cast upon me by my Brother Burton, my quondam fellow-sufferer, are all wiped away with the sponge of innocency in this my true Answer unto him. In the which also, all such passages as he so exceedingly exaggerates and cries out against, in my Preface and Postscript, are cleared from his clamorous surmises, and my integrity vindicated from all his traducing inferences and forced conclusions.”

“From you of all men,” he tells Burton, “I least expected, much less deserved, such hard speeches; I having been not only a sufferer with you,—which engageth a personal respect,—but always ready and forward, in the worst and most dangerous times to appear in your defence, to my own great detriment and damage; and as a faithful friend have stuck close and been serviceable unto you since; as can sufficiently be proved when your ‘Protestation Protested’ was questioned: all which challenged a christian circumspection even in repro-

^a Matt. xvii. 12

^b P. 606, 607.

^c P. 607.

^d P. 609.

^e P. 642.

ing of human frailties. . . So tender I was of your repute, and at so vast a distance from reproaching you with untruths to render you despicable to men, that your name I spared to mention; and for my description of 'a grave man with a white basket-hilted beard,' a self-denying man would have passed it over with silence, and only made use of it as a respectful private reproof. . . . That I may discover yourself unto yourself, I will sum up a few of your passionate expressions, with your unbrotherly—that I say not unchristian—aspersions and slanderous accusations, brought against me, by name, in your book that you intitle, but how truly! 'Vindiciæ Veritatis.'"^a

These "expressions" are much like those of which some samples appear in the preceding pages; and much of the quarrel here relates to punctilios between the rival parties or to their merits respectively in various engagements with the common enemy. Thus having alluded to Marston-moor, Bastwick writes, "Men of reputation can be brought to prove that the victory hath been wholly ascribed unto the Independent party in other battles and skirmishes, when they have been many miles from the very place. And if there be but any commander of their party in any employment, though he strike but one stroke, then he carries away all the honour from the rest. And they have their pensionary penmen, both in the army and at London, to do this feat for them; to give them the praise and honour of it to endear themselves unto the people, and all to delude them: and so it was at that battle, the Presbyterians underwent the heat of the day, and the Independents challenge the honour!"^b

In answer to a query of Burton's which Bastwick records in these words, "Whether I discovered unto the Cavaliers some of that bitterness of spirit against the Independents?" he says, "This is a cunning, deceivable, question, whereby you delude poor ignorant, harmless people; bearing them in hand as if there were a vast difference and great disagreement between the Cavaliers and Independents: which is quite contrary; for there is a direct harmony between the Independents and Cavaliers of all sorts, whether Malignant or Popish Cavaliers. And the truth is, to speak against Independents to Cavaliers, may purchase displeasure to any man sooner than gain him favour; for I know, and many can testify the same, that the Cavaliers do generally applaud the Independents; and indeed they have reason so to do, for they drive on the Cavaliers' great design with as much earnestness as themselves; yet they have done it with far more Jesuitical policy, doing it under the pretence of holiness, and so have been less discerned, by many, in their destructive practices." The mysterious import of this passage is revealed to our astonished vision in the following illogical conclusion: "For it is well known, that the Cavaliers did make it their great, and one of their chiefest designs, to have all the Bishops and all the prelatical faction continued, that so Popery, though it were not by a law set up and established in this kingdom, yet it might be countenanced and privately authorized by them: which is all one with the Toleration, in effect, that the Independents do so plead, seek after, and contend for, calling it 'Liberty of conscience!'"^c

^a P. 612—614.^b P. 634.^c P. 656.

Having travelled to the end of this turgid volume, we were happy for once on arriving at the "Imprimatur" of our old acquaintance, "Ja. Cranford."

The following document is appended here, having been overlooked. Its consequences will, however, have been working at this period, as some did also subsequently.

"Die Sabbathi, April 26, 1645. It is this day ordained and declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That no person be permitted to preach who is not ordained a minister either in this or some other Reformed Church; except such, as intending the ministry, shall be allowed for the trial of their gifts by those who shall be appointed thereunto by both Houses of Parliament.

"It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published, and that it be forthwith sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax, with an earnest desire and recommendation from both Houses, that he take care that this Ordinance may be duly observed in the Army, and that if any shall transgress this Ordinance, that he make speedy representation thereof to both Houses, that the offenders may receive condign punishment for their contempts. It is further ordered by the Lords and Commons, That this Ordinance be forthwith sent to the Lord Mayor and Committee of the Militia of London; to the governors, commanders, and magistrates of all garrisons, forces, places of strength, cities, towns, forts, and posts, and to the several and respective counties; with the like injunction unto them respectively, that they take care that this Ordinance be duly observed in the places aforesaid respectively, and that they make speedy representation to both Houses of such as shall offend herein, that they may receive condign punishment." Rushworth, Hist. Coll. 1722, fol. vol. vi. p. 143.

One result of this effort to suppress preaching by any who were not ordained in any way, or whose ordination would not be acknowledged, because of the legal construction put upon the phrase, "Reformed Church;" was, in the same year, 1645, certainly before 1653, for there is not a date on the imprint, "The Wise Gospel Preacher, his Praise and Practice, Duty and Dignity, opened in a Sermon on Eccles. xii. 9.—By S. M., Minister of the Gospel.—Isa. lii. 7.—Printed for the Author." 16mo. pp. 230. This is he who preached before the Lords, related in our second volume, p. 67, and that he was not an "Anabaptist" is clear from where he says, "Without forms, men may go to heaven, though never baptized, and though they have never received the supper of the Lord; but none without holiness," p. 109; and afterward, "There are some whose prudence, moderation, and zeal to preaching, will permit them . . . to mingle the holy seed, and do that they otherwise would not do; namely, to conform to men that they may preach Christ to the people, administer prayer and sacraments by a formal Service-book, baptize *all* children, etc.," p. 219.

The epistle dedicatory, signed "Stephen More," is headed, "To that Congregation over whom the Lord hath made me an Overseer; increase of grace here, and glory hereafter." Their place of worship is nowhere mentioned; but what they denominated themselves, may be inferred from his saying, "Ask those who profess themselves Christ's ministers, Who put them into their ministry; the church, or any particular sort of men distinct from the congregation, whose ministers they are? For none but the church, I mean a particular church, can make a man a minister of any of Christ's particular churches, or 'golden candlesticks.' . . . Not to grant this to every individual and particular church and congregation, were to maintain that Christ's churches are in bondage, and not free states, or politic bodies; which were derogatory both to Christ and to his Church:" p. 209.

Our acquisition of this extremely rare piece, has proved the account correct which is given by Neal and Crosby; whence it follows that the substitution of a "John More" for this, in the "Historical Research" mentioned above, see vol. ii. p. 68, is irrelevant, and ought to be cancelled.

CHAP. LXVI.

DOINGS IN THE CITY, AGAINST TOLERATION.—BAILLIE.—VICARS.—
T. C.—M. N.—BURROUGHES.

THERE are no greater objects of compassion than they who, in spite of their most strenuous efforts to maintain a cause, have learned their best interests and true wisdom only by defeat. It was not enough that in times past, hot-headed combatants should, single-handed, run atilt at whomsoever they would despoil or destroy; neither was it surprising that any public body incorporated by authority, should use that authority to repress encroachments on its privileges, though justice itself be interfered with; but it cannot be short of astonishment, that men accounted learned, should be so imbecile withal as to set themselves in formidable array to uphold that very arrogance of power which had sought, by crushing anathemas and the civil arm, to strip themselves of their characteristic distinctions as ministers of Christ! For how else had they arrived at their own position, but by violating that rigid rule which they strove now unrighteously to get enforced upon others claiming also to be ministers and disciples of Christ? The folly of fools is their boast and weakness; but the wisdom of the wise should ever be their glory and strength. How much of such wisdom is discoverable in a certain body of divines now to be adduced, their deeds attest in “A Letter of the Ministers of the City of London, presented the First of January 1645 [6], to the Reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster; Against Toleration. 1645 [6].” 4to. pp. 6.

After an exordium on “the desirableness of the churches’ peace,” these citizens of their “Sion”^a branch off thus: “If our Dissenting Brethren, after so many importunate entreaties, would have been persuaded—either in zeal to the truth, or in sincere love to the churches’ peace and unity among brethren, or in respect to their own reputation by fair and ingenuous dealing, or in conscience to their promise made with the Ministers of London now five years since; or any such like reasonable consideration,—at last to have given us a full Narrative of their opinions and grounds of their Separation, we are persuaded they would not have stood at such a distance from us as now they do. But they chose rather to walk by their own private lights, than to unbosom themselves to us their most affectionate brethren; and to set themselves in an untrodden way of their own, rather than to wait what our covenanted Reformation, according to the Word of God and examples of the best Reformed churches would bring forth. But the offence doth not end here; it is much that our brethren should separate from the Church: but that they should endeavour to get warrant to authorize their separation from it, and to have liberty—by drawing members out of it—to weaken and diminish it till, so far as lies in them, they have brought it to nothing; this, we think to be

^a Subscription, p. *ult.*

plainly unlawful : yet this, we understand, is their present design and endeavour.

“ Wherefore, Reverend Brethren, having had such large experience of your zeal of God’s glory ; your care of His afflicted Church, your earnest endeavours to promote the complete reformation of it ; and, of your ready concurrence with us in the improvement of any means that might be found conducive to this end ; we are bold to hint unto you these our ensuing Reasons against the Toleration of Independency in this Church.

“ i. The desires and endeavours of Independents for a ‘ Toleration ’ are at this time, extremely unseasonable and preposterous : for 1. The reformation of religion is not yet perfected and settled among us according to our Covenant. . . 2. It is not yet known what the Government of the Independents is. Neither would they ever yet vouchsafe to let the world know what they hold in that point ; though some of their party have been too forward to challenge the London Petitioners as ‘ led with blind obedience ; and, pinning their souls upon the priest’s sleeve ;’ for desiring an Establishment of the Government of Christ before there was any model of it [‘ the Government of the Independents ’] extant. 3. We can hardly be persuaded that the Independents themselves—after all the stir they have made amongst us—are as yet, fully resolved about their own Way wherewith they would be concluded, seeing they publish not their Model—though they are nimble enough in publishing other things ; and they profess ‘ reserves,’ and ‘ new lights,’ for which they will, no doubt, expect the like toleration, and so *in infinitum* ! . .

“ ii. Their desires and endeavours are unreasonable and unequal, in divers regards : 1. Partly, because no such Toleration hath, hitherto, been established—so far as we know—in any christian state, by the civil magistrate. 2. Partly, because some of them have solemnly profest, that they cannot suffer Presbytery : and answerable hereunto, is their practice in those places where Independency prevails. 3. And partly, because to grant to them and not to other Sectaries who are free born as well as they, and have done as good service as they to the public—as they use to plead,—will be counted injustice and great partiality ; but to grant it unto all, will scarce be cleared from great impiety.

“ iii. Independency is a Schism : for, 1. Independents do depart from our churches, being true churches ; and so acknowledged by themselves. 2. They draw and seduce our members from our congregations. 3. They erect separate congregations under a separate and undiscovered government. 4. They refuse communion with our churches, in the sacraments. 5. Their ministers refuse to preach among us, as officers. 6. Their members, if at any time they join with us in hearing the Word and prayer, yet do it not as with the ministerial Word and prayer, nor as acts of church-communion.

“ Now, we judge that no Schism is to be tolerated in the Church ; *σχίσματα*, schisms, 1 Cor. 10 ; xii. 25 : *ἐιχοστασίας* divisions, Rom. xvi. 17, with 1 Cor. iii. 3 ; Gal. v. 20.

“ iv. Many mischiefs will inevitably follow upon this Toleration ; and

that both to Church and Commonwealth, To the *Church*: [1—7, . . .] 8. The whole work of Reformation, especially in discipline and government, will be retarded, disturbed, and in danger of being made utterly frustrate and void; whilst every person shall have liberty, upon every trivial discontent at Presbyterian government and churches, to revolt from us and list themselves in separated-congregations . . .

10. All other sects and heresies in the kingdom, will safeguard and shelter themselves under the wings of Independency: and some Independents, in their books, have openly avowed that they plead for liberty of conscience as well for others as themselves. . . To the *Commonwealth*: for, . . . 3. It is much to be doubted lest the power of the magistrate should not only be weakened but even utterly overthrown; considering the principles and practices of Independents, together with their compliance with other sectaries, sufficiently known to be anti-magistratical.

“v. Such a Toleration is utterly repugnant and inconsistent with that ‘Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion;’ . . . [in several articles of it.]

“These are some of the many considerations which make deep impressions upon our spirits against that ‘great Diana’ of Independents and all the sectaries, so much cried up by them in these distracted times, namely, ‘A Toleration!’ ‘A Toleration!’ And however none should have more rejoiced than ourselves in the establishment of a brotherly, peaceable, and christian ‘Accommodation;’ yet this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot dissemble how, upon the forementioned grounds, we detest and abhor the much endeavoured ‘Toleration.’ Our bowels, our bowels, are stirred within us, and we could even drown ourselves in tears, when we call to mind how long and sharp a travail this kingdom hath been in, for many years together, to bring forth that blessed fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation; and now at last, after all our pangs and dolours, and expectations, this real and thorough Reformation is in danger of being strangled in the birth by a lawless ‘Toleration’ that strives to be brought forth before it!

“Wherefore, Reverend and Beloved Brethren, we could not satisfy ourselves till we had made some discovery of our thoughts unto you about this matter: not that we can harbour the least jealousy of your zeal, fidelity, or industry, in the opposing and extirpating of such a root of gall and bitterness as ‘Toleration’ is and will be, both in present and future ages; but, that we may, what lies in us, endeavour mutually to strengthen one another’s resolutions against the present growing evils and that our consciences may not smite us another day for sinful silence, etc.

“Subscribed by us your affectionate Brethren and Fellow-Labourers in the work of the Ministry, to whom truth and peace is [are] very precious.—From Sion Coll. London, Dec. 18th 1645.”

Truly the prophet’s antithesis, “like people, like priests,”^a is strikingly exemplified in “The Humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common-Council assembled: concerning Church-government. Presented to the House

of Peers upon Friday the 16th of January, 1645 [6]. With the Answer thereunto." The imprint has the date "17 Jan." 4to. pp. 6.

Their Petition, "Showeth, That in November last, the Petitioners made it their humble request to this Honourable House, that Church-Government might be settled; and are most humbly thankful for your favourable interpretation thereof. . . That, private Meetings, especially on the Lord's-day,—of which there are at least eleven in one parish,—are multiplied; whereby the Public Congregations, ordinances, and godly, orthodox, Ministers, are very much neglected and contemned, as if they were anti-christian. . . And, by reason of such Meetings, and the preaching of women and ignorant persons; superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness are much increased, etc.

"That the Petitioners are informed that divers persons have an intention to petition this Honourable House for a 'Toleration' of such doctrines as are against our Covenant, under the notion of 'liberty of conscience.'

"The Petitioners therefore, having no power of themselves to suppress or overcome these growing evils; do, according to their Covenant, reveal and make known the same to this Honourable House; and for timely preventing and removal thereof, do humbly pray that the premises may be taken into your most serious consideration.

"The Answers: Pronounced by the Speaker of the House of Peers.—'The Lords have always had great experience of the care and good affections of the Lord Mayor, etc., for which they are glad of any opportunity to express their great sense, and to return their hearty thanks, and more especially upon this occasion. . . The Lords therefore, upon consideration of the Petition now presented unto them, . . have commanded me, in their names, to give ye further and larger acknowledgments for your great care and endeavours to prevent so growing a mischief; giving ye this assurance, That as they have been very forward formerly to do what in them lay for a settlement of Church-Government, so they shall still continue, . . holding themselves thereunto obliged by their Solemn League and Covenant; and they do seriously recommend it to the care of the Lord Mayor, etc., to suppress and prevent such great offences by you mentioned. . . And wherein ye shall find yourselves wanting in power, the Lords will be ready to contribute their authority for your encouragement and assistance.'"

January 20th, 1645-6, is distinguished by "A Public Letter" of Baillie's, wherein he wrote, "I thank God my 'Dissuasive' has done no evil here. I hear no word of Answer for it, albeit it be on the subject most here in agitation. . . We are going on in the Assembly with the 'Confession,' and could, if need were, shortly end it: we are preparing for the 'Catechism;' but we think all is for little purpose till the 'Government' be set up. . . The Independent party, albeit their number in the Parliament be very small, yet being prime men, active and diligent, and making it their great work to retard all till they be

first secured of a 'Toleration' of their Separate Congregations;—and, the body of the Lawyers, who are another strong party in the House; believing all Church-government to be a part of the Civil and Parliamentary power which nature and Scripture have placed in them, and to be derived from them to the Ministers only so far as they think expedient;—a third party, of worldly profane men who are extremely affrighted to come under the yoke of ecclesiastical discipline; these three kinds making up two parts at least of the Parliament, there is no hope that ever they will settle the ' [Church] Government ' according to our mind, if they were left to themselves. The Assembly has plied them with Petition upon Petition: the City also, both Ministers and Magistrates; but all in vain.^a They know that schisms and heresies daily increase in all corners of the land for want of discipline, yet the most of them care for none of these things! Had our army been but one fifteen thousand men in England, our advice would have been followed quickly in all things; but our lamentable posture at home and our weakness here, make our desires contemptible. . . We had much need of your prayers. They are but very few of the City Ministers about the first and second wheels of the business [!] I make it my task to give them, weekly, my best advice and encouragements. . . Upon the City's Petition for 'Government,'^b the House of Commons have gone on to vote a committee in every shire, to cognosce on sundry ecclesiastic causes, which will spoil all our Church-Government. This night, our sub-committee has voted so much Toleration for the Independents that if to-morrow the Grand Committee pass it, as it is like to do, this Church, by law, will be given over to confusion, notwithstanding all we can do to the contrary."^c

Part of Baillie's information to " Mr. David Dickson, January 31st, is, that "The Parliament will have a court of civil commissioners erected in every shire, on pretence to make report to the Houses in every new case of scandal, but really to keep down the power of the Presbyteries for ever, and hold up the head of the sectaries. It is our present work to get that crushed."^d In a postscript, March 6th, he writes, "The sectarian party is very malicious and powerful, they have carried the House of Commons, are like also to carry the House of Lords, to spoil much our 'Church Government.' They have passed an ordinance not only for appeal from the General Assembly to the Parliament . . . for no Censure, except in such particular offences as they have enumerated; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been labouring this month bygone, a court of civil commissioners in every county to whom the congregational-elderships must bring all cases not enumerated, to be reported by them, with their judgment, to the Parliament or their committee. This is a trick of the Independents' invention, of purpose to enervate and disgrace all our 'Government,' in which they have been assisted by the Lawyers

^a " Mr. John Goodwin . . . when called to preach before [the Parliament,] was so far from . . . troubling them with Church-politics, that in his prayer . . . he had this expression, ' Lord, hadst thou not made them wiser than their Teachers, they had been weaker than their enemies?'" The Providences of God observed through several Ages towards this Nation; etc. 1694. 16mo. p. 95.

^b See back, p. 100.

^c Let. 130, p. 182—184, 188.

^d Let. 131. p. 191.

and the Erastian party. . . The whole Assembly and Ministry over the kingdom, the body of the City, are much grieved with it; but how to help it, we cannot well tell. In the meantime it mars us to set up anything; the anarchy continues, and the vilest sects do daily increase. Many are afraid of God's judgment."^a

At the end of Chapter lxiii, it was intimated that something more of the writer mentioned would appear. What he has there and here contributed to the reputation of his party, shall be left to be estimated by their descendants, if any remain, and with the enjoyment of so choice a possession otherwise undisturbed, they may exult over, "The Schismatic sifted: Or, 'The Picture of Independents,' freshly and fairly washt-over again. Wherein the Sectaries of these Times—I mean the principal Seducers to that dangerous and subtle Schism of Independency—are, with their own proper Pencils and self-mixed Colours most lively set forth to be a Generation of notorious Dissemblers and sly Deceivers: Collected, for the most part, from undeniable Testimonies under their own Hands, in Print; for the more fair and full Satisfaction and Undeceiving of moderate and much misled Christians, especially by the outward appearance of their Piety of life and a Pretence of their preaching Sound Doctrine. By John Vicars.—Isa. lxii. 1; Rom. xvi. 17, 18.—1646." 4to. pp. 43.

In his Dedication to the Lord Mayor, Thomas Adams, he tells his lordship, "I take fit occasion to manifest my obliged heart's thankfulness for your lordship's many most free and friendly favours, as also by this though succinct yet sincere discovery of the sly and subtle dissemblers and deceivers of our days, and consequently the main molesters and disturbers of the happy settlement of a godly church-government among us:" in an Epistle to the Reader, he remarks "The familiar vilifying and extreme undervaluing of Truth's loyal Presbyterian propugnators; and, the most unreasonable high esteem and loud and lofty elegies, which the foolish world falsely and fondly blatters forth in praise of schismatical Independents!" *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* And he further talks of bringing "honour to God" by adding "but a mite of zeal towards the just vindication" of his "reverend good friend . . . Mr. Edwards' learned and elaborate 'Antapology;' that invincible weapon which hath given our Independent sectaries such an incurable wound as they will never be able to claw off or heal up!" Pious, brotherly, and courageous undertakings! But we hasten to the *sifting* process.

"Having not long since dilucidated and plainly painted forth to the sight of all, in my 'Picture of Independency,'^b the basis or ground or that as unhappy as unholy schism of Independency to be 'spiritual pride, self-seeking, and most gross ingratitude to God and man;' and having of late—and long time, indeed—had many sad and serious thoughts what should be the reason of the so constant and great growth of all sorts of sectaries among us, which as the superstructure on that triple foundation have—according to our old proverb, too true at this time, 'Ill weeds grow apace,'—mightily increased and grown marvellous rife and rank in the garden of God—for want of serious and seasonable weeding,—to the great endangering, choking

^a Let. 134. p. 194, 195.

^b See back, p. 31.

and stifling, of the holy and wholesome herbs and flowers of unity, true peace and piety!" Notwithstanding that the Sifter had included an answer in his query, he continues, "At last I found, by sad and bad experience, that besides the great want of care and sedulity in the gardeners and guardians—under God—of his garden, the Church, faithfully and effectually to weed and dress it; I mean, through the strange impunity and intolerable Toleration of sectaries and schismatics so out-facingly to flourish and sprout out among us; besides this, I say, Satan, that old serpentine seducer, had made use of an old sly stratagem of his herein, to wit, that those pernicious weeds should grow up and shoot forth exceeding like unto the most sweet and fragrant flowers and wholesome herbs; whereas indeed, upon proof and experience, being used and smelt unto they were nothing so, but contrawise exceedingly bitter, bad, poisonous, and unwholesome!" Such is one specimen of his exercise of "all possible christian moderation and godly temper that may be, considering the subject!"^a Another specimen follows: "I say that the two main stratagems which Satan useth at this time to cheat and deceive the world, yea, even many of the truly godly party indeed, and to cause all sorts of schisms and errors thus to increase and multiply among us; I mean, especially, that most sly and subtle—and therefore the more dangerous—schism of Independency; the two main stratagems I say, for the more uncontrollable propagation hereof, are first, a popular appearance and outward habit of holiness;—if there be any more, I beseech them to let us see it by integer practice—of life and conversation: for, come and talk with any of our moderate—if not neutral—or tender conscienced even Presbyterians who, many of them, stand as it were on tip-toe, wavering which way to stand or fall; and ask them how it comes to pass and possibly can be that seeing these Independents, Anabaptists, etc., broach and preach, and practise, such dangerous opinions and unwarranted 'church-ways,' as they call them, to the great distraction and disturbance of the godly peace and tranquillity both of Church and State, when we have given them clear demonstrations, from the fountain of Truth itself, that their ways and opinions are not according to Christ and Scripture-grounds? yet still, their answer is, [secondly,] 'O, I dare not but think and speak well of them, and hold them to be good Christians, because they walk so holily and religiously;' and also say they in the same place, 'because they preach and teach as sound doctrines as any of our Presbyterian ministers!'"^b

Again: "If any shall still object, and say that those forementioned dangerous opinions and the rest related by Mr. Edwards, are not the opinions of the more solid and temperate Independents; but are the Anabaptists', Antinomians', and such like; I answer, they are moderate and most seeming solid Independents which plead and preach mightily for 'Toleration,' and 'liberty of conscience;' which most directly are the inlets, open sluices, and wide gaps, for all the rest to rush and gush in amongst us. And therefore, distinguish them as you please, and call them what you will, hereof I am most confident, that though our most moderate and supposed most discreet Independents may seem

^a P. 1, 2.

^b P. 2, 3.

only in some things to differ and vary, and in their heads or brains—as I may say—to be somewhat distant from some of the rest of the dangerous sectaries, yet are they all, like Sampson's foxes fast tied by their tails with destructive fire-brands of dissension, division and confusion between them, to destroy . . . the settlement of the godly government and scriptural discipline of our pious and peaceful Presbyterians!"^a

Well; "now," says our *Sifter*, "I will, by God's assistance come up close to the promised point . . . touching the much boasted holiness of life of our Independent sectaries : . . and here I will by way of pre-
amble, tell the reader one pretty passage . . . touching Master Peters and myself. . . About half a year since, at Westminster Hall . . . that most pragmatical Quicquid in Buccam, etc., of whom I will only say this by the way, that whosoever loves to laugh at a sermon—which is Satan's music—let him go hear Mr. Peters preach! This gentleman . . . being my old acquaintance, came unto me, together with his Independent brother Mr. Bachiler, who heard our conference, . . . which was this, 'O Master Vicars' says Mr. Peters, 'certainly a great deal of repentance must needs lie upon your soul.' Why, Master Peters said I—what's the matter; what have I done? 'O,' says he, 'in sadding and grieving the hearts of God's saints as you have done in your book which you call the 'Picture of Independency.' Why, Sir, said I, pray tell me what's amiss in it? 'Truly, Master Vicars,' says he, 'it is naught all over; . . . naught all over!' which words he uttering in his old, quick, blustering manner, instantly ran away!"^b

"When their fears were exceeding strong that the Parliament would certainly establish the Presbyterian government, and their hopes extreme weak and flat of having their Independent church-way set up, or so much as a Toleration tolerated to them; O, then, I say, how was the power of Parliaments, in ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or matters of religion, cried down, abased and abused, by Mr. [J.] Goodwin and the rest? Alas, for the Parliament to take upon it the ordering of church-government or church-discipline! O, this was a most high and intolerable presumption in them; this was a most bold intrenching upon Christ's royal prerogative! With many such like terrible taxations, and heavy imputations, of wrongful usurping an antichristian legislative power and authority over the consciences, forsooth! of Christ's free-born holy ones. But now-a-days, of late, the case is altered, since the election of new members of Parliament in the House of Commons; whereby they begin to dream—and I trust in God, they do but dream—that their hopes are now upon the wing and raised up to a high-flown pitch of conceit that the Presbyterian government shall either quite down and not be established at all, or else so clogged and clipt with Commissioners and such like supposed yokes, curbs and restrictions, as shall, like Pharaoh's chariots in the Red Sea, take off the wheels,^c and make it drive on so heavily that Independents, Anabaptists, and the rest, shall have fit and fair opportunities mightily to advance and hurry on their own designs, their crafty aims and ends, and in time bring them to perfection; and for the present enjoy a full allow-

^a P. 5, 6.

^b P. 8—10.

^c Exod. xiv. 25.

ance of that cursed cause of the ruin of all sound religion and sincere holiness, 'liberty of conscience' for all damnable sects and schisms whatsoever! O, now, therefore, I say, how is the power of Parliament in matters of religion and settling of church-government, cried up and magnified; yea, and wholly and only, as it were, appropriated to them as the main master-builders of God's house, his Church?"^a

We dismiss the remainder of Vicars' tract as being mostly vapouring declamation, and content ourselves with merely remarking that it has appended to it "The opinion and advice, as it is deemed, of Mons. du Moulin, Professor of Divinity in the University of Sedan in France; concerning the opinion of those who are named 'Independents' in England," wherein it is apparent enough that there is an "inconcinnity and unreasonableness" in soliciting the transmission of such opinions on *ex parte* statements.^b

Vicars was speedily encountered after his own example, for which he must ever remain accountable for those violations of decorum and taste he had thus induced, as exhibited in "The Schismatic Sifted through a Sieve of the largest Size: But is now more purely drest. Wherein the Chaff, the Froth, and the Scum of Mr. John Vicars, his Siftings and Paintings, prove him to be a lame Draughtsman, a sneary Washer, his Colours foolishly mixt, and his Pencil as coarse as his Colours. Collected out of his own words, under his own hand. By T. C., a Well-willer to Truth and Peace.—Printed according to Order.—1646." 4to. pp. 11. We copy from it so much only as relates to the Independents not bringing in their expected "Model of Church-government," pages 18 and 19 of Vicars: "Well, Sir," says the respondent, "Why should it seem so strange that their Form is not so soon ready as yours? Truly the Reformed Churches never did so much for them as they have done for you. There is more power upon their spirits than ever yours, in its dead letter, can attain. Why are you so earnest to see all of that, a part of which you so cry against? Witness, Mr. Burroughes, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Bridge, for their discovery in their Expositions and Sermons; which truths have so shaken your desired 'Government,' that a further discovery certainly would yield you but small comfort; for God's design is to make Christ glorious in his Kingly office, who is the only King of saints, churches and kingdoms: and when He shall possess himself of his royal sovereignty, all powers shall be subjected and subdued to him; and then shall the glory of all other powers, under him, appear."

Another answer to Vicars bears the title of "Independency no Schism; Or, An Answer to a Scandalous Book intituled 'the Schismatic Sifted,' written by Mr. John Vicars. Which may serve also for

^a P. 22.—In p. 30, Vicars applauds a tract, as a "though succinct, yet solid piece," but which we leave under his patronage, giving the title more fully than he has set it down; "Toichoructa: Or, Independents razing their own Foundation. By which all that will not shut their Eyes may see deep Iniquities, long veiled under pretence of Conscience, clearly discovered.—Isa. xxix, 15.—1646." pp. 6. Successive defeats of the machinations of the Presbyterians in the Assembly of Divines, is the substance of the charges in this splenetic effusion.

^b See back, vol. ii. p. 435.

a Reply to Master Edwards, his ‘Gangrana,’^a wherein is discovered the Vanity of those unjust Slanders cast upon the Dissenting Brethren whom they call ‘Independents.’ With some hints about Gospel-Government. By M. N., Med. Pr.—2 Cor. xiii. 6—9; Eph. iv. 25.—1646.” 4to. pp. 12. The same measure that Vicars had meted is here also returned to him; for he is told, in the Epistle, that “If there had been as little malice as wisdom, and no more falsehood than reason,” in his pamphlet, “it had been passed with as much neglect as is due to folly.” And in another Epistle, “To the Reader,” is written, “That you may know whom he means by the ‘principal sectaries’ and ‘seducers, etc.’ he places these names following in the front,^b ‘Master William Greenhill, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughes, Sidrach Simpson, William Carter.’ . . Whom to vindicate, were, in a manner, to wrong them.” Vicars’ senility brought upon himself such personality as this, in p. 10, “Give me leave, Sir, to stroke your gravity: you have the ‘beard,’ I must confess, though not the ‘breastplate’ of Aaron; and may pass for a man of discretion by your looks, though not by your works, for were your cause ever so good, it can never be worse defended than by rallying up slanders and accusations against the Brethren.” And in p. 12, he is told, “As for your Queries, . . propounded, as you think, by Mons. du Moulin, . . I shall say no more but this, That the thing in controversy is begged; those queries being founded upon a mere Prudential Government, supposed allowable in the Church of Christ; denied by us, but not proved by him, and so those Queries fall of themselves.”

We feel no little complacency that it happens in this connexion for us to introduce next in order, a work with a title wholly dissimilar from what have lately passed under observation, and not meriting the strictures they drew forth.

“Irenicum, To the Lovers of Truth and Peace: Heart-Divisions opened in the Causes and Evils of them; with Cautions that we may not be hurt by them, and endeavours to heal them.—By Jeremiah Burroughes.—*Opinionum varietas et opinantium unitas non sunt ἀσύστατα.*^c—1646.” 4to. pp. 302.

“You have here,” says the author, “what I delivered; some things are added, especially quotations of authors and histories: when they grow to be many, I think them fitter for the press than the pulpit.”^d The piece consists in its present state, of thirty-five chapters; all founded on Hosea x. 2, “Their heart is divided; now shall they be found faulty.” The theological and dehortatory portions of the subject must of necessity give place here to such other matters as more immediately concern the general purpose. Referring to the “woful divisions” related in 2 Kings xv. and to the opportunity chosen by the Almighty, for the punishment consequent, chap. xvii. 2, etc.; Burroughes

^a See of it, in Chap. lxviii.

^b Styling them “The seven religious Remonstrants.”

^c “The motto upon the door of his Study was, ‘A union of affection is very consistent with a variety of opinions.’” See Bury’s Fun. Sermon for Fairfax. p. 91. and see p. 255 of this ‘Irenicum.’

^d “To the Reader,” p. [iv.]

proceeds by saying, "Our condition seems parallel with theirs very much: we lately were under sore and cruel bondage; nothing was more dangerous than the worshipping God in his own way. We were under hard taskmasters, oppressing, undoing Courts. The Lord hath in a great measure, delivered us: it is the unthankfulness, the sinful distemper, of men's spirits that makes them say, What is done? it is as ill with us as ever it was! No, we have much ease; such liberties as, were our forefathers raised out of their graves to see, they would admire God's goodness, and bless him with meltings of heart; but we spend that strength in siding, wrangling, contending, quarrelling, vexing, opposing one another, that we should spend in magnifying, blessing, and praising the Name of God for that mercy we enjoy. We are a divided people, whose *hearts* are 'divided,' and heads too, and hands too... King and subjects are divided; Parliament is divided; Assembly is divided; Armies are divided; Church is divided, and State is divided; City is divided; Country is divided; Towns are divided; Families divided; Godly people are divided; Ministers almost everywhere divided; yea, and what 'heart' almost is there at this time, but is 'divided' in itself!... There is a great outcry of our divisions; and while we cry out against them we still increase them. We are angry with men rather because they are divided from ourselves than because they are divided from the Truth. We are angry, because every man is not of our own mind, and does not as we do!

"There was a great deal of do in Luther's time about the seamless coat of Christ. Granvillan, the emperor's deputy, in a speech he made to the citizens of Worms, beseeches them 'For the death of Christ and for all loves, that they would amend our Lord's coat, which is rent and torn on every side.'^b When Luther laboured to bring Reformation to the Rule, they bade him 'take heed that he did not rend the seamless coat of Christ.' And because they talked so much of the *Tunica inconsutilis*, they were called the 'Inconsutilistæ,' the Seamless men! And what a stir hath there been in outcries against men that would not yield to everything that was enjoined? 'O, they rent the seamless coat of Christ!' I remember *Musculus*, in a tract he hath 'De Schismate,' hath a witty and pious note upon this. 'The soldiers,' saith he, 'would not divide the seamless coat of Christ: but what made them to be so careful of it? Was it out of respect to Christ that they were so unwilling it should be divided? No; but out of respect to their own advantage; every one hoping it might fall to his share; therefore say they, let us cast lots for it:^d so,' saith he, 'men would not have Christians divided! they would have no division in the Church! But what do they aim at?—their own advantage; that they might enjoy quietly their own ease, honour, and means; that they might have none to contradict them, but that the stream may run smoothly and wholly with them, what a fine brave thing were this! And because they see they cannot do this, while their ways are looked into and crossed, therefore they make such an outcry against the dividing the seamless coat of Christ!'^e

"The causes of our divisions from ourselves, may be referred to

^a P. 4, 5.

^b "Sleid. Com. Lib. xiii."

^d John xix. 24.

^e P. 5.

three heads : dividing principles ; sometimes our divisions come down from our heads to our hearts : dividing distempers ; sometimes they go up from our hearts to our heads : dividing practices ; and these come from head and heart, they foment and increase both.”^a

“First dividing principle : ‘There can be no agreement without uniformity.’ . . . There are some circumstances, that must of necessity be determined, as time and place ; it is therefore necessary there should be a uniformity in these in all the members of every society respectively : . . . but natural necessity requires not the binding of several churches to uniformity in things of this kind. . . . There are other natural civil circumstances which need not at all [to] be determined. Though there be a liberty and variety in them, yet order and edification are not hereby hindered : as for instance, in hearing the Word, one stands, as Constantine was wont constantly to do, another sits ; one is uncovered, another is covered ; one hath one kind of garment, another another : yet no rules of modesty or gravity are broken. Now if any Power should violently urge uniformity in such like circumstances, and not leave them as Christ hath done, here they make the necessity of uniformity a dividing principle, upon these four grounds : This is a straitening men’s natural liberties without satisfying their reason : This hath been the inlet to almost all superstitions in the church ; first, the plea hath been for ‘decency and order,’ then there hath been stamped a human institution to raise things higher : The urging such things when there is no reason seen in the nature of them—why this, rather than that ?—makes men fear there is some religious respect put upon them already : Here is a stretching the power of Authority beyond the limits of it ; which man naturally is very impatient of, not knowing how far it may yet further be extended.”^b

“The second dividing principle : ‘All religions are to be tolerated.’ This is a divider indeed ! There is a great outcry of this : but what is the scope of it ? It is to exasperate men’s spirits against the toleration of any thing ! . . . As this is a dividing principle, That all things should be tolerated ; so the other is as truly dividing and false, That nothing should be tolerated. . . . This principle is strengthened by two positions, both which are dividing, . . . first, That Magistrates have nothing to do with men in matters of religion ; secondly, Conscience is a tender thing, and must have liberty.^c . . . The Magistrate cannot command every good thing nor punish every evil. The abstruse controversies in religion, come not under the cognisance of the magistrate as a magistrate ; only such things as are against the rules of common justice and equity, and the common light of Christianity where he is to govern Christians ; for he is to enjoin and punish such things only as, if he were not, the community of people which sets him up ought to enjoin and punish, for he hath his power from them^d . . . He may be a judge in matters of fact, and so far as reason may go in matters of right : he may judge whether you do not go against your own principles either in your profession, acts of worship, or in the wrong you do to your brother : yea, he may judge whether your very principles be not contrary to the common light of the knowledge of God, that God hath

^a P. 13.^b P. 14—16.^c P. 18, 19.^d P. 26.

given to men, and to the rules of human justice. A magistrate who is not skilful in physic or navigation, yet he may judge physicians and mariners if they wrong others in their way.^a . . . Certainly, Conscience is a very tender thing; and as men must take heed how they offer violence to their own consciences, so to the consciences of others; it is such a thing as is not in subjection to any creature in heaven or earth, only to God himself. . . . But for all this, the devil must not be let alone though he be got into men's consciences. God hath appointed no 'city of refuge' for him; if he flies to mens consciences, as Joab did 'to the horns of the altar,' he must be fetched from thence, or fallen upon there.^b Something may be done to men to keep them from evil, and to reduce them, notwithstanding the plea of their consciences. . . . The Word requires us to give an account to 'every man' of that 'hope' that is in us, if he require it in a due way.^c . . . We must not 'reject' every man that errs in every little thing, no, not after two or three admonitions;^d that was a Prelatical, tyrannical, rule: but he must be 'a heretic' and erring so grossly as he is 'self-condemned' in his error;^e and such a man suffers not for his conscience when he is rejected, but for sinning against his conscience!^f . . . If the error, with the profession of it, be destructive to the State, and he cannot be reclaimed; . . . this justifies the cutting off Jesuits and Priests who teach, That the crown is at the dispose of any foreign power, by which also subjects may be freed from their allegiance. . . . Though such as are not christians cannot, by violence, be compelled to profess [the] christian religion, yet notwithstanding any plea of their conscience, they may be restrained and that by violence if other means will not do it, from an open blaspheming [of] Christ and the Scriptures, or doing any acts of any open dishonour to them.^g . . . Though such a man should be dealt with in much tenderness and love, yet in such things as by his weakness he makes himself less serviceable to the Commonwealth or Church than other men who have more strength, he may be denied some privileges and benefits that are granted to others. I instance in that opinion of some Anabaptists who deny the lawfulness of war; . . . seeing by this error of theirs, they are made less useful in the State than others, they should not think it much though they be denied many privileges and accommodations that are granted to others who venture their lives for the preservation of the State. . . . Suppose a man should have such a principle in his conscience, that the King hath an absolute arbitrary power; . . . by it he is disenabled from employment and preferment in places of trust. So for the Church, suppose the government of it by prelates had been lawful—which now we know was not,—there had been no evil in denying, to those who in conscience could not submit to it, their preferments of deaneries and prebends, and the like. But lest what I say in this, should be abused, you must understand this denial of places of profit or honour to men because of that which their consciences will not suffer them to yield to, [is] only [of] such places as the tenderness of their consciences in such a point makes them unfit

a P. 28.

b 1 Kings ii. 28, 34.

c 1 Pet. iii. 15.

d P. 29, 30.

e Titus iii. 10.

f Ver. 11.

g P. 33.

h P. 34, 35.

to manage. If because their consciences differ from you [yours] in one thing, you will take advantage against them in other things that have no dependence upon that wherein they differ from you, and make them suffer in those things too; you now—to say no worse—begin to grow *near* to a way of persecution and tyranny over your brethren, which Christ is displeased with. We accounted it in the Bishops, not *near*, but came up to a tyranny and persecution when they would not suffer such as could not conform to their church-discipline and ceremonies not so much as to teach children the grammar, or to practise physic, or to preach Christ in places where there was no preaching, but people lived in darkness, perishing for want of knowledge. What dependence had these things upon their discipline and ceremonies, supposing they had been right? Yes, they would foment their errors by this means! But [some one will answer] seeing there was no dependence between their errors—if you will call them so—and these things; to deny the Church and Commonwealth the benefit of the gifts and graces of men upon such a pretence, that they will abuse their liberty; we thought it was hard dealing, yea, no less than persecution! Suppose [it is replied] a man differs from his brethren in point of church-discipline; must not this man have a place in an army therefore? Though he sees not the reason of such a discipline in the Church, yet God hath endued him with a spirit of valour, and he understands what military-discipline means; must he not have a place in a college to teach youth logic and philosophy? May he not preach Jesus Christ to poor ignorant creatures? If you fear he will divulge his opinions, surely some other course may be taken whereby he may suffer as much as such a fault comes to; but therefore to deprive Church and State of what abilities God has given him, which might be very useful to them, and that before any such fault is committed, for fear it may be committed; the softest word I have to express myself against this is, It is very hard dealing with your brethren!^b

“ ‘They who are for a Congregational-Way, do not hold absolute Liberty for all Religions:’ . . . For your help in this, these two things are to be premised; first, That the only way the Church hath to keep down error or heresies is Spiritual: as for other means, they are extrin-sical the Church; this all acknowledge. . . Secondly, The virtue of Spiritual power works not upon the outward man but by its prevailing upon conscience; therefore, so far as men are conscientious, so far it works and no further. Now then, see what difference there is in the Congregational-Way from the ‘Presbyterian’ for the prevailing with men’s consciences, to reduce to truth those who go astray: First, Those in the Congregational-Way acknowledge that they are bound in conscience to give account of their ways to the churches about them, or to any other who shall require it; this, not in an arbitrary way, but as a duty that they owe to God and man. Secondly, They acknowledge that synods of other ministers and elders about them, are an ordinance of Jesus Christ for the helping the church against errors, schisms, and scandals. Thirdly, That these synods may, by the power

^a P. 37—39.

they have from Christ, admonish men or churches in his Name when they see evils continuing in or growing upon the church; and their admonitions carry with them the authority of Jesus Christ. Fourthly, As there shall be cause, they may declare men or churches to be subverters of the faith, or otherwise, according to the nature of the offence, to shame them before all the churches about them. Fifthly, They may by a solemn act, in the Name of Jesus Christ, refuse any further communion with them till they repent. Sixthly, They may declare, and that also in the Name of Christ, that these erring people or churches are not to be received into fellowship with any of the churches of Christ. . . But our brethren say there is one means more in their Way than the Congregational-Way hath, that is, if the six former will not work, Then Synods may deliver to Satan! In this very thing lies the very knot of the controversy: . . in this lies the dividing business. . . But, they are not formally and juridically delivered to Satan? What! shall we still divide as to devour one another for formality, and juridically, when those terms are not at all in Scripture; seeing we agree in the substance of the thing, which may as really and fully prevail with conscientious men as if formality were observed? Especially if we consider that it is a great question amongst our Brethren, Whether this traditio Satanæ were not apostolical; peculiar to the power of apostles, so as ordinary elders had it not? And if it prove so, then non-communication will prove the utmost censure the church now hath! . . What if they will not regard your delivering them up to Satan? . . You will say, then you will complain to the magistrate; his power must come in to assist to make them regard what the Church doth. But now you have no further help from any intrinsical power the Church hath. And as for subjection to the magistrate, there we are upon equal ground: if he will interpose he may assist and second the sentence of judging men subverters of Faith; of withdrawing communion from them in the one, as well as the sentence of giving men up to Satan in the other: and we must still be subject here, to suffer what is inflicted, if we cannot do what is required. Only we do not go so far as some do in this one thing, Whereas they lay a law upon the conscience of magistrates, that they are bound to assist, with their power, the decrees of the Church, taking cognisance only of the fact of the Church that they have decreed, not inquiring into the nature of the things: we dare not lay any such bond upon the Magistrate's conscience; but say that he is to assist the Church both upon the knowledge of what the Church hath done and the knowledge of the nature of the thing. Seeing every private man hath this power, to be judge of his own act; it were a great misery upon those who have power over men, to be denied this power. If it shall be said, But surely they [of the Congregational-Way] do not agree so far; they do not come up to these six things mentioned? To that, I answer, I do not in these, deliver only my own judgment; but by what I know of the judgments of all those Brethren with whom I have occasion to converse by conference both before and since, I stand charged to make it good to be their judgments also. Yea, it hath been both theirs and mine for divers years,

even then when we never thought to have enjoyed our own land again ;^a and if it be so then let the Lord be judge between us and our Brethren [of the other Way] for those loud and grievous outcries there hath been against us in this thing ! . We sail up to our Brethren as far as we can see the line of Truth, and beyond it we dare not venture in the least . . . The way to peace, is not the necessity of coming up one to another, because the thing is little ; but the loving and peaceable and brotherly carriage of one towards another, because the difference is but small.^b

“ The third dividing principle : ‘ That nothing which is conceived to be evil, is to be suffered.’ This is the other extreme, some think all things should be suffered !^c . . . I am persuaded most of you yield to the falseness of both these dividing principles : you verily believe all things must not be suffered ; and yet you think it were too harsh to affirm that nothing is to be suffered : only here lies the difficulty, What must, and what must not be suffered ? This hath been the unhappiness of pleading for Toleration of any thing ; yea, of the very mention of it ; that men presently cry out and say we would have every thing tolerated ! I confess it is very hard to cut here right in the joint..^d

“ ‘ Rules, to know in what things we are to bear with our Brethren.’— Though men be known to err in judgment in things not fundamental or destructive, yet if after such knowledge of them they would keep their judgments to themselves, so as not to hurt others, or disturb the peace ; most men of moderate spirits, if not all, hold that such men are not to be punished either by Church or State . . . Yet the practices of many are against it. They have ways to draw forth men’s judgments though they would conceal them ; and when they have drawn them forth, they make them suffer for their judgments these three ways : first, By requiring men to subscribe to things which they suspect are against their judgments. They invent Articles which if put to them they know will pinch them, and draw forth their judgments ; which when they come to know, they make them as articles of accusation against them . . . But you will say, Blessed be God, we hope we have done with forcing men to subscribe ! God grant that we never meddle with any thing answerable to that tyranny : heretofore we groaned under the drawing out men’s judgments, and then punishing them for them. Secondly, if such things be put into oaths,—which though a man should not hold in every clause, yet he may be godly and a good subject,—and urge such oaths with violence under penalty ; what is this but to punish a man for his judgment, though he would keep it to himself ? Thirdly, By propounding questions to men when they come to the choice of or admission to any place of preferment ; . . . such questions as concern not at all the qualification of men to such places ; and then deny them those places, because they are unwilling to answer, . . . they discover their judgments ; . . . is not this to make men suffer for their judgments, though they would live peace-

^a The four surviving Apologists, with William Greenhill, John Yates, and William Adderly, superintended the publication of eleven volumes, quarto, of Burroughes’ remains. ^b P. 41—47. ^c P. 48. ^d P. 53.

ably? .^a Now, is it thy mind, O blessed Saviour, that one man who conceives himself to understand the truth—and that, it may be, rightly—compel another to his judgment? and, dost Thou also require that we must not bring our judgments to our Brethren's till thy light brings them? How then, is it possible we should be at peace one with another? . . . If you would have peace, says Luther,^b charity must rule over justice; you must not suffer justice to rule over charity.^c . . . By this principle [of compulsion,] the finding out of much truth will be hindered; it will stifle men's gifts and abilities in arguing and discoursing about truths. We know fire is beaten out by striking the flint. Although differences be very sad, yet the truth that comes to light by them may recompense the sadness; . . . either you or your posterity hereafter may see cause to bless God for that light [which] hath been or may be let in to the churches by this means: men of moderate spirits do bless God already. . . . You will say, Those who are the governors, they or those whom they call to consult with, may argue and discuss, but not others. Is not this, to deny the church the benefit of the gifts and graces of thousands of others? The church may soon receive as much prejudice by this, as the trouble caused by some differences comes to!^d . . . It is observable, when the church was in the lowest condition this power was the highest, the power of making canons in doubtful things to bind under penalties; and when this power was lowest, as in the primitive times, then the church was highest!^e . . . Our late Prelates' design was to bring in ignorance, that they might with the more freedom rule over us as they pleased: and in nothing did they drive on this design more than in the practice of this power which they took to themselves, to command things doubtful and controversial, and by violence to urge their commands.^f . . . But do not men in a Congregational-Way urge upon others their own conceptions and practices according to the power they have, as much as any? for if men will not enter into covenant, if they hold another kind of government in the church differing from them, they will not receive them, nor communicate with them? I would all our controversy lay here: . . . whosoever doth as you say, cannot be justified in so doing: some men it may be through an earnest desire of promoting what they conceived to be the mind of Christ, have been too rigid in their dealings with their Brethren. What hath been said will show the evil of their practice as well as of others.^g . . . Now let one who is in a Congregational-Way, and cannot see Christ's mind in the Presbyterianial government, yet come to one of those churches and say, he would gladly, in all his ways, see the mind of Christ, and enjoy all his ordinances, but he cannot see that a minister who takes only the charge to feed by Word and sacraments one congregation, yet should with others have the charge of ruling a hundred or more; and, till he be convinced otherwise, he cannot, in his practice, acknowledge that government to be Christ's: would you yet receive such a one to communion with you in all other church-ordinances? If you would, I make no question then but, if we well understood one another and were of quiet spirits, we might live

^a P. 54.^b Ep. ad Theol. Norimberg.^c P. 57, 58.^d P. 62.^e P. 63.^f P. 64.^g P. 69.

together in peace! Let not miscarriages in particular men or churches, in things of this nature, hinder our peace: what we say ought to be suffered in us, we profess to be our duty to suffer that or any thing of the like nature, in others; and where there hath not been that brotherly and christian forbearance as ought to be, there hath been sin committed against Christ."^a . . .

"The fourth dividing principle: 'Division is the best way to maintain Dominion.' This is Machiavel's principle, divide et regna."^b . . .

"The fifth dividing principle: 'That every man is bound to profess and practise always what he apprehends to be Truth.' . . . Whatsoever is differing from others who are godly, is not to be held forth and professed without serious examination. . . . We must take heed of publishing any such things rawly, undigestedly, lest we wrong the Truth of God, and make the profession of it become ridiculous. If the thing be true to-day, it will be true to-morrow."^c . . .

"The sixth dividing principle: 'What is in itself best must be chosen and done; not weighing circumstances or references.' This brings much trouble to the churches. . . . Some men whose calling is only to a private employment, yet having some gifts and having used sometimes in their families to take a Scripture and speak something out of it upon this, they think it is a better thing to be exercised in preaching God's Word than to sit in a shop all day; . . . not regarding those due ways that Christ would have men come by into such an employment. Although I do not think but that tradesmen . . .—if those who are able and fit, shall judge them meet for such a work,—may be employed to make Christ known. . . . If you be joined to a pastor so as you believe he is set over you by Christ to be a pastor to you—not because the Bishop hath sent one, or an old usurer dies and leaves the patronage of a living to some hostler or tap-wench, in an ale-house; and he or she shall send one by virtue of their right to the patronage; this, cannot tie a man's conscience to depend upon him for the ordinances of Christ all his days, in case he cannot remove his dwelling;—but if you cannot but look upon the man as the pastor that Christ hath set over you, though this man hath meaner gifts than others, and it would be more comfortable for you to have another pastor, yet this is not enough to cause you to desert him. . . . And if people may not leave their pastors because others have more eminent gifts; then, surely, pastors must not leave their people because others have more eminent livings!"^d . . .

"The seventh dividing principle: 'It is obstinacy for a man not to be convinced by the judgment of many, more learned and godly than himself.' The making this to be the rule to judge obstinacy by, hath, in all ages, caused great divisions, by exasperating the spirits of men one against another. . . . The generality of men thought they did God good service in persecuting those who would not yield to the judgment of others, who had the repute of learning and piety; and those who were conscientious could not yield to their determinations, not seeing the Truth of God in them; and this made the strife, . . . I confess such a principle as this is would make for union amongst those who either think they need not, or through carelessness regard not to search

^a P. 71.^b P. 72.^c P. 82.^d P. 84—86.

out truth, but with an implicit faith take in all that shall be imposed upon them; who think ignorance of God's mind, and conscience' slavery, to be no great evil! . . . Certainly much respect is to be given to the learning and godliness of men. There is a great delusion in many men's hearts that makes them think it to be half popery to give any respect to learning. Although the abuse of learning hath done much evil; against that, much hath been and may be said, but I dare avow this, That never since the beginning of the world would a man be found to speak against learning, but an ignorant man. . . . Learning hath so much of God in it, that it never had, nor will have, any enemy but ignorance!^a . . . Prelatical spirits, indeed, account it their honour, to force men to be of their mind: it is their glory that they can say to the consciences of men 'bow down before us!'^b . . . If it be always obstinacy, not to believe or practise what they judge should be believed and practised, then, sometimes it will be obstinacy not to believe and practise a contradiction; for we know some learned and godly men determine one thing, some determine the contrary; yea, oftentimes they are contrary to themselves.^c . . .

"The eighth dividing principle: 'If others be against what we conceive to be Truth, we may judge them going against their own light.' . . . We must grant that liberty to our brethren we would have ourselves; that is, not be involved in the judgments of others, but 'try all things' and 'keep' what God makes known to us to be 'good':^d This liberty, says Luther, 'Paul hath given me, and I will stand to it, I will not suffer it to be captivated.'^e

"The ninth dividing principle: 'Rules of Prudence, are sufficient to guide us in natural things and civil affairs, and may as well suffice us in Spiritual and Church affairs.' . . . If God would help us with right apprehensions about this, our divisions would, in a great measure, vanish. . . . The Prelates abused that Scripture, I Cor. xiv. 40; for they joined institutions of their own to God's, to make them decent and orderly! . . . It is clear in Scripture that besides the catholic church there are particular churches; . . . now then . . . they [each of them] being a body, must needs have something to join them together; and the least thing that can be to join them is the manifestation of their assent: . . . what is their covenant but this? Only some manifest this their assent more largely, some more briefly: I know nothing more [that] is required but to manifest their assent to join with that body 'to set up all the ordinances of Christ, so far as they know!'^f

"The tenth dividing principle; or rather, vain conceit: 'Every difference in Religion, is a differing religion.' What do you hear more ordinarily than this, How many 'religions' have we now? Shall so many 'religions' be suffered amongst us? We cannot tell now what 'religion' men are of! . . . It is with the saints here, as with the boughs of trees in time of a storm. You shall see the boughs beat one upon another as if they would beat one another to pieces, as if armies were fighting; but this is but while the wind, while the tempest, lasts; stay awhile, and you shall see every bough standing in its own order and

^a P. 87—89.^b P. 90.^c P. 94.^d 1 Thess. v. 21.^e P. 95, 97^f P. 97, 99, 100.

comeliness : why ? because they are all united in one root ; if any bough be rotten, the storm breaks it off.^a . .

“ Dividing Distempers, ‘ The lust of men’s Hearts.’ . . We all put off the cause of our divisions from ourselves ; few would give St. James’s answer, chap. iv. 1 : . . the curing the heart will sooner cure the head than the curing⁷ the head will cure the heart ! The apostle doth not here condemn ‘ wars ’ simply. This was the error of the old Manichees, raised up again by some amongst us.^b . . To whom our answer is, that we have a civil right to the outward peaceable profession and practice of our religion ; we have the laws of the land for it ; and for the maintenance of this right we fight. There can be no reason given, why our civil right we have to our religion may not as well be maintained by the sword as our civil right to our houses and lands. This answers all objections against the maintenance of religion by the sword, from the practice of the Christians in the primitive times who never sought to maintain religion thus : we say their case was not the same with ours ; they never had any civil right to the profession and practice of their religion. . . The ‘ wars ’ meant in the text are contentions, jars, divisions, amongst Christians ; . . these came from their ‘ lusts.’^c . .

“ ‘ The Pride of men’s Hearts,’ the great dividing distemper.^d

“ ‘ Self-love,’ the second dividing distemper.^e

“ The third dividing distemper, ‘ Envy.’^f

“ The fourth dividing distemper, ‘ Passion.’^g

“ The fifth dividing distemper, ‘ Rigidness ;’ the sixth, ‘ Rashness ;’ the seventh, ‘ Wilfulness ;’ the eighth, ‘ Unconstancy.’^h

“ The ninth dividing distemper, ‘ A spirit of Jealousy ;’ the tenth, ‘ A spirit of Contention ;’ the eleventh, ‘ Covetousness ;’ the twelfth, ‘ Falseness.’ⁱ

“ Dividing Practices : the first, ‘ The practice of the Tongue ;’ the second, ‘ Needless Disputes.’^k

“ The third dividing practice : ‘ Men not keeping within the Bounds that God hath set them.’ . . For what is all our contestation at this time ? Is it not about men’s stretching their power beyond their line both in State and Church ? From whence are our State-divisions, our wars, but because princes have been persuaded their power was boundless ! at least not to be kept within those bounds the State says it ought to be. . . No man inheriteth more than was given to his forefathers, and so to him ; whereby they might see that they are not limited only by the laws of God but by the laws of men also, namely, the agreement between them and the people when they are raised to such dignities. There is nothing weakens their right more than the pleading it by conquest : princes have little cause to thank those who plead their right that way^l. . . And for Church Governors, if they would keep within their limits, we might enjoy much peace, if first they would assume to themselves no more power than Christ hath given them ; secondly, if they would not extend it over more congregations

^a P. 102. ^b See back, p. 109, about the Anabaptists.

^c P. 102, 103.

^d P. 109.

^e P. 117.

^f P. 123.

^g P. 127.

^h P. 134—140.

ⁱ P. 141—144.

^k P. 145—152.

^l P. 152, 153.

than Christ hath committed to them ; thirdly if they would not exercise it in more things than Christ would have them.^a . . . Our Brethren of Scotland, in their opposition to the prelates, give very much to the people in the matter of excommunication : ‘ It pertaineth,’ say they, ‘ to the whole church collectively taken, to deny her Christian communion to such wicked persons as add contumacy to their disobedience ; therefore it pertaineth to the whole church, to excommunicate them.’ Again ; ‘ It pertaineth to the whole church to admit one into her communion ; therefore, to the whole church,’ it likewise pertaineth ‘ to cast one out of her communion !’ And a page or two after, ‘ The Apostle, writing to the whole church of Corinth, will have them, being gathered together, to deliver that incestuous person to Satan ;’^b therefore every particular church or congregation, hath power to excommunicate.^c There they give many arguments to prove that the apostle would not excommunicate by his own authority alone, but by the authority of the church, and that collectively taken,—so they say,—not the ministers or elders of the church only ! Let no man, say this was the judgment but of one minister ; for at the beginning of this Parliament, myself, together with a reverend brother, asked Mr. Henderson, two or three of the ministers of Scotland being with him, ‘ Whether we might not take that book as the judgment of the most godly and able of the ministers of Scotland, for the matters of church-discipline ?’ They answered, ‘ We might.’^d . . .

“ The fourth dividing practice : ‘ Gathering of Churches, disorderly.’ This is cried out of as the greatest dividing practice of all ! . . . ‘ Then, the Christians gathering themselves out of the Jewish church, were schismatics !’ . . . Dr. Jackson, a prelati- cal man, in the fourteenth chapter of his treatise of the Church, gives two reasons, which he says ‘ are just and necessary,’ for which men, whether few or many, may and ought to separate themselves from any visible church : ‘ First : Because they are urged or constrained to profess or believe some points of doctrine, or to adventure upon some practices, which are contrary to the rule of Faith, or love of God. Second : In case they are utterly deprived of freedom of conscience in professing what they inwardly believe, or be bereft of some other means, either altogether necessary or most expedient, to salvation.’ For which latter, he quotes 1 Cor. vii. 23. ‘ Although,’ says he, ‘ we were persuaded, that we could communicate with such a church without evident danger of damnation ; yet inasmuch as we cannot communicate with it upon any better terms than legal servants, or bondslaves, do with their masters, we are bound in conscience and religious discretion, when lawful occasions and opportunities are offered, to use our liberty and to seek our freedom, rather than to live in bondage.’ This doctrine was allowed of in the Bishops’ times. Now suppose upon these two grounds there be a withdrawing

^a P. 154.

^b 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

^c “ A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obruded upon the Church of Scotland ; etc. 1637. Pt. iii. chap. viii. Digress. 4.” or edit. 1660, 4to. p. 297, 299. By George Gillespie, Minister at Edinburgh. “ Called in, by Proclamation, Oct. 17, 1637, That the same may be publicly burnt.” See Rushworth’s Hist. Coll. 1721. fo. vol. ii. p. 402.

^d P. 155.

^e Voetius.

from a church, Christ does nowhere require his people to live without ordinances all their days rather than they should join themselves together into another body!^a . . . If a company of men who have estates, should not be satisfied with that ministry that belongs to that company that now they are joined with, and should buy a piece of ground close to the place where they were, and build upon it, and have leave of the State to make a new parish of those dwellings they build; who would blame them for gathering a church thus? Hence it is apparent, that withdrawing from our churches and gathering others is not, according to the judgments of our Brethren, against any church-principle; the offence that is is only against some civil-constitution."^b . . .

"The fifth dividing practice: 'The aspersing and seeking to blast the Credits of those men whom the Lord uses to be instruments of good.'"^c . . .

"The sixth dividing practice: 'The giving characterizing Names to men; names of Division.' This is an old continued practice of the devil. . . Among others, that of 'Schismatics' is not only a characterizing but a stigmatizing name.^d . . . The name of 'Puritan,' what a divider hath it been! But that, seeing itself ready to die, divided itself into two, 'Round-head' and 'Independent:' these are now the opprobrious, discriminating, scornful names of division amongst us. . . How far those who are for the Congregational-Way are from an uncontrollable liberty, hath been shown, p. 41. I shall add this one thing; of all kind of governments in the church, that which hath this name ['Independent'] fastened upon it is most opposite to the name, of any in that sense [in which] it is ordinarily taken; for there is no church-government that holds forth more means to reduce from error or any miscarriage than this doth. . . If men will not conscientiously regard what is done to reduce them from evil, there is no help within the church but to appeal to Christ. As for external help by the magistrate, that concerns not the controversy about church-government: and yet, for subjection to that ordinance of God, the principles and profession of those you call 'Independents' leave as much to the magistrate as the principles or profession of those who are Presbyterial do, if not more! 'Tolle jam nominis crimen, et nihil restat nisi criminis nomen :'^e now take away the crime of the name, and there remains nothing but the name of the crime.'^f

"The seventh: 'Whatsoever personal evil there is in any who is in a differing way from others, is cast upon all that are in that way!'^g

"The eighth is, 'An inordinate cleaving to some, so as denying due respect to others.'^h . . .

"The ninth; 'Because men cannot join in all things with others, they will join in nothing.' . . I do not think it the shortest way to convince those which refuse to hear, to stand to prove to them the lawfulness of the call of those ministers whom they refuse to hear; but rather to make it out to them, that though their call be not right to the ministry, yet they have not sufficient ground of withdrawing from hearing them: for they hold that it is lawful for a man to preach the Word

^a P. 162,

^e Tertul. Apol.

^b P. 164.

^f P. 177, 178.

^c P. 167.

^g P. 179.

^d P. 171.

^h P. 181.

as a gifted man... This consideration will answer all those objections against hearing men that they say are not baptized; grant they are not, and so you think they cannot be ministers; yet they are men gifted by God, and thereby enabled to dispense many truths of God to your souls.”^a

“The tenth dividing practice: ‘Fastening upon those who are in any error, all those false things and dangerous Consequences that by strength of Reason and Subtilty may be drawn from that error.’”^b..

“The eleventh: ‘To commend and countenance what we care not for, in opposition to what we dislike.’”^c..

“The last dividing practice: ‘The practice of Revenge.’”^d..

“The Evil of divisions: ‘They hinder much good.’.. First, the quiet, comfort, sweetness of our spirits, is hindered by divisions:.. secondly; they hinder the freedom of a man’s spirit;.. thirdly; they hinder the good of the body:.. fourthly; they hinder men’s judgments:.. fifthly; they hinder the sweetness of christian converse and communion:.. sixthly; they hinder our time:.. seventhly; they hinder our prayers:.. eighthly; they hinder the use of our gifts:.. ninthly; they hinder our graces:.. tenthly; our divisions hinder the breaking forth of the lustre, the shine of religion in the beauty and glory of it:.. eleventhly; our divisions hinder our strength:.. twelfthly; they hinder our doing good in public:.. thirteenthly; they hinder our own ends:.. fourteenthly; they hinder the blessing of God, Psal. cxxxiii.: lastly; they hinder all good!”^e..

“The Sinfulness of our divisions... First, they are against the solemn charge and command of God and of Jesus Christ, I John iii. 23:.. secondly; these unkind and unloving divisions are against the prayer of Jesus Christ.. a little before he died, John xvii. 21:.. thirdly; our divisions are against our own prayers:.. fourthly; our divisions are very dishonourable to Jesus Christ:.. fifthly; divisions are sinful because they grieve the Holy Spirit of God, Eph. iv. 30, 31:.. sixthly; these divisions do grieve and offend our Brethren:.. seventhly; there is much sin in our divisions, for they stir up much corruption on all sides:.. eighthly; yet further, as they stir up sin, so they harden in sin:.. ninthly;.. they are a means to keep off others from God’s ways:.. tenthly; they are a very ill improvement of our zeal and courage:.. eleventhly; they make very much against the Cause of Christ now in hand, the great work of Reformation:.. twelfthly; these our dissensions are against a great part of the Covenant of Grace which God hath made with his people in Christ, and those many promises of so much peace that there is to be in the times of the Gospel:.. thirteenthly; by our divisions we cross that end that God aimed at in the variety of his administrations in the gifts and graces of men.”^f..

“The Aggravations of the sinfulness of our divisions. First;.. that our divisions are against the very character of Christianity:.. secondly; that we who were so lately in bondage should upon the beginning of our deliverance thus fall out one amongst another, one from another, one

^a P. 182—184.

^b P. 185.

^c P. 186.

^d P. 187.

^e P. 189—197.

^f P. 198—209.

upon another : . . thirdly ; the union of our enemies, is an aggravation of the sinfulness of our divisions : . . fourthly ; that such as God hath joined in so many bands of union should so divide as we do : . . fifthly ; that such as agree in so many things, yea, in all things necessary to salvation, yea, almost if not in all the doctrinal part of religion, yet because of some few things of lesser moment there should be such a breach as now there is, this makes the account we are able to give of our breach the worse and our sin the more : . . sixthly ; the sin is great, because it is heart-division : . . seventhly ; they are the worse because they break out so much as they do : . . eighthly ; that our divisions are in the presence of wicked men : . . ninthly ; our divisions are long-continued : . . tenthly ; the late Covenant that should be a means to unite us, is made a means of widening our divisions : . . eleventhly ; we are thus divided at such a time as this, the most unseasonable for divisions that ever was in the world : . . twelfthly ; we are divided, notwithstanding we are all convinced of the evil of divisions : . . thirteenthly ; we have complained of others who were in place of power, to be of harsh, cruel dispositions. . . Who see now that men who have other manner of principles than ever they had, yet how sadly they miscarry when they come under the like temptations : . . fourteenthly ; we are still divided, though we have seen the woful evils that divisions have brought upon others : . . fifteenthly ; in our very labouring for union we are divided ; in our endeavours for peace we are at variance : . . lastly ; the sin of our divisions is the greater because we make religion to patronize them. . . Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀλλήλων κατεψευσάμεθα.^a ‘ in our pleadings for the truth we belie one another.’^b

“The woful Miseries that our divisions bring upon us ! . . First ; our divisions provoke the wrath of God against us : . . secondly ; by them we serve the designs of our enemies : . . thirdly ; by these we make ourselves a scorn to our enemies : . . fourthly ; yea, by these we are like to be made a prey to our enemies ; . . fifthly ; if God should free us from our enemies, yet we are like to devour one another : . . sixthly ; if we should not devour one another, yet being thus divided we are like to perish of ourselves : . . seventhly ; these divisions are likely to make many miserable indeed : . . eighthly ; they are like to lay a foundation of much evil to posterity. . . In the beginning of this Parliament, there was as hopeful a generation of young ones coming up as ever the sun saw ; but many of them have lost their lives in this public Cause. God will certainly take a valuable consideration at the hands of the adversaries for their blood especially. We have cause to bless God for them. God made use of them to stop the rage, the overflowing of the proud adversaries upon us ; they have served their generation, and have been more useful in it than others who have lived seventy or eighty years formerly.”^c . .

“Aggravations of the misery that comes by our divisions. First ; our misery is the greater because it is still increasing : divisions make way for divisions . . Yet thanks be to God, this increase is not in . . our armies ; . . dividing terms are not heard amongst them as formerly. . . The blessing of the Almighty be upon you. Go on and prosper :

^a Greg. Naz. Orat. xii.

^b P. 209—217.

^c P. 217—221.

the Lord is with you; he hath done great things by you, and delights to use you in great services. . . Soldiers united in love, and hating that which is vile, are exceedingly strengthened in valour. . . Ever since our armies have been united, God hath wonderfully blessed them. . . Yet so it is, the seeds of dissensions never sprung up more against us than of late. . . Secondly; a second aggravation of the misery of our divisions is, surely none will pity us in all that evil that comes upon us by them. If God should have suffered our enemies to have prevailed against us, all the Protestant party in the world would have pitied us, . . but if we mischief ourselves by our divisions, we shall be looked upon as contemptible in the eyes of all: if we should flee to them, we may expect to be entertained with rebukes: . . thirdly; our consciences will fly in our faces, telling us, that we may thank ourselves for all this: . . fourthly; our misery is and will be aggravated by the executioners of it. Our familiars, our brethren, those who not long since were dear to us, will be made use of, to make us [more] miserable: . . fifthly; the misery of our contentions in the Civil State is such as, if we be overcome, we are undone for our outward condition; we and our posterity are made slaves: if we do prevail, yet there is sadness in our conquest! . . sixthly; what help can there be? . . if men will undo themselves, who can help it! . . Division comes from bitterness, and begets, like itself, nothing but bitterness.”^a

“Cautions about our divisions; that we may not make an ill use of them, but try if it be possible to get good out of them. . . First; some, upon the evils they see and feel in them, think it was better with us heretofore, and wish we had those times again. . . Time hath been that a tyrannical chain hath been upon us; we dared not then discuss any matters of difference with freedom. If a Convocation determined it, there was a chain upon us to fasten us to it; now God hath given us more liberty to debate things freely, that we may find out the truth more clearly: and though men while they are in their debates be at some distance one from another, do not say, it was better with us heretofore than it is now; thou dost not speak wisely concerning this thing. Surely these men who are so desirous of former things, are ad servitudinem nati, born to be slaves. . . Secondly; the ill use that others make of these divisions is to cry out of [against] religion and preaching: . . thirdly: . . many resolve they will stand neuters; . . by this means they do not only desert the public cause that is now on foot, but they are in danger to be for any thing at the last: . . fourthly; others cry out against those men who have been most active in this common cause. . . This is an ill requital of all that willingness of theirs to hazard their estates and lives for your good. You have cause to bless God, seeing [that] you were of such low, mean, timorous spirits, yourselves; unfit for such a work as God had to do in the beginning of the change of these times; that he raised up others and gave them enlarged, resolved spirits, fit for such a public work. . . Did they break the ice for you, and do you thus requite them? . . Fifthly; others, seeing much evil come of the divisions amongst us, they think there is no way to help them but by violence; forcing men to yield to what they think is right! . .

^a P 221—225.

Sixthly; some take advantage by them, to give themselves to looseness in their lives. It is a time of liberty, and they will take their time! . . . Seventhly; some make no other use of them, than to observe which way there may be advantage got by them. . . . If they were in Dioclesian's time, they could be pagans; if in Constantine's, Christians; if in Constantius', Arians; if in Julian's, apostates; if in Jovian's, Christians again; and all this within less time than the age of a man! Eighthly; some have their spirits in a base manner subjugated, by these divisions and troubles that come upon them: . . . ninthly; others are discouraged, upon the sight of the great evils that daily flow from our divisions: . . . their hearts sink in despair.^a . . .

“It is no New Thing, for divisions to be in the Church. . . . If we consider of things wisely, we have no such cause to wonder that godly men, in this their estate of imperfection, should differ so much one from another as they do; for, First; every godly man prizes and seeks after knowledge: . . . secondly; godly men are free-men; Christ hath made them so, and requires them not to suffer themselves to be brought under bondage. . . . The less distance men apprehend between themselves and others, in regard of power, the more differences there are amongst them; as they say the greatest and sorest storms are about the equinoctial. Men are kept more at peace in the commonwealth than in the church, because there is a greater subjection of one to another there than may be admitted in the church! Thirdly; godly men give up themselves to the strictest rules of holiness; . . . fourthly; things that the saints are conversant about, are great things, things of a high nature; about their last and their eternal estates: hence every one is very chary and careful, and strongly set to maintain what he apprehends: . . . and where there are different apprehensions of those things, . . . even amongst godly men, they must needs stand out one against another till God causes one of them to see things otherwise than now he doth. Fifthly; the things of religion, are hidden mysteries; they are the secrets of God: . . . they are not ordinarily, so clearly revealed but that the apprehensions of them are like to be different: . . . sixthly; the saints are bound to watch over one another; each is his ‘brother’s keeper,’ . . . other men can better preserve their own quiet, by letting their brethren alone; ‘I will not trouble them, lest I be troubled myself.’ Hence it is that they many times, live more quietly one with another, than godly men do; yet this is a great evil, a shame to those who are godly, that it should be so upon any terms. Seventhly; ungodly men are dead in sins; the devil hath them, sure enough; . . . he labours to keep the corruptions of the godly acting as much as he can. . . . Thus you see it is no wonder why there are dissensions amongst men that truly fear God. . . . Those that come nearest together yet differing in some things, are, many times, at greater variance one with another than those who differ in more things from them. The Jews and Samaritans were at greater variance than Jews and Heathen.”^b . . .

“That God hath a hand in our divisions; and, how far. . . . There must be ‘heresies,’ says the apostle;^d so there must be divisions! . . . But . . . what does God aim at in them? First; the discovery of men’s

^aP. 226—231.

^bP. 232, 237—240.

^c1 Cor. xi. 19.

spirits, 'that they which are approved may be manifest.'^a . . Secondly; by these divisions, God exercises the grace of his servants. . . When there is siding, there is much observing: Psal. xxvii. 11,—'mine *observers*.' . . Thirdly; God will have these, to be in just judgment to the wicked; that they may be a stumbling-block to them, who will not receive 'the Truth' in 'love.'^b . . Fourthly; God hath a hand in these divisions, to bring forth further light. . . Many sparks of light, many truths, are beaten out by the beatings of men's spirits one against another. . . If you will have the cloth woven, the woof and the warp must be cast cross one to another. . . If you will have truths argued out you must be content to bear with some opposition for the time. . . Those who love truth will seek for it, for truth's sake; those who love victory, yet because the truth is the strongest, will seek after truth that they may get victory! Dan. xii. 4. . . The preaching of the Gospel with power, heaps 'coals of fire' upon men's heads, which will either melt them or burn them: in it there is a separation of 'the precious from the vile.'^c . .

"The good Uses that we are to make of our divisions. Why may not meat come out of the eater, and sweet out of these bitter things?^d . . First; by these divisions men may come to see the vileness and the vanity of their own hearts: . . secondly; learn to be humbled for that dishonour which comes to God by these divisions: . . thirdly; let these divisions confirm us in the main, and settle us there more than ever: . . fourthly; let us bless God who hath carried on the work of Reformation thus far, notwithstanding our divisions: . . fifthly; let us hence raise our hopes in this, that Satan's time is not long: . . sixthly; let us from these stirs without, be put upon the labouring to make and to confirm peace within. . . You hear harsh notes abroad, such things as grieve you at the heart; labour so much the more to keep the bird always singing in your bosom! . . seventhly; if your peace be made with God, bless God for it: . . eighthly; labour to make up your want of that good and comfort you heretofore had in christian communion with a more close and constant communion with the Lord, who hath been pleased to 'speak peace'^e unto you: . . ninthly; by way of *antiperistas*, let us labour to be so much the more united with the saints by how much we see others to be divided:^f . . tenthly; the more confused, broken, and troublesome, we see things to be, the more let our hearts be stirred up in prayer to God; putting Him in mind of all those gracious promises that he hath made to his church for peace and union: . . eleventhly; those whose consciences can witness to them, that it hath been their great care not to enwrap themselves in the guilt of these divisions, . . let them bless God for this mercy.^g . .

"The Cure of our divisions. . . The first joining Principle: 'In the midst of all differences of judgment, and weakness of the saints, it is not impossible but that they may live in peace and love together.'^h . . If we cannot be of one mind that we may agree, let us agree that we may be of one mind. . . The 'unity of the faith' and the 'perfect man,' will be both together; Eph. iv. 13: . . when that is done, our work is

^a 1 Cor. xi. 19.

^b 2 John.

^c P. 242—246.

^d Judges xiv. 14.

^e Psal. lxxxv. 8.

^f Psal. cxix. 126, 127.

^g P. 247—251.

done for this world. The second : 'That shall never be got by strife, that may be had by love and peace.' . . Except God joins eminency of grace, men of eminent gifts join less than others whose gifts are meaner. . . The third : 'It is better to do good than to receive good.' Active good is better than passive : only God himself, his angels and saints, do good ; all creatures can receive good. . . The fourth : 'The good of other men is my good as well as theirs.' . . The fifth : 'My good is more in the public than in myself.' . . Were we more public spirited, our contentions would vanish. . . The sixth : 'What I would have others do to me, that I will endeavour to do to them.' . . The seventh : 'It is as great an honour to have my will by yielding, as by overcoming.' . . The eighth : 'I will never meddle with any strife but that which shall have peace to be the end of it.' . . The ninth : 'No man, shall ever be my enemy, that is not more his own than mine ; yea more the enemy of God.' . . The tenth : 'I had rather suffer the greatest evil than do the least.' . . The eleventh : 'I will labour to do good to all, but provoke none.' . . The twelfth : 'Peace with all men, it is good ; but with God and my own conscience, it is necessary.' . . The thirteenth : 'If I must needs err, considering what our condition is here in this world, I will rather err by too much gentleness and mildness, than by too much rigour and severity.' . . The last : 'Peace is never bought too dear, but by sin and baseness.' . . We may give peace to buy truth ; but we may not give truth to buy peace!^a . .

"Joining Considerations. The first : 'The consideration of the many things wherein God hath joined us.' . . Eph. iv. 4—6 ; . . ver. 6, this scripture is one of the most famous for the union of the saints in 'one,' that we have in all the book of God. . . The second : 'Let us consider, how far we can agree.' . . The third : 'Let us consider of men's tempers, spirits, temptations, education, years, gifts.' . . The fourth : 'What we get by contention will never quit cost.' . . The fifth : 'The strongest hath need of the weakest.' . . The sixth : 'Consider when any thing falls out that occasions strife, It may be, this is but for trial ; this is a temptation.' . . The seventh : 'Consider how the heart of God is set upon making peace with us, and what it cost Him.' . . 2 Cor. v. 19. . . The eighth : 'Consider how unworthy we were when Jesus Christ received us into union with Himself.' . . The ninth : 'Consider that we are called to peace.' . . 1 Pet. iii. 8, 9. . . The tenth : 'Consider the presence of God and of Christ.' . . The eleventh : 'Consider what account we can give to Jesus Christ, of all our divisions.' . . The twelfth : 'Let every man consider his own weaknesses.' . . The common-law of those who intend to live at peace one with another is 'Veniam petimus, damusque : We desire pardon, and we do pardon.' . . The thirteenth : 'Let us consider our mortality.' . . The fourteenth : 'Consider the life of Heaven.' There is and will be perfect agreement there!^b . .

"Joining Graces. Wisdom : . . Faith : . . Humility : . . Self-denial : . . Patience : . . Joy in the Holy Ghost : . . Meekness : . . Gentleness : . . Love. . . These, with other uniting graces. . . should be, in a special manner, acted in these times. And this is in a holy manner *καρῶ δουλεύειν* to serve the *time*!^c as some copies have it, Rom. xii. 11.d. .

^a P. 252—266. ^b P. 268—281. ^c Vide Griesbach. ^d P. 281—285.

“Joining Practices. The first; gentle language : . . the second; let us humble ourselves, for our divisions : . . the third; an amnesty. . . Such now is that extreme bitter exasperation and deadly rage of men’s hearts one against another, that whensoever peace shall be concluded, if it be not made exceeding sure, our pacification is like to be the foundation of far greater evils to us than yet have befallen us. If this ‘Amnestia’ be not strengthened with what is in the wisdom [and] power of man to do, and the blessing of the Almighty also with it; we are an undone people. The fourth joining practice; never contend but be sure you understand one another what it is you contend for : . . the fifth; be ingenuous : do not lie at the catch to take advantages; make the best interpretation of things you can : . . the sixth; so far as reason and conscience will give way, yield to those to whom you contend withal : . . the seventh; if you will needs be striving, strive who shall do one another most good : . . the eighth; let every man be diligent in that work that God calls him to : . . the ninth; in all strivings with men, have a care that due respect to their persons be kept as much as may be : . . the tenth; labour to get good by the wrongs that are done us : . . the eleventh, turn your zeal from writing one against another, to zeal for God : . . the twelfth; in seeking to reduce others to good, let it appear that you seek rather to be helpful to them than to get victory over them : . . the thirteenth; make up breaches as soon as may be : . . the fourteenth; let us account those brethren in whom we see godliness; and carry ourselves towards them accordingly, though they will not account us : . . lastly; pray much. . . And that all may be the better improved, let the exhortation of the apostle, 1 Thess. iv. 11, sink into you, ‘study to be quiet:’ the words are, ‘love the honour of being quiet;’ there is great excellency in it.”^a

“Exhortation to peaceable and brotherly Union; showing the excellency of it. . . Reconciliation with God, will reconcile us one to another : 1 John iv. 11. . . Yet in all ages of the Church, the corrupt clergy have been the greatest causes of divisions : . . but let not such a spirit be in us. . . A peaceable disposition, is very convincing. . . Let us all be for peace, *yet so as not to be befooled into bondage by the name of Peace* : now God hath, by his mighty arm, helped us, let us not be put off with a bauble, and made to believe it is this pearl. *We know with whom we have to deal!*”^b

Burroughes died of consumption, Nov. 14th, 1646, in the 47th year of his age. Baxter insinuates that this one of the FIVE, was not so firm to his principles as the others to whom he “joined himself in name;”^c but that conceit is dissipated by the last words recorded above.

^a P. 285—296.

^b P. 296—ult.

^c Life and Times, pt. I. p. 103.

CHAP. LXVII.

BAILLIE'S "DISSUASIVE."

THE cursory notices of this piece in some preceding pages, will have prepared the reader to expect it to be treated of in its turn: he will even have become in a measure, familiar with the name, and have obtained an insight into the spirit and character of its author: "Meekness of wisdom,"^a was not always the predominant quality which he displayed, and it certainly did not shine forth in "A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time: Wherein the Tenets of the Principal Sects, especially of the 'Independents,' are drawn together in one map, for the most part in words of their own Authors, and their Main Principles are examined by the Touchstone of the Holy Scriptures. By Robert Baylie,^b Minister at Glasgow.—Published by Authority. Lond. 1646." 4to. pp. 252.

In "this essay in [*sic*] Brownism and Independency,"* the author tells "the Earl of Lauderdale," under the date "Nov. 19, 1645," that his aim is "first, in a historic way, to set down the original and progress of the error; next, its complete parts together in one table; his third purpose, to consider "the main Scriptures that use to be alleged," he was prevented from accomplishing; "being called away from my present station, by those who set me therein." This method he says, "I know was acceptable enough to many of the Congregational way when lately I did use it against the Canterburian faction; but possibly," he adds, "some of the matter of my historic part may fall out to be fashious [troublesome] to the followers of the tenets which I labour to lay open;" yet he hopes that he has "given as little offence in this kind, as any other could have done in such a way of treatising."

"That lately renewed 'Committee for Accommodation'—oh! if it please the Lord to shine upon it: . . . wherever I am, my best wishes

^a James iii. 13.

^b So on the Title page and at the end of the Dedication. It is not for us to account for the discrepance between Baylie here and Baillie elsewhere: The first edition is dated 1645, but the two titles are clearly of the same type and composition at the printing-office, the figure 6, substituted for 5 in the date, being the only variation. Both impressions have the same number of pages, but some of the sheets appear to have been recomposed in type.

^c "If a *persuasive* to 'dwell in the tents of Shem' were a blessing, Gen. ix. 26, 27; then a *dissuasive* from the errors of the time,' rightly so called, is a blessing also. But when Mr. Baillie is pleased amongst 'the errors of the time' to reckon that which he called 'Independency,' he may do well to consider whether he bring not upon his credulous reader a curse instead of a blessing. . . . Only let him allow the like liberty to us which he taketh to himself, that as he publisheth a 'Dissuasive' against 'errors,' so we may have leave to bear witness to the Truth." P. 1, 2, of "The Way of Congregational Churches *Cleared*: In two treatises. In the former, from the Historical Aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie; in his Book called 'A Dissuasive, from the Errors of the Time.' In the latter, from some Contradictions of 'Vindiciæ Clavium;' and from some Misconstructions of Learned Mr. Rutherford, in his Book intituled 'The Due Right of Presbyteries.' By Mr. John Cotton, some time Preacher at Boston in Lincolnshire, and now Teacher of the Church at Boston in New England. Lond. 1648." 4to. pp. 104, 44,—148.

shall be poured upon it; especially when I shall hear, as I have great reason to believe is only intended, that it abides circumscribed within the bounds of that prudent Order whereby it is renewed. For, first, that Order is so far from holding out an 'Accommodation' for all the sects in the land, that it speaks only of 'the differences' that are among 'the members of the Assembly.' Liberty of conscience, and [or] toleration of all or any religion, is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very naming of it. Whatever may be the opinions of John Goodwin, of Mr. Williams, and some of that stamp, yet Mr. Burroughes in his late 'Irenicum,' upon many unanswerable arguments, explodes that abomination.^a . . . Secondly; the Order expresses only the differences in 'church-government;' what other 'opinions' we have mentioned in the following treatise, I hope our Brethren will either disavow . . . or else be content to bury them in their own breasts till time and better information make them die . . . without more noise. Thirdly; the intent of the Order is, to bring up the Dissenting Brethren to approve of the 'government' agreed upon in the Assembly and allowed by both Houses of Parliament;^b or 'if that cannot be,' to see how, in some practices, they may be forborne. This, doth suppose that our Brethren shall not be permitted to print, preach, or publish, any thing against the 'Government,' established by Parliament; also, that in the practice of this 'Government' they shall be *obliged* to join so far with their Brethren as their principles may suffer: this being, I doubt not but, in many things, they shall be much forborne; for whatever be the unadvised rashness of some in their way, yet if they may be pleased, according to their frequent offers, as I remember,—to be constant members of our presbyteries and synods, and there to give were it but their consultative voice, I believe that few of them shall ever be pressed to much more. For if they agree among themselves and govern well their own congregations, no controversy that concerns them, will ever come before any superior assembly: and if any complaint of their mal-administration or any matter of ordination or excommunication, should come from them, to be cognosed in a presbytery or synod, the result might ever be, to them, as a matter of advice to be executed in their own congregations by their own pastors, if they did find it right; or if it appeared wrong, the General Assembly, or at least the Parliament, would give them so much satisfaction as, on earth, can be expected: albeit I am in opinion that no case, merely ecclesiastical, shall ever need go from a General Assembly to a Parliament. These two bodies are so friendly and near of kin, that none who knows their nature and constitution, will ever fear their discord. . . For both reason and experience will demonstrate that the Parliament of England cannot have, on earth, so strong pillars and pregnant supporters of all their privileges as free Protestant Assemblies, established by law, and kept in their full freedom from the lowest to the highest; from the congregational eldership to the general synod of the nation. No such bars as these are

^a See back, p. 108, 110.

^b This refers to the "Directory," ordered to be printed Mar. 13, 1644-5; not to "The Form of Church-Government," ordered to be used, Aug. 29, 1648.

imaginable, either against tyranny or anarchy : they are the mightiest impediments both to the exorbitancy of monarchs, which has been and is our misery, and to the extravagancy of the common multitude attempting to correct and subject all Parliaments to their own foolish desires, which is like to be the matter of our next exercise and trouble. . . Sometimes we laugh, sometimes we grieve, to see men afraid, out of mere ignorance, with [at] that which we know is their great good ! I am persuaded that, after a little experience, congregational sessions, classical presbyteries, provincial synods, and national assemblies, will be embraced and stuck to by the Parliament of England, as the greatest and most useful privileges of their Great Charter. My fourth remark upon the Order in hand, is, that it speaks alone of the questions of ' Government ' whereby the Assembly was retarded ; but nothing of the Constitution of Congregations, which never came to any considerable debate, much less did ever retard the Assembly's proceedings. And albeit the words of the Order might be extended beyond the ' Government ' to the Constitution, yet we may not think that the House doth intend to tolerate the gathering of separate congregations : in this point we hope that the desired ' Accommodation ' shall satisfy our Brethren, and all toleration shall be needless ! . . But when the Assembly and Parliament [shall] have done their uttermost to have the Churches purified so far as is possible ; if notwithstanding of all that can be done, our Brethren will yet separate and peremptorily refuse to communicate as members in the best ruled congregations, either of England or of any other Reformed Church, we confess that by such a declaration, our Brethren would put us to a great deal of perplexity [!] For such a separation as this were, as we conceive, the most palpable and unreasonable schism that ever yet was heard in the Christian world : . . beside its clear contradiction in terms not only to the Order of the House but to the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms. Notwithstanding, we trust that the grace and mercy of God shall be so richly poured out upon this revived ' Committee ' as shall enable them to expedite both us and our Brethren from these otherwise inextricable labyrinths. Would to God, that our controversies with them were brought to a happy period, that both they and we, with all our power, might concur to reduce the rest of our poor Brethren who this day are pitifully entangled in manifold heresies and errors ! . .

"Your Lordship is conscious to the first designs of the noble patriots of that your nation. It was never their mind to have trifled so much time [away] in jangling, with their Brethren of this Isle, about new and needless questions, but expecting a facility of settling truth and peace within these seas, their hearts were further abroad ; their thoughts were large for the propagation—not of their own, but—of Christ's Kingdom, and that not so much in the light as in the heat and life thereof. *They* have the more to answer, who, here and elsewhere, have been the unhappy instruments not only to frustrate these great and gracious enterprises for the weal-public of Christendom, but also to *bring the undertakers* to so low a condition that they be obliged this day, to God alone, for any tolerable subsistence and their very being ! Albeit we are hopeful the Lord is reserving good things

for them who had so much faith, charity, and courage, as to venture all for the Cause of God and their Brethren. The more unkind men have proved unto them, the Lord who hath been witness to all their intentions, actions, and sufferings, will in His own time accordingly reward them."

We pass on to the Preface, where, mark how appropriately it opens! "While the fire of war continues to scorch every one of these miserable dominions, it is the duty of all compassionate countrymen to contribute the uttermost of their best endeavours for the extinguishing of these unhappy flames. . . Too much oil already hath dropped from many unhallowed pens; the times now do passionately call for waters: . . the most hopeful peace-makers, from whose intermeddling the greatest success is to be expected, are they whose vessels are filled most plentifully with tears to be poured out before the Throne of God." . .

In his progress, he tells us, "A reformation after mourning, is the second step to a solid pacification;" a result to be unlooked for "unless a real reformation remove from the sight of God the personal abominations, the State transgressions, and the Church impieties of our land." But as "Church grievances, were the first and main cause of our present troubles, the righting of these will open the door of our first hope of deliverance:" for, he proceeds, "whoso will observe either the spring or progress of our present woes, in all the three kingdoms, will find that the open oppression and secret undermining of the commonwealth by the craft and tyranny of the Malignant faction did highly provoke the wrath of God, and was a great occasion of all this discord which hath broken out among men; yet it is evident, that the principal cause which hath kindled the jealousy of God and inflamed the spirits of men to shake off and break in pieces those yokes of Civil slavery which ingenious necks were no more able to bear, was the constuprating of the Church; the bringing in upon her by violence and daily multiplying of errors, superstitions, idolatries, and other spiritual burdens." Hence he adds, "It were the wisdom of our great Builders when they find themselves overtoiled, in the fifth year of their work, as they desire not to have all their by-past labours vain and fruitless, at last, in good earnest, to set upon the building of the Church!"

Having changed his metaphor from architectural to physical, this author proffers a specimen of his skill in therapeutics thus—"And now, while so many gracious hands are about this noble Patient, every one out of their richshops bringing the choicest medicaments they can fall upon, I also, out of my poor store,—rather from a desire to testify affection than confidence of any skill in this art,—do offer unto her, as one mean of help, a Looking-glass wherein, if she will be pleased but to behold the symptoms of her disease, by this inspection alone and clear sight of her face in this glass, without any further trouble whether of potions within or applications without, I am hopeful through the blessing of the Great Master of all lawful arts she shall be able to shake off the principal of those evils which now do most afflict her." Professing however, "to leave metaphors," though but for a moment, he remarks, "My meaning is that the greatest hazard of our Church this

day comes from the evil of error!" And now he goes on first to fill and then to exhibit the contents of a Pandora's box, as he would have it; telling us, "At this instant, when the evil of error hath spread itself over the whole body of this distracted Church, it seems it may prove a remedy not unprofitable to draw together the chief heads of those errors which now are flying abroad: their faces, being clearly described in one short Table in their true lineaments and native colours, will appear so deformed that many who now are bewitched with them, upon this sight may be brought out of all further affection towards them; this is the end of my present work." A longer specimen of this species of rhetoric follows hereupon, but we pass over it to instance the following.

"The principal by-paths wherein the most among us this day do tread, who divert from the high, open, and straight, way of the Reformed Churches, may be reduced to ten general heads. The 'Brownists,' or rigid Separatists, are the first who break off at a side: the 'Independents,' their children, go on with them for a time; but wearied with the wideness of their parents' wandering, profess to come in again towards the road-way, yet not so closely, but still they keep a path of their own! How much nearer these men profess to draw towards us than their Fathers, so much the further their other Brethren run from us; for the 'Anabaptists' go beyond the 'Brownists' in wandering; the 'Antinomians' are beyond the 'Anabaptists'; and the 'Seekers,' beyond them all. These five, lead aside on our right hand. Towards the left, there be no fewer crooked lines. The 'Prelatical' faction; the downright 'Papists'; the 'Arminians'; the 'Socinians'; and, who now make as much trouble as any, the 'Erastian-Civilians.' . . It is marvelled by many, whence these new monsters of sects have arisen? Some spare not from this ground, liberally to blaspheme the Reformation in hand, and to magnify the Bishops as if they had kept down, and this did set up, the sects which now predominate. But these murmurers would do well, in their calm and sober times, to remember that none of the named sects are births of one day; but all of them were bred and born under the wings of no other dame than Episcopacy! The tyranny and superstition of this stepmother was [were] the seed and spawn of 'Brownism,' the great root of the most of our sects; all which were many years ago brought forth, however kept within doors so long as any Church-Discipline was on foot. Now indeed, every monster walks in the street without controlment while all ecclesiastical government is cast asleep: this too, too long inter-reign and mere anarchy hath invited every unclean creature to creep out of its cave and show, in public, its misshapen face to all who like to behold."

What had come of investigation, perception, judgment,—shall we add, experience? that the age could not, or would not be entirely or permanently entranced with the picture drawn to fascinate it? Artist-like, he does not omit a contrast to his principal figure or character, and so each is thus set forth, "Episcopal courts were never fitted for the reclaiming of minds; their prisons, their fines, their pillories, their nose-slittings, their ear-cuttings, their cheek-burnings, did but hold down

the flame, to break out in season with the greater rage. BUT the Reformed Presbytery doth proceed in a spiritual method evidently fitted for the gaining of hearts! They go on with the offending party with all respect and at so much leisure as can be wished; appointing first, the fittest pastors and elders in the bounds, to confer and instruct him in private. If this diligence do not prevail, then they convent him before the consistory of his congregation; there by admonitions, instructions, reproofs, and all the means appointed in the Gospel, they deal with him in all gentleness, from weeks to months, from months oftentimes to years, before they come near to any censure; and if it so fall out, that his insuperable obstinacy force them to draw out the terrible sword, their proceeding here also is so exceeding leisurely, and so full of sensible grief and love to the party, [and] of fear and religion towards God, that it is a singular rarity among them to see any heart so hard as not to be mollified and yield, before that stroke be given! Excommunications are so strange in all the Reformed Churches that, in a whole province, a man in all his life will scarce be witness to one; and among them who are cut off by that dreadful sword very few do fall in the State's hand to be troubled with any civil inconvenience." It may serve to solve one chief query above, if we contemplate, in this close connexion, the nature of the prescription with which our author's Preface closes: "Put these holy and divine instruments in the hand of the Church of England; by the blessing of God thereupon, the sore and great evil of so many heresies and schisms shall quickly be cured, which now not only troubles the peace and welfare but hazards the very subsistence both of Church and Kingdom. Without this mean, the State will toil itself in vain about the cure of such spiritual diseases!"

The first chapter of this treatise presents a cursory view of the origin and progress of the Brownists. Their remote beginning is attributed without the least trepidation, to the Prince of Darkness powerfully working in the midst of the children of light!^a Who these were, in this author's esteem, and to suit his present purpose, is recorded thus, "When Cartwright, Hildersham, Travers, and many other gracious divines, by the blessing of God upon their great diligence had undermined and well near overthrown the episcopal sees, and all the cathedral ceremonies: incontinent, the generation of the 'Separatists' did start up and put such retardances in the way of that gracious Reformation as yet remain, and except by the hand of God will not be gotten removed."^b To this, then all but hopeless task, our author applies himself; and what "oil" of "Dissuasive" efficacy "dropped" from *his pen*^c will be shown.

"It is true," he writes, "the malignancy of the Episcopal party, and emulation of the 'Separatists' themselves, would make Cartwright and his friends, the old unconformists, to be the fathers of that sect;" but not willing that they should be intituled to so much honour, he resorts to distortion, in these words, "The doctrine of the Anabaptists who, in a great number fled over to England when, from their abominable and horrible crimes, by fire and water and sword, they were

^a P. 9.

^b P. 12.—See back, vol i. p. 5.

^c See back, p. 129.

chased out of both the Germanies, is so like . . . the doctrine of the Brownists, that the derivation of the one from the other seems to be very rational!"^a So much for an hypothesis! "But," he says, "passing the kindred and pedigree, let us consider the family itself, and the persons of greatest note that [have] yet appeared therein. The first 'separatist' I read of was one Bolton."^b He then makes Robert Browne take up "that banner of Separation which God, as with a bolt from heaven, had wrung out of the hands of miserable Bolton;" and represents Browne's writings as the source "whence, ever since, the best arguments for that schism are drawn."^c Here he adds to our information, on the authority of "reverend ministers" from whom he had "heard it," that his incarceration till death, was at the suit of his curate, for "not paying the small pittance he was indebted to him."^d Barrowe, Johnson, Ainsworth, and Smyth, as so many culprits, are placed in array: the latter, it appears "writing against the use of the Lord's Prayer, was convinced in a public meeting by Mr. Hildersham and others: for," says our author, "the Unconformists always had the one eye no less intent upon the 'Separatists' than the other upon Episcopacy! Notwithstanding, Master Smyth, for all his conviction and open profession upon his knees, of his full satisfaction, did relapse."^e Those disposed of, or nearly so, we are told "The other supporter of languishing Brownism in its dying days, was Mr. Robinson; the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect enjoyed. It had been truly a marvel if such a man had gone on to the end a rigid separatist!"^f But alas! "his new doctrine though it was destructive to his old sect, yet it became an occasion of a new one *not very good!* . . . Ever since the time of their conduct, these of England whose humour carried them out of the bosom of their Mother-Church, have turned either to Smyth's Anabaptism or to Robinson's semi-separating Independency. These kinds are multiplied exceedingly; but for the old 'Brownists,' their number, either at London or Amsterdam, is but very small; and this their way is become contemptible, not only to the rest of the world but to their own children also. Even they begin to heap coals of contumelies, upon their parents' heads, as may be seen in the elegies which both Mr. Cotton and the five Apologists are pleased to give them in print. Yea, so much are these children ashamed of their fathers that they usually take it for a contumely to be called after their name. No 'Independent' will take it well at any man's hand to be called a 'Brownist.'"^g

^a See back, vol. i. p. 14, 15.

^b See back, vol. i. p. 67.

^c Ibid. p. 50.

^d P. 12—14.

^e "Sad and woful is the memory of Mr. Smyth's strong consolation on his death bed, which is set as a seal to his gross and damnable Arminianism and enthusiasm delivered in the Confession of his Faith, prefixed to the story of his life and death."—Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, Examined and Answered. By Roger Williams of Providence in New England. Lond. 1644. 4to. pp. 47. P. 14.

^f P. 14-18.—"Neither in whole nor in part do we partake in his schism; he separated from churches and from saints; we, only from the world and that which is of the world. . . . Though we put not such honour upon those he calls 'Brownists' as to own them for our 'fathers,' yet neither do we put so much dishonour upon them as 'to heap coals' of contumely upon their heads: we look not at them with con-

The second chapter treats of the Doctrine of the "Brownists." Here we learn that the "edge of their arguments is usually directed against the Church of England alone ; but when their doctrine or practice is looked upon a little more near, it appears they shoot their bolts

tempt but compassion." Cotton, " Cong. Churches *Cleared*," p. 9, 10.—That certain incidental information giving further insight into characters and transactions, but not previously known, may be associated with what relates to the principals in our pages, we are happy to avail ourselves of the subjoined matter from a most interesting volume whose preface is dated " June 1st, 1841," and which reached our hands on the twenty-second of the same month! "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625. Now first collected from Original Records and Contemporaneous Printed Documents, and illustrated with Notes. By [the Rev.] Alexander Young, Boston [N.E.] 1841." Svo. pp. 504. We confine ourselves to that portion of the contents intituled "A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England, and sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England; A.D. 1648." By Governor William Bradford. "Dr. Ames was estranged from and opposed Mr. Robinson; and yet afterwards there was loving compliance and near agreement between them; and, which is more strange, Mr. Johnson himself, who was afterwards pastor of the church of God at Amsterdam, was a preacher to the company of English of the Staple at Middleburgh, in Zealand [a fact well known to Mr. Steven, author of the Hist. of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam; etc. 1833.] and had great and certain maintenance [£200 *per ann.*] allowed him by them, and was highly respected by them; and so zealous against this way, as that when Mr. Barrowe's and Mr. Greenwood's Refutation of Gifford was privately in printing in this city [Middleburgh,] he not only was a means to discover it, but was made the Ambassador's instrument to intercept them at the press, and see them burnt; the which charge he did so well perform, as he let them go on until they were wholly finished, and then, by the magistrates' authority caused them to be speedily burnt, himself standing by until they were all consumed to ashes. Only he took up two of them, one to keep in his own study, that he might see their errors, and the other to bestow on a special friend for the like use. But mark the sequel. When he had done this work, he went home, and being sat down in his study, he began to turn over some pages of this work, and superficially to read some things here and there as his fancy led him. At length he met with something that began to work upon his spirit, which so wrought with him as drew him to this resolution, seriously to read over the whole book: the which he did once and again. In the end, he was so taken and his conscience was humbled so, as he could have no rest in himself until he crossed the seas and came to London to confer with the authors, who were then in prison, and shortly after executed. After which conference he was so satisfied and confirmed in the truth, as he never returned to his place any more at Middleburgh, but adjoined himself to their society at London, and was afterwards committed to prison, and then banished, and in conclusion coming to live at Amsterdam, he caused the same books which he had been an instrument to burn, to be new printed and set out at his own charge. And some of us here present testify this to be a true relation, which we heard from his own mouth before many witnesses." . . . "We some of us knew Mr. Parker, Dr. Ames, and Mr. Jacob, in Holland, when they sojourned for a time in Leyden; and all three boarded together and had their victuals dressed by some of our acquaintance, and then they lived comfortable, and then they were provided for as became their persons. And after Mr. Jacob returned, and Mr. Parker was at Amsterdam, he printed some of his books, and Mr. Ames disposed of himself to other places, it was not worse with him; and some of us well know how it fared then with many precious Christians in divers times and places. To speak the truth, the professors in England though many of them suffered much at the hands of the Prelates, yet they had a great advantage of the Separatists; for the Separatists had not only the Prelates and their faction to encounter with,—and what hard measure they met with at their hands, above the other, doth sufficiently appear by what is before declared,—but also they must endure the frowns and many times the sharp invective of the *forward ministers* against them, both in public and private; and what

at all other churches in the world which refuse their way. . . The Unconformists did always zealously plead against the corruptions of that Church, but never against the truth of her being, or the comfort of her communion. When by the force of persecution they were driven out, then they did flee; of their own accord, they did never separate."^a Among the Brownists' "singularities," they are represented as holding "That the Reformed Presbyteries and Synods are no better than the English Episcopacy:" may, strange indeed, "to Episcopacy they are so favourable, that they profess their willingness to acknowledge all their Civil power and much of their Ecclesiastical jurisdiction!"^b but sad indeed is it that they maintain "The Presbyterian divines have ever been as evil as Episcopal!"—"Thus they do judge of others; as for the form of that tabernacle which they profess to build for themselves, thus we may conceive it, The matter, or members of their church, they avow to be 'saints,' but the members of other churches they pronounce them, for the most part to be wicked and flagitious."^d For authority, in this instance, we are referred to the Latin of this passage in Robinson's Apology, "And of this confused heap,—a few, compared with the rest, godly persons mingled among,—is that national church, commonly called The Church of England, collected and framed: and such is the material constitution of that Church."^e Positions of all varieties follow hereupon, accompanied by what purport to be "testimonies;" but the more prominent of them appear in their genuine import among our own pages.

The opening of the third chapter, of the original and progress of the Independents, demands peculiar notice. "The Sect,—if so, without offence, it may be called,—which, this day, is the subject of the most discourse, and the object of the greatest passions; some, pouring out upon it more of their love and hope; others, of their anger and fear; than were convenient,—is that of 'Independency.'^f Of all the by-

influence they had upon the spirits of the people, is well enough known also; by reason hereof the ministers in foreign countries did look awry at them, when they would give help and countenance to the other." Chap. xxvi. p. 423, 425; 439, 440. The whole of this "Dialogue" is, we were pleased to find, in perfect keeping with our view of the different characters treated of. It proves that Ainsworth had been in Ireland; was very "modest," and perhaps necessitous, but that at and after his marriage he was very comfortable in his circumstances.

^a P. 20, 21.

^b See back, vol. i. p. 385, "Wherein yet," &c.

^c P. 21.

^d P. 22.

^e Edit. 1625. Chap. xii. p. 62. The Latin copy, p. 81, reads thus, "Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ constitutio materialis est ex hominum flagitiosorum colluvie, paucis si cum reliquis piis admistis conferantur."

^f "Nor is 'Independency' a fit name of the way of our churches: for in some respects it is too strait and in others too large; it is too strait, in that it confineth us within ourselves, and holdeth us forth as independent from all others, whereas indeed we do profess dependence upon magistrates for civil government and protection, dependence upon Christ and his Word for the sovereign government and rule of our administrations, dependence upon the counsel of other churches and synods when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of such help from them; and therefore this title of 'Independency' straiteneth us and restraineth us from our necessary duty and due liberty. Again, in other respects 'Independency' stretcheth itself too largely and more generally than that it can single out us; for it is compatible to a national church as well as to a congregational. . . Nor is there

paths wherein the wanderers of our time are pleased to walk this is the most considerable; not for the number but for the quality of the erring persons therein." The imputation of "erring" being thus charged upon them, this author, then says, "There be few of the noted sects which are not a great deal more numerous; but this Way, what it wants in number, supplies by the weight of its followers! After five years' endeavours and great industry within the lines of the city's communication, they are said as yet to consist much within one thousand persons; men, women, and all, who to this day, have put themselves in any known Congregation of that way, being reckoned.^a But setting aside number, for other respects they are of so eminent a condition that not any, nor all the rest of the sects are comparable to them; for they have been so wise as to engage to their party some of chief note in both Houses of Parliament, in the Assembly of Divines, in the army, in the city and country-committees,^b all whom they daily manage with such dexterity and diligence for the benefit of their cause, that the eyes of the world begin to fall upon them more than upon all their fellows! It will be requisite therefore, that with the greater care we give an account of them. Of this our account there shall be three parts: The first, a history of their original, and progress to that height whereon now they stand: the second, a narrative of their tenets: the third, a confutation of some of their prime principles."^c

Concerning their original, "the Separatists," he says, "were their Fathers: this is demonstrable not only by the consanguinity of their tenets, . . . but also by deduction of their pedigree in this clear line." How "clear," the reader of our previous pages shall judge; for thus it is drawn as from its commencement, "Master Robinson did derive his way to his separate congregation at Leyden; a part of them did carry it over to Plymouth in New England; here Master Cotton did take it up, and transmit it from thence to Master Thomas Goodwin, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in Old England first, and after to more in Holland, till now, by many hands, it is sown thick in divers parts of this kingdom."^d In similar passages to this, the history of Inde-

any sect at this day extant but shroudeth themselves under the title of Independency: . . . nay, even the Pope himself, . . . 'Prima sedes à nemine judicatur,' that is, the see of Rome is independent! . . . Wherefore if there must needs be some note of difference to decypher our estate and to distinguish our way from a national church way, I know none fitter than to denominate theirs 'Classical' and ours 'Congregational.'" Cotton, "Cong. Churches Cleared," p. 11.

^a "I hope there want not divers more to be added to them in other parts of England, besides some thousands more in New England. But it is not for us to follow David's sin in numbering the people of the Lord; only the Lord increase their number a hundred fold, yea a thousand fold, and make them as the stars of heaven for multitude." *Ib.* p. 12.

^b "It is a dishonour to God to attribute that to the wisdom of man which is the mighty and gracious work of the wisdom of God; and it is a dishonour to such men to hold them forth as engaged to this way by the wisdom and industry of men, who have been well known, and some of them for many years, not to have engaged themselves or others any further than the grace of Christ and the conscience of his word hath engaged them to do and suffer according to the will of God." *Ib.* p. 12. c P. 53.

^d P. 54.—"That we are, through grace, begotten to God and to his Church, we received, many of us, from the blessing of Christ upon the ministry of England:

pendency has been customarily presented to the contemplation of ingenuous youth; and even the minds of inquirers in riper and more penetrating stages of existence have been content to rest upon such authority. But as though their Reverences the Bishops had not had enough to answer for, the generating and sustaining of this body, so abhorrent from the arrogating propensities of Presbyterians, is placed here among the catalogue of ecclesiastical grievances: "When the Separatists for whole fifty years had overtoiled themselves, for little purpose, . . . behold at the very point of time when their . . . little smoke, both at Amsterdam and Leyden, was well-near vanished, God, in his secret providence, permitted the tyranny of Bishops, which first had begotten them, to put new life in their ashes and bring them back from their grave to that vigour wherein now they appear!"^a The "vigour," is however represented to be the produce of divisions and heresies; even "more shameful absurdities than the 'Brownists' to this day, in all the fifty years of their trial have stumbled upon:"^b most inappropriate means, it might have been expected, for any man in a right state of mind to represent as bringing increase and eminence of condition, and what also attracts the "wondering eyes of the world!"^c The animus of the writer is, unawares, self-exposed: having laboured to make out a strong case of apparently just impeachment of the object of *his* "greatest passions,"^d we find him saying "However much of their way be yet in the dark;^e and in this also, their advantage above the 'Brownists' is great, that in their discords none of themselves have proclaimed their own shame.^f None that have fallen from them have on

that we grew weary of the burden of Episcopacy and Conformity, we received from the Word of God by the help of the Nonconformists there; that we laid aside the Book of Common Prayer, we received from the serious meditation of the second Commandment and not from the writings of the 'Separatists,' though they also had taken up the same conclusion upon other premises. The particular visible church of a Congregation to be the first subject of the power of the Keys, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. Parker, Mr. Baynes, and Dr. Ames; from whom also—from two of them at least—we received light out of the Word for the matter of the visible church to be visible saints; and for the form of it, to be a mutual covenant, whether an explicit or implicit profession of faith and subjection to the Gospel of Christ in the society of the church or presbytery thereof. And these be the 'chief doctrines and practices of our way so far as it differeth from other Reformed churches. And having received these not from the 'Separatists' but from the Lord Jesus by gracious saints and faithful witnesses of Jesus, the consanguinity of our tenets with any the like found amongst the 'Separatists' will not demonstrate the 'Separatists' to be our fathers." Cotton, p. 13.

^a P. 54.

^b P. 59.

^c See back, p. 135.

^d *Ibid.* p. 134.

^e It were much, I confess, if we had all these advantages of concealment which he mentioneth, and yet nevertheless so many and so shameful absurdities of ours should fall out in so short time, and become so palpable as Mr. Baillie proclaimeth them! But the truth is neither have we had those advantages he speaketh of; but the contrary, disadvantages; nor yet do we fear that he will be able to find such absurdities to have fallen out in our way, much less so shameful. For first, the 'way' of New-English-Churches is not 'in the dark,' but published to the view of the whole world." Cotton, p. 67.

^f "Again, if in our 'discords' none of us have 'proclaimed' our 'shame, whence hath Mr. Baillie gathered all our [alleged] shameful absurdities? The Short Story ['A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin, etc.:' published with Mr. Weld's large Preface, 1644,] the greatest storehouse of his testimonies; what is it, but a fruit of our 'discords?'" Cotton, p. 68.

purpose, put pen to paper to inform the world of their ways :^a neither have any of them been willing to reply to any of the books written against them that did put a necessity upon them to speak out the truth of many heavy imputations which, with a loud voice, by many a tongue are laid on them; choosing rather to lie under the hazard of all the reproach which their unfriends' reports could bring upon them, than to make an Apology wherein their denial might bring upon them the infamy of lying; or their grant, the fastening, by their own testimony, upon the back of their party, the crimes alleged against them. Notwithstanding, so much is broken out from under all their coverings as will make good what hath been said.^b Whether after this most singular of statements, "what hath been said," be not liable to be charged with a malevolent purpose is left for the reader's application!

This resolved foe, makes it an "evil" of the Independents' "way," that "It hath exceedingly hindered the conversion of the poor pagans. God, in great mercy, having opened a door in these last times to a new world of reasonable creatures, to this end above all, That the Gospel might be preached to them for the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ. The principles and practice of the Independents do cross this blessed hope. What have they to do with those that are 'without'? Their pastors preach not for conversion; their relation is to their flock, who are church-members, converted already to their hand by the labours of other men, before they can be admitted into their church! Of all that ever crossed the American seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the work of conversion! I have read of none of them that seem to have minded this matter: only Mr. Williams."^c This is an unfortunate passage; about the time that it was being penned "The Apostle of New England," John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, began the noble enterprise "to christianize the Indians;" others were influenced by his example, and great success attended their labours.^d

Having satisfied himself to repletion with a farrago of monstrosities, some of which are too great for credulity^e short of his own, we are brought to this contradictory remark, compared with what we have recorded above, "We have made these observations from what themselves have

^a "Besides, if 'none' that have 'fallen' from us have of purpose, etc.; what mean the bleedings of 'Plain Dealing [Or News from New-England. By Thomas Lechford. 1642;] and Mr. [Roger] Williams's invectives against us?" Cotton. p. 68.

^b P. 59.—"Moreover, if none of us have been willing 'to reply, etc.;' how came it to pass, that Mr. Hooker hath written a large answer to Mr. Rutherford; Mr. Davenport, to Mr. Paget; Mr. Mather, to Mr. Rathbone; Mr. Shepard and Mr. Allin, to Mr. Ball; Mr. Norton in Latin to Mr. Appolonij; myself, to Mr. Williams, both to 'his Examination' of my Letter [1644] and to his 'Bloody Tenet?' . . . Many times books are extant against us some years before they come to our hands. And yet let not Mr. Baillie take our silence for a consent to what is written against us; or for a sign of our fear to lay open the true state of our cause or the nakedness of our way, as it seemeth to him." Cotton, p. 68.

^c P. 60.—"It is not true that we hold out any at all, English or Indian, out of our christian congregations. All, without exception, are allowed to be present at our public prayers, etc., and also at the admitting of members, and dispensing of seals and censures." Cotton, p. 69.

^d Cotton, p. 77. Mather's Hist. New England. Bk. iii. p. 190—206. And Morse and Parish's Hist. Chap. xviii.

written." ^a He then describes Independency as a "New and singular way, which the Lord hath so manifestly cursed with more bad fruits and greater store of them, than ever yet did appear upon the tree of Brownism, which they do so much disgrace as an unlucky plant; notwithstanding all the gifts and graces wherewith Ainsworth, Robinson, and some others of its branches, have been adorned by God in as rich measure as have been seen in any who, to this day, have engrafted themselves into their new and bitter root of Independency." ^b

With the evident design of damaging the reputation of the several divines, whose penetration and dexterity had helped to frustrate the ambitious purposes of the Presbyterian party in the Assembly; especially that of those who were styled, "The Apologists," this factious Scot appropriates his fourth chapter, to "the carriage" of the Independents at Rotterdam and Arnheim. It is true, that with the help of his metaphors again, he would give his readers to understand, that "The fruits of this way in Holland, are not much," consequently they were somewhat "sweeter than those we have tasted in New England. All the time of their abode there," he asserts, "they were not able to conquer to their party more than two congregations, and these but very small ones, of the English only; for to this day, I have not heard of any one man of the Dutch, French, Scottish, or any other Reformed Church, who has become a member of any Independent congregation." ^c

^aP. 65.—"Mr. Lechford's book is justly called 'Plain Dealing,' which, in respect of many passages in it, might rather be called false and fraudulent. . . He was indeed himself not received into the fellowship of the church, for his professed errors. . . By the way, let no man think he was kept out of our churches for maintaining the authority of bishops; for we have in our churches some well-respected brethren, who do indifferently allow either Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or Congregational government, so be it they govern according to the rules of the Gospel: neither do we disturb such, nor they us in our communion with them." Cotton, p. 71.

^bP. 65.—"Though it becometh not us to make comparison of 'fruits' with other churches, unless themselves did provoke us to it; nor doth it concern us to deal with them about any offence, unless we dwelt near them and knew their estate; yet this is enough to us, to clear us unto Mr. Baillie and to the world against all his exceptions, that through the mercy of Christ no evil fruit at all hath sprung from our church-government! What offence soever, in judgment or practice, hath been suspected or found among us, it hath not sprung from the government, but from personal defects either among the brethren or elders: and what hath been suspected or found in either of them, hath either been cleared or healed or removed by the government: blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus! . . . Mr Baillie speaketh of our Congregational, and as he here calleth it, our 'Independent' way, as not having continued a 'week of years'—that is, not seven years,—when the errors brake forth in New England: p. 59. Sometimes he maketh us the same in reality with the Brownists, p. 58, to whom he attributeth about 'fifty years' continuance, p. 59; sometimes he maketh us followers of Mr. Robinson, p. 54, who stept in to support, as he speaketh, 'languishing Brownism,' p. 17, when it was ready to fall. All which expressions tend to make the world believe that our Congregational way, or as he calleth it 'Independent,' is but of yesterday, newly sprung up, unknown and unheard of in the former ages of the church: which if it were true, were no small prejudice to the way we walk in. . . Give me, therefore, leave to profess freely without offence, what I truly believe without scruple, That though the acts of church-government—in the ordination of officers, and censure of offenders—by the presbyters of neighbour churches, be very ancient; yet not more ancient than 'humanus episcopatus,' as Beza calleth it: not so ancient as the way of our Congregational government of each church within itself, by the space of three hundred years! . . . Congregational discipline was instituted by Christ and his Apostles." Cotton, p. 93, 94.

^cP. 75.

“Their first church in Holland was that of Rotterdam, which Mr. Peters—not the most settled head in the world—did draw from its ancient Presbyterian constitution. . . This church became no sooner ‘Independent’ than it run into the way of such shameful divisions, as their mother at Amsterdam had gone before them. Their pastor, Mr. Peters, was soon weary of them, or they of him; for what causes, themselves best know; but sure it is, he quickly left them, and went for New England.”^a The high improbability of all this is apparent from a respectable authority which says, “In the year 1623, certain British residents at Rotterdam, formed themselves into a congregation, under the pastorship of Hugh Peters. . . From its establishment to the period of 1652, this church was strictly Congregational, but was then brought off^b and became Presbyterian; an appellation it has ever since retained, though for the last century, its stated preachers have been uniformly educated at Independent seminaries in England.”^c Peters did not leave this church before 1631 or 2.^d

“The church was not long destitute of pastors,” continues Baillie, “for about that time Mr. Ward^e and Mr. Bridge came over to them from Norwich. . . So soon as they came to Rotterdam. . . they conformed themselves to the discipline which Mr. Peters had planted. They renounced their English ordination and ministerial office; joining themselves as mere private men to that congregation, which afterwards did choose and ordain both of them to be their ministers.”^f This statement, renders “shameful divisions” improbable, antecedently to the misunderstanding between Ward and Bridge, which terminated in an honourable reconciliation. Ward had been chosen minister of the Presbyterian church at Utrecht, 1627, but declined the call: here however it is certain there were “several disagreeable misunderstandings in those connected with the congregation;”^g so that “shameful divisions” were not restricted to Independents, any more than they have ever perpetually occurred in some or other parish meetings! But says Baillie, “It was not long before Mr. Simpson also came hither from London, and renouncing also his ordination joined himself, as a private member, with them. Then did the spirit of division begin to work among them.”^h If Baillie says truly, it arose from Simpson contending for, and Bridge partially opposing, “the private members” prophesying “after the Brownists’ way;” a separation ensued; and after that, “another subdivision”ⁱ left Bridge’s church. This latter relates, it should seem, to the temporary deposition of Ward, who had sided with Simpson “in the matter of prophesy.”^k In relating that concord was restored after Bridge and Simpson had removed to England, the information occurs incidentally that this union “seems not to be so cordial, as that of the two lately divided, and now reunited churches at Amsterdam,”^l of which Canne was become pastor.

^a P. 75.

^b Life of Thomas Cawton, 1662. 12mo. p. 52.

^c Steven’s Hist. Scottish Church, Rotterdam. 1833. p. 833.

^d *Ibid.* p. 335.

^e Samuel Ward, B.D. See back, vol. ii. p. 242. ^f P. 75.

^g Steven, p. 339. He does not class Ward among the ministers at Rotterdam.

^h P. 75.

ⁱ P. 76.

^k P. 77.

^l *Ibid.*

“As for their church at Arnheim,”—so he writes,—“howsoever their small intercourse with others during their abode in that remote corner, and their taciturnity of their own affairs, make their proceedings to lie under a cover; yet so much of their ways is come to light, upon divers occasions, as will not be very inductive and alluring of indifferent spirits, to tread in their footsteps.”^a Another writer informs us that “According to a chronicle of Arnheim, published a few years ago,—Van Hasselt, p. 279,—it appears that in 1638 ten or twelve English families, consisting in all of about one hundred individuals, established themselves in this town, and obtained permission from the magistrates to assemble for public worship.” Thomas Goodwin, adds this informant, was the first who had the inspection of this congregation, and was here about two years: Philip Nye was their pastor for “several years prior to 1640.”^b We gather from Baillie that they two, Goodwin and Nye, with “Master Lawrence and another,” whom he calls “the two Elders” of that church, were “the four commissioners from Arnheim,” who met at Rotterdam to arbitrate the differences between the dissidents on Ward’s deposition: ^c this he calls “the Synod of Rotterdam,”^d and he affects to be dissatisfied, because it did not accomplish more than it undertook; but his spleen was moved against the self-satisfaction which success communicated to “the commissioners,” and the proof it afforded of the practicability of Independent churches acting beneficially upon each other. ^e At Arnheim, he makes what he calls “the old heresy of “Chiliasm” to be revived, because John Archer had resorted to that place, and died there lamented by the Apologists, and leaving a work intituled “The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth: In a Treatise wherein is fully and largely laid open and proved, that Jesus Christ, together with his Saints, shall visibly possess a Monarchical State and Kingdom in the World. 1642.” And he notices “The Glimpse of Sion’s Glory; preached at a Fast, in Holland, by T. G.; which common report, without any contradiction that I have heard, declares to be Thomas Goodwin;”^f in which he represents it to be averred p. 33, “That Independency is a beginning, or at least a near antecedent, of Christ’s Kingdom upon earth.” Master Burroughes, he says, “in his late Sermon upon Hosea, runs in the same way;” instancing pages 145 and 191.^g There is so much, towards the end of this chapter, related upon hearsay, and so much perplexity otherwise, that we leave the statements as we found them; not doubting but that they are all either erroneously imputed, or greatly overcharged.

We are required to “consider” in the fifth chapter, “if the *grapes*” of this tree, “be anything sweeter” in Old England, than “the fruits” of it in New England^h and Holland! In representing how the

^a P. 78.

^b Steven, p. 283.

^c P. 76. 79.

^d P. 78.

^e See this alluded to, back, vol. ii. p. 226.

^f P. 79.

^g “Exposition of the Three first Chapters of the Prophesy of Hosea. 1643.” 4to

^h “For the ‘fruits,’ . . . in making these churches a little sanctuary; . . . in blessing the ministry of our preachers; . . . in discovering and suppressing those errors of Antinomians, etc.; fourthly, it hath been also a testimony from heaven of God’s blessing upon our way, that many thousands in England, in all the quarters of the kingdom, have been awakened to consider of the cause of church-discipline, for

Independents carried themselves "at London," this restless Presbyterian displays the real grounds of his party's discontent, and the hopelessness or their ambitious projects for supremacy unless they should succeed, by accumulating all the opprobrious matters which they could scrape together, in totally destroying the reputation of these their watchful opponents.

"These last five years," this author's narrative is made to convey, "the chief of that party, both from Arnheim, Rotterdam, and New England, have kept their residence at London, to advance, by common counsels and industry, their Way, in these days of their hopes. A full account of their courses in that place, cannot be expected so long as many passages concerning them lie in the dark [!] and the end is not yet come. But three things seem to be clear, which make their Way at London no more lovely than in the places mentioned: First, they have been here exceeding unhappy in retarding, and, to their power, crossing the blessed Reformation in hand! Secondly, they have pregnantly occasioned the multiplication of heresies and schisms above all that ever was heard of in any one place in any former age. Thirdly, they have occasioned such divisions in the State that, had it not been for the extraordinary mercies of God, the Parliament and all that follow them had, long ago, been laid under the feet of their enraged enemies, and the whole isle, long before this, been totally ruined!

"As for the first,—the Reformation of Religion so much wished for by all the godly for so many years,—all know it could never have been attained without the help of an Assembly of Divines. Who opposeth the necessary mean cannot be taken for a friend of the end: the Assembly . . . was, for a very long time, hindered, by the diligence of the Independent party, to be called; and when, to their evident grief and discontent, the Parliament had voted its calling, they may remember their extraordinary industry to get it modelled according to their principles, both in its members and power: to have it an elective synod, only for advice; to consist of so many of themselves and of their favourers as was possible, not any known divine, of any parts, in all England, of their opinion being omitted. How cautious they were, by great sleight-of-hand, to keep off so many of the old Puritan Unconformists—as they were wont, injuriously, to be called;—and how much more inclinable towards men of episcopal and liturgic principles; themselves do know. Albeit, their underhand working before the sitting of the Assembly, was seen but by few: but so soon as the synod did sit, it did then appear to the whole company, who were the men who made it their work and greatest study, to keep off, by their endless janglings [!] the Assembly from concluding anything that

which we have suffered this hazardous and voluntary banishment into this remote wilderness. And [they] have, therefore, by Letters conferred with us about it, and been, through mercy, so far enlightened, as to desire an utter subversion of Episcopacy and Conformity; yea, and the Honourable Houses of Parliament, the Lord hath been pleased to help them so far to consider of our sufferings and the causes thereof, as to conclude a necessity of Reformation of the Ecclesiastical state; amongst other causes, so by reason of the necessity put upon so many English subjects to depart from all our employments and enjoyments in our native country, for conscience' sake." Cotton, p. 102.

might settle the distracted Church. So that to this day, after two years' time and above, in more frequent and longer sessions^a than ever we read of in any Assembly since the world began, there is nothing at all set up for the comfort of the afflicted kingdom. Their averseness from the Assembly doth appear . . . in their pressing of its dissolution. I do not speak of the huge contumelies which some of their party have poured out upon the face of that most reverend meeting, in a number of very wicked pamphlets [!] which, to this day, were never so much as censured, though the authors, by name and surname, are complained of in print; but that which I speak of is the express article of the Independent Petition, desiring the Parliament, in formal terms, according to Mr. Peters' dictates, to dissolve^b the Assembly."^c

"When all the congregations in the kingdom, after a long expectation and confident hope, were panting for a *power* to keep off from the Table of the Lord as well all as some scandalous persons; when the wisdom and piety of the Parliament were so much inclined to hearken to these desires of all gracious people that it seemed there needed no more, for obtaining that happy ordinance, but one unanimous motion from the Assembly; the Independents being *lovingly* entreated and at last with all earnestness required to join in that pious and most necessary motion, with the rest of their Brethren,—did peremptorily refuse to concur in any such matter. And as if this had not been enough to have evidenced their affection to promote these very parts of Reformation which their own hearts did fully approve, they behoved to add a second courtesy! When by the complaints of their friends, in print, they had obtained from the Assembly a power to draw up and present a model of the government which they so much pleaded for, that so, at last, the world might come to the understanding of their minds under their own hands; when this charge was accepted, and their presence in the Assembly for long time dispensed with in full hope of a real performance of their undertaking, at the end of six or seven months' expectation, in place of a plain declaration of their positive doctrine, behold! a libel of all their exceptions that they had taken, from the beginning, against the Assembly's proceedings. And as if the offence had not been great enough to have so served the Synod within the walls of their meeting, that libel must needs be sent out to the world in print, and that before the Assembly could have so much time as to begin any answer to it!

"Had either the Popish faction, or the Episcopal party, or the malignant courtiers, procured the continuance of our woful anarchy, our anger would have been greater than our grief or shame; but when the mercies of God, now for some years, have removed the Papists, Prelates, and Courtiers, so far from us that, by word, or deed, they have not hindered us in the least measure, to heal the diseases of our Church at our pleasure; that her wounds to this day should be multiplied and all but kept open to drop out her best blood, alone through

^a "Already above five hundred sessions."

^b "Pryme's Fresh Discovery." P. 17.

^c P. 90, 91.

the obstinacy of our Brethren; though we compress our indignation yet we cannot but be oppressed with a great measure of grief: nor can we choose but to be covered with confusion and shame when we are forced to taste the most bitter fruits of our Brethren's principles; though denied by their words, yet ingenuously avowed by their friends in Amsterdam, and constantly practised in New England:^a to the uttermost of their power, they must oppose the building of a church anywhere in the world, if it be not after their pattern! . . . It is plain and demonstrable, that their principles and way have forced them to oppose the Reformation in hand, and will ever force them so to do till they lay new grounds. . . . However the actions of our Brethren did proclaim loud enough their intentions to delay, so long as they were able, the setting up of any government; yet when this evil is become so gross and palpable that all in words do disclaim it, and they who most do procure it do most in show abominate it, it seems a little strange that some of their Divines are now begun in print expressly to own it, and in print to persuade the delay of this work.^b . . .

“ Beside the marring of the begun Reformation, they have occasioned the perishing of some millions of poor souls by the unheard-of multiplication of heresies and schisms. I believe no place in the world, for this mischief, is now parallel to London. Amsterdam long ago is justified; that city hath transmitted hither the infamy of her various sects. Now upon whom shall this blame be fastened? . . . We have heard that many of the Independents here, so soon as they have fallen into Anabaptism or other errors of the time, have quickly of their own accord run away and separated from the Independent congregations as polluted, as false, as no churches; but that ever any of the London Independents did cast out of their churches any man or woman for Anabaptism, Antinomianism, or any other error, we never heard [!] By the contrary, Independency here is become a uniting principle. It hath kept our Brethren,—in the midst of all their bitter jars with the Reformed churches abroad, and the Presbyterians at home,—in a great entireness and familiarity with all the sectaries that pleased to draw near them. They have, by their debates and dissents, laboured to hinder the Assembly from giving the least advice to the Parliament to take any order about the most absurd of the sectaries when complained upon for their greatest enormities; yea, they have preached, and printed divers tractates, for a full liberty to all sects! That so soon they should have run thus far out, we could never have believed if our eyes and ears had not been our persuaders.”^c

^a “ If that discipline which we here practise, be the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable; we see not how another can be lawful. So if a company of people shall come hither and set up another, we cannot promise to approve of them in so doing.”—Answer to 32 Questions, p. 83, “published,” Baillie says in his Table of Authors prefixed to this “Dissuasive,”—“by Mr. Peters, 1643.”

^b “Burton's Vindication,” p. 2. See back, vol. ii. p. 386, 387. “Saltmarsh's New Query.”—1646.

^c P. 91-94.—“For the fruits of Congregational discipline in England: . . . if books, and letters, and reports, do not too much abuse us with false intelligence, the great and gracious and glorious victories whereby the Lord hath wrought salvation for England in these late wars, have been as so many testimonies of the

Awhile since and this "tree" of Independency was made to bear "grapes;" now it is made to bear another manner of fruit, thus, "As for the third *apple* we observed on their tree, The endangering of the State; it is no less visible than any of the former. If there were no more but the keeping of the church-wounds so long open, the health, yea the life of the State might justly be feared from this ground alone, by all who know the sympathy of these twins, and the inseparable interest of these two much-united companions. . . What more might be said of the London Independents' practices upon the State readily may come to the world ere long by a much better pen:^a I, for causes, at this time abstain totally from meddling with this subject."^b

What end soever Baillie purposed to effect by his present labours, no person can reasonably withhold from him the merit of assiduity. Who, scarcely, but himself would have undertaken the "enumeration" constituting his sixth chapter, "of the common tenets of the Independents," when he felt compelled, *in limine*, at the threshold, to declare that "It is not easy to set down with assurance the Independents' positions; both because they have to this day declined to declare positively their minds, as also because of their principle of mutability whereby they profess their readiness to change any of their present tenets?"^c In what way this profession was made, and with what limitation, the Apologists had set forth in their "Narration," where also is the justification of the conduct attributed to these other words of Baillie's: "How unwilling they are to declare their mind, may appear by their obstinate silence and refusing to answer any of these books that put them most to it; also by hiding of their opinions from their Brethren, who most earnestly have prest their declaration."^d Such being the case, he professes to proceed with his topics, with their singularities, as they "come to our thoughts."

"It hath hitherto," he commences, "been their earnest desire to decline the infamy of Brownism; and it was the charity of their Brethren to

blessing of God upon our way. For the chiefest instruments which God hath delighted to use herein, have been the faith and fidelity, the courage and constancy, of Independents. And when I say 'Independents,' I mean not those corrupt sects and heresies which shroud themselves under the vast title of 'Independency,' and in the meantime cast off all church-government, and churches too; but such as profess 'the kingdom of Christ' in the government of each holy congregation of saints within themselves. . . The brotherly assistance of the Scottish churches and commonwealth; . . their exemplary piety and zeal, their courage and confidence in rising up and standing out against the invasion of Episcopal tyranny and superstition, did doubtless quicken and encourage England to stand for the like liberty in the like cause; and to put forth that zeal which the Lord hath kindled in the hearts of many for Reformation: and this was more than an assistance, even a guidance! Afterwards the forwardness of the Scottish nation to advance their armies into the English fields for the help of England against the common enemies of Church and State, was an act of brotherly love never to be forgotten without due and thankful acknowledgement and encouragement. But yet, let the good pleasure of the Lord be acknowledged, who, out of His abundant grace, hath granted the chiefest successes to the English designs by the Forces of the Independents; which may not be denied, without too much ingratitude both to God and man." Cotton, p. 103.

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 256, Note.

^b P. 91.

^c See back, vol. ii. p. 221.

^d See back, vol. ii. p. 229.

distinguish them from that sect, under the new name of 'Independents:' importing their chief difference from us to stand not in the point of Separation, which is our proper quarrel with the Brownists, but alone in the point of church-government which, against all the Reformed Churches, they maintain to be Independent; that is, not subject to the authority and jurisdiction of any superior synod. This was thought to be their proper distinctive and characteristic tenet, till of late we find them passionately reject the name 'Independents,' and tell us that the dependency or independency of their Congregations will be found one of their least differences and smallest controversies. In this our long mistake, we are content to be rectified; albeit our charity should not be reproved who, being ignorant of their willingness to differ from us in any thing higher or deeper than the dependency of congregations upon the authority of superior assemblies, did put upon them no other name than that which implied the difference alone. It seems that this title is not only the most reasonable but the most innocent and inoffensive note of distinction which themselves could have chosen; the term not being invented by any of their ill-willers but by their own chief leaders, who did think that word most proper to notify their tenet of Government:^a and since some name must be given to every eminently differing party, it seems none less irritative could be fallen upon than that which most properly did signify the chief matter in controversy."^b

His next point goes to reinvest his "Brethren" with "the title of Brownists and Separatists;" and the more so "since they are gone beyond the question of independent government, and now do question the *institution* of our churches." His argumentation is not, however, coherent, for he makes it appear that the substitution of the title as above would amount to a misnomer. "The grounds of the Brownists' separation," he remarks, "were a great deal more reasonable; . . . for the Brownists did build their separation on the tyranny of bishops; . . . on the superstition of the ceremonies and service-book; on the gross, avowed and neglected profaneness of the most in every congregation: . . . but the Independents have no such stumbling-blocks in their way; bishops and [service] books being abolished, and a bar set up in every congregation to keep off from the sacrament every scandalous and ignorant person; notwithstanding, they will yet separate!" Omitting altogether to enumerate the true grounds of difference, arising out of the assumptions and overt-acts of his party now claiming to be the Church, he brings upon the devoted heads of these uncompromising opponents of all ecclesiastical tyranny this logical conclusion, self-evident in terms, that "it is a greater sin to depart from a church which I profess to be true and whose ministry I acknowledge to be saving, than from a church which I conceive to be false and whose ministry I take to have no calling from God nor any blessing from his hand." Yea, such

^a "In what sense the church of a particular congregation is the first subject of the power of the Keys, in the same sense it is independent and in none other! We taking the first subject and the independent subject to be all one." Cotton on the Keys. Edit. 1644, p. 40. Baillie quotes also from "Ans. to 32 Quest." p. 46; and Burton's "Vindication," p. 42.

^b P. 102.

determined schismatics he makes them, that “when,”—of course, from pure intention!—“it was propounded, that they might take charge in some of the best reformed congregations of England; with a full assurance of a personal dispensation to them for their whole life [!] if they would leave but that one intolerable tenet of Separation; to this day they have disregarded that *kind* and *brotherly Accommodation*: showing expressly that, in this point of separate congregations, they would be tolerated, or nothing else would satisfy their consciences. Beyond this, their *best friends* were not able, by their long and earnest endeavours for divers weeks together, to draw them one hair’s breadth.”^a Instead of commending them for adherence to their principles, and for firmness in resisting seduction by bribery thus proffered, Baillie, with *guileless* simplicity adds, “If this be not a more clear and a more inexcusable Separation than was ever yet laid to the charge of any ‘Brownists,’ I profess my utter mistake of the nature of Schism, and desire to be rectified.”^b

“Leaving the constitution,” as he says, “their chief tenets concern the power, of the congregation;” and he adds presently, “Upon this passage of Power, came in the differences which divided the Brownists among themselves; whilst Johnson would give all these acts of power to the eldership, and Ainsworth would keep them for the congregation: these same questions vex the Independents to this day, and are likely to divide the children as they did the fathers.”^c Dropping the intervening matter here and elsewhere, because much of it is substantially to be found in our preceding pages, we arrive at where Baillie remarks, “However . . . there may be great difference among them in the point of church-power, yet that which is the principal point in this head of Power—the matter of Independency,—in it there is a full and perfect agreement among them all. Whatever power, whether of liberty or authority, be in the congregation, organical or homogeneous, radically or habitually, in the brotherhood or eldership, conjointly or severally, —whatever power it be, or wheresoever it be,—all of them place it in the congregation, without any subjection to any other superior.”^d

“Concerning the Worship of God, and other heads of divinity, whatever crotchets the Brownists’ have fallen into, the Independents punctually do follow the most and worst of them; and if in any they come short, they are sure to exceed in other things more dangerous. First, for the marriage blessing; . . . they send it from the church to the town-house; making its solemnization the duty of the magistrate: this is the constant practice of all in New England. The prime of the Independent ministers now at London, have been married by the magistrate: and all that can be obtained of any of them, is, to be content that a minister in the name of the magistrate and as his commissioner, may solemnize that holy band. Concerning divorces; some of them go far beyond any of the Brownists: not to speak of Mr. Milton, . . . for I do not know certainly whether this man professeth Independency: albeit all the heretics here whereof ever I heard, avow themselves Independents! . . . Concerning the circumstances of the Worship of God; they will have

^a “Paper of Accommodation; after the ninth Proposition.”

^b P. 103—105.

^c P. 103—105.

^d P. 111.

nothing determined : but all which Scripture hath not determined, to be left so free that all *Directories* are much against their stomachs. How much they did cross that gracious and excellent work of the ‘Directory for the Three Kingdoms!’ And when it was begun, how long did they retard it; and after it was brought to an end . . . how earnest they were, by sleight of hand to have put in its Preface such phrases as might have altogether made frustrate the use of it, is well known to many.”^a

“In the abolishing of the monuments of idolatry, they agree so far with the Brownists that they will not name the days of the week, the months of the year, the places of meeting, after the ordinary manner; yet they make no scruple to use the Churches builded in the time of Popery; nor of bells, though invented by a Pope and baptized with all the popish superstitions. How this doth stand with their principles, I do not well know; especially with their practice about another circumstance, the church-maintenance. For, the ancient way of maintenance by tithes, or lands, or set stipends, they do refuse, and require here the reduction of [to] the Apostolic practice. They count it necessary, that all the church-officers should live upon the charge of the congregation; the ruling elders and deacons as well as the pastors and doctors: but all they will have them to receive, is a mere alms, a voluntary contribution, laid down as an offering at the Deacon’s feet every Lord’s-day, and by him distributed to all the officers and the poor of the congregation, according as they have need.”^b

“In the ordering of the parts of their Worship . . . they take it for an Apostolic injunction^c to begin first of all with a large solemn prayer for the King and the Church. . . After the prayer, the Doctor proceeds to read and expound; . . . the Independents at London grant that reading, by itself without exposition, is a Divine ordinance; however, in their practice, they conjoin both. [In preaching, they will be free to take a text, or not; as they find it expedient.]^d About prophesying, after sermon, they are at a full agreement; permitting to any private man of the flock, or to any stranger whom they take to be gifted, publicly to expound and apply the Scripture, to pray, and to bless the people. They permit two or three of these, after the end of the sermon, to exercise their gifts.”^e

“For the manner of their celebration [of the Lord’s Supper], they who have seen it profess it to be in a very dead and comfortless way: it is not, as in New England, once in the month, but as at Amsterdam, once every Lord’s-day; which makes the action much less solemn than in any other of the Reformed Churches, and in this too much like the daily Masses of the Church of Rome. . . But their main difference from all the Reformed, and greatest consonancy with the Brownists, is in this, That as they teach all outward signs of worship, in the time of celebration, to be idolatry, and hereupon declare the necessity of all men, who will follow the example of the first communicants, to keep on their hats at the time of this holy action; so likewise, the Inde-

^a P. 115, 116.

^b P. 116—117.

^c 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

^d Margin.

^e P. 118.—“The elders calling to them, . . . ‘If they have any word of exhortation to the people, to say on.’ Cotton’s Cat. p. 6.

pendents *begin to teach* their disciples. For however at Amsterdam, this day, the named doctrine be not fully practised; the men, there covering their heads in the time of the celebration, but every one uncovering during the time of their own personal participation of the elements; yet we are now taught, at London, that covering is most requisite at the time of participation: that, this act is a rite, significant to the communicants, of their table-honour and fellowship with Christ: also, that the minister, in all his celebration, must be uncovered; and that in sign of his service to the communicants, as the Lord's much-honoured children sitting covered when they eat of their Father's meat."^a The only authority Baillie furnishes for this "named doctrine," is "I have heard some of their chief men discourse publicly enough *to this purpose.*"

"The public meetings of the Brownists are so long and tedious that we do not hear of their stomach for any private; but the Independents are yet for private meetings. . . For the present, where they are ingathering of their congregations, these meetings in private houses, of all who will, are a very pregnant means to steal away men and women from their own [Presbyterian] pastors: But if once their gathering of churches were at an end, and their greatest care were for the keeping and edifying of what they had gotten, it is like then they would be as cautious as now all other churches are, even the Brownists and these of New England, of such meetings; which, except well moderated and limited, under fair pretences are exceeding fit to make new divisions; and even to frame new societies of some, as it were more select and eminent Christians out of the common congregation."^b

"Concerning the Magistrate, the tenets of the Independents would [should] be well considered, because of their open proclamation of their loyalty; beyond and above all which the principles of any Reformed Church will permit them.^c Had they magnified never so much their own virtues without the express disparagement of others; had they put in the balance with themselves an equal or a double number of the greatest men in any of the Reformed Churches who yet would be very ponderous when they lie in the scales against five particular men, the authors of that comparison; had they preferred themselves before all the Reformed Churches in a casual and contingent action, not in a main duty, which their very principles are alleged to diminish; had they whispered all this in the ears of their friends, and not made a proclamation of it to both Houses of Parliament, and that in print to be trumpeted out in the ears of all the world; it might have been passed over with the less either observation or offence: but since in so public a manner, they have required the Magistrate to believe their great deferences to him, and the smaller respect he can expect from any out of their way; it seemeth very necessary to produce—not these particular respects which the Reformed Churches profess, according to their 'principles,' to give unto the Magistrate, and continually have given according to their professions, for these are well known to the world long

^a P. 121, 122.

^b P. 123.

^c See back, vol. ii. p. 226: "We give as much, and, as we think, more than the principles of the *Presbyterial* Government will suffer them to yield."

before any of our new Censors were in being ! but—what these singular duties may be which the Independents above all other men ! by their ‘ principles ’ are forced to perform to Magistrates. While they may be at leisure to publish them to the world, I will here present unto them the materials of some few short observations for that purpose !

“First. That divers of their party, and those of very eminent note, though miscarrying in other things, yet keeping fast to the way of Independency ; have denied to the Magistrate all power over any of the godly. And others of them, with the grossest Anabaptists, have denied the lawfulness of any Magistrate at all.” Here should have ended Baillie’s retort, if he had believed and shown that the “ Independents ” maintained such doctrines. But like all who endeavour to prove too much, he defeated himself, as we find under his “ Fourth ” Observation, where he writes, “ But the Magistrates they admit of, who are of their mind, they debase their power so low as to suspend it all on the will and pleasure of the promiscuous multitude ; not only to limit the sovereignty of princes within the bounds of their just laws, and to confine them unto the counsel of their Parliaments, but to bring both them and Parliaments and all magistrates to their first original and makers ; to the free will of those whom they use to style—The profane multitude.”^a For this, we are content to rest upon his own authorities, and produce them accordingly. It is true, they are falsely charged, for the “ Model ” quoted was not composed by Cotton, though he applauds those who did compose it ;^b but thus Baillie represents the testimony in support of his allegation in the text above : “ ‘ Bloody Tenet,’ p. 135, Williams sets down these words of Cotton’s Model, ‘ The proper means whereby the Civil Power may and should attain its end are only political ; and, principally, these five : first, The erecting and establishing what form of Civil Government may seem, in wisdom, most meet, according to the general rules of the Word and state of the People.’ Upon these words Williams comments thus, ‘ From this grant, I infer that the sovereign original and foundation of Civil Power lies in the People ; whom they must needs mean by ‘ the Civil Power ’ distinct from the Government set up : and if so, that a People may erect and establish what form of Government seems to them most meet for their Civil condition, it is evident that such Governments as are by them erected and established have no more power, nor for no longer time, than the Civil Power, or People, consenting or agreeing shall betrust them with. This is clear, not only in reason but in the experience of all Commonwealths, where the People are not deprived of their natural freedom by the Power of Tyrants. How right this commentary is, Mr. Cotton’s [alleged] own words will declare, set down p. 140 : ‘ In a free State no Magistrate hath power over the bodies, goods, lands, liberties, of a free People, but by their free consent : and because free men are not free lords of their own estates, but are only stewards under God ; therefore they may not give their free consents to any Magistrate to dispose upon their bodies, lands, liberties, at large as themselves please, but as God, the Sovereign

^a P. 124—126.

^b “ The Bloody Tenet Washed, &c. By J. Cotton. 1647 ; ” p. 192, 195.

Lord of all, pleases: and because the Word is a perfect rule as well of righteousness as holiness, it will be therefore necessary that neither the People give consent, nor that the Magistrate take power, but according to the laws of the Word!" Thus do enemies unwittingly bless whom they design to curse. This very doctrine came to be, after all the contentions and convulsions of those and later times, up to the abdication of the last of the then existing dynasty, the acknowledged fundamental principle of the British Constitution: and for their bold and uncompromising stand upon this base, upon which is settled the forms of our Civil and Religious Freedom, where is expressed the National gratitude; where do we see the unrivalled Pillar, bearing the record, and transmitting to unborn generations, "honour to whom honour"^a is due? It is of no moment, comparatively, in such a result, that in the carrying out of this magnificent conception, borrowed or ingenerated though it were or were not, from the treasure-store of an enemy,^b the course was stained with evidences of unhallowed zeal, since it will ever be found that human efforts are attended with imperfection, and that, according to the adage, "the best of men are but men at the best."

Under his sixth observation is this, "Do the Independents' 'principles' give to the Magistrate any ecclesiastic power at all? Will they submit to his civil power in any ecclesiastic affairs? Will they be hindered, by the Magistrate's sentence, unless it be executed with violence, to erect congregations within his dominions at their own pleasure? Will their 'principles' permit them, upon the command of King and Parliament, to refuse to take into their congregations the members of other parish churches without a dismissal; or to take and admit, upon the Magistrate's command, within their number, any whom they account unfit for membership; or to recall, for the Magistrate's pleasure, any of their church-censures? Have they not, very lately, declared to the Parliament that they esteem all matters of Religion free, and exempt from their sword and power? That all matters, both of worship and doctrine; that all things of the mind, as they speak, or matters of opinion; and all matters of outward form, wherein uniformity is required according to our Covenant; are so far to be ruled by every man's own conscience—his own light and reason—that the Parliament is not, in any such matter, to interpose their power! Whether this be the true sense of their openly avowed and repeated Letters to the Parliament itself, let every intelligent man consider who reads the words:^c Lieutenant General Cromwell's Letters to the Parliament, from Bristol;^d as 'For being united in forms, commonly called Uniform-

^a Rem. xiii. 7.

^b "I cannot choose but commend highly their wisdom, by whom the foundations of the Commonwealth have been laid; wherein, though no manner of person or cause be unsubject unto the King's Power, yet so is the Power of the King over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the Law itself is a Rule." R. Hooker. Eccles. Pol. bk. viii. sect. 3. "As for Supreme Power in Ecclesiastical affairs, the Word of God doth nowhere appoint that all Kings should have it, neither that any should not have it; for which cause it seemeth to stand altogether by Human Right, that unto Christian Kings there is such Dominion given." *Ibid.* sect. 2.

^c P. 126.

^d Sep. 14, 1645: Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 88.

ity, every Christian, for peace sake, should study and do as far as conscience would [will] permit; and from Brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason: in other things, God has put the sword into the Parliament's hands for the terror of the evil doer, and the praise of them that do well;^a if any plead exemption from it, he knows not the Gospel."^b

It would require more space than can be afforded were we to undertake to disabuse the reader of Baillie's "Dissuasive," of the complexity of his matter throughout his several chapters. The seventh chapter has for its theorem, that "It is unjust scrupulosity, to require satisfaction of the true grace of every church-member." On the proposition, "Whether the members of every Particular Church be obliged, at their first admission, to show the whole congregation convincing signs of their regeneration and true grace?" he writes, "The Independents would gladly dissemble their mind therein. To this day, they have declined all solemn debate upon it. They speak as if they were either fully or very near accorded with us; professing their utter dislike of the Brownists' unreasonableness herein; but I profess this hath always seemed to me their *capital* and *fundamental* difference, the only cause of their separation from us; and wherein, if we could either agree or accommodate, there would be a fair possibility of accord in all things else; at least so far as to be united in one and the same Church. But this difference is the great partition wall which, so long as it stands, will force them to continue their intolerable practice of separating from all the Reformed Churches in the world, and that for fewer and more unjust causes than any who ever did carry the name of 'Separatist' to this day did pretend. This seems to be the reason why both Apollonij and Spauheim, very excellent divines, have begun their dispute with this question."^c Have we travelled thus far over Baillie's array of "Errors," and come to this apparently "fair possibility of accord?" Is not our allegation of his "design," now "evident,"^d and is not all his display of research with virulent comment, but the accumulation of splenetic revenge for party schemes having been marred, and the grand projected end in danger of being for ever frustrated? It is not to be wondered at that the insisting upon the requiring, or endeavouring to obtain "satisfaction" from and concerning every candidate for membership is the one thing which, at least on this side the millennium, renders it impracticable, yea impossible, that all the subjects of one Temporal Government can ever be made to constitute also one New Testament Church. And yet such "satisfaction" is of the very essence of Scriptural Communion; that is, such Communion as consists in more than observing forms and ceremonies, and consorting with such as have "a form of godliness," but deny "the power" of it; for "from such" not only was Timothy enjoined to "turn away,"^e but after him, assuredly, would follow all whom he should have rightly instructed and built up on their "most holy faith."^f Here, therefore, is grounded that separation from a nominal or titular "Church," which is other than a voluntary consociation of such as "have tasted that the Lord is gracious."^g We shall not pursue our author in his mode of argumenta-

^a 1 Pet. ii. 14.^b P. 151.^c P. 155.^d See back, p. 138.^e 2 Tim. iii. 5.^f Jude, 20.^g 1 Pet. ii. 3.

tion, through nineteen or twenty pages, to the direct contrary of our own judgment: we notice only that he says, in Cotton's "Way of Congregational Churches, the best of the Brownists' arguments are brought, in the greatest lustre and strength; . . . as also, what there is brought by Mr. Cotton is acknowledged by our Brethren as their judgment."^a

He treats in his eighth chapter "Concerning the Right of Prophecy," or "the dogmatic power, so to call it, of their church-members." He affirms that the Independents teach "That the power of prophecy, or public preaching, both within and without the congregation, belongeth to every man in their church who hath ability to speak in public to edification." And the "Brownists," he reminds us, "give liberty to any of their members whom their church thinks able to preach."^b That this power and this liberty are alike unauthorised, Baillie laboured to prove by a catenation of eight or more syllogisms; but whose assumptions and conclusions we judge need, for their allowance, a more severe process in the art-dialectic than he has laid down. "The opposite arguments," he allows, "are many;" and he adds,^c "Robinson, while yet he was, as I suppose, in the height of his separation, did fill a whole book with them."^d The reader has the means of judging whether or not those arguments are worthily denounced as "Robinson's stuff!"^e However, he chose to make no reference to the doctrine and practice of his own Church, north of the Tweed, in whose "First Book of Discipline" is an entire chapter on the subject of "Prophecy," where we read, "This exercise is a thing most necessary for the Kirk of God this day in Scotland: for thereby, as is said, shall the church have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their body. The simple, and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study, and proceed in knowledge. The Kirk shall be edified: for this exercise must be patent [open] to such as choose to hear and learn; and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge, to the comfort and consolation of the Kirk."^f Hence do all Baillie's arguments against this "right," go directly to the condemning of Knox, and his wise and learned coadjutors. "Moses' wish," Num. xi. 29, he tells us, "was not that 'all the people' should prophesy; but that 'all' might have the office of prophets, and the spirit of God to enable them for prophesying."^g Is not here, a distinction without a difference? Such is Baillie's logic! Let us see whether he succeed better hereafter.

The ninth chapter is headed, "Whether the Power of Ecclesiastic Jurisdiction belongs to the People or to the Presbytery?" This "Jurisdiction," he defines, "The Admission of Members into a church; their casting out again by Excommunication; their Reconciliation after repentance: the Ordination of officers; their Deposition from their charge: the Determining of Questions; the Deciding of controversies; and such other acts of ecclesiastic authority."^h In the working out of this inquiry fifteen pages are occupied, in which he may be expected to have bestowed his best energies, the subject being the main

^a P. 163. ^b P. 174. ^c P. 178. ^d See back, vol. i. p. 352. ^e P. 179.
^f Knox's Hist. Reformation, 1584, 1586. 4to. p. 525. ^g P. 180. ^h P. 181.

source and end of the strife for sacerdotal supremacy. "Till of late," he says, "the state of the question, here, was very clear and plain;" but "of late" it is so "subtilized, and involved with a multitude of new distinctions," that "it is very hard to apprehend, with any certainty and clearness, their meaning; and more hard to reconcile any one with himself, much less [more] one with another." Referring to the Apologists, he remarks, "They profess a mid-way of government, well-balanced with a prudent mixture of the officers' power with the people's; giving a part to both, and all to neither. They bring a multitude of distinctions, rather to eschew the dint of our former arguments in the darkness of these thickets, than to give any light to this very great question."^a

"They insist most on two distinctions, whereby they think to answer all we bring against them. First; They distinguish betwixt a church organized, or presbyterated, as they speak, and a church inorganized and unpresbyterated. . . They would seem to plead . . . for the power only of an organized and presbyterated church. . . If they would stand to this, in earnest and firmly, we should be glad! For so they should openly desert . . . and enervate the best of these very arguments they still adhere unto. . . Their other new distinction, wherein openly they applaud so much one another, as it were contending who should have the glory of its invention, is of a double power; one of authority, and another of liberty: . . . so that the interest of the officers, in every act, is a power of authority, which makes that their action only is valid and binding; but the interest of the people, is a power of liberty to concur in these acts of jurisdiction, by an obediential yet a necessary and authoritative concurrence."^b He explains, after certain "majors" and "minors," that the sum of their assertion is, "that the power of jurisdiction belongs to the people not severally but jointly with their officers;"^c and he affixed hereunto his own dogma, "So that neither they can excommunicate their officers, nor their officers can excommunicate them!" But nevertheless, so ardent is Baillie in confutation, that he most successfully confutes himself: for example, he tells us,—almost immediately,—

"In cases which may be very frequent, the Keys of Christ must be laid aside, and a new Key of the Independents' own invention,—their sentence of 'non-communication,' or that much beloved and a little older Key of 'Separation' forged by the Brownists,—must come in the place thereof; to be used against any or all other churches; against their own church, or its eldership, or its brotherhood, or any member of either!"^d And as though he had not yet effectually subverted his argument, he presently sets before us an illustration of the practicability of what he had been employing much plausible sophistry to prove impracticable: "That they do conjoin with the people the officers, to expound the law and declare what is right, and to give out the sentence, makes nothing against the people's supremacy; for in Rome and Athens at their most democratic times, and this day in the States of Holland—in all the provinces and every city—where the people are undoubted sovereigns, they have their magistrates and officers in all their proceed-

^a P. 181.^b P. 181, 182.^c P. 185.^d *Ibid.*

ings to go before them to declare the case, to take the suffrages, and to pronounce the sentence.”^a Nor was that enough: “Thus they reason, The whole congregation of Israel had power to punish malefactors, as in the case of Gibeah,^b and in the message of Israel to the two tribes and a half;^c also the people had power to rescue from the hands of the magistrates, as in the case of Jonathan and Saul.^d—The consequence is null; for the practice of the Israelites in their civil state, is no sufficient rule for the proceedings of the church of the New Testament. Our Brethren, “he advises,” would [should] beware of such arguments lest, by them, they entertain the jealousy which some profess they have of their way, fearing it be builded upon such principles as will set up the common people not only above their officers in the church, but also above their magistrates in the state; that it draw in a popular government and [or] ochlocracy both in church and state alike.”^e In this way does man, through the fear of his fellow man, strive to set aside the will and rule of Christ and his apostles. The analogy between the cases of the Israelites and the power of the people, or church-members collectively, is merely illustrative of the capabilities of collective bodies for judgment and execution; for which purpose “the consequence” is not “null;” and neither did the “Brethren” need to be cautioned on a point they could with ease turn against their pragmatic Brother who would not be convinced that Christ’s rule is but in accordance with the practice of God’s own “people of Israel” though “in their civil state.”

The title of the tenth chapter is as bold as it is unqualified: “Independency is Contrary to the Word of God!” He opens with deducing the dependency of Churches from the like necessities which he represents “the Divine Wisdom found it *expedient* “to provide for when, in creating a “help-meet” for “man,”^f God instituted the social relation and state. Having laid down sincerely and in the name of the Lord, a platform according to the Presbyterian model, from the first “engagement in fellowship” to “an œcumenic assembly,” he takes upon himself to say, “*this* congregative way is Divine; the dissolution . . . of ecclesiastic assemblies must be from another Spirit.” He gives next, a loose incoherent statement of the venting, in the French churches, of “the independency of congregations from synods,” by John Moreau, a Parisian; and that is followed by a paragraph opposite which, in the margin, are these words, “Laying aside all prejudice, we will reason the matter.” Now mark the paragraph itself! “However the novelty of the tenet, the infamy of its authors, the evil success it hath had wherever yet it hath set up the head, doth burden it with so just contempt that all further audience might be denied thereto; yet in this impudent and malapert age, where the greatest absurdities will importunately *ingyre* [thrust in] themselves, and require belief, as unanswerable and most convincing truths, unless in a full hearing their naughtiness be demonstrate, we are content, without all prejudices, to reason the matter itself from the ground, and to require no man to hate this error for its authors—or any external consideration—unless it be

^a P. 188.^b Jud. xx. 7.^c Josh. xxii.^d 1 Sam. xiv. 45.^e P. 194.^f Gen. ii. 18.

clearly shown to be contrary to the revealed will of God."^a Now, we affirm that we are here as far off as can be from a clear sight of such contrariety. He has little more than ploughed the old ground and cast up fresh ridges over the space of twenty-four or twenty-five pages, till we arrive at this notable turn, "For themselves profess their care to oversee, and admonish, and rebuke, and to use many other gracious actions as they have occasion, towards neighbouring churches, without any blame of busy Bishops. There is almost no difference at all of [concerning] their acts and ours towards neighbouring churches, so far as concerns the matter; the only question is concerning the fountains and grounds of these acts; they ascribing their actions only to charity, we not to charity alone but to authority grounded upon the former reasons."^b Baillie having expended his own stores of argumentation shuts up this chapter with remarking, "Who please to see much more upon this question, let them consult with Mr. Rutherford, his 'Peaceable Plea;' with Apollonij, and Spanheim; with the author of 'Vindiciæ Clavium;' especially with the Divines of the Assembly, their Answer to 'The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren.' Of purpose I have abstained from making use of any of these writings at this time, waiting for the Independents' last reply for their Reasons, and the Model of their Positive doctrine which they have made the world to wait for too, too, long a time."^c

Baillie's eleventh and last chapter is devoted to a subject which he connects with the tenets of some among the Independents, and upon which he decides with as much assurance but with more appearance of success than he exhibited in the chapter preceding: "The Thousand Years of Christ's Visible Reign upon Earth, is against Scripture." After the experience of two centuries since this judgment was written, it has been remarked, and its justness is capable of confirmation, that the Independents, as a body, have taken up, or been carried away with fewer doctrinal conceits and extravagances than any other denomination of Christians of equal antiquity.^d As one or two of the most reputable of that body seem, however, to have fully maintained their belief in the millenary scheme, it accords with the scope of our design just to notice Baillie's treatment of them. "Among all the sparkles of new light wherewith our Brethren do entertain their own and the people's fancy, there is none more pleasant than that of "the thousand years:" a conceit of the most ancient and gross heretic, Cerinthus; a little purged by Papias, and by him transmitted to some of the Greek and Latin Fathers, but quickly declared both by the Greek and Latin Churches to be a great error, if not a heresy: since the days of Augustin^e until our time, it went under no other notion; and was embraced by no Christian we hear of till some of the Anabaptists did draw it out of its grave. For a long time after its resurrection it was, by all Protestants, contemned: only Alstedius, after his long abode in Transylvania began, in his last times, to fall into liking with some parts thereof; pretending some passages of Piscator for his encourage-

^a P. 196, 197.

^b P. 222.

^c P. 223.

^d This remark was made, substantially, by Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, in a conversation upon the doctrines promulgated by the late Rev. Edward Irving, A.M., formerly of the Scottish National Church.

^e De Civitate Dei. Lib. xx.

ment. Alstedius' heterodox writings were not long abroad when Mr. Meade,^a at Cambridge, was gained to follow him. Yet both these divines were far from dreaming of any personal reign of Christ upon earth. Only Mr. Archer and his colleague T. G. at Arnheim were bold to set up the whole fabric of Chiliasm; which Mr. Burroughes, in his London Lectures upon Hosea, doth press as a necessary and most comfortable ground of Christian religion to be infused into the breasts of all children by the care of every parent at the catechising of their family.

“Our Brethren's mind in this point, as I conceive, they have printed, is this; That in the year 1650, or at the furthest 1695, Christ in his human nature and present glory, is to come from heaven unto Jerusalem where he was crucified: at that time, the heaven and earth, and all the works therein, are to be burnt and purged by that 'fire' of conflagration mentioned by Peter, 2. iii. 7. At the same time all the martyrs and many of the saints both of the Old and New Testament, are to rise in their bodies; the Jews from all the places where now they are scattered, shall return to Canaan and build Jerusalem. In that city, Christ is to reign for a full thousand years: from thence, he is to go out, in person, to subdue with great bloodshed, by his own hand, all the disobedient nations. When all are conquered, except some few lurking in corners, then the Church of Jews and Gentiles shall live without any disturbance from an enemy, either without or within. All Christians then shall live without sin; without the Word and sacraments or any ordinance; they shall pass this thousand years in great worldly delights, begetting many children, eating and drinking, and enjoying all the lawful pleasures which all the creatures then redeemed from their ancient slavery can afford. In this earthly happiness, shall the Church continue till the end of the thousand years; when the relics of the Turkish and heathenish nations shall besiege the New Jerusalem, and Christ, with fire from heaven, shall destroy them. Afterwards followeth the second resurrection of all the dead, good and bad, for the last judgment.—Thus far, the Independents preach and print. Further Cerinthus himself went not, if you will except the polygamy and sacrifices of the old Israelites. What truth may be in these things, let the arguments which are usually brought, either pro or contra, declare.”^b At this point, Baillie begins a dissertation in opposition to the doctrine generally; and we judge him to have succeeded in his reasoning, which runs in this order, “That Christ from his ascension to the last judgement, abides in heaven:—sitting at the right hand of God:—The godly and the ungodly do all rise together, at the last day:—Christ's kingdom is spiritual, not earthly:—The nature of the Church; which ever, on earth, is mixed of good and evil; and subject to crosses: having need of ordinances; because of her sinful infirmities:—The secrecy of the time of Christ's coming:—The heavenly and eternal reward of the martyrs:—The restoration of an earthly Jerusalem brings back the abolished figures of the Law:—Antichrist is not

^a Joseph Mede, B.D.; Fuller says, he was the first who broached the opinions of the Fifth Monarchy men.—Worthies, Pt. i. p. 335. Mede died in 1638.

^b P. 224, 225.

abolished, till the day of judgment." The positions are followed by a series of alleged reasons from the "Chiliasts," more particularly founded on the texts they mainly insist upon; and all are severally answered, in eighteen pages, when we find him saying, "Thus far had I proceeded when, by my Superiors, I was called away from these studies to another employment."^a

CHAP. LXVIII.

EDWARDS'S "GANGRÆNA."—MILTON.—SALTMARSH.—"CRETENSIS."

THE progress of events brings still under observation what cannot be better introduced here than in the words of a writer in connexion with a Christian sect embracing disciplinary and doctrinal sentiments at variance from those advocated generally by minds and pens the produce of whose labours it is our direct and special business to record and display. That disciple of a master in whose name are associated religious practices and opinions in combination not so much as dreamed of in those days, so prolific of endless varieties of religious distinctions, but when no Wesley lived to be included in the "Catalogue of Errors" practised by the "Sectaries of the time,"—that disciple, we remark, had made himself thoroughly acquainted with what emanated from one whom he correctly describes as "rather a personification of bigotry than a human being," and the combined treatises as constituting "one of the most scandalous publications that ever disgraced the Christian Church."

"His avowed design was to cover with odium all classes of Christians who differed from the Calvinistic Prebyterians, and to stimulate the Civil Power to suppress them. In the prosecution of his purpose he not only furnished long catalogues of what he calls 'errors and heresies,' but ransacked the whole kingdom for scandal, and published a vast number of idle tales respecting individuals. While he was violating every principle of justice and charity, and bellowing against religious Toleration with all the fierceness of a Dominic, he was encouraged by his Presbyterian brethren in almost every part of the land, and weakly imagined that he was doing God service. . . The whole work forms a thick quarto volume: the most singular farrago of intolerance and defamation that ever issued from the British press."^b The First Part of the work thus characterized is intituled, "Gangræna: Or, A

^a P. *ult.*—"This millenium doctrine, though it be new modelled, is not yet thrown aside," writes Dr. Watson, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, in a judicious account of it, Letter ii. of his "Apology for Christianity," addressed to Gibbon. Edit. 2d. 1777. 4to. p. 26. For Baillie's Second "Dissuasive," see our 70th Chap.

^b Thomas Jackson, in his "Life of John Goodwin, A. M. 1822." 8vo. p. 91, 92, 94.—Dr. Kippis, himself a Presbyterian and editor of the second edition of the "Biographia Britannica," states in vol. v. p. 543, that Edwards "not only had all the narrow principles of the most bigoted Presbyterians of that age, but superinduced upon them an additional malignity, arising from the violence of his own temper. . . His bitterness against the doctrine of Toleration rose almost to madness."

Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time, vented and acted in England in these four last years. Also, a particular Narration of divers Stories, Remarkable Passages, Letters; an Extract of many Letters, all concerning the present Sects; together with some Observations upon and Corollaries from all the forenamed Premises. By Thomas Edwards, Minister of the Gospel.—The Third Edition, corrected, and much enlarged. Lond. 1646." 4to. pp. 66 and 116.

Some idea of the excitement occasioned by its publication may be formed from the fact, that this First Part of *Gangræna*^a was "in the Press the third time within less than two months."^b On the back of the title is placed James Cranford's Licence, in these words, "Reader, That thou mayest discern the mischief of Ecclesiastical anarchy, the monstrousness of the much affected Toleration, and be warned to be wise to sobriety, and fear and suspect the pretended New Lights, I approve that this treatise, discovering the Gangrene of so many strange opinions, should be inprinted." It is dedicated to the Parliament, whom the author tells that his "black bill" consists of what have been "broached and acted within these four last years, in England," and that he trembles "lest the whole kingdom should be in God's black bill!" In a doleful, premonitory, rhapsodical strain, exalting himself while flattering and at the same time impugning the Parliament, he reminds them, "things have been bad a great while, but this last year they are grown intolerable; and if schism, heresy, etc., be let alone, and rise proportionably for one year longer, we shall need no Cavaliers nor enemies from without to destroy us. . . The Malignants^c everywhere turn Sectaries and Independents, siding with them, and pleading their cause; and they do wisely, there being no such way as that to save their purses, live quietly, and to undermine you and effect the enemies' work."^d

After twelve pages of such vapouring as the above, comes the Preface, opening with disappointment at the "*Antapologia*" not having been replied to when almost eighteen months had already expired; "and now, being without all hopes of any" reply, from the Apologists, who had given out "that for peace' sake they forbear it," Edwards's burning zeal could "wait no longer," he resolved to "find them more work."^e Accordingly with great swelling words of vanity, he thus prepares for conflict, "That God which delivered Paul from beasts at Ephesus, and from the messenger of Satan, that encouraged and enabled little David to fight with a bear and a lion, and to pull a lamb out of the lion's mouth, yea to kill both the lion and the bear hath, doth, and will preserve me till I have finished my testimony:"^f and he expresses his "earnest desire" that his "service and labours, in this kind, may be accepted of the Saints."^g Yet he could not hide his

^a See margin of 2 Tim. ii. 17.

^b *Gang.* Part. II. p. 38.

^c In 1646, the date of "*Gangræna*," appeared "*The Malignants' Inquest; Or, a Jury of Cavaliers at Oxford impeaching, condemning, and hanging one another.*"—Lond." 4to.

^d P. viii. xi.

^e P. ii.

^f That he died prematurely, will be seen, and without living to complete his design or "testimony."

^g P. iii.

“fear that too many Brethren, partly through their relations to many Sectaries, and through their lukewarm temper,—in reference to errors of mind,—that hath long possessed them, who think every one too hot that appears against the Sects, will not so cordially approve this work. I can truly say, that, in my former books and lectures, I have been too much deserted, and not received those encouragements which many have done from Brethren upon like occasions.”^a It had been well had he learned wisdom under this implied reproof; but “a reproof entereth more into a *wise* man than a hundred stripes into a fool.”^b

In his “Observations” upon his “Catalogue,” where there is a load of repetition, yet little or nothing established, Edwards found there were obstructions or “stumbling blocks” on the side of his own party, which cost him no little pains to obviate; thus among the “objections” to his book, one is that it “may offend many good persons that are not Sectaries, especially that Independents should be put into this Catalogue, and ranked with all sorts of Sectaries and Schismatics.”^c On this, he remarks, afterward, “as I have written before,^d so I say again, I put a great difference between Independency, strictly and properly so called, and many other Sectaries, and between those who are turbulent Sectaries.”^e But he says he “may justify the ranking and joining of Independents with other Sectaries,” because “upon all occasions” they “make one common body with them, to hold together against the Orthodox and Presbyterians. I am able to give many instances of many of the Independents, both ministers and people, pleading for the Anabaptists and other Sectaries, that they might be tolerated as well as themselves; and upon all occasions of complaints against several sects, siding with them to bring them off; yea, their joining themselves together in choice of burgesses for Parliament, and in doing other matters against the Presbyterians. . . Some of the best of the Independents were not ashamed to move for a Toleration, not only for themselves, but all other of the Sects that agreed, in fundamentals, against Popery.”^f

He tells us that “the errors, heresies, blasphemies, in this Catalogue particularized, may be referred to sixteen heads or sorts of Sectaries; as, namely, Independents, Brownists, Chiliasts or Millenarians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Manifestarians or Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers and Waiters, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturists, Sceptics and Questionists.”^g

The attention of our readers is more than ordinarily invited to what Edwards asserts in this early part of his undertaking: “The Army that is so much spoken of upon all occasions in the news-books, pulpits, conferences, to be ‘Independent,’—though I conceive, upon good information, that upon a true muster of the whole, commanders and common soldiers, there would not be found above one in six of that way,—yet of that Army, called by the Sectaries, ‘Independent,’ and of that part of it which is truly so, I do not think there are fifty pure Independents.”^h

^a P. vi.^b Prov. xviii. 10.^c P. 10.^d P. 7.^e P. 11.^f P. 12.^g P. 13.^h *Ibid.*

Another of his assertions is also deserving of due notice, as it seems to account for the omitting of a seventeenth from his catalogue of errors, under its appropriate "head," Bigots: "All these sorts of sects, how different soever, yea and contrary to one another in many principles and opinions, yet all agree, in these times, in separating from *our* Church, refusing communion in *our* public assemblies, and in disallowing the authoritative power of Classes and Synods!"^a This was truly a capital "error" in Edwards's creed, and should seem to be therefore entitled to the first place on his list, already extended to a hundred and seventy-six; among which he did not forget, however, to introduce what he considered of equal enormity: "That the Presbytery and Presbyterian Government, are 'the false prophet,' and 'the beast' spoken of in the Revelations: Presbytery is a third part of the city of Rome, yea that 'beast' in Rev. xi. that ascends, and shall kill the 'two witnesses;' namely, the Independents." He goes even so far as to make it a grave charge, elsewhere, that an Independent minister had vented in prayer, "That the Presbytery might be removed, that Christ's kingdom might be set up."^b

And be it observed, that it was a grievance of no small weight, in Edwards's estimation, that "One of the Independent ministers, in his prayers at a lecture, two or three several lectures, prayed to God, that the Parliament might give liberty to tender consciences."^c Another, he says, prayed, "That now God had delivered us both,—namely, the Presbyterian and Independent,—from such bondage and oppression, we might not be guilty of bringing our brethren into bondage, lest the Lord carry us back again into Egypt for it!"^d

Edwards writes, preparatory to relating the "practices" of the Sectaries, "It is not to be expected from me, a plain open-hearted man, . . . that I should discover all their practices and ways:" he expresses "an earnest desire," nevertheless, to "gentlemen of committees in their several counties, or soldiers in the armies, or ministers in the several parts of the kingdom, or other Godly Christians, that they would be pleased, within the three or four months next following, to communicate to me all the certain intelligence they have of the opinions, ways, and proceedings of the Sectaries; and I promise faithfully, that whatever agreement or condition be made by any who imparts any matters to me,—as namely, for concealing their names, or forbearing the relation of such and such particulars, as place, etc., whatever they be,—I will most sacredly observe; and they shall find me both secret and true to them."^e After this exposure of his own practice, what confidence can be placed in any one of his narratives or relations not supported by the fullest testimony? We proceed, notwithstanding, to adduce passages more or less pertinent to the design we are ourselves endeavouring to accomplish.

"The present Malignants and the Sectaries," says Edwards, "agree in the general thus, that, throughout the kingdom it is now notorious that the greatest Malignants and Sectaries hold together, and vote together against the Presbyterians and the Reformation, in all places and

^a P. 14.^b P. 35.^c *Ibid.*^d *Ibid.*^e P. 36.

upon all businesses; of which there are many examples in the choice of Burgesses for Parliament; in the Petition presented in London; at the choice of the new Common Council, the grandest Malignants and the Independents joined together to oppose; and in some committees where men of both these sorts are, it is observed also.”^a He says also “The Malignants now turn Independents, and profess they are for Independency; and for this I could quote several speeches, and name some Malignant ministers, and others of note, who are for Independency against Presbytery. But this is now so commonly known that ‘Britannicus,’ a man who hath done them many good offices, and cried up several of them, confesses, in one of his pamphlets, about a fortnight since, that the Malignants are turned Independents; hardly a Malignant priest about town but is for Independency against Presbytery.”^b

It is evident that it was Edwards’s object to impute sinister practices to the Independents; let us see now how he befriends his beloved brethren. “O the faithfulness,” he exclaims, “dutifulness, patience, long-suffering forbearance of the Presbyterians! Their dutifulness and patience in waiting upon the Parliament; their faithfulness, in not abating in their zeal and respects to them. O their love, kindness, and tenderness to the Independents; yea, to other Sectaries also who have had something of Christ and grace in them!”^c “O had the Sectaries been in the place of the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians in theirs, and they so dealt with by the Presbyterians as the Presbyterians have been by them, I know what they must have expected from them! . . . Would the Sectaries, if they had been two powerful armies^d consisting of commanders and soldiers for their way, under generals after their own heart, have borne those things at the hands of Presbyterians, which Presbyterians have done from them? O no; they would never have endured the hundredth part of those wrongs, discouragements, injuries! Had the Assembly consisted of Independents, excepting a matter of eight or nine Presbyterians, would they have endured that, and put up [with] that from the Presbyterian party, as the Assembly hath done from the Independent? Suffered them to spin out time so long; to speak those things in the Assembly some of them have; and, instead of bringing in, according to order, the whole frame of their judgments concerning Church Government, in a body, with their grounds and reasons, to bring in a ‘Remonstrance,’ casting dirt upon them and their proceedings?”^e

The reader has just been reading of “two powerful Armies;” how comes it that Edwards changes his strain so soon as the turning over of a single leaf, into this other, if all things had been “after their own heart?” The Sectaries “ascribe and attribute all the success of things, all that is done in field, at leaguers,^f all victories, brave actions, to their party, crying them up in pulpits, news-books, conferences; calling them ‘the saviours of the kingdoms;’ and for this purpose they have certain men that are criers and trumpeters between the army, city, and country, who trumpet forth their praises; giving them the title of ‘Terrible,’ etc. A large book would not contain the relation of all the

^a P. 45^b P. 48.^c P. 51,^d “The Sectaries make but a fifth or sixth part of the army.”—Note in the margin, and see back, p. 159.^e P. 52, 53.^f Camp.

victories, glorious actions, exploits, having been given to the army called 'Independent' . . . Using all means and ways for promoting their own party; as they did after the loss^b of Leicester."^c

It does not appear that the objects of Edwards's antipathy affected singularity of manners and dress. Having alluded to "John Goodwin and several of his church," he adds, "they wear strange long hair, go in such fine fashionable apparel, beyond their places, as it is a shame. . . Let but a man turn Sectary nowadays, and within one half year he is so metamorphosed in apparel, hair, etc. as a man hardly knows him."^d

On another point Edwards writes thus: "Mr. Peters hath frequently, in city and country, in many places as at Chelmsford in Essex, and at several churches in London preached, That 'if it were not for Livings of two or three hundred pounds a year, there would be no difference between the Presbyterians and the Independents; wickedly and maliciously insinuating to the people, as if the Presbyterian ministers opposed the way of Independency, and stood for Presbytery because of great Livings, a thing our souls abhor, and could by many demonstrations refute. But I will only say this, that set aside Dr. Burges's four hundred pounds *per annum*, so much sticking in the stomachs of the Independents, it will be found that several of them have greater maintenance, and better outward accommodations of Sequestered-houses, Libraries given them, ^e Preferment for children [and] friends, with other advantages, besides their maintenance in their Private Churches; than any Presbyterians have, that I know of."^f

Having laid down his premises adequately to the purpose, he makes it a "Corollary," that "a Toleration is the grand design of the Devil; his masterpiece, and chief engine he works by, at this time, to uphold his tottering kingdom. It is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil: it is a most transcendent, catholic, and fundamental evil for this kingdom, of any that can be imagined. As original sin is the most fundamental sin, all sin, having the seed and spawn of all in it; so a Toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils. It is against the whole stream and current of Scriptures both in the Old and New Testament; both in matters of faith and manners; both general and particular commands. It overthrows all relations, political, ecclesiastical and economical. And whereas other evils, whether of judgment or practice, be but against some one or few places of Scripture or Revelation,^g this is against all; this is the 'Abaddon, Apollyon,'^h the destroyer of all religion; the 'abomination of desolation'ⁱ and astonishment; the liberty of perdition, as Austin calls it: and therefore the Devil follows it night and day, working mightily in many, by writing books for it, and other ways; all the devils in hell and their instruments being at work to promote a Toleration! There have been more books writ, sermons preached, words spoken, besides plottings and actings, for a Toleration, within these last four years, than for all other things; every day now brings forth books for a Toleration. The Devil for some thousands of years had not found out this engine, nor made use of it to support his kingdom."^k

^a P. 51.

^b May 31. 1645.

^c P. 55.

^d P. 63.

^e "He hath had the Archbishop's Library given him."

^f P. 41. 2nd. divis.

^g "Relation," in Edwards.

^h Rev. ix. 11.

ⁱ Matt. xxiv. 15.

^k P. 58. 2nd. divis.

As though he really believed that the Independents were engaged in an infernal machination, Edwards bursts out, “O the sad and woful effects of Independency! As in all places wherever it hath been set up,—as New England, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Bermudas,—so in England, where, within these four years, it hath produced among persons accounted religious, more damnable heresies, strange opinions, fearful divisions, looseness of life and manners, than ever have been in all the Reformed Churches of the Presbyterial Way above fourscore years. Independency, in England, is the mother, nurse, and patroness of all other errors; they are all her daughters. . . The last National Synod holden in France,^a declares ‘That the sect of Independents opens a gate to all kind of singularities and extravagancies; taking away all means of any remedy to the evil’ . . . A man may, for the most part, without any great solecism, say ‘Independency is all Sectarism; and all Sectarism is Independency!’ ”^b

“And it is to be observed of the Independents here in England, how notwithstanding all kind of false doctrines are broached and rise among the people, yet they seldom or never, especially of late, preach against them or write against them; they will not lose a party, or offend any sort of sect though it be for God and for his Truth. Heretofore, some of the old Independents and Brownists did good service this way in writing against the Anabaptists [and] Arminians; as Ainsworth, Johnson, and especially Mr. Robinson; and so in New England, they were zealous against Familists, Antinomians, etc.: but now, all the Independents in England generally say not a word against them, but side with them, stand up for them. I know not a man of all the Independents, in England, excepting one, that appears either in preaching or any other way, against them; but they with the rest of the Sectaries are ‘folded together as thorns,’^c and are joined close as the scales of Leviathan.^d And of this one example, look upon Master Burton; a man who, in the Bishops’ days, was so zealous against false doctrine, . . . but now, he can be silent enough against his brethren, the Sectaries! . . . We hear no noise of Master Burton, nor any of his brethren: no appealing to the Parliament from any Committees, as from the Bishops to the King; no outcries, no book written of the errors, invocations, blasphemies, of these times; as he did of the times of the Bishops. I am persuaded, if the Bishops and their chaplains had vented but the twentieth part of those damnable heresies, blasphemies, which his brethren, the Sectaries that are against Presbyterial Government, have done; the man, out of his zeal in those times, would have been ready, like Phinehas,^e to have run them through!”^f

Who does not see, from what is before him of Edwards’s lamentations, that the precious liberties of our country were indeed being preserved, by these same abused Independents, from the combined projects and intrigues of the English and Scotch Presbyterians, that they might set up and perpetuate one Ecclesiastical dominion on the ruins of another? “I do here, as a minister of Jesus Christ,” says Edwards, “charge upon the consciences of the Independents, all the confusions and mis-

^a “At Charenton, Dec. 26. 1644.”

^b P. 61.

^c Nah. i. 10

^d Job xli. 15.

^e Num. xxxi, 6, 7.

^f P, 62, 63.

chiefs we lie under ; as having been the great means of hindering and delaying the settling of Church Government ; keeping all things loose, that so they might the better fish in troubled waters ; as having strengthened the hands of the Sectaries by standing for them in all places, and bringing them off [in] danger ; as constantly opposing all ways and means propounded for suppressing of them. . . And therefore though the Independents wipe their mouths, with the harlot in the Proverbs, and say, they ‘have done no wickedness,’^a and with Pilate wash their hands^b of all our errors, blasphemies, etc. yet let them know they have been guilty of the loss of the opportunity of a thorough Reformation which we might have had some years ago, and of all the evils that have come in upon us like a flood since. . . I shall relate the words of a prime Member of the Assembly spoken to me, . . . yea, to some of the chief Independents themselves, as he told me ; ‘That they had been the cause of so much hurt, that unless God were the more merciful, all would be ruined : and, that the kingdom had better have given every one of them a hundred thousand pounds a man than they had returned into it.’^c

“In the year 1641, there came forth a book intituled ‘Look about you,’^d wherein the plot of Contzen, the Jesuit, to cheat a Church of the religion established, and to bring in Popery by art, is laid down : and truly this ‘Catalogue and Discovery’ of the errors and practices of the Sectaries, may fitly be called ‘Look about you !’ And in it, many of the plots and proceedings of the Sectaries to cheat this kingdom of the Presbyterial Government and the Reformed Protestant religion, and to bring in Independency and Sectarism, are discovered.”^e

It appears, from Edward’s own showing, that all his own party did not follow the same line of policy which he was pursuing. “Many persons of quality and note,” he remarks, “both ministers and others, may see what hurt they have done, and what they have to answer for ; who though they profess in their judgment, they are Anti-Independents, against gathering churches, and for the Presbyterial Way, yet join and side with the Sectaries to delay and keep off settling religion ; plead for them on all occasions, further their motions, give them aim in all places, are a means to bring in Independents, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and help to maintain them, saying, ‘They be good honest men !’”^f These dissidents in his own camp, he calls, “State-Divines, who, conversing with some great men, having their countenance and favour, know what will please and what will displease, and thereupon are loath to offend or lose on any side, but keep fair with all.”^g

Having prepared himself for sounding and resounding his loudest and fullest note of admonition, he writes some ten pages forward, “Let us therefore fill all Presses, cause all Pulpits to ring, and so possess Parliament, City, and [the] whole Kingdom, against the Sects, and of the evil of Schism and a Toleration, that we may no more hear of a Toleration, nor of Separated Churches ; being hateful names in the church of God. . . The opposing the Sects of these times, and that great desire of a Toleration of all religions pleaded for so much by many ;

^a Prov. xxx. 20.

^b Matt. xxvii. 24.

^c P. 64, 65.

^d This must be a translation of “*Aulæ Speculum, seu de Statu, Vita, Virtute, Aulicorum atque Magnatum.*—Col. Agr. 1630.” Svo.

^e P. 71.

^f P. 72.

^g *Ibid.*

are points will bear us out before God: and all who come after us,—if ever a Toleration should be granted,—will say when they see and feel the mischiefs of a Toleration, ‘These were good and wise men, that had their eyes in their heads and looked afar off; as often as new evils arise in the kingdom upon a Toleration, this which they have done against a Toleration will be spoken with honour of them throughout all generations, and in other christian kingdoms.’”^a

After another decade of pages we are surprised if not consoled or convinced by, Edwards’s representation of the surpassing merits of the “Presbyterial Way.” It should seem hence that it wanted but the secular sword, “an arm of flesh,”^b to complete its excellence! “From all these errors, heresies, blasphemies, schisms, and strange practices, that are among us, we may see the benefit and excellency of the Presbyterial Government that prevents and keeps out these monsters and disorders; or, if any of these begin to arise, quickly suppresses them, and hinders their growth. Presbyterial Government, as soon as error doth but peep out will find it and take it single, before it grows into a body; and crush it in the egg, before it comes to be a flying serpent; which is made good by experience of it in all the Reformed Churches where it is settled in power[!]”^c

The above, and his thirteen other “Corollaries,” are followed by a “Postscript,” in which Edwards makes up his “hundred and seventy-six” errors, “just a hundred and four-score.” The third of these additional four, purports to be taken out of a book intituled “Uniformity Examined,” and is set down thus, “‘That the Gospel doth not more set its spirit against any thing of Antichrist than against this point—Of External Uniformity in the Worship of God: and, that—Uniformity is Antichristian: and—Uniformity is a piece of the mystery of iniquity: it is—The burden of the Saints,—The bondage of the Church,—The straitening of the Spirit,—The limiting of Christ,—and The eclipsing the glory of the Father.’”^d The fourth “error,”^e if such it be, completes the climax of abominations in this series. “‘Christ hath not promised his presence and Spirit to ministers more than to other believers, nor more to a hundred than to two or three: and, if two or three, in the Country, being met together in the name of Christ, have Christ himself, with his Word and Spirit, among them, they need not ride many miles to the Assembly at London to know what to do, or how to carry and behave themselves in the things of God: and therefore, for any company of men of what repute soever, to set up their own judgments in a Kingdom, for a peremptory Rule, from which no man must vary; and to compel all the faithful people of God to fall down before it, etc., is a far worse work, in my eyes, than that of king Nebuchadnezzar setting up a golden image and forcing all to fall before it; seeing spiritual idolatry is so much worse than corporal, as the spirit is better than the flesh. The spiritual Church is taught by the anointing: the carnal Church, by councils.’”^f

An “Appendix” closes this First Part of “Gangræna,” and is, like most of what it is conjoined with, truly “a gallimaufry of strang opinions.”^g

^a P. 92.

^b 2 Chron. xxxii. 8.

^c P. 102.

^d P. 104.

^e “From a book printed and licensed, directly against the Covenant.”

^f P. 105.

^g P. 113.

That notice of the remaining Parts of "Gangræna" which the furtherance of our object will require is suspended, for the purpose of showing some of the productions which the First Part called into existence. Their respective authors, indeed, entertained doctrinal and other opinions never countenanced by the body of the Denomination in whose progress and success we feel most interested; but though none of those authors were what Edwards calls "pure Independents,"^a yet they all powerfully advocated the distinguishing principles of that body, against a common enemy straining hard, *aut fas aut nefas*, to put a yoke of perpetual bondage upon the whole nation. The apprehension of that was what aroused Milton to pour forth his caustic ire in a piece which receives illustration in these pages not communicable to a mere biographical narrative.

"ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE.

"BECAUSE you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,
And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy,
To seize the widowed whore Plurality
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd,^b
Dare ye, for this, adjure the Civil-sword
To force our Consciences that Christ set free,
And ride us with a Classic hierarchy^c
Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rutherford?

Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
Must now be named, and printed, 'heretics,'
By shallow Edwards,^d and Scotch what-d'ye-call^e

But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,
That so the Parliament
May with their wholesome and preventive shears,
Clip your phylacteries, though balk^f your ears,^g
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this, clearly, in your charge—
New 'Presbyter' is but Old 'Priest' writ large!"

Another who helped to baffle the measures in progress, and which Edwards had just used his efforts to promote, came forward seasonably and embraced the opportunity for extending his strictures to about the commencement of the time whence Edwards dates the beginning of the

^a See back, 159.

^b See Milton's remarkable digression, in some copies of his *History of Britain*, Bk III. Edit. 1838, royal 8vo, p. 503.

^c An Ordinance was passed in 1646, by which London was distributed into twelve Classes, of two divines and four laymen each.

^d "Hair-brain'd Edwards," was in the Original MS. See Todd's "Poetical Works of John Milton, 1809." 8vo. vol. vii. p. 98.

^e "Why, is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp? [Gillespie.]
Those rugged names."

Milton. Sonnet XI.

^f "Bank, baulk, bauk," are various readings. See Todd. *sup.* "Spare" is an obvious meaning.

^g "Crop ye as close as marginal P——'s ears." This was the original line. Prynne's Works are loaded with Notes in the margins.

rapid increase of the “Sectaries.” This is our special reason for making use of the tract before us intituled—

“Groans for Liberty; Presented from the Presbyterian, formerly ‘Nonconforming’ Brethren, reputed the ablest and most learned among them,—in some Treatises called ‘Smectymnuus, To the High and Honourable Court of Parliament, in the year 1641,’ by reason of the Prelates’ Tyranny: Now awakened and Presented to Themselves, in the behalf of their now Nonconforming Brethren. With, A Beam of Light, discovering a way to Peace. Also, Some Queries for the better understanding of Mr. Edwards’ last Book, called ‘Gangrana:’ with A Parallel between the Prelacy and Presbytery.—By John Saltmarsh, Preacher of the Gospel.—Matt. xviii. 32, 33.—Lond. 1646.” 4to. pp. 36.

On a leaf facing the title-page, are these words, “These ‘Groans for Liberty’ out of Smectymnuus his own mouth, I approve to be printed.—John Bachiler. Feb. 27, 1645-[6.].—If any are ignorant who this ‘Smectymnuus’ is, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, William Spurstow, can tell you.”

Saltmarsh addresses the House of Commons thus, “Honourable—I here present you with some notions of the Brethren of the Presbyterian Way, which were presented to your House some four or five years since; wherein they do, in much strength and piety, as it seems to me, open the way and secrets of Spiritual-tyranny and Conscience-yokes. There is some occasion now of reminding the Brethren of these, because the strain of their preaching and printing seems to have forgotten these Principles. Spiritual yokes and burdens being taken off from us, through the good hand of God upon ye,—the memory of them seems to be gone off too from some: some have forgotten that they were ‘strangers in the land of Egypt;’ the Lord hath seemed to ‘forgive’ the formerly Nonconforming Brethren ‘all’ their ‘debt’ because they ‘desired’ Him; and, now, the question is, Whether they should have ‘compassion’ on their fellow-servants, as He ‘had pity’ on them? . . . ^a The one sort, if I mistake not, contend that they may rule with ye; the other, that they may be ruled by ye, in the things of your own kingdom, and in . . . ‘the kingdom of God’ that Jesus Christ may rule both ye and them. How just, how spiritual, this latter plea is, will appear from the choicest reasonings of some in reputation with ye, which I have awakened.’”

Afterward, addressing “The Reverend Divines of the Presbyterial Way,” he writes “Brethren,—These are the sighings of some of your own spirits under Episcopacy; under the tyranny of that Government. O how acute and sensible were your judgments, and consciences, then, of the usurpation, dominion, imposed Forms, when you were the sufferers! But now that your Brethren are become the Nonconformists to you, as you were Nonconformists to the Prelates, and you the imposers, and your Brethren the sufferers; I find times and conditions are forgotten, and yokes are called for which ‘neither we nor our fathers were able to bear.’ . . . ^b Surely, Brethren, your crying out thus for the Civil Power to help you, or all is undone! is a sign you trust not to the

^a Matt. xviii. 32, 33.

^b Acts xv. 10.

Gospel strength, nor truth of your Way, but to the ‘arm of flesh.’^a Methinks, of late your ‘sun’ is turning into ‘darkness’ and blackness over us; and your ‘moon’ into ‘blood.’^b Is it possible, that yokes, burdens, whips, prisons, banishments, can be so soon forgotten? Can saints, like ‘natural’ men, see their faces ‘in a glass,’ and so soon forget ‘what manner of men’ they were? I have here reasoned with you in your own arguments. I hope your own arguments may find access to your spirits when ours cannot: men are sooner persuaded by their own reason than another’s. . . . What Joseph said, in his affliction, we shall say to you, ‘Think on us, I pray you, ‘when it shall be well’ with you, and speak ‘kindness;’^d for it may be, as Mordecai said, ‘Ye are come to the kingdom for such a time as this;’ if not, ‘enlargement and deliverance’ shall arise ‘from another place.’”^c

The first “beam of light” which is reflected upon the Smeectymnuans here, is what they had put forth against their opponent, the Remonstrant,^f saying, “But he upbraids us with our ‘divisions and sub-divisions;’ and so do the Papists upbraid the Protestants with their Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Zuinglianism: and this is that the heathen objected to the christians, ‘Their fractures were so many, they knew not which religion to choose if they should turn christians!’ And can it be expected, that the Church, in any age, should be free from ‘divisions,’ when, the times of the apostles were not free; and the apostle tells us, ‘it must needs be that there be divisions?’”^g In Gregory Nazianzen’s days there were six hundred errors in the church: do these anyways derogate from the truth and worth of the christian religion?” On this extract, Saltmarsh raises these four queries, “Whether are not ‘divisions and subdivisions’ objected now, to all that are Dissenting Brethren from their present way of Church Government; and whether are ‘divisions’ any more scandals to religion now than before?—Whether are Independency, Anabaptism, Brownism, Seekers, of more evil report now, than ‘Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zuinglianism,’ formerly?—Whether are ‘a hundred and eighty opinions,’ as some would reckon them,^h more to be cast in the face of religion now, than six hundred in the days of Nazianzen?—Whether is this fair dealing for Brethren, to make apologies for ‘divisions’ and several ‘opinions,’ when they are oppressed; and to turn back in accusations upon their Brethren when the oppression is off from themselves?”

He shows, in like manner, the inconsistency between the professions and the practices of the Presbyterians which relate to Forms of Prayer, and to the removal of “things that even offend Anabaptists.” Passing nine other sets of extracts and queries upon them, we arrive at the eighteenth, headed “All not of their opinions are factious,” Saltmarsh asks, “Whether do not they who look on their Brethren that Dissent, as ‘troublers, factious, schismatical,’ conceive all ‘piety and peaceableness’ to be locked up in their own bosoms: and who are they? and, who are the weak and factious, if they may be judges?” The Smeec-

^a 2 Chron. xxxii. 8.

^b Joel ii. 31.

^c Jas. i. 23, 24.

^d Gen. xl. 14.

^e Esth. iv. 14.

^f In sect. 18.

^g The Smeectymnuans confounded Matt. xviii. 7, with 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

^h Edwards.

tymnuans having said, "We desire him^a to tell us, what the 'Church of England' is? for it doth not please him that we should call the Convocation the 'Church of England,' much less the Bishops or Archbishops!" it is remarked, "If it were so hard to find out the 'Church of England' in the Prelates' days, surely it is hard to find it out now: . . . then, query, Where is the 'Church of England' now? Not in the Assembly; they are but consulting how to build the Church: not in the Presbytery; for that is a Church unbuilt yet:^b not among the Parishes; they are not Scripture Churches or Congregations, as the same Smectymnuus says: then, Where is the 'Church of England?'" Again, say the Smectymnuus, "But these Episcopal men deal as the Papists, that dazzle the eyes and astonish the senses of poor people with the glorious name of 'the Church; the Church; the holy mother, the Church!' This is the Gorgon's head that hath enchanted them, and held them in bondage to their errors. All their speech is of the 'Church, the Church'" Here, the query is "Why is that very thing or device taken up in another form to 'enchant' with still; namely, 'The Church of England, The Orthodox Churches, The Reformed Churches?'" Under another complaint, against "The bishops' practice," it is asked, If all the Nonconforming Brethren were, in their Court language, 'heretics' and 'schismatics;' whether, ought not such names to be sent packing to Court again, rather than taken up by the same Brethren who were so much called so themselves, 'heretics, and schismatics,' that they have taken it up against others?" And, under a quotation relating to "Heavy censures for Nonconformity," the query is in part, "Why do not the Brethren of the Presbyterial Way think it as hard for the Magistrates to afflict their Brethren, as they thought it hard in the Prelates to afflict themselves?" In this manner through twenty-six points are the Smectymnuans pressed with their own consequences; such, as Saltmarsh says, "is the difference of being Parties and Judges: we naturally spy out faults furthest from ourselves!"^c

The division, headed "A Beam of Light," comprises ten Considerations; the sixth of which is, "Let it be considered, Whether part of the great 'mystery of iniquity'^d be not that of drawing in the 'strength' of the Nations, the Princes of the earth,^e to support the Ecclesiastical or Church glory: And, let this be sadly considered, Did not Popery get in the kingdoms of the world to support itself? Did not Prelacy stand by the same power? Doth not Presbytery hold itself by the same 'strength' of Magistrates? Are not the same iron rods and scourges of steel conveyed over from one of them to the other? Did not the Pope whip the Protestant with fines, imprisonments; and the Prelates take the rod out of his hand, and whip the Nonconformist; and the Nonconformist, or Presbyter, take the same rod out of the Prelate's hand, and scourge those that are Nonconformists to him?"

So, in the ninth, he writes, "Let it be considered, Whether the whole cry of the Divines of the other party,—as in the late book,^f is

^a The Remonstrant.

^b Hence the Ordinance for Classes had not been put into operation.

^c P. 12.

^d 2 Thess, ii. 7.

^e Rev. xvii. 12, 13.

^f Gangræna.

not all to the Magistrate? Help us, Parliament; help us, City; or we are undone! The 'heresies' and 'sects' will undo us! What said Ezra? 'I was ashamed,' saith he, "to require of the king an army and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way; because we had said, The hand of our God is upon all them that seek him!"

In the "Expostulation with Mr. Edwards,"^b Saltmarsh writes, "You have brought forth before Israel and the sun, many pretended sins and crimes of your Brethren. Suppose they should write by your copy, and bring forth the Assembly-sins, the crimes of all those of your Way, of all the Divines and others that you take in; and rake back into the ashes of their unregenerate condition, keep almanacs for the years and days of their failings, watch their haltings in all things they say or do, tell all the stories of them they hear; what would the next generation think of their book and yours? At this rate of writing, they would not read one honest man of all their forefathers: yet this is your course and method!"

Shutting up this tract with "A Parallel between the Prelacy and the Presbytery," he shows, under nineteen queries, that the proceedings of the Presbyterians might be traced "into the very mystery of Prelacy:"^c On a comparison between them, he remarks, "Thus, if We would compare crimes and times, We might write and speak."^d

The third production which we shall notice as being called into existence by the First Part of "Gangræna," came from the pen of a polemic who made a far greater stir in "an age of faction and troubles"^e than it was even Edwards's ambition to excite. While he was as determined a disputant as Edwards could have wished to provoke; except in abuse, there was no comparison between them in extent of learning, originality, and in the art and embellishment of composition. In one thing only did he fall behind the bigoted Presbyterian; he made Church Government a tool to cover his designs, for he only took the side of the Independents till, as he avowed, he found it convenient to shake them off; thus, however, happily relieving the Independents of the odium he brought upon them by his formidable advocacy of the decollation of Charles.

"Cretensis: Or, A Brief Answer to an Ulcerous Treatise lately published by Mr. Thomas Edwards, intituled 'Gangræna.' Calculated for the Meridian of such passages in the said Treatise which relate to 'Mr. John Goodwin,' but may without any sensible Error indifferently serve for the whole Tract. Wherein some of the best means for the cure of the said dangerous Ulcer, called 'Gangræna,' and to prevent the spreading of it to the danger of the precious souls of men, are clearly opened and effectually applied: By the said John Goodwin. A wellwiller to the Saints, in the work and patience of Jesus Christ.—Tit. i. 12, 13. Rev. xii. 10. Psal. cxl. 11. 2 Tim. iii. 9.—The second Edition; corrected, and amended, by the Author.—1646." 4to. pp. 50.

"The Author of the late Treatise,^f known by the mark of a 'gan-

^a Chap. viii. 22.

^b P. 31.

^c P. 33.

^d P. 35.

^e Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 42.

^f That is, The first Part of Gangræna; for the two other parts were not then published.

grene' or cancer in the forehead of it; being, as it seems, of Satan's counsel, and partaker of his intentions against the saints, hath diligently swept his floor and gathered together his siftings: all that dross and beggary^a of weakness and infirmities which Satan within the compass of 'four years'^b by his own confession, was able to sift out of them, and he to come to the knowledge of: and hath ground, kneaded, and baked it, and made 'shewbread' of it for such of the Presbyterian sons of 'Levi'^c and their retinue to eat as are of his own diet and constitution."^d

"As to matter of practice, look of what crimes or miscarriages soever he hath, with any truth, impeached the men of his indignation, I here, in his own phrase elsewhere, 'cast the glove to him,'^e that if he will accept of the challenge, I will produce both as many for number, as foul—yea, far more foul—for nature, perpetrated and done by a far less number of his Classic proselytes than they are amongst whom he pretends to find so many things of such portentous demerit. . . And for matter of opinion, I cast my 'glove' unto him the second time, that I will do the like. . . Yea, whereas he makes such a tragical outcry, that there should be a hundred and eighty errors and heresies amongst us, as if he were afraid that he should lose his Presbyterian religion in the crowd; I verily believe, and not without ground, that if he would vouchsafe but freely and candidly to declare his mind and judgment in all such points as I would tender unto him, and not profess that scepticism himself which he so much abhors in others, I could make a 'discovery' of as many—errors and heresies together, I mean—in himself alone!"^f

"The form of those accusations which Mr. Edwards hath levied against his brethren, is much more inexcusable than the matter of them. Nor do we read that either Ham^g or Doeg,^h though sons of much unworthiness, ever traded with Satan for these black commodities, or compassed the earth to and fro by their evesdroppers, agents, or factors, to gather up and furnish themselves with the sins or infirmities of the saints; no, not that they ever took up a report into their lips against any man upon either the loose or malicious suggestion of others; but only related and informed what themselves saw with their own eyes, and that casually and without awaiting the opportunity."ⁱ

"For Mr. Edwards, or any man, to judge of 'Independency' by the miscarriages whether in practice or opinion, of some few that, it is likely, are the retributive part of that way, is as if a man should make an estimate of Cheapside by the channel that runs in the midst of it, or give sentence of the holy and elect angels by what is found in sin and wickedness in the devils. If 'Independency' hath its tens, Presbytery hath its thousands of sons of Belial in her retinue. And if the man will deal fairly, in comparing them together, he must not set the head of one against the tail of the other, but measure head with head and tail with tail. All may be true which the man chargeth upon 'Independency,' and yet 'Independency' lift up her head, in worth and

^a "Beggary or soil." Goodwin, *in pagina prior*.

^b Gang. Edit. 3. p. 1.

^c I Chron. ix. 32.

^d P. 2.

^e Antap. p. 53.

^f P. 3.

^g Gen. ix. 22.

^h 1 Sam. xxii 9, 18.

ⁱ P. 4.

dignity, as high above Presbytery, as 'the Cedar in Lebanon,' is by the hand of nature advanced above 'the Thistle in Lebanon!'^a The most accursed hypocrites that ever the earth bare, have been of the profession of Christianity, and yet Christianity the best of all professions."^b

"I have neither leisure nor opportunity to search to the bottom, or sift to the bran, all that the man storieth *per se* and *per alios* in his Gangrene; nor do I hold intelligence with any man to inform myself of his haltings; but I am able of my own knowledge to avouch the untruth of some things asserted by him. The untruth of more, hath been avouched unto me by others; and I make little question but that when all his accused ones shall have had time and opportunity to stand forth and plead their innocency, there will be very little truth found remaining in any thing reported by him; except, haply, in such things which are transgressions against no law. . . . If he will affirm that such or such Letters were sent unto him, or came to his hands, and withal refuse to produce the Authors, or pretend reasons why he should not name them; well may we suspect juggling: but yet the Juggler hath a city of refuge to flee unto to save himself out of the hand of a detector. And to me it seems not a little strange that Mr. Edwards should keep the names of his informers who have contributed so liberally towards the same design with himself, under hatches, or within the veil, whenas he prostitutes his own name with so much confidence, that I say not impudence, in the frontispiece of his book. If he judgeth it honourable in himself to be taken notice of for commander-in-chief in the Classic wars against the 'Sectaries and Independents,' he had no reason to hide the name of his captains and those that served in inferior place of command under him in the same service; except he either thinks that they have been too timorous and low-spirited in the action, and, in this respect, is tender of their reputation; hoping they may quit themselves more like men hereafter, and then he means to bring forth their names with honour. Or else, judgeth that his own interest in the glory of the achievement will rise the better, and be the greater and more entire, if no man shall be looked upon or known by name that gave assistance to him in the work. Or else, feareth lest the contents of the Letters being evicted of forgery and untruth, should reflect dishonour upon the enditers, and so discourage and weaken their hand as to any further service in so laudable a cause! But the truth is, that I cannot attribute so much either to the first of these reasons, or to the second; nor yet to the third, though this hath most in it; as to be able to believe that he suppressed his names for any other end than to suppress the examination of the truth of the Letters. I know that if I would borrow but a little Presbyterian Faith, I could, with this, without any demur or consideration at all, believe that all that is contained in the Letters from the first to the last of them, is pure and simple truth; and that Mr. Edwards did very virtuously and commendably in sending away the names of the writers into the land of darkness. But these being no fundamentals, I hope we shall be 'Tolerated' without believing them with our own faith!"^c

"One of his apocryphal Letters comforts his friend, 'Good Mr.

^a 2 Kings xiv. 9.

^b P. 5.

^c P. 6, 7.

Edwards' as he styles him, against me, thus—'But whatsoever Mr. John, of Coleman-street, says, they,' the Independents he means, 'will be found the fighters against God.'^a I grant they may be so 'found' in the Presbyterian almanac through a mistake; but in the original, the ephemerides of Heaven, they are called fighters 'with' and 'for' God. Except the Letterman means they will be found fighting against the god 'of this world' in that 'militia' which he hath armed against the nation and servants of the God of Heaven in it. 'Against' this 'god' in his militia, I confess they have fought, and I doubt not will fight still more cordially and more courageously than many Anti-Independent souls have done. Indeed, if the 'Independents' should turn Turks and betray their principles, and pass over into the tents of High-Presbytery, they will be found 'fighters against God' as well as others. But, in the mean season, let Mr. Anonymous and his compeers know, That there is no sect of men in the Land, the sons of High-Presbytery and Episcopacy only excepted, that being true to their principles are capable of 'fighting against God,' at least in that sense which both Gamaliel in the text^b and 'Mr. John of Coleman-street' in his Commentaries intend and prosecute. Nor let any man think that I breathe the least air of disparagement in the face of Presbytery, by ranking Episcopacy with it; inasmuch as Mr. Edwards himself springs an engagement upon Presbytery to prosecute the Saints under the veil of suppressing 'errors' from the laudable practice of her elder sister Episcopacy in the same kind."^c

"I marvel how Mr. Edwards, having, it seems, an authorized power to make 'errors and heresies,' at what rate and of what materials he pleaseth—and hopes to live upon the trade—could stay his pen at so small a number as a hundred and eighty, and did not advance to that angelical quotient in the Apocalypse, which is 'ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands.' If he had consulted with a book not many years since printed, which maintains that dangerous heresy of the Cosmoselenitæ, that is, of those that hold there is another world in the moon; and with another, printed within the compass of his 'four years,' intituled 'Divinity and Philosophy dissected and set out, by a Madman;' with some few others that I shall shortly be able to name unto him; I will undertake that out of these he shall be able to increase his roll of 'errors and heresies' from 'a hundred and eighty' to two hundred and eighty, if not to five hundred; and that upon more honest and honourable terms than now he hath advanced it to his own number. . . I will undertake to enrich his treasury of 'errors and heresies' by twenty-and-ten, out of his own 'Antapology.' For certain I am, that every contradiction affords an 'error,' either on the one hand or on the other; and if I do not find twenty-and-ten, and a better number than so, of birds of that feather in that element, let Mr. Edwards's pen plough as many long furrows more upon my back as it hath done! In the mean time, I must crave leave to say, or at least to think, that it is a most importune and unsufferable presumption, for a poor, weak, thimbleful of dust, that knows not how to range his parts of speech in a sentence, nor to put the nomina-

^a Gang. p. 14. after p. 66.^b Acts v. 39.^c P. 7.

tive case and verb together regularly in English ; nor how to frame the structure of a period according to the common rules of reason, grammar, and common sense ; to advance himself into a Paper-throne, and from thence *satis pro Imperio et tribunali*, that is, with confidence enough for an Emperor, pronounce the formidable sentence of ‘ error and heresy ’ against all opinions and judgments of men whatsoever which will not comport with his understanding, or fancy rather, as the standard of all Truth ! ”^a

“ If Mr. Edwards thinks that he ought to be reputed and honoured as a man orthodox, till men of his own judgment vote him erroneous ; I know no reason he hath but to measure out the same measure unto others, and, consequently, to judge no man or men erroneous or heretical until they be adjudged such by those that concur in opinion with them.”^b

“ Because an Answer to his ‘ Antapology ’ hath been so much spoken of ; and through many interruptions, following like the waves of the sea, one on the neck of another, hath not yet been brought forth ; therefore the man is so far swoll and puffed up with conceit, that the world seems scarce wide enough to contain him. . . Whereas he talks of his worthy piece being ‘ published eighteen months, since ’^c he supposeth, it seems, that men have little or nothing to do but to attend the motions of his pen, and to expedite and despatch him out of hand. Indeed if ‘ Independent ’ ministers had either the privilege of ease to preach to bare walls and pews in their meeting-places, or that shamelessness of forehead to make the subject-matter of their sermons little else but loose and lying and frivolous reports and stories, or virulent invectives against the saints and servants of God, . . . they might, I confess, be men of more expedition in writing than they are, and be as like the ‘ tree ’ spoken of in the Revelation,^d as Mr. Edwards himself. . . And who knows not, how much more easy it is to be first in writing, or to object, than to answer : according to the common saying in the Schools, ‘ An ass may soon ask more questions, than Aristotle be able to answer. ’ ”^e

“ In the latter part of his Preface, he arms himself with ‘ constancy and heroic resolution,’^f to triumph and rejoice in whatsoever he shall suffer in way of hatred and reproach from the ‘ Sectaries ’ for his faithful and noble service, done both to Heaven and earth, in opposing them : animating and flattering himself in his course with this, that in case he shall suffer in this kind, he shall ride parallel in the triumphant chariot of honour with those great worthies of the world, ‘ Calvin, Luther, and Austin,’ yea with the apostle Paul himself ; nay, with the Great Lord of all the apostles and patriarchs, the Lord Christ himself, blessed for ever. But, poor man ! little doth he consider how diametrically opposite he is in his cause and course both to Christ and Paul, and how unlike those other men. Was either Paul, or^g Christ, of his occupation ? Did they spend their time, or engage their friends, in gathering up vagrant, loose, scandalous, and lying reports against the saints and servants of God, under the names of ‘ Sectaries,’ to bless the

^a P. 9, 10.

^b P. 11.

^c Gang. *pref.* p. i.

^d Rev xxii. 2. See Gang. *pref.* p. ii.

^e P. 15, 16.

^f *Pref.* p. iii.

vanity and wickedness of the World with the venting of them? Did Paul, or Christ, set their faces, like an adamant, to inflame and set on fire the Powers of the World, with hatred, bitterness, and bloodiness of spirit against the sons and daughters of God, though full of weakness and unworthy in the highest? Or, did they importune and clamour upon the secular Arm, even to the wearying of it, to ‘avenge’ them on their adversaries;^a and little less than threaten those in Place and Authority, if they would not comport with them in their carnal ends and desires, and lift up their ‘iron rod’ to break their enemies ‘in pieces like a potter’s vessel?’^b ‘This,’ saith Christ to the Jews, speaking of their murderous attempts against him, ‘this did not Abraham.’^c Nor did the Lord Christ, or his blessed apostle, any of the things mentioned; but whether Mr. Edwards hath done any thing else, almost, either in his ‘lion’ or his ‘bear,’^d I mean either in his ‘Antapology,’ or in his ‘Gangræna,’ especially in this latter, I appeal to the judgments and consciences of all that either have or shall please diligently to peruse them, and, withal, have but their wits and senses^e free from Classic bands!”^f

“He chargeth the ‘Independents,’^g that many of them play at cards and tables; are very loose on the Sabbath-days; go to bowls and other sports on days of public thanksgivings, as Mr. John Goodwin and several of his church;” etc.^h We have introduced this passage that we might remark upon it that the *animus* of the defamer is righteously exposed and rebuked, at a length extending through nearly eight pages. Let this much suffice: “I marvel,” says Goodwin, “the man should think to burden the ‘Independents’ with these exercises of ‘cards and tables,’ whenas it is so generally known of what light account and general use they are in the best reformed Presbyterian churches. And if there be any of the ‘Independent’ Way so much addicted to them as Mr. Edwards’s charge seems to import, I believe they are chiefly, if not only, those whom Mr. Edwards calls ‘Malignants;’ complaining of them for falling to this way; and who lately drank of the same waters of Episcopacy with the far greatest part of the Presbyterian party, and now accompany them in their schisming or rending off from that Way. And, alas! who knows not, how hard a thing it is for men that have a long time drunk old wine with their old friends, presently to drink new?”ⁱ

Edwards’s iniquitous management, and his malignant accusations, are abundantly displayed and refuted by Goodwin throughout this Answer. He reduces Edwards’s authority to nothingness, or but to little more; so much so as justly to warrant the most scrupulous investigation for proof before the slightest reliance can be placed in any one of his relations: hence, without corroboration, Edwards’s testimony alone is valueless and null. That his unsupported statements are not

^a Luke xviii. 3.^b Psal. ii. 9.^c John viii. 40.^d Gang. Pref. p. iii. “That God, which delivered Paul from beasts at Ephesus, and from the ‘messenger of Satan;’ that encouraged and enabled little David to fight with a *bear* and a *lion*, and to pull a lamb out of the *lion*’s mouth, yea to kill both the *lion* and the *bear*; hath, doth, and will preserve me till I have finished my testimony.”^e Heb. v. 14.^f P. 16.^g Gang. p. 63.^h P. 28.ⁱ P. 29.

entitled to reliance is shown, in part, by his being put at issue on a simple matter like the following: Goodwin writes, "his forehead serves him to abuse the Honourable Houses of Parliament with this loud untruth, that there are 'eleven' meetings, 'at least,' of Sectaries 'in one Parish, in this city.'"^a "Setting aside," Goodwin adds, "the Presbyterian meetings, confident I am, that he cannot find the one half of that number he speaks of, of meetings of all other Sectaries, in any Parish whatsoever in the city."^b

"I profess truly," writes Goodwin, addressing his reader, in his last paragraph, "that I have not read one quarter of the book as yet: nor know whether I shall ever care to read it through or not. . . A few days, I make no question, will give thee more 'light' wherewith to comprehend his 'darkness.'"^c By that time 'the boughs' of his 'tree'^d are a little more 'withered' they will be 'broken off;' the 'women' will come and set them 'on fire.'^e A specimen of refined sarcasm is this, seldom exceeded.^f

CHAP. LXIX.

EDWARDS'S "GANGRÆNA" CONTINUED.—JOHN GOODWIN'S
"ANAPOLOGESIASTES ANTAPOLOGIAS."

WE proceed in the loathsome task of wading through the receptacle, or as Edwards himself, alluding to "poor England," describes it, "the common shore and sink to receive in the filth of heresies and errors from all places:"^g and we feel with Cranford,^h that it can be no pleasure "to rake in a dunghill."

"The Second Part of Gangræna: Or, A Fresh and Further Discovery of the Errors, etc., and dangerous Proceedings of the Sectaries of this Time." 1646. 4to. pp. 178.

The author's spirit and conduct being already so much exposed, in the portion of his work which has passed under review, we have the less necessity for showing with what "great swelling words of vanity"ⁱ his Epistle to the "Christian Reader" opens; but we cannot suppress his remarks toward its close, where he retorts upon Goodwin's own person the word by which Goodwin had severely designated both Edwards and his work. "Cretensis" says Edwards, "in all his Answers, is too like those spoken of in 2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7, that must be 'thrust away as thorns, because they cannot be taken with hands;' but the man that must 'touch' him had need 'be fenced with

^a Gang. Ep. Ded. p. viii. and Pt. II. p. 88, 89, where Edwards shields himself under a Petition of the Common Council.

^b P. 49.

^c John i. 5.

^d See back, p. 174. ^e Isai. xxvii. 11.

^f See back, Kath. Chidley, 1641. But Edwards gives another turn to this passage, overlooking, or affecting to do so, the true point in it: "Whereas 'Cretensis' had, for a time, cast dust and dirt upon this 'tree,' my Reply, like a good shower of rain, hath washed all off." Gang. Pt. II. p. 110.

^g P. 77. Pt. I.

^h Licence, before Pt. II.

ⁱ 2 Pet. ii. 18.

iron and the staff of a spear.' Cretensis is a man so foul-mouthed in all kind of filthy language that his maid had need scour his mouth always with a wisp when he goes to write any book."

Edwards's efforts were, on his own showing, inefficient towards remedying the diseases against which his imprecations had been "vented," since he tells us now, "the plague of Sectarism rages more and more."^a His rage against "Cretensis" is so rabid, that although he had heaped a heavy load of abuse on him, of "pride, arrogance, malice, wrath, jeering and scoffing not only at me and my books,"^b yet in a moment, and only a moment, of calm consideration, he adds, "but I consider what becomes me as a minister of the Gospel to do in such a case, rather than what he hath deserved; and therefore shall pass by his railings and scoffs, 'not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing; knowing' that I am 'thereunto called:'^c and instead of railing, and vilifying Master Goodwin, I will a little expostulate with him;—Mr. Goodwin, will you never leave your scoffing and scorning, your reviling and reproaching of all men, stuffing your pages with great swelling words, and filling whole leaves with nothing but jeers and multitude of six-footed words instead of reasons and arguments? Will you, by all your writings and preachings, make good that title which by way of reproach was first given to you, namely, 'The great red Dragon of Coleman-street'?. . . All I will say now, shall be this, That 'Cretensis' hath an heretical wit, and holds many wicked opinions; being a hermaphrodite, and a compound of an Arminian, Socinian, Libertine, Anabaptist, etc. And in regard of some strange opinions he hath held many years, and others that in time he might fall unto,—which, in the Presbyterian Way, he could never enjoy with quiet, nor have liberty to propagate them,—therefore he took sanctuary in Independency; falling from our Church, and the Presbyterian Government,—which a little before the first sitting of the Assembly, he held to be most agreeable to the Word of God,—unto the Independent Way, as that wherein he might, with more safety, enjoy his opinions. And lest 'Cretensis' should score up this for a lie, as he hath done many truths, which, before I have done with him, I shall make apparent to all, I do here give the Reader a true copy of a narrative sent me from a godly, humble, learned minister, subscribed with his own hand. . . 'A Narrative of certain words uttered by Mr. John Goodwin, Minister of Coleman-street, not long before the Assembly sate:—The said Mr. Goodwin's judgment being consulted as concerning the point of Church Government, his answer was to this effect, That in his judgment he approved of the Presbyterian Government, as being most agreeable to the Word of God; yet, in fine, added, That he thought that the Way of Independency would better suit and fit him in regard of some private and singular tenets that he held.'"^d

^a P. 1.^b P. 24.^c 1 Pet. iii. 9.

^d P. 25, 26. This point, against Goodwin, is confirmed by the strongest possible authority, and leaves a greater stigma upon Goodwin's reputation than all Edwards's vituperation in a mass could have inflicted. "It is well known," writes Goodwin's own pen, "not only to my friends and acquaintance, but to thousands more, how faint a correspondency I have with the faction that dogmatizeth with me about

Notwithstanding the contradiction between profession and practice on the part of Edwards, betrayed even in the foregoing paragraph, and much more that could be culled out of his immediately succeeding pages; he commits, at length, an instance of controversial indecorum which defies and outruns all his pretensions to be considered "a minister of the Gospel." Thus he writes; "That those very things 'Cretensis' charges me with, either in my 'Antapology,' or 'Gangræna,' though most unjustly, as forgery, lying, juggling, bitterness, malice; bloody negociation against the Saints; taking up reports and printing them upon weak and slight grounds; obscene scurrilous writing; contradictions, false English, nonsense, with such like; the man himself, as in other of his books so also in this, is most faulty. . . In one word, 'Cretensis' is a most ungodly, antichristian, insolent, proud, malicious, wrathful, lying, obscene, scurrilous, nonsens[ical], absurd, contradictory piece!"^a The only apology that can be found for this species of writing is, that it was the vice of the age. Both Edwards and his informant were never more self-deceived, if they really agreed in judgment on Goodwin's abilities, than in the description which terminates this passage; "Master Robrough, who is but a Scribe of that Assembly of which 'Cretensis' would fain have been a member; and as it is thought by wise men, his great pride working upon discontent in missing of that honour, was one of the greatest occasions of his falling to Independency; professes, that upon a conference and dispute with him, he found him weak, not able to hold his ground, and, in a word, a very sorry disputant."^b

Alluding to where Goodwin writes, "If Independent ministers had either the privilege of ease to preach to the bare walls, etc."; Edwards, who often shifts off the present opportunity, answers, "Now for this, in my large Reply I will . . . show the true reasons why the world wanders after the 'beast,' [that] many of the Independents are so flockt after before Presbyterians; as also, by what sort of people."^c Presbyterians, he adds, "preach out of conscience and discharge of duty, to do good to the souls of men; and not for applause, to please a multitude; and therefore it is all one to them, whether there be fewer or more, one hundred or many. But this is expressed according to the Independent humour, who have their sermons of several sorts, those of greater pains and study when their 'pews and walls' are full, and their sermons of ease when their 'pews' are empty, and their 'walls' bare."^d By and bye, he writes, "Now for proof of the bloodmindedness, persecution, and liberty of conscience, which the Sectaries will give the Orthodox, when they come to be stronger; and of all the means they use, and ways they take, to give the Presbyterians liberty of conscience; I shall in my full Reply to 'Cretensis' speak at large. Only for [the] present, thus much, They labour to get all the power of Arms they possibly can into their hands, and the command of all the great

matters of Church Government. My interest with these men, though it was never much considerable, yet was it much more whilst they were the tail, and the single Presbyterian faction the head, than it hath been since the turning of the wheel." *The Obstructors of Justice, &c.* 1649. p. 102

^a P. 33.

^b P. 47.

^c P. 51.

^d *Ib.*

towns and cities; and, by one way or other, to turn out of place, keep out, obstruct, blast, all cordial zealous Presbyterians: all which, no doubt, are done to give the Presbyterians liberty of conscience! And now they give the Presbyterians good words, namely, That they will send them a packing to Rome: That it were a good deed they were hanged, and knocked on the head; their guts goared out: That they are antichristian priests; cursed priests; damned priests; with such like. All which, no doubt, are forerunners of the liberty of conscience the Sectaries intend for the Presbyterians! And for the proof, I will give ‘Cretensis’ a few instances.”^a

Here we take occasion to remark on the management we have observed Edwards to use when he wished to plaster the “Independents” with more than their avowed share of his contumely. In such cases, he never employs the word “Independents” but masks himself under that of “Sectaries;” and throughout his “Gangræna” he insinuates to his readers a number of names of individuals for Independents, but who never belonged to that body, in the fair acceptation of the term, any more than did Edwards himself. Of the more disgusting phrases set down above, he assigns one to “one Johnson a Sectary and a cannoneer,” and another to one Master Mascal, “or Mascal,” who, in another page, is represented to be “a man employed by the State to be a perfector of the Customs.” And other speeches, he assigns to “Independents,” without any show of authority; so that they cannot be distinguished^c in this generical term “Sectaries,”^d under which, in the mouths of the Prelates, he did not wish to recollect, we may suppose, that himself and his Brethren were included! We concede to him and his compresbyters, the full benefit of this singular passage: “These errors and practices, in the Sectaries, are now found in them; cleaving to them since, and not before they turned Sectaries: whereas these mis-carriages of the Presbyterians, are not now upon them; nor never, since they were Presbyterians, but, may be, many years before, when Episcopal and foolish!”^e

They who are attracted by logomachy may seek to gratify themselves in the pages of Edwards and Goodwin respectively; we purposely pass over a mass of personal abuse fully justifying the application to himself of what Edwards applies to his opponent, “That he is no judicious, rational man; . . . but only a wordy Divine: a multitude of words, that’s all.”^f The prophetic aspect of the following passage may excite a smile at the author’s personal vanity, “It will appear, I doubt not, before it

^a P. 54.

^b P. 135.

^c “The Reader may see what to think, if . . . such a venomous, virulent man, picking and choosing, catching and snatching, . . . could yet find so few things to question in ‘Gangræna;’ . . . what must the whole body of the book be, which is not so much as touched, either by ‘Cretensis,’ or any of the rest?” P. 115. The secret lies in the miscellaneous nature of Edwards’s matter; the portion of it relating to the “Independents,” for instance, being really the smallest ingredient in his mess of hotch-potch, so heterogeneous is the mixture. For Edwards to have expected, therefore, any one party to take him up singly and entirely, were unreasonable.

^d “The Independents,” he says, p. 78, “strictly so called, are a very few in comparison of the Anabaptists, Antinomians, Libertines, etc.; a contemptible party as of themselves.”

^e P. 66.

^f P. 108.

be long, when the time of the reign of the Sectaries shall be over, and they no more heard of, unless it be by way of a proverb and reproach, that then Master Edwards's 'Gangraena' shall be looked upon, by all, as a witness of the truth, even against Sectaries in the ages to come."^a Another instance is so perfectly characteristic, that we cannot refrain from giving it: "I have not done with 'Cretensis,' but let the Reader look for what is behind, namely, my fuller Reply:.. and I no whit doubt, but that as I have now, by God's assistance, made a good beginning, both defensive and offensive, so by the same good hand upon me, I shall in the next, give so good an account, that I shall deal with this daring enemy as little David with Goliath, stand upon him^b and triumph over him, and give you his head upon the top of my sword. And, in my next, I intend to dress him up and set him out in his ornaments and flowers; in his practices, opinions, and ways of promoting them; in all which, I shall render him and his name an abhorring to this and the following generations."^c

Only twelve lines after this, and much more elsewhere in the same strain of bombast, Edwards quails, surprisingly, at the number of Answers his attacks were producing: "But we may see," he says, "what sad times we are fallen into; and that the Sectaries are grown fearless, that they dare come abroad and plead their desperate cause, as Master Saltmarsh,^d Walwyn;^e so now master Bacon,^f and Webb;^g which symptom, among many others, makes me fear that the night and darkness is at hand, whenas the wolves and the wild beasts dare come thus out of their dens!"^h

In what he calls "a fresh and further discovery of errors, etc." he now sets down as the twenty-sixth, "That the People of God are a free people, and what they do they should do freely and voluntarily, and not be assessed and rated by the Parliament; compelled to pay rate upon rate, assessment upon assessment."ⁱ This being understood to apply to Ecclesiastical concerns, our own days have witnessed a revival of the doctrine condemning all compulsory demands to support any system of doctrines and worship not reconcilable with the faith and practice of worshippers of a different way and order.

Edwards's division or section, comprising "Certain Corollaries and Consectaries" induces the supposition that if his tongue and his pen were alike voluble, he must have wearied his hearers with his fluent tautological, and doleful symphonies. Taking the summary of the sub-

^a P. 111.

^b 1 Sam. xvii. 51.

^c P. 112.

^e "All that Master Walwyn the Merchant, either in his pamphlets intituled 'A Whisper in the Ear of Master Thomas Edwards;' or 'A Word more, to Master Thomas Edwards.' labours to disprove in matter of fact, .. is that I have wronged him.'" Gang. P. ii. p. 20.

^f "One Mr. Bacon, who was sometime of Gloucester; but here in London, hath been entertained in the house of a great man." Gang. Pt. I. p. 38, 2d divis.

^g Thomas Webb, about Sept. 27, 1644, exercising upon Rev. i. 8, "delivered many wicked and blasphemous opinions." He was "complained of to the Assembly," they sent up the Articles to the Lords; "he was by that Honourable House committed, and stood so some time, but upon a recantation, .. was freed from imprisonment." Gang. Pt. I. p. 21, 2nd divis.

^h P. 113.

ⁱ P. 116.

jects from his "Table of the main matters," these Corollaries present "a clear discovery, how far the Sectaries . . . have proceeded;" and "what is like to become" of them: "eight symptoms" of their certain ruin: "proof" that to effect their ruin, God will "honour" the Scots: "the great evil and sin of Separation," discovered from the communion of the Reformed Churches: "magistrates, ministers, and all sorts of christians, have been asleep:" and "exhortation" to all in "high places:" and, to "some particular Members of Parliament, who are for pretended liberty of conscience:" and, to all those who have "forsaken" the Public Assemblies to return; examples of "Anabaptists and Independents" repenting, and returning: great difference between the "carriage" of the Independents and "our Brethren of Scotland," the faithfulness of "our Brethren of Scotland" towards us all: and the happiness of England, in being joined with them "in Covenant."

As symptomatic of "the certain destruction of the Sectaries," Edwards consoles himself that "Independency and Sectarism in England, is a mere faction, a party, grown to this height upon particular interests, nourished and favoured all upon politic grounds and ends. Independency, now, is no religious, consciencious business; but a politic State faction, severing and dividing itself upon other private interests from the public interests of this Church and State, and the interests of both kingdoms united by Covenant. In a word, it is just such another faction as the Arminians' was in the Netherlands. I believe that seven or eight years ago, Independency and the Churchway had somewhat of religion and conscience in it; many then falling to it upon those grounds; though even then, there were other ends in it also, as I have shown^a in my 'Antapology.'^b

What shall be said for the scholar and divine, who had set himself to enlighten and correct his own age, and to inform posterity, under another of his "symptoms;" and where his conclusions of Independency being a "faction" are also as singularly displayed? "All other errors and opinions, Sectaries of all sorts,—as well as Independents,—are encouraged, nourished, favoured, and the worst of them though being so abominable it is not any policy to appear for them, yet one way or other, under one notion or other, are pleaded for, dealt gently with, either delayed and put off, or brought off by one means or other; and are freely suffered to grow and increase, and no way taken to suppress or discourage them: which clearly shows Independency is a faction, and hath other designs than that of conscience, in furthering the growth of all sorts of Sectaries holding tenets against their principles as well as ours; by licensing their books, etc.; and, upon all occasions, shelters and protects all sorts of them."^c

How Edwards could reconcile all this and much more with the impression he had been previously labouring to produce, that "The Independents strictly so called" were "a contemptible party as of themselves,"^d is not possible for us to show. It is due to those who, in our days, cherish, nevertheless, the name and the virtues of this "party," to show how it came about that under a designedly injurious misapplication of the appellation, they were made amenable, and their memories are being

^a Antap. p. 21, 28.^b P. 151.^c P. 152.^d P. 78

stigmatized, for what is not justly imputable to them. Will any temperate and considerate reader admit the consistency, not to say the probability, of what Edwards here deliberately describes and sets down for truth? "That Independency is a faction, and not matter of conscience, appears because," forsooth," all these following sorts and ranks of men come in unto it: needy, broken, decayed men, who know not how to live, and hope to get something, turn Independents and sticklers for it: guilty, suspicious, and obnoxious men, who have been or are in the lurch, and in fear and danger of being questioned, or have been questioned, they turn Independents to escape questioning; or if questioned, that so they may come off the better; Independency being a sanctuary and the horns of the altar where many obnoxious persons flee and are safe: and many of these guilty persons, that they may merit the more, prove fiercer Independents and Sectaries than many others. Some, who have business, causes, and matters depending, strike in with the Independent-Sectaries, pleading for them, that so they may find friends, be sooner despatched, fare better in causes, etc. Ambitious, proud, covetous men, who have a mind to offices, places of profit about the army, excise, etc. turn about to the Independents, and are great zealots for them. Libertines and loose persons, who have a desire to live in pleasures, and enjoy their lusts, and to be under no government; they are fierce and earnest for Independents and against Presbytery. All wanton-witted, unstable, erroneous spirits, of all sorts; all heretics and sectaries, strike in with Independency, and plead they are Independents. Such who have no mind to peace, nor to the settlement of things, either out of hope whilst things remain unsettled [that] Bishops and former times may come in again; or that love to fish in troubled waters, or are afraid to lose offices and places that may fall with the ending of these troubles; these persons strike in with Independents, and side with them. Many who, in our Churches, are discontented at the faithful preaching of their ministers close to their consciences; at their admonitions, and suspensions from the Sacrament, because loose, scandalous, or because of some difference upon their tithes, or such like; forsake our Assemblies and betake themselves to Independents and Sectaries; of which I could give divers instances. All which, shows the Church-way and Independency to be nothing else but a faction. . . We shall see them falling down like lightning!"^a

The sentences which complete this epitome of the Second Part of "Gangræna," will draw particular attention from all who have felt interested in our early chapters. One cause of their author's excessive grief,^b betrays itself here, as it had in a number of other places: "We may see," he writes, "what a great evil and sin Separation is from the communion of the Reformed Churches; and how highly displeasing to God, for men to make a schism and rent in the Church of God in a time of Reformation. . . God testifies more against the Sectaries of our times, than against the Old Brownists and Separatists; leaving the Sectaries of these days to fall into greater errors, heresies, and blasphemies, and more pernicious practices, than the former; few of them, in comparison, falling either to those opinions or practices which, generally, the

^a P. 152, 153.

^b Lament. ii. 11.

Separatists do now; but held to their first principles more: a great reason whereof I conceive to be this, the Old Separatists having greater scandals, and more just occasion of separating, than the New. The Old Separatists being like men stealing, upon need or some want; the New, like those who steal upon wantonness and for the pleasure: the one, like wives and children going away and leaving harsh, bitter, hard, unkind husbands and parents: the other, forsaking loving and kind husbands and parents, allowing them all things fitting, and that can be reasonably desired. Their sin was not so great then as now; and so the punishment not so great!"^a

If it were not that this work of Edwards had been appealed to for authority by more than one party, and thus proving their ignorance of the true state of affairs in his time; we should not have bestowed so much attention upon it as our pages exhibit: but if either of those parties cannot find any sounder application of the evils of "Separation" than these ensuing words of their champion convey literally, we shall not envy them their fancied superiority whether as christians or simply as logicians: "What the apostle speaks to the Corinthians of 'idolaters, etc.,' long before their time, that 'these things' happened unto them for 'examples;' . . . that I may say of our times, That all these spiritual punishments on Schismatics, in our days and times, are 'our examples, to the intent'^b that we should not separate from this [Presbyterian] Church, and set up other churches; lest God let us fall from Independency to Anabaptism and Antinomianism, and from Anabaptism to the Seekers,^c and from Seekers to be Anti-Scripturists and Sceptics, yea, Blasphemers and Atheists.'^d We pass on to

"The Third Part of Gangræna: Or a New and Higher Discovery of the Errors, etc., and insolent Proceedings of the Sectaries of these Times, etc." 1646. 4to. pp. 295.

A fourth Part was in preparation, but never appeared. Edwards was, notwithstanding his repeated announcements of his resolution, quite unable to stem the torrent of public opinion which justly overwhelmed his own intolerant party. To avoid apprehended consequences, he retired from the storm which he had helped to create, and died in Holland,^e the year following the publication of this last portion of his "Orthodox" venom. That he was wearing himself out rapidly, may

^a P. 161, 162.

^b 1 Cor. x. 6, 7.

^c "Many have wrangled so long about the Church, that at last, they have quite lost it, and go under the name of 'Expecters' and 'Seekers,' and do deny that there is any true Church, or any true Minister, or any Ordinances. Some of them affirm the Church to be in the Wilderness, and they are seeking for it there: others say that it is in 'The Smoke of the Temple;' and that they are groping for it there." Pagit's Heresiography. edit. 1662. 12mo. p. 133. Saltmarsh has described their tenets, in his "Sparkles of Glory, etc. Lond. 1648." 24 mo. p. 214. "Nullifidians, or Men of no Religion, commonly called Seekers:" Acts of General Assembly of Scotland: 1682. 12mo. p. 333. Ang. 1647.

^d P. 164.

^e August 24, 1647, aged 48. It appears, in a Manuscript left by his son, "that he died of a quartern ague, in Holland, whither he had fled to avoid the resentment of the Independents after Oliver Cromwell had come with his army in triumph into the City." Biographia Britannica, edit. 2, Vol. v. p. 543. *sub* "Edwards, John."

be inferred from his own statement here, where he strangely brings it as a charge that "The Sectaries have brought in against Presbyterians matter of bodily infirmities; of their complexions, and such like; as Saltmarsh, in his pretended Answer to my Second Part of Gangræna, upbraids me, saying 'Your face and complexion show a most sadly parched, burnt, and withered spirit,' but I have forborne that, lest I should reproach my Maker, for He that made me made them."^a He could not have had any fair ground for complaining of the effects of his own intemperate conduct; "my books," he says, "for the manner and way of writing, having been so cried out of by all the Sectaries; and many weak christians, by their means, having been also offended:" and again he says, "It is not unknown how the Sectaries, by writing and speaking, have set themselves to disparage me, and to cast scorn of all kinds upon me, such as hardly ever were upon any man in any age; and all to weaken my esteem, credit, and authority with the people, that being looked upon as a man so weak that a woman^b can answer my writings, etc."^c He found, indeed, that he had stirred up hostility against himself where, in those days, it was dangerous to personal safety to risk provocations like his: "My intent is not, in the least, to cast dirt upon the Army, but only to relate errors and insolencies of a part of the Army: the Sectaries, who though but a part, and much the lesser, may be sometimes, in discourse or writing called the Army. . . When I speak, in any place, of the hurt the Army doth, or the errors there, I understand not the Army, but the Sectaries in it."^d

That his situation was become deplorable is evident, moreover, where he writes, "Such a time have we fallen into of lukewarmness, and favour of Sectaries, that the being earnest against them, hath made some who go for Presbyterians, not to own me as otherwise they would, for fear of being taken notice of; . . . having been deserted of many with whom I had kept inviolable friendship a long time. . . I have suffered much in my name, all manner of evil having been spoken of me; having been reviled, scorned, every Sectary's hand turned against me, [I have] been for a sign to be spoken against. Oh the hard speeches and contradictions, not only of sinners, but of many saints too, that I have endured! I have been threatened in many kinds; and there have been consultations what to do with me: Lawyers have been advised with, what might be done in law in such cases of men being named: The Parliament hath been stirred up, in several pamphlets, against me, as in 'Gangræna plays Rex;' Walwyn's and Saltmarsh's pamphlets; they would upon pretence, make the Parliament fall upon me; and have said, They hoped the House of Commons would be at leisure, ere long, to talk with me: and besides what I have suffered and do suffer, I look upon myself as exposed to many dangers and sufferings."^e

We confess that we were taken somewhat by surprise at the quantum of moderation evinced subsequently; but adversity has taught mankind many humiliating and profitable lessons. Edwards could now write, "I am so

^a Pref. p. V.

^b Kath. Chidley: see back vol. ii. p. 108. In p. 170 of this Third Part, Edwards styles this opponent "the brazen-faced audacious old woman resembled unto Jael." Jud. iv. 21.

^c Pref. p. x.

^d *Ibid.* p. xi.

^e Pref. p. xvii.

far from a spirit of persecution, that I would be glad but to find the same measure from Independents, Brownists, Anabaptists, and others, which I would measure unto them, if it were in my power; namely, I would not imprison, banish them, and such like, only hinder them from all places of power and trust in the kingdom, and from spreading their errors and opinions to the hurting of others.”^a After all, however, he would set up his own judgment above theirs, and punish them only by starving them! Such at least was his present temperament, but, ere long, his natural disposition seems to be regaining its wonted fervour. “I know,” he says, “the Sectarian faction must be destroyed and fall: ‘Babel’ must come down as well as ‘Babylon:’ and the making of them ‘naked,’ is a preparatory work to the making of them ‘desolate,’ and eating their ‘flesh.’”^b So much for what this Preface contains.

In entering on the body of the treatise, Edwards writes, “I shall more particularly and largely set down the corrupt opinions and principles that have been vented against the Civil magistrate and the Government of Commonwealths; as also relate more practices and insolencies of those Sectaries who are soldiers and belonging to the Army; than I did in the former Parts.”^c

We will not attempt to select any other portion out of Edwards’s abstracted propositions, or his propounding of other men’s opinions, occupying nearly thirty pages, than his last, in these words, “If this doctrine were true, That Magistrates might do nothing but what the greater part of the generality of a Land would have,” he desires to know “Whether many good things would ever have been done that now are: and, Whether in many kingdoms, would ever a Reformation have been effected: and, Whether if the Parliament had gone by the Poll, of tag and rag, would ever Common Prayer-book, Bishops, with many other things, have been put down, which yet I hope the Sectaries dare not say but the House of Commons did well in so doing?”^d

He records it as obnoxious, that an “Independent spoke to God in prayer by way of complaint against the Presbyterians, ‘Lord, they hate us because we know more of Thee than they do; but we beseech thee, Lord, give us still to know more of Thee; and let them hate us more, if they will.’”^e

The following Letter, impolitically preserved by Edwards, serves to illustrate the political position of the parties: “A Letter from a Godly Minister out of the North, concerning the Scots.—My Dear Friend, Yours was not a little welcome to me, nor am I put to it to send you a requital. The News here is so good, that I can hardly hold my peace for joy: the King’s coming to the Scottish Army, in all probability, will prove one of our greatest mercies since these wars began. And never did I hear of any christians carrying themselves so boldly and faithfully in reprovng their Prince; so humbly before their God; so innocently, towards their brethren; so desirously of a settled and well-grounded peace; as the Scots now do. They labour, with much earnestness, the King’s conversion; tell him plainly of his blood-guiltiness; have sent for, out of Scotland, the ablest Ministers, to converse

^a Pref. p. xix.^b *Ib.* p. ult. Rev. xvii. 16.^c P. 1.^d Sheet interposed between p. 16 and 17.^e *Ib.* fin.

with him ; have banished all Malignants six miles from his person, by Proclamation; refused to entertain him with any token of joy ; told him he was a great sinner before God, and that he must give satisfaction to both kingdoms. The Malignants droop who were gathering towards him out of both kingdoms : the French Agent who was active in making a Breach, is much discountenanced : the Nobles and Ministers profess their earnest longing after a happy union, the settling the Government of Christ in his Church ; which being done, they will presently return in peace. The Independents themselves stand amazed at their wisdom, resolution, and fidelity ; zeal doth accompany all their actions with humility. The malignant party, which was much feared, is borne down ; the mouths that were so wide, both of Independents and Malignants, are sown up, they have not a word to say. And see how the Lord blesses them ; all their enemies in Scotland, are routed and brought to nothing. The King refuses to proclaim Montrose and his adherents rebels : but the King of kings hath taken the quarrel into his own hand, and utterly dispersed them. I have not time to write the particulars, only to let you know I am, Your assured friend, R. Balsom. May 21, 1646." ^a

A large interval occurs without any matter relevant to our purpose. Edwards's ready credulity caused him to amass all the reports and scandals which talebearers catch up and convey to an ever-willing listener. He who shall attempt so much, will find it impossible to fix upon any thing tangible and solid. What can be made, for instance, of his relation, "Here is a person of good account, one of the Committee of Account, that speaks confidently of informations he hath received of the coming over of Jesuits, on purpose to mix themselves with Independents and the Sectaries, to increase that faction, for their own ends." ^b

It may be that the case of Hugh Peters has more strict relation to the Independents than that of any dwelt upon. ^c Party malignity never vented itself more abundantly, perhaps, against any individual than this among the sufferers in the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty. A modern writer, to whom the friends of that cause are under obligations of which they have not yet become sensible, but which will be accumulated upon their descendants ; a writer whose unwearied and successful researches have produced more than one of those most valuable works, whether biographical or historical, which illustrate the cause of Nonconformity ; and upon whose memory alone, for aught that appears, will be lavished those acknowledgments due to the sentient head and hand ; this unrewarded, unhonoured, but faithful labourer in this righteous cause, has remarked, in special reference to Hugh Peters, "Though we would, by no means, connive at sin, or attempt to lessen the guilt of any man, the truth of the charges" heaped upon him, "appears extremely doubtful. Some of these accusations are unquestionably the language of scurrility, misrepresentation, and abuse ; and they all come from known enemies, those who hated the cause in which he was engaged." And, adds the same writer, "If Mr. Peters had been so vicious, so infamous for wickedness, and so scandalous and diabolical a villain, as he is represented, he could cer-

^a P. 73. ^b P. 99. See, however, our next chapter. ^c From p. 120 to 146.

tainly have no influence over the people, nor would he have been treated in the manner that he was by some of the principal men of the nation: they must have parted with him even for their own sakes."^a

The true description of the Army-Independents is best shown in what Edwards writes concerning "a godly minister of this city," who told him, June 12, 1646, "that he, discoursing with a Major belonging to the Army, about the Government of the Church, he told him plainly, that they were not so much against Presbyterial Government, though many thought them so, as against the being tied to any [Church] Government at all: for if the Parliament would set up the Independent Government, and enjoin that upon them, they should be as much against that as against Presbyterial Government: they held liberty of conscience; that no man should be bound or tied to any thing, but every man left free to hold what he pleased; that was the judgment and true genius of that sort of men in the Army, called 'Independents'—That, in all matters of religion, no man should be bound; but every one left to follow his own conscience."^b It is plain, from this statement that Edwards could not, or would not, discriminate between the Independents and the Erastians, who were active and formidable at this time.^c

^a Brook's "Lives of the Puritans." 1813. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 367, 368.

^b P. 175.

^c Edwards's ignorance respecting the Erastians is surprising. The passage last quoted serves to impart some light to a subject nowhere that we have seen made intelligible. It is true, a work was published in 1710, under the title of "Erastians, The Sect founded by the celebrated Thomas Erastus." But from other sources we learn that this native of Germany died on the last day of the year 1583, or on the first, of 1584. His peculiar scheme of church-polity may, perhaps, be found in a piece called "The Nullity of Church Government. Lond. 1659." 8vo. As Erastus set aside wholly the doctrine of a "divine right," so by thus avoiding *imperium in imperio*, it reduced of necessity all the Clergy to subordination of the secular power; contrary to those claims which are set up of a dominant power inherent in the church itself. Bishop Warburton writes, in his "Notes" on Neal's History of the Puritans, "Erastus's famous book, 'De Excommunicatione,' was purchased by Whitgift of Erastus's widow, in Germany, and sent by him to press in London, under fictitious names of place and printer: this Selden discovered, and has published the discovery in his work 'De Synedriis.'" Works, 1788. 4to. vol. vii. p. 900. It is well known that Whitgift made his stand against Cartwright upon these very principles; asserting that the Scriptures do not prescribe any "one certain form" of church government; and, that what is there expressed "neither is now, nor can, nor ought to be observed, either touching persons or functions;" and he affirms also, that "the government of the church must be according to the form of government in the Commonwealth." The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T. C. By John Whitgift, Doctor of Divinity. 1574. fol. *passim*. From Neal we learn that this doctrine had been derived down to Whitgift from Cranmer, Redmayn, Cox, and others, Hist. Purit. vol. iii. ch. iv. And the same authority informs us that the doctrine was embraced by many eminent persons in Parliament and in the Assembly of Divines; of whom he names John Lightfoot, D. D., Thomas Coleman, A. M., Sir John Hipsley, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, with John Crew, Oliver St. John, Selden, and Whitelock; a band of no mean consideration, who availed themselves of the circumstances of the times to turn against its ancient patrons, the advocates of Episcopacy, and of a divine right, their own weapons, and thus to render them powerless while the question of a new model of church government was being discussed to be substituted for that lately set aside. Beza had, in his day, controverted Erastus; but besides Rutherford—of whom, see forward, p. 191—Dr. Ham-

Since we do not attribute the highest importance to the testimonies of either Edwards or his purveyors, we shall not, upon their credibility, impeach the party designated in the following passage with the dissimulation implied in it: "A citizen, a friend of mine," says Edwards, "having been this last summer in Cheshire and divers other countries, upon this occasion heard many 'Malignants' say, They would turn Independents, for then they should not take the Covenant, nor be forced to any thing, but be at their liberty."^a

He takes a wider scope, in another place, than those "divers countries," and says, "I can assure the Kingdom, from the mouths of many worthy Members of the House of Commons, and of Commanders in the Army, how much soever these Sectaries presume upon the House of Commons, calling them in many pamphlets of late, 'Their own House of Commons; Our House of Commons;'"^b and upon the Army, that they are Independents and for that party; that the greatest number of Members of that House, by far, are no Sectaries; and though some are crept in among them, yet the body of the House are neither Independents, Anabaptists, Antinomians, nor such like; and so in the Army, there are more Presbyterians than Independents: yea, if the Army were divided into four parts, three parts of the four are no Independents, Anabaptists, Antinomians, etc."^c

Let us now attend to his peroration, and to its pacificatory ingredients: "Presbyterians—Consider what a shame it is that a handful of men, in comparison, should, by their activity, diligence, minding their work, bring things to that pass they are in our armies, councils, city, country; and the Presbyterians of both kingdoms, ten times as many, sit still, as it were, and suffer them! Oh, if so few have done so much, and that in a bad cause, what might not we do in a good cause, if courageous, zealous, and intent upon it? Certainly we might, in a short time, break the hearts and the neck of that faction; and in special, if the city of London and the Government of it would appear as they might; and when they have begun follow up and prosecute it in beginning to put the laws in execution against those who come not to Church; in punishing those Sectaries who live under their jurisdiction and government, for abusing them in print; in taking care that no Sectary have any office or place of government in the city; in petitioning the Parliament again and again, they might, by the blessing of God, quickly remedy all."^d

mond assailed the modern advocates of Erastianism, in a treatise "On the Power of the Keys of Binding and Loosing, &c. 1647." 4to. And James Ferguson put forth "Sermons on the Errors of Toleration, Erastianism, Independency, and Separation, &c. Edinb. 1692." 8vo. It is important that, if it could be, the real character and strength of the "Sect," if such it were, should be ascertained; because it would help to disencumber the true Independents of much which the political designs of these Erastians permitted themselves to be concerned in, but with which the Independents, as a body, could not comply, although individuals assuming that appellation have chosen to act with the Erastians.

^a P. 179. The Greys and kindred annotators on Butler and on Neal may, perhaps, be disposed to take the full advantage afforded them by such testimonies!

^b "Remonstrance of many Thousand Citizens, and other Free-born People of England, to their own House of Commons"—"An Alarum to the House of Lords."

^c P. 183.

^d P. 281.

Edwards concludes all, by gathering into a Postscript, "several pamphlets put out against some parts and pieces of my 'Gangrænaes' [*sic*], as Master Burroughes' 'Vindication;' 'Gangræna plays Rex;' 'Lancaster's Lance [for Edwards's Gangræna];' 'Gangræna-Chrestum [by Pinnel and Maddocks];' 'A Discovery of a Beam in Master Edwards's eye'; 'A Prediction of Master Edwards's Conversion, by Walwyn'; 'A Parable, or Consultation of Physicians upon Master Edwards, by Walwyn'; some passages of Saltmarsh against me, printed in a pamphlet against Master Gataker, Master Ley, and some others."^a "I am resolved, if twenty pamphlets should be written against this Third Part, to let them all lie till I have put forth a treatise, Against Toleration and pretended Liberty of Conscience."^b

We are compelled not to dismiss Edwards before we have attended to what has attracted our observation in a work of the highest respectability,^c where, in reference to "Gangræna," the writer says, "One remarkable particular, in these books, must not pass without observation; and that is, that as early as the year 1646, the Independents had formed designs against the life of King Charles I. and resolved to cause him to be beheaded."^d

Let us examine the statements, in their order, and collectively, for which purpose we had reserved them.

Edwards adduces "Walwyn's, an arch-sectary's speeches, with other passages of some of them; as giving over praying for the King above this year; laughing at them who pray for him; as one of them, [Durance,] praying publicly in the Church, that the King might be brought in chains to the Parliament; as speaking against his coming in, or being received in, but under the notion of a Delinquent; and, that he deserved to die if any man did: with such like speeches." Setting aside the falsehood, or misconception, that the designs were formed when "the Independents" were not in power as a party, we are satisfied that Walwyn was not an Independent, for Edwards himself denominates him again and again, "a Seeker;"^e and it may be seen^f that he has placed "Independents" first, in his Catalogue of sixteen forms of Sectaries, but that "Seekers and Waiters" occupy the tenth place. Of Durance, too, it is apparent that he was not an Independent, though Edwards calls him so, here, in the margin,^g but does not confirm, even of him, that he went so far as to say the King "deserved to die;"^h which phrase seems to have not the slightest reference to Walwyn.

The next passage is this; "A gentleman of good understanding, told me lately, before other company, that he meeting with a captain of horse belonging to Cromwell's regiment, as it is commonly called,—with whom he rid some miles, and dined also at the Sheaf in Daintry, the last of August; this captain told him, That the Parliament and Scots were agreed,—that was the News,—of delivering up the King to

^a P. 282.

^b P. *ult.*

^c Biographia Britannica, Edit. 2. Vol. v. p. 542.

^d Referring to Gang. Pt. ii. p. 131. Pt. iii. p. 97, 172, 183, 184, 195, 237.

^e Pt. ii. p. 20, &c.

^f Pt. i. p. 13.

^g Pt. ii. p. 131.

^h Pt. iii. p. 97.

colonel Poyus, who was, with his forces, to convey him as far as Trent, or thereabouts, and then Cromwell's regiment was to bring him up to London, to see him safe conveyed to the Parliament; and if he would not sign the Propositions, then, he said, the Parliament would decoll him: and thus they will decoll him; acting with his hand, in putting it to his own neck in a way of cutting off. And this captain added further, That he thought it would never be well with the kingdom till the King was served so. This man, in his discourse, speaking of Presbyterial government, said, it was a hundred times worse than Episcopal."^a That this "captain" was an "Independent," is not sustained by this narrative. Edwards soon, however, settles the question, where, mentioning the same regiment, he instances "one S. a trooper" who "fell upon venting to the people the doctrine of 'Universal Grace,' that no man was condemned for anything but unbelief:" whence it is certain that Cromwell's regiment was composed of others besides Independents.

The third allegation^b must rest entirely on Edwards's testimony, who is here representing "a citizen" and "a great Independent, speaking together" concerning the Covenant, and what punishment might be inflicted upon kings. This statement is too vague to justify the imputation against Independents.

The fourth, has reference, in general terms, to "The Sectaries," that "they have pleaded for the King to be deposed, and justice to be done upon him as the grand murderer of England; and not only that he should be beheaded, but the kingdom also, namely, . . . turned into a democracy."^c Here is nothing specified against "Independents." And mark, how loose the terms of the last allegation are, "I have been told," writes Edwards, "from good hands, that some of the Independent party underhand make use of some instruments to keep the King off from taking the Covenant; and hint some encouragements to him, if he refuse it; all which shows the abominable wickedness of our Sectaries, that they would rather have had the King run upon the destruction of himself and his kingdoms, than their Independent opinions to be hazarded by the King's agreeing with his kingdoms, and settling of Church and State."^d If this passage mean any thing, we are greatly mistaken if it be not in favour of the "Independents," and adverse to the designs of Edwards's own party!

Thus where general charges come to be sifted, they are seldom found tangible. Other charges, of a like nature, will come before us, to be considered in their places. We are not concerned to clear all "Independents" from what blame attaches to individuals among them; but we have not found that, as yet, they were, as a party, more implicated in the final proceedings against the King than some others were: for such an effect, so deeply tragical, it could not be that there was no adequate provocation; though its expediency remains still questionable. Mistakes were committed on all sides.^e

^a Pt. iii. p. 172.

^b P. 183, 184.

^c P. 195.

^d P. 237.

^e On account of their immense importance the following particulars are given, in this place, concerning the doctrines of Erastus, in addition to what is related in a Note, p. 187, to which the reader is requested to refer. The whole, it is hoped,

Our 54th chapter exhibits ample particulars of the piece which gave occasion for “Anapologesiastes Antapologias : or, The Inexcusableness of that Grand Accusation of the Brethren, called ‘Antapologia :’ Complaining as well of the Want of Truth as of Christianity, in many of

throws considerable light on motives, and springs of action, hitherto very obscurely perceived in modern times. Robert Baillie, one of their Commissioners, writing to Scotland, affirms that “the most of the House of Commons are downright Erastians : they are like to create us much more woe than all the Sectaries of England.” Apl. 25. 1645. Let. xciii. p. 96, and, in Let. xcvi. p. 107, he writes “The Erastian party in the Parliament is stronger than the Independent, and is like to work us much woe. Selden is their head. . . . If any of you would meddle with Erastus, . . . it would do us a great deal of good.” Vol. 2. of Letters and Journals, &c., from 1637 to 1662. 2 Vol. 8vo. 1775. It was not long before he must have been satisfied that the subject had engaged the attention of one whom he deemed competent to the task : witness, “The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication : . . . In which, the Six Books of Thos. Erastus against Excommunication are briefly examined, &c. . . . and The Arguments of Mr. Prynne, in so far as they side with Erastus, are modestly discussed : &c. By Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews, in Scotland.—Published by Authority. Lond. 1646.” 4to. pp. [759.]

In an Epistle to the Reader, Rutherford expresses fear lest upon the error of Erastus, the Rulers should now “rear up a Building to the Lord so maimed and lame as Jesus Christ shall say ‘Offer it now to your Governor, will he be pleased with you, or accept your persons?’ Mal. i. 8. But it is a controversy, say some, Whether the Government of the Church of the New Testament belong to the Magistrate or to the Church? To which, I say, It was a controversy created by men willing to please Princes with more power, in the Courts of Christ, than ever the Lawgiver and the Apostles gave them; and that, against the mind of glorious Lights, the first Reformers, and the whole troop of Protestant Divines, who studied the controversy against the usurped monarchy of the ‘man of sin’ more exactly than one Physician, who, in a cursory way, diverted off his road of Medicine, of which he wrote learnedly,—and broke in, on the bye, upon the deepest polemics of Divinity, and reached a rider’s blow, unawares, to his friends. . . . Christian Rulers would not do well to venture upon eternity, wrath, the judgment to come, confiding on the poor plea of an Erastian distinction, to encroach upon the prerogative royal of Jesus Christ.”

What should seem to be the fundamental principle of Erastus lies, perhaps, in these words, p. 226, “‘Tell the Church,’ Matt. xviii. 17, that, is saith Erastus, Tell the Civil Synodry of the Jews; and, therefore, this place is nothing for Excommunication or any Spiritual church discipline; and if the offender ‘refuse’ to hear the orthodox magistrate, then may the offended brother plead before the heathen magistrate, and deal with the offender as with ‘a heathen and a publican.’” On this, besides denying that the words *ἐκκλησία* or *συναγωγή*, can ever signify “a civil judicature,” in either the Old or New Testament, and making other exceptions, Rutherford remarks, that as “the Jewish Sanhedrim was now to take an end, and expire with all the Jewish policy, it is not to be imagined that Jesus Christ would appoint a punishing remedy for a perpetual and ever-enduring disease. . . . ‘Offences must be.’ Luke xvii. 1. . . . Since Publicans, and Romans converted to the Christian faith from Paganism, even at this time were ‘brethren,’ who might both give and take ‘scandals,’ it shall follow, that Christ commandeth Gentiles to submit to the Jewish magistrates! This was against Christian liberty, and to take from Cæsar those things that are Cæsar’s, which is unjust.” p. 228, 229. “Thomas Erastus, a physician, who meddled not much with Divinity, save in this, in which he was unsound, in his Reply to Beza laboureth to make ‘Excommunication’ a dream, and nothing but a device of Pastors’ affecting domination.” p. 257.

Concerning Presbyteries, Rutherford gives this passage from Erastus, “I deny not, first, such a Presbytery as the Evangelists mention, which is called a presbytery, a synodry, a synagogue; this was the Civil Magistrate, who had, amongst the Jews, the power of the sword. Secondly, I deny not a presbytery, 1 Cor. vi. when the Church wanteth a civil magistrate. Thirdly, I deny not a presbytery

the Reports and Assertions made in the said Discourse. Pitying, though with some Indignation, the Impertinency and Weakness of many others; and, further proving the utter Insufficiency of the Antapologist for his great Undertaking in the behalf of the Presbyterian Cause;

of learned men who, being asked, may give their judgment of doubts: of which, Ambrose—"there was nothing of old done *sine seniorum consilio*, without the counsels of the Elders. But, I deny a Senate collected out of the body of the Church, to judge who repenteth, and are to be excommunicated and debarred from the sacraments, and who not: or, I deny any Ecclesiastical judicature touching the manners and conversation of men, different from the judgment or Court of the Civil magistrate; or that there be two supreme Courts touching manners in one Commonwealth." Here Rutherford answers, "One simple head, in a moment may 'deny' more than many wise men can prove in a whole day. . . That there was a Jewish presbytery, that is, a Civil judicature, is confuted by Lev. x. 10. where there is a 'court' of Aaron's sons, whose it was to judge of Church matters only. . . 1 Cor. vi. is not a 'presbytery;' one wise man might do that, and he is no 'presbytery'. . . He 'denieth' a presbytery for 'manners;' then all scandals must come before the Civil magistrate. Who made him a Church-officer, to judge of the affairs of the church; who is to be admitted to the Seals; who not?" p. 379. To the words of Erastus, that "There was never a wiser Commonwealth in the world than that of the Jews, Deut. iv.: but in the Commonwealth of the Jews there were never two distinct judicatures concerning 'manners;' therefore, there should not be these two different jurisdictions in the Christian Commonwealth; but all should be given to the Civil magistrate;" Rutherford opposes Lev. x. 10., Deut. xvii. 9. 12., 2 Chron. xix.—p. 383.

On Erastus having said, "Nor is that true, that whose part it is to preach, and dispense the sacraments, it is his part to judge of those that profane the Word and Seals, so as he hath power to punish any, that desires the sacraments, with the want of the sacraments: and though it were true, it should prove that Pastors, not a presbytery of pastors and ruling elders, have power to debar from the Seals:" it is replied, in part, that "Erastus is of that mind, that as the Magistrate may 'preach, and dispense the sacraments,' he may, by that power also Ecclesiastically *cognosce* and judge of the scandals, . . and, accordingly, debar. Now Erastus saith, he may preach as a Christian, because that all Christians now, under the New Testament, may preach and prophesy; all are priests and prophets: so saith he. So the Magistrate, by this, as a Christian; and so all Christians, women and children, may try, and examine, all that are openly profane and unworthy the Seals! This can be nothing but popular anarchy: yet that the Magistrate, as a magistrate, and not as a Christian, is to examine and try who are unworthy communicants, I conceive is the mind of Erastus: which, though it be a plain contradiction, yet it is the pillar of all the Erastian doctrine, That the Magistrate, as the magistrate, hath the supreme power of all Church government: 'therefore,' saith he, 'they do wickedly, who take from the Magistrate that part of the visible jurisdiction, in government of the Church, which God hath given to him; and subject the Magistrate to some other jurisdiction: Magistrates are 'gods.'—'The Keys,' he says, 'were given to Peter as representing all the Faithful, not the Elders; and all private Christians do bind and loose.' So, by this," remarks Rutherford, "the Magistrate hath no more power 'to debar from the Seals,' than all other Christians have!" p. 394—396.

"As there is a twofold Governing," says Erastus, "so of necessity there must be two Supreme Governors. God is the Governor of the inward man; the Magistrate, of the outward man. It is absurd there should be two supreme governors of the same government, so as the one neither be a part of the other, nor administer all in the name of the other."—"One Commonwealth," he says, "can have but one Supreme Magistrate: a body with two heads is monstrous; therefore Papists, almost by this argument, do appoint one Pope head of the Church. . . Because the Magistrate cannot do all by himself, he governeth the Schools by Doctors, the Cities by Judges, the Church by Pastors; and all, according to right and justice, and the Word of God: and that where the Magistrate and subjects are Christians. But where the Magistrate is of a false religion, two different governments are

with Answers to his Arguments or Reasons, so called, for the Support thereof in sundry particulars, and more especially on the point of Non-Toleration.—Published by Authority.—1646.” 4to. pp. [xl.] 253.

From the discordance in doctrinal points between this author, John Goodwin, and those whom he describes thus, in the Preface, his testimony in their favour is entitled to peculiar consideration: “How far,” he writes, “the providence of God hath befriended his servants the Apologists with . . . faithfulness of friends, I determine not; but for . . . vigilancy of enemies, I know not such another parcel of men under heaven . . . as they; for not only their words and deeds but even their thoughts and secret purposes are queried and calculated. I will at no hand say that the Antapologist, or Anatomist,^a with such like names of men hold any intelligence with Him that compasseth the earth to and fro;”^b but certainly they hold correspondence with some who vigorously imitate his diligence in that kind. . . . But considering with myself how

tolerable.” Rutherford answers, “This argument destroyeth all aristocracy, parliaments, and senates, where many good men have equal power; and so the Commonwealth may not have seventy heads and rulers of equal power; which is against the Scripture, which commandeth subjection to every Civil ‘ordinance of men’ as lawful. Rom. xiii. 1—3. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. Deut. i. 16. It maketh no Government lawful but popedom and monarchy in both Church and State. It is to beg the question, That there ‘cannot’ be two Supreme Powers, . . . for they are both ‘Supreme’ in their own sphere. . . . If the preachers of the Gospel be to all believers ‘over them in the Lord,’ 1 Thess. v. 12. 1 Tim. v. 17, call it authority, or no authority, they have some oversight over the Christian magistrate; and here be two ‘Supremes.’ two highest powers; one Ecclesiastical; another Civil. . . . The excellency of the Civil Power, in regard of earthly honour and eminency, in the fifth Commandment, above the Servants of God in the ministry of Christ’s spiritual ‘kingdom,’ which is ‘not of this world,’ we heartily acknowledge. That the King preacheth and dispenseth the sacraments by Pastors, as by his servants, is wild divinity! . . . where the Magistrate is a heathen, . . . and the Magistrate turn Christian, must he spoil the Church of what was her due before?” p. 415—419.

Elsewhere, Erastus says, “As we deny an idolater and an apostate to be a Member of the Church of Christ; so we think the man that defendeth his wickedness, is not to be reckoned amongst the Members of the Church. And as we think the former are to be banished out of the society of Christians, so we think the latter are not to be suffered in that society.” Rutherford asks, on this, “Who should judge them and cast them out? The Magistrate! I answer, [suppose] There is no ‘Christian’ Magistrate. If the Church must do it, here, truly, is all granted by Erastus that he hath disputed against in six books, even this very ‘Excommunication!’ . . . Now Erastus concluding his six books, doth, hereby, profess he hath never faithfully stated the question, when he excludes those from the *subjectum questionis* who, especially, heareth not the Church, and ought to be excommunicated. Thus have I given an account, as I could, of the wit of Erastus against the freedom of the ‘kingdom’ of the Lord Jesus Christ.” P. 501, 502.

In p. 646, Rutherford writes, “I have also, in answering Erastus, I hope, answered all that Mr. Prynne hath said, either in his ‘Questions,’ or ‘Vindication;’ because most of all he hath, . . . is fully to be seen in Erastus.”

We find that so late as August 3rd, 1648, the General Assembly made an “Act for censuring Ministers for their silence, and not speaking to the corruptions of the time,” in which they ordain “That the main current of applications in Sermons may run along against the evils that prevail at home, and namely against the contempt of the Word, . . . and against the principles and tenets of Erastianism which spread among divers in this kingdom: for the better confutation whereof, it is hereby recommended to the ministry to study that point of controversy well.” Acts of the Gen. Assemblies, p. 416.

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 238.

^b Job i. 7.

highly God hath honoured the Apologists with spiritual gifts and excellent discoveries of Himself unto them—as by the general acceptation of their labours, in some points not ordinary, amongst the godly-judicious and wise, is fully known,—I cannot but look upon the ‘Antapologia’ as that ‘messenger’ that was given by God unto Paul, to ‘buffet’ him, lest he should have been exalted above measure with the abundance of revelations.^a . . . The very ink wherewith their adversaries have blotted and stained their names and reputations, may be looked upon as an oil of consecration upon them wherewith they are anointed unto their glory. . . . All the declarations, clamorous writings, and passionate expressions of men against the Apologists and that way of Church-government which they hold forth, being interpreted are but so many prophecies or predictions that the day of the honour, both of the one and the other, is a coming! . . . There is nothing more incident to the righteousness of God than to provoke the wrath of man, nor anything more incident to the wrath of man than to contest with the righteousness of God: . . . the wrath of man is, in God’s hand, but as a file to make the innocency of his saints the brighter. . . .

“Reader, I presume of a better and more sober construction from thee, of this discourse, than to think upon occasion of anything that hath been said, that I make it always a sign of future exaltation when persons are rendered odious unto the world because of some opinions which they hold. . . . And whereas the Antapologist is pleased, more than once or twice, in his writings to fancy me unto the world as an arch-friend and favourer of error and heresies, as a man that pleads for a Toleration for them all; I desire both him and others from hence to understand that my friendship or favour unto either is no whit greater than his own. . . . I have travailed as far in the contemplation, and seen as much of the danger and inconvenience, of error, as Mr. Edwards hath done; and have digested my vision into affections suitable to it. . . . Yea, I have for these two years last past, in the course of my public ministry—for I know no ground but to judge it as public as ever—on my week-day lectures, only bent my labours against the faces of three of the more predominant errors as I judge them, or sects, amongst us; namely that of the Antinomians, that of the Anabaptists, and the third of those that are called ‘Seekers;’ yea, that which is yet more, I have for several months together of late employed myself in my Lord’s-day labours, about the pulling down of the error of the ‘Anti-Scripturists.’ . . . I dare not compare my vintage in this kind with Mr. Edwards, his gleanings; yet I believe that the sourness of his grape was such, that few of those cared to eat of his clusters whom he desired most to satisfy! But because I myself am, as I understand, in the apprehensions of some, in the same condemnation for kind though not degree, with Mr. Edwards himself, and the grape of my pen also is censured as over sharp and sour; I crave a little more of thy christian patience, good Reader, to take my Apology, as touching this charge, along with thee. . . .

“I know I am looked upon by reason partly of my writings, partly of my practice, as a man very deeply engaged for the Inde-

^a 2 Cor. xii. 7.

pendents' Cause against Presbytery. But the truth is, I am neither so whole for the former nor yet against the latter, as I am, I believe generally voted in the thoughts of men to be. For, to express myself with allusion to that of the apostle, Rom. vii. 25, it is in my spirit or 'mind' only, that I 'serve the law' of Independency; but in my 'flesh,' I serve the law of Presbytery. And if the cause of Presbytery could be so pleaded and cleared, by any or all her patrons, as to legitimate her birth and pedigree, in my judgment and conscience; I profess in the presence of the glorious God who is ready to judge me, that it would be as a year of jubilee, yea, as a resurrection from death unto life, unto my flesh; yea, my spirit for my flesh' sake would rejoice also, that gain and Godliness, the world and Christ, were so well agreed! And if I apprehended nothing more, or more desirable, in the way of 'Independency' so called, than matter of accommodation, for the outward man, I would presently cut all the cords of engagements by which I am anyways bound to her, and let myself and mine drive upon the providence of God for our maintenance and support in the world: so prepared am I to take the impression of any rational argument or plea either for Presbytery or against Independency, without prejudice. And, if I had liberty in my conscience to pass into the tents of the one, the tabernacles of the other should no longer be my habitation: yea, if I could meet with any thing that had but either strength or colour enough to stumble me, or make me doubt of my way, I would interdict my pen from dealing further in the controversy, and stand still upon the watch-tower of inquiry until God shall clearly show me the way wherein He would have me to go. Some things I have written in favour of the Congregational Way, and some things against Presbytery, but I may truly and with a clear conscience in the sight of God, say, that as well in the one as the other my great and principal desire and end was, according to my Covenant, the glory of God in bringing 'the churches of God,' that is, the saints or servants of God who are, materially, His churches 'in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion and form of church-government'; being fully assured that if ever the generality of the people of God in these kingdoms be conjoined in either, it must be in the Truth, not in error! And therefore, being fully persuaded, resolved, and possest in my judgment, soul, and conscience, that the Way of the Congregation-[alists] is the Truth, I conceived a possibility at least, yea and some degrees of a probability, that 'the churches of God in the three kingdoms,' in the sense declared, might be drawn into a near 'conjunction' in this, namely, when the beauty and truth of it should be fully manifested and made known unto them; but [I] had no hope of procuring any such 'conjunction' of them in the other, and therefore endeavoured the dissolution of the engagements of those to it who were or might be entangled by a clear discovery of the insufficiency and inconsistency of it with the Truth, that so they might be the better prepared for union and 'conjunction' with those of the Congregational way. As for those who, by 'the churches of God in the three kingdoms,' understand all the inhabitants of these 'kingdoms,' good and bad, 'sons of God, and sons of Belial, etc., one with another; and, 'swear' unto the Most High

God with their hands lifted up,' that 'they will endeavour to bring these into the nearest conjunction in religion and form of church government;' what do they in effect but swear in that most sacred and tremendous manner, 'That they will 'endeavour' to bring day and night, light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial, into the 'nearest' communication and conjunction they can? . .

"In case that great and most desirable end I speak of, the 'bringing, etc.,' into a nearness of 'conjunction, etc.,' should be too great for me, together with those that are partakers of the same honourable design with me, to perform; my next proposal in those writings, and hope, was to bring the people of God in the said kingdoms . . into the 'nearest' conjunction of spirit and affection that might be, under this difference. Whereunto I could not but judge this a very promising expedient, To show what, as well in reason as religion, might be argued and said for the way of the Congregation[alists]; and, what again, according to the principles of either, render the way of Presbytery much suspected, at least considering that they were the sons of Presbytery, not the Congregational men, that stood in need of that allay and qualification of spirit without the mediation whereof there was no hope of any 'conjunction' in affection between them. As for any end or design of making parties, increasing strife, countenancing heretics or persons erroneous, hindering Reformation, or the like; the Ever-blessed God knows that such virtue is gone out from his Spirit, which hath made these not the abhorring only, but even the disdain and despicableness of my soul; yea, and which hath brought my life and whatsoever I am or have in this world, into my hand, where it is all ready at a day, at an hour, at a moment, to be offered up upon the service of the Peace of His Churches and Prosperity of His Gospel, whensoever these shall call. . .

"From my study in Coleman street, July 17th, 1646."

"Chap. i. Wherein the insufficiency of the author or the Antapology for his task, is evidenced; partly, by his immoderate venditations of himself; partly, by his frequent stumblings and failings in his grammaticals and first rudiments of learning.—. How many they are that look upon the Antapologetical discourse as a rare piece of perfection, I shall not need to give any further account; himself . . being very instant in preaching this doctrine 'in season,' and 'out of season.' I shall therefore, in the first place, empannel a jury of witnesses from his own pen, which will, with one consent, give evidence against him for a man overgrown in conceit of himself, and one that much wrongs his own abilities by surcharging them with a far greater weight of confidence than they are able to bear! And, secondly, I shall be 'countable to the Reader, of such frequent errors in the first rudiments of learning and language, which will demonstrate him [the Antapologist] to be no such Gamaliel in this discourse, as that all men are bound to sit down at his feet. . . The old proverb which thought two to one though it were Hercules himself, an unreasonable odds, had no intent to undervalue him thereby; ^a but this author seems to fear that his abilities and worth shall suffer, except he shall be thought able to stand

^a "Ne Hercules quidem contra duos."

against Five—and those, by his own confession again and again, non de plebe virum, men of more than vulgar strength and skill at their weapon; nay, such as by the testimony of another of his own judgment, ‘want no abilities to dispute their own opinions in any assembly in Europe;’^a—but over and above all these, against as many more as have the hardiness to stand by these against him: ‘And I do challenge,’ saith he, in p. 89, ‘the Separatists of all sorts, whether them of the head form, the Anabaptists; or of the middle form, the old Brownists; or of the lower form, the Semi-Separatists, etc. ;’ by these last, meaning the Apologists with all of their judgment, as elsewhere he explaineth. But for the mean Apologists, his ‘you Five,’ as he calls them, he challengeth them over and over, at ease: ‘I profess myself of another judgment, and cast the glove to any of you Five, or to you all, etc.,’ p. 53. . . He hath the other glove yet to cast, and casts it, p. 98, after this manner, ‘And I challenge you in all your reading, to name me one Divine, etc.’ A third glove he cast to them, p. 117, with somewhat a more indulgent reflection upon his own sufficiency: ‘I am,’ saith he, ‘so far versed in these controversies, that I challenge you Five to give me an example of any city, etc.’. . . He claims so much acquaintance with, and such dexterity and deep insight into the ‘controversies’ about church-government, it is a wonder that he should yet think that government to be most agreeable to the mind of Christ, which is directly calculated for the gratification of the world in a great part of it—though, in some things, it seems against it; as doth also the Papal and Episcopal,—and according to the desires of ignorant and carnal men, who have neither the sound knowledge nor fear of God, and to the pressure and offence of the saints and such as excel in grace and holiness. . . But above all the discoveries he makes of his self-esteem, that passage of his towards the close of his Epistle, hath the pre-eminence, ‘I have taken up a fixed resolution, never to give over writing till this Church be settled, and these great Schisms amongst us healed!’^b Surely the author thinks that he is the anointed Cherub, ‘the man of divine designation, indued with strength of gifts, parts, and learning, from on high, to bring east and west together; and make the north and the south kiss each other. It was one of the memorable boastings of that famous mountebank, Paracelsus, that he, ‘would shortly order Luther and the Pope, as well as he had done Galen and Hippocrates:’ but if Mr. Edwards hath any hopes or desire to strike so happy a stroke with his pen, as to dash out all differences and distractions in church affairs amongst us, he must take heed of red lines, and remember a saying of Bosquier, that ‘fish are not to be caught with a bloody net!’ . . .

“I profess ingenuously, that whilst I was reading over the discourse, I was much refreshed and found ease, when I came to a page that had cleanness [*sic*] of sense and sentence throughout; being ever and anon, even unto weariness shackled and intricated with ruffled and snarled bottoms of words, where I had much ado to find ever a right end of sense or savour; yea, in some places, I found the case desperate: . . . common sense itself is, many times, a mystery in his book. . .

^a “A. S. p. 70.” See back, vol. ii. p. 251.

^b See back, vol. ii. p. 338.

^c Ezek. xxix. 14.

“Chap. ii. Showing and proving that the Antapology is a discourse divided in and against itself, by contradictions and inconsistencies; insomuch that either half of what is considerable in it, may be answered out of the other, excepting some few relations of matters of fact, etc.—. . . Error hath built nothing to speak of by the hand of the author of the ‘Antapology,’ but what Truth by the same hand hath pulled down. . . Page 12, he flings himself into a pang of indignation at a certain bold attempt of his Brethren, ‘I cannot but stand and wonder that you, knowing and acknowledging the Houses to be the supreme judicatory of the kingdom, how you had the face to present an appeal unto them in all things untrue.’ And yet himself. . . in the next precedent period ‘appeals’ unto them also; yea, and. . . desires them ‘to read’ not only his ‘Reasons,’^a as he calls them,—a pamphlet long since convicted, and that by a woman,^b of many errors and untruths: nor hath that wound of this dishonour been healed either by the author or any for him to this day, but it still putrifies:—but also, this tedious and indigested piece, his ‘Antapology;’ wherein,—besides the frequent vomiting of his gall and choler in the faces of men more righteous than himself; such a sight, I believe, as the eyes of so honourable an Assembly were never invited unto ab orbe condito until now;—if I do not prove a sevenfold proportion of untruth above what can be suspected, and much more, detected, for such, in their ‘Apology,’ let my pen suffer the dishonour and never look paper in the face more. . . If I do not prove and make good before I have done with you, that you sin with a far higher hand, . . . and that you feign many things in this your Answer, not only in point of circumstance, but of substance also; and, that you affirm and assert twenty things and ten, which you neither had from their own mouths, nor from their own Letters, nor by any other of those ways or means mentioned in your said appeal and attestation, let my epitaph be, when I am dead, ‘This man began to build, and was not able to finish!’ . . . Page 112, he courteously desires to know of them, ‘What rule they walk by;’ and, ‘Whether the first constituted church of all, were not likely to be the pattern for all constituted churches, seeing, *primum in unoquoque, genere est regula et mensura reliquorum:*’ meaning, that the church of Jerusalem . . . consisted of more congregations than one; and consequently— or rather inconsequently—avoucheth the Presbyterian government, and overthroweth the Independent! And yet, not many lines before,—*heû regni, rerumque oblitum suarum*—he had acknowledged that ‘at first, the church of Jerusalem and other churches, were not more numerous than to exceed the limits of one particular congregation.’ Surely ‘the church of Jerusalem’ at the first, and whilst it was but ‘one particular congregation,’ was the ‘first constituted’ church; and more ancient and primitive than the same church afterwards when it came to consist of many congregations, if ever it came to such amplitude; which may be ten times affirmed with more ease, than once substantially proved: therefore by his own rule, *Primum in unoquoque,* etc., a church consisting only of one congregation, should be the pattern

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 100.

^b See back, vol. ii. p. 108.

for all constituted churches afterward : and, consequently, churches that are not such, should be dissolved as incommensurable with their rule! . .

“ ‘The standing rule,’ saith he, p. 53, ‘of the coming to the Lord’s Supper, will be found to be faith and godliness shown forth, rather than the formality of membership :’ and yet, in the very next page, he qu'rrels with the pastor of the church of Coleman-street, for ‘not admitting the known godly to this sacrament, by virtue of their relation of membership which they hold in the parish church!’ Doth he reject ‘membership’ as an impertinency, a ‘formality’ merely inconsiderable in the business of admitting unto the sacrament; and yet is offended with those who ‘do not admit by virtue thereof?’ But whereas he affirmeth that ‘the known godly in this parish cannot be admitted, etc., never, since their pastor fell into the church-way;’ I answer, first, that those he speaks of have been—at least many of them—admitted to the sacrament ‘since their pastor fell,’ or rather rose up, ‘into the church-way; though not, haply, by virtue of their relation of membership in this parish church,’—which himself rejects, as an undue ground of admission;—yet more by virtue either of their ‘known’ or supposed godliness than of any other consideration or ‘formality’ whatsoever. I answer, secondly, no marvel if some of them have not been admitted to the sacrament by him whom Mr. Edwards calls ‘their pastor,’ by virtue of that relation he speaks of whenas they disclaimed their relation both to this pastor and church—at least, constructively,—by separating themselves both from him and those of the said parish, who owned him and joined themselves unto him in an orderly way, to the great offence both of the one and of the other. I know no rule whereby a pastor stands bound to admit such to the sacrament, who separate themselves both from him and from such of their fellow-members who cleave unto him, and are willing to walk with him in the way of the Gospel and of God! If Mr. Edwards knows any and shall please to exhibit it, I dare undertake that the pastor he speaks of shall, through the grace of God, repent of his error upon the first sight and apprehension of it, as far as the error is his: but if he thinks that it is in the power of a ‘pastor’ to admit or refuse in this kind, as, and whom, he pleaseth, though to the scandal and offence of his congregation; it is a sign that he is too deeply baptized into the spirit of clergy-classic *autocracy*! . . P. 299, he confesseth that ‘in the churches of the Low-countries’—which he expressly, both here and elsewhere, asserteth for ‘Presbyterial,’—‘ministers and people turn Arminians and Socinians;’ and, that ‘an anabaptistical and familistical spirit in many, and a corrupt spirit and principles in others, do much check and stop Presbyterial government.’ And for ‘the mischiefs and evils of errors in doctrine,’ how oft doth he in this discourse, present us with differences both in judgment and practice between churches and churches, and those Presbyterial? Yea, between person and person, in the same church, and that Presbyterial too? see p. 299, 107, 164, etc. . . There must of necessity, be ‘error in doctrine’ on the one side or the other; and consequently, within the sacred verge of Presbyterial churches! . . Page 194, he insults over [the Apologists] as ‘young men;’ yet p. 186, to serve another turn

he represents them as ancient men . . whose pilgrimage on earth hath been of 'forty years and upwards.' Men that have seen forty years and upwards, are no such young men; and besides, may be as deeply studied as they of fifty years and 'upwards': . . how deeply soever studied Mr. Edwards may be, doubtless he is but *shallowly*^a provided to abet the Presbyterian cause. . .

"Chap. iii. Wherein the extreme weakness of the Antapology is further discovered, by the numerous retinue of inconsiderate, indigested, weak, and scarce sense-making passages and sayings attending it, almost from the one end unto the other; some of the principal whereof are here presented, with their respective convictions.— . . By the slender offence taken at the Antapologetical discourse^b by the generality of men, it should seem that Mr. Edwards is not a man in much 'reputation for wisdom' or 'honour.'^c . . Where great things are not expected, very mean things will give satisfaction; and when weaknesses and oversights are looked for before they come, they are commonly overlooked and little minded when they do come. He was not in much 'reputation for wisdom and honour,' and therefore his 'folly' hath been the less prejudicial to him.

Qui cadit in plano, vix hoc tamen evenit ipsum.

By trampling the honour and reputation of the Apologists under foot, and profaning their excellency, he hath highly gratified the greater *party* of the world round about him; who, being Presbyterially devoted, were not a little pinched and checked in their devotions, by the credit, interest, and esteem of the *other*, looking, as is generally known, another way. By disfiguring the faces of the Apologists, he hath made the faces of the Presbyterian party—at least, in their own esteem,—to shine. Now men being full of the sense and sweet contentment of so good a service done unto them, are in no capacity of taking notice of the miscarriages of him that hath done it; but have heart and mind little enough to attend and take their own satisfaction, and to congratulate and applaud their benefactor! By gaining their 'love,' he hath gotten a covering for 'the multitude' of his 'sins.' But though his own receive him *tanquam tertium è cælo Catonem*, and rejoice over his Antapology as a piece of blessedness come upon the world; yet he must know, that all the world doth not yet Presbyterialize, but that there is 'the shaking of an olive [tree],'^d a remnant of men who have their eyes open to see round about them and to judge righteous judgment of him and his doings. . . P. 83, having said that 'in New England human prudence punished, by banishment and imprisonment, under the *name* of disturbers of the Civil Peace, many members of their churches for familism, anabaptism, etc.;" he adds, 'without which courses and others of the like kind their churches and commonwealth had been long ago ruined.' Is it any means of ruining a church or commonwealth, not to punish,—whether by banishment or imprisonment, or however,—one kind of misdemeanour under the 'name' of another? We absolutely conceive this to be injustice, and, consequently, no ways tending to the support of churches or commonwealths! He professeth, p. 254, that he believes the Apologists 'counted the Assembly an

^a See back, p. 166. ^b See back, p. 158. ^c Eccles. x. 1. ^d Isa. xviii. 6.; xxiv. 13.

adventure for their church-way:’ doth he mean, that they expected any benefit or increase of their church-way by or from ‘the Assembly?’ [for] when men make ‘adventures,’ they expect matters of advantage. If this be his meaning, I know no ground at all for that faith which he here professeth. Surely, the Apologists had no reason to expect any great matters of advantage to their church-way from the Assembly; no more than David had to expect kindness from Goliath when he came against him formidably armed with sword and spear, to give his ‘flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field!’^a Whether this be his meaning, or whatever besides, in the expression; he speaks as if he meant it to [of] none but himself! . . . P. 179, he saith that in Presbyterian Government, there is no man, ‘be he never so able or subtle, that can escape calling to account and censure!’ What subtilty may do in this government towards an escape, I will not say; but I verily believe that the more ‘able’ any man is, he is so much the less like to ‘escape’ calling to account, etc., in this government. And, that ‘keeping officers and people from running into errors,’ which here he ascribes to his government; being truly interpreted, is a taking the best course with them they can to keep them ‘from running’ away ‘from errors,’—at least many of them,—and from making an ‘escape’ into the tents of ‘Truth!’ . . . ‘I know not,’ saith he, p. 261, ‘whether some of you may not hold those opinions,’—in his conceit, not very orthodox,—‘seeing they were publicly preached at Arnheim, and never condemned, as I ever heard.’ Doth the man think it so strange a thing that any thing should be done at ‘Arnheim,’ and he not hear of it? The truth is, that he is more particular in his historicals concerning Arnheim than any other church or place. The reason whereof is, as I understand, his interest of acquaintance with a female malecontent, who sometime lived there; and not being gratified with churchship within the time of her patience, changed her affections to the church-way for Presbyterian love: and now, as it seems, comforts herself over her imagined neglect with the unworthy comforts of doing and speaking all the evil she can—without provoking her conscience too far; and yet in some things, I believe she hath been very daring in this kind,—of that way which arose not timely enough to open the door unto her when she knocked! But this is no new thing; it was an old character of a woman discontented: *Molliter irasci non sciet illa tibi*; soft anger, is an unknown passion to her. . . . As for the casting out of ‘ceremonies,’ p. 272, I ‘suppose’ that neither Mr. Edwards himself nor his, will ‘be contented,’ if they were all cast out: imposition of hands by ministers in the ordination of ministers, and bowing the knee before the impositors by the ordained, though they be ‘ceremonies,’ yet are they a great part of the substance of Presbytery; and it is probable that the sons of this way, would think themselves in ‘the shadow of death,’ if they had not this seed of ‘ceremonies’ remaining! . . .

“He prophesies against his Brethren, p. 277, thus, ‘In the way of Toleration which you aim at, you will do more hurt than you can do good in this kingdom; yea, though you had the tongues and parts of angels.’ . . . It is a poor and weak conceit, most unworthy the Gospel, to

^a 1 Sam. xvii. 44.

fear lest whilst that shines forth in the glory and might of it, the darkness of errors or heresies should overspread the land : or if his meaning be more circumscribed and, in particular, this, That the Apologists in a 'way of Toleration' will do more 'hurt' than 'good' to the Presbyterian cause and interest in 'this kingdom;' I have not wherewith to gainsay; but the best is, that Presbytery and the Gospel are not so near of kin, nor their interests so complicated, but what the one may lie in the dust whilst the other sits upon the throne! 'Let me tell you,' saith he, after his magisterial manner, p. 278, 'though the ordinances of Christ be the portion of christians, yet not in what way or dress soever they will have them; but so as to enjoy them according to the Word of God in the Public Assemblies, and not in a schismatical way.' Doth the man suppose that the 'ordinances of Christ' dispensed in basilics or pompous buildings of Popish dedication, and Episcopal consecration, are more 'according to the Word of God' than when they are enjoyed in places of a more sober and less idolatrized structure?.. As for that 'schismatical way,'..when he understands himself better about the nature and definition of a schism, we shall, God giving opportunity, reason the case with him. In the mean season, let me borrow the chair of him, for this once, and tell him, That where union never was, schism can never be: as, where life never was, death can never be!.. Having granted upon the matter p. 109, that 'the Nonconformists, in their writings against the bishops,' held that 'a particular church exceedeth not the limits of one particular congregation:' but, saith he, 'show us where ever the old Nonconformists as against the Reformed Churches held so.' Doubtless, if the Reformed Churches held the same opinion with the bishops, wherein the Nonconformists opposed them, that which these Nonconformists assert and maintain against the bishops and their opinion, they must of necessity hold against the Reformed Churches and their opinion, unless they play fast and loose with their judgment, or make the nature of Truth relative, and not absolute; as the Papists do, who affirm that the Scriptures, cited by Catholics, are the Word of God; but, alleged by Protestants, become the word of the devil!.. We desire to know why he chargeth his Brethren, p. 243, with 'gathering churches'? If it will bear an action, he should rather charge the 'churches' with 'gathering' of them. In the next page, he speaks more properly and truly where he speaks of 'gathering churches by the people.' Indeed in Presbytery, the ministers and pastors gather churches, where they can get them; but in Independency, it is contrary, the churches gather their pastors, and are glad when they can come by such to whom they can with comfort commit themselves in the Lord... Let Mr. Edwards but undertake to discipline his Presbyterian party in the land, and make good christians of them, and I will undertake that 'gathering of churches' shall occasion no more troubles or disturbances amongst us. The sun will cause no ill savour, if the dunghill be but taken away from before it!..

" Having rejoiced awhile over a testimony of honour given to the Assembly by the Apologists, he comes, p. 253, to crave this leave, 'Let me make this use of it to the people, and sadly put this

question to their consciences, Whether is more probable, that an Assembly so judicious, of so many able, learned, and grave divines, making it their work and business to find out the government, and the truth about the order of the church, etc., should find out the truth; or Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Bachiler, Mr. Carter, with a company of weak, ignorant men and women, youths and maids, etc.?' If the Assembly make 'it their work and business,' . . . why doth Mr. Edwards take this 'work' of theirs out of their hand? . . . So that whereas he craves leave 'sadly' to put a question; the truth is that he takes leave to put it madly. . . I cannot imagine what Mr. Edwards meaneth by his 'work of Reformation intended,' p. 303, . . . if he means the enacting of a law either to punish or persecute all the servants of God in the land, that cannot Presbyterianize; or, to invest the present generation of Presbyters together with their successors from generation to generation, with a capacity of making and remaking, of forming and reforming, and transforming, every man's faith for him in every age; or, the enacting of a law to revive and re-enforce the Levitical law of paying tithes upon the people in the land, the authority whereof is sinking and ready to die; or, for the putting asunder of what God hath joined together, I mean for dissolving the churches of Christ amongst us gathered according to the rule and order of the Gospel, and scattering the saints—the respective members of them—unto the four winds of the heavens: if, I say, . . . he means . . . such laws as these, . . . besides which, I know not what, being loyal to his principles, he can mean, certain I am that there are no 'depths of Satan' in any 'design' for the undermining or frustrating of such works of 'Reformation' as these. . . He saith, p. 262, that 'daily the Independent churches . . . breed and bring forth the monsters of anabaptism, etc.' . . . There is scarce an anabaptist, or antinomian, or familist, in the kingdom, but which Mr. Edwards's church, I mean the Church of England, either through her negligence or through her insufficiency in teaching or instructing, or through the evil example of her ways and walkings, hath bred and brought forth: therefore, let Mr. Edwards from henceforth cease to lay the misbegotten children of his own church at the door of Independency. . . If it can be truly said, that either of these churches or communions was 'set up against' the other, p. 270; it is the Presbyterian 'church and communion' that were 'set up,' in this kingdom, 'against' the Congregational, . . . the Congregational 'church and communion' being more ancient in this nation—yea, and simply, more ancient too; as by Presbyterian grants, and edicts themselves, might be proved, yea, and hath been proved in part in this Reply—than the Presbyterian. . .

"Chap. iv. Wherein the weakness of the Antapology is further laid open, by a presentment made of sundry poor, empty, and considerable exceptions and matters of charge therein made against the Apologists; such indeed, as are not worthy the pen of a man of judgment or ingenuity, being but a small parcel, comparatively, of a greater quantity of the same kind.—. . . Methinks I see the Antapologist himself standing in some such posture as Horace describes his petty-chapman in,—

Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello.

. . Having, p. 95, described such whom 'all the Reformed Churches hold fit to be received' into church-communion, as namely, those who have a 'competent knowledge of God, Christ, and themselves, etc.' . . he chargeth the Apologists thus, 'Even multitudes of these, you will not admit, nor do not, into your churches.' Either he speaks here of individuals or of species: if of individuals, let me ask him, Are there not every whit as great 'multitudes' of them which Mr. Edwards himself and his church will not admit? . . for if they be true to their principles, they 'will not,' they 'do not' admit any . . but only those that are parochialized with them! The 'formality' of that invisible line which surroundeth so much of the superficies of the earth as times of ignorance and superstition thought meet to appropriate and allow to their respective parishes, the parishes themselves if not universally yet more generally being appropriated unto popish saints; the 'formality,' I say, speaking in Mr. Edwards's dialect, of this invisible line at first drawn by the hand of blindness, is the only rule and measure of Presbyterian admissions into their churches! . . If he speaks of the whole species of the persons described; . . if they should receive the whole species . . Presbytery would be famished! . . The Apologists—amongst some other disadvantages which they 'could not but foresee,' as they say, they were to 'adventure' on, in coming into and sitting as members in the Assembly,—mentioning 'the stream of public interest;' with what great wrath and indignation doth the man exagitate and vex this innocent expression, p. 258-260, as being 'a dangerous insinuation against the Assembly; yea, and the Parliament too!' When Paul wrote thus to the Philippians, 'All seek their own,' etc.,^a was it 'a dangerous insinuation' against them, or any others of whom he might be conceived to speak? . . I will not say, that the Reformation demanded, pressed, urged—I had almost said, commanded—by the Assembly and others, cleaving by the mediation and glew of their own interests very close unto them, is the 'public interest' of the Assembly; but I will crave leave privately to consider and think upon what I have heard reported as from the mouths of some of the most ingenuous and able of themselves in this behalf. . . The truth is, that setting two or three particulars aside—which are of no such enormous demerit neither, but that the best of men are daily subject unto them,—in all that numerous . . retinue of tales and stories, of imputations and aspersions, of crimes and misdemeanours, wherewith the angry and crabbed piece of 'Antapology' laboureth to make the five men of her contestation like unto other men; there is scarce any one, either of this one kind or of the other, which a man of worth and ingenuity would have judged worthy such public contestation, or [would have] dishonoured his pen with such a set and solemn divulgation of, as the Antapologist hath done! . .

" Chap. v. Showing the most unworthy and unchristian dealing of the Antapologist, in racking, wresting, misusing, misconstruing, the words and phrases of the Apologists.—. . Whereas some of their expressions, by fetching and casting about, by wringing and wresting,

^a Phil. ii. 21.

may be found,—or rather, indeed, forced,—capable of a plurality of meanings; he turns this upon them as matter of design, and seeks to render them odious to his reader, as men that sought coverts and subtrefuges for their opinions and meanings, in amphibologies and obscurities of expression: whereas to a reader truly christian, or but tolerably conditioned otherwise, the words are innocent and fair, ingenuous, steady, and distinct enough to convey their minds and meanings unto other men's understandings without danger of miscarriage at all. . . For whereas the Apologists clearly express themselves and their judgment touching the subject of excommunication; as namely, that they 'judge' that excommunication should be put in execution for no other kind of sins than may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the party's known light; the Antapologist under a pretence of confuting this opinion, confutes, or at least opposeth, quite another, namely, that which maintaineth, that such sins or errors which the offender shall 'pretend' to be against his known light, ought not to be proceeded against by the censure of excommunication: an opinion too ridiculous, in all reasonable conjecture, to find entertainment in the judgment or thoughts of any reasonable man. I know where to find more instances, and those more than a few, of this legerdemain in writings on that side: ἀλλὰ φείδομαι ὑμῶν. . . And, how importune and broadfaced an untruth is it, to say, p. 68, that the 'Antinonians' will have nothing to do with the Old Testament, whenas it is so notoriously known that that passage, Num. xxiii. 21, is their main foundation and plea for that gross opinion and tenet by which they are known, and for which they are censured as much or more, than for any other, namely, That God seeth no sin in his people. . .

"Chap. vi. Demonstrating the unchristian-mindedness of the Antapologist against his Brethren; as also, his insufferable prevarication with his importune profession of love towards them, of candour, and fairness in writing, etc., in sundry particulars of a most uncharitable and malign insinuation against them.—. . He would persuade his reader, p. 6. that he 'meddles not with personal things, or matters of fact that are heterogeneous; but speaks only of such as are the effects and fruits of their Church-way.' But, that one of the Apologists was 'not willing to live wholly upon his wife's means,' a story you tell p. 25; was this, an 'effect or fruit of the church-way?' How then, came Mr. Edwards himself, a Prebyterian in the highest, to be of the same mind, and to heap living upon living, lecture upon lecture, to keep his foot from dashing against that stone? So, that another of them should 'flee beyond the seas for debt,' another story; was this, any 'effect or fruit of the church-way?' Do not many take this sanctuary from time to time, who have no more communion with 'the Church-way' than himself? . . There is scarce any thing, if any thing at all, repeated by him throughout the whole discourse which is, properly, any 'effect or fruit of the church-way;' but only of the weakness of some engaged in this way: which weaknesses have their fellows, yea and superiors too, in many thousands who walk in the way so much admired, surnamed, Presbyterian! . . Having confessed, with much sorrow of heart it seems, that he cannot prove that Mr. Nye hath published his 'opinions' by 'preaching' particularly for

them; he comforts himself with taking revenge upon him in nonsense, thus, p. 217, 'but, whether Mr. Nye hath not acted *the State-parasite*, etc.'^a I see that men of worth and learning are obnoxious to the reproaches and viperous insinuations of illiterate tongues and pens; as men of valour are to be slain with rusty swords. As for that expression 'the State-parasite,' it seems he liked it not so well from the press, as from his pen: for after he saw the deformity of it in print, he was ashamed of the monster, and went and laid it at the printer's door, advising him to hide it amongst his 'errata,' and to substitute that poor impertinency of expression, 'the State part,' in its stead; a phrase, I confess, which well enough suits the rest of the sentence, and doth not alter the complexion of it upon any such terms but that it still looks as like the author as it did with the other; for what it wants in malignity of the other, it hath in weakness above it. . . The 'errata' have paid the page in its own coin; for receiving 'the State-parasite' from it, they recompense it with 'the State part' in exchange: . . the honour of his promise of 'all candour, fairness, and respect,' is laid in the dust, as well by the one as the other.

"Chap. vii. Exhibiting the gross falsehood and untruth of many Antapologetical allegations, assertions, and reports; as well concerning the Apologists and their practices, as others.—. He affirms, p. 29, . . that in New England, when they began to multiply and increase, this [Congregational] government had like to have ruined them, 'both in church and commonwealth.' . . The certain truth is, that the greatest danger that state was ever in, in respect of government, was occasioned by that ingrediency of Presbyterialism which they put into the composition of their government from the beginning, and where-with it seems, it is by this further leavened. . . 'What was the reason,' saith he p. 96, 'and what is the matter, that when Mr. John Goodwin fell to your principles and way, so many godly persons of his own parish could not be received in by him as church-members, nor accounted so, without yielding to some rules and conditions which they, being members of Christ,—and, some of them, none of the meanest,—could not condescend unto?' . . Let Mr. Edwards and all the world know, that there were as faithful and conscientious 'members of Christ' who did 'condescend' to all that was required for the purpose he speaks of, as any of those who pretended or pleaded conscience for their refusal: therefore, their relation unto Christ as 'Members,' is most wretchedly insinuated as the ground or reason of their noncondescension. . . There were no such 'rules' or 'conditions' required to be condescended unto, by the persons he speaks of which they 'could not' condescend unto; but only such as they *might* and *ought* to have condescended unto: yea, and such which, I verily believe that could they have prophesied of these days, they *would* have condescended unto. But the truth is, that it was not 'Mr. John Goodwin,' but the 'godly persons' he [Edwards] speaks of, that multiplied 'rules and conditions' to order, umpire, and limit him—not, he them—in his proceedings and way; unto all which he was easily persuaded and fully resolved to condescend, until, towards the very end and close of that

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 377.

transaction and debate, there rose up on the other side an interpretation quite contrary to the text, and such a sense put upon one of the articles or propositions for agreement, by the agents for the 'godly persons' spoken of, which no man that understands plain English could lightly have imagined or suspected. All the 'rules and conditions' required by 'Mr. John Goodwin' to have been condescended unto by the persons over whom Mr. Edwards finds himself so much aggrieved, amount but to this one, That they would acknowledge the persons who had joined themselves unto him as a pastor, fellow-members of the same Particular Church with themselves! Their refusal of this, in the due sense and construction of the words, necessitated 'Mr. John Goodwin' either to abandon those who, in the clearest and most regular way, had chosen him for their pastor, and [whom] he [had] engaged himself unto. . . accordingly; or to leave them who, for the present, condescended not to that proposition, to their further thoughts and considerations what to do for their own accommodation and contentment in point of church affairs; or else, to have owned a pastoral relation to two distinct churches at once. Now, he apprehending a manifest and unchristian incongruity in the last, and a kind of unnatural impiety in the first, and a far less inconveniency in the second than in either of the others, steered his course accordingly; and chose to walk with those whose hearts and affections he had cause to judge clave fastest unto him in the Lord: and the rather, because God had wrought a sympathy in judgment also, between him and them in that particular wherein others were not then willing, upon what grounds or motives I will not determine, to close with him. This is 'the reason' and this, 'the matter,' an account whereof Mr. Edwards so imperiously and importunately demands! . . . P. 153, he chargeth the Congregational way with 'wrapping in whole churches in sin and guilt:'. . . a few lines after, 'In your way,' saith he, 'as if all sinners were equal and all offenders alike, all are punished with the same sentence of noncommunion.' What a broad-faced slander and untruth is this! The church at Rotterdam, according to his own relation, p. 146, was found an offender in the case of Mr. Edwards [Ward's] deposal, by the church of Arnheim, and was censured and reprov'd accordingly; yet was not punished with the 'sentence of noncommunion.'^a Yea, himself elsewhere, as p. 113, asperseth their way and practice with this pretence, That they make too few sins, only such and such of a prodigious magnitude, the subject of their noncommunion. Therefore, they do not punish 'all offenders alike,' or 'with the same sentence of noncommunion.'

"Mr. Edwards himself concurs with my apprehensions, where he saith, p. 255, that 'the Parliament should have done well to have chosen as many of the Congregational way, as on the other side [to sit in the Assembly]; and then, there would have been a fair and an even trial:' but howsoever, threescore against thirteen, had been abundantly enough for God to have given deliverance and victory by. But Mr. Edwards's pillar of '*jus divinum permissivum*,' was thought the best expedient in those days; and therefore, all the strength that God *permitted* them to gather and bring in was judged convenient and

^a See back, p. 139, 140.

providential enough, to assist Presbytery in the day of her *opposals!* As for that 'patience, long-suffering, and forbearance,' which were exercised, by the Assembly, towards them in the particulars he speaks of, I confess I am not able but only by hear-say, and see-say—I mean by what I have seen in print—to oppose it: . . . only, the brief 'Remonstrance' of the Apologists, delivered in to the Assembly, and some months since printed—though not by them,^a—together with a long succession of 'Reports' out of the Assembly itself preceding it, teach another belief, and that with authority! . . . If they have declined all 'ways of dispute,' and of stating the points of difference between them and the Ministers,' p. 231; I shall be ready to join with Mr. Edwards and his party in their censure of them. But I have heard several birds sing a quite contrary note; and, that 'stating the points in difference, etc.,' so to prepare them for 'dispute,' was a summer-fruit which their soul lusted after; but the keepers of the orchard refused to give them to eat; there was a little 'Remonstrance' which some months since, crept out at a back-door and spoiled Mr. Edwards's market for this falsified commodity. . . . He demands, p. 276, 'Have not some of you the prime lectures of the city, and other good places of profit and advantage?' I never heard that Dr. Burges was turned Apologist before; nor that any of the Five commonly known by the name of 'the Apologists,' was invested with the four hundred-pound lecture; nor yet that all the lectures they have amongst them all durst compare or contend for primacy, in any respect—except, haply, in point of beneficialness to the hearers!—with that of Paul's.^b And for these 'other good places, etc.,' I hope the Rejoinder will find them out for them, and put them into possession of them. . . . Suppose all the stories which Mr. Edwards relates in his Antapology to the disparagement of the Apologists were true; yet this truth would be fairly and fully consistent with the honour of that which he calls 'Independency.' Abraham's weakness, in denying his wife; Sarah's weakness, in denying her laughter; Jacob's weakness, in seeking his father's blessing with subtlety; Peter's weakness, in denying his Master; with a thousand other infirmities of the saints of old, did no ways prove but that that religion which they professed, and that way of worship wherein they walked, were both agreeable to the Truth, and of sovereign acceptance with God.

"Chap. viii. Partly acknowledgeth, partly qualifyeth, partly vindicath, such considerable allegations and matters of charge against the Apologists, as the Antapologist with any degree of truth labours to fasten upon them.— . . . As to the story he tells, p. 243, concerning an 'Agreement,'^c which he saith Mr. Nye 'pretending some reasons to borrow it for awhile, carried away into Yorkshire;' it is so ridiculously poor and empty, that an apology for the pretended crime in it, would be but an impertinence. . . . I could discern nothing in it, whereby it was likely to operate in one kind or other, above the line of any other transcript of the same contents, . . . either in the margent or elsewhere about it. Reader, this is the direful fact, . . . about which there have been so many lamentable complaints and outcries, by the tongues and pens

^a See back, p. 1.

^b Cathedral.

^c See back, vol. ii. p. 379, note.

of many ; as if the Presbyterian cause itself had been wrapped up in the paper, and so cast into the midst of the sea. . . Having thus at last finished the first and worst and most wearisome part of a long task, I shall crave the reader's patience awhile for the latter, until I have cleared my hand of some other concerns which seem to call for priority of the press, if God shall please to allow a portion of mortality sufficient for both."

CHAP. LXX.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—BAILLIE.—QUESTIONS ON "JUS DIVINUM."—
 BAILLIE.—"A VERY FINE BOOK."—BAILLIE.—HIS SECOND "DIS-
 SUASIVE."—BRAMHALL.—THE CASE OF THE KINGDOM.

THAT the transactions of these times may be set out and connected with so much convenience as our plan admits of, this chapter commences with a paragraph from the answer of the General Assembly, dated Edinburgh, Feb. 13th, 1645[6], to the "Right Reverend" Divines of the Assembly at Westminster.^a

"When we consider that you have walked in paths unusual, which have not been haunted by travellers there, as the public way, though pointed out as the good old way by the Reformed Kirks ; we do not wonder that you have carefully adverted, in every step, to set foot upon sure ground. When we behold that strong and high 'tree' of Episcopacy, so deeply rooted by continuance of time, not lopped of the 'branches,' and the 'stumps' of the root left in the earth, with a band of iron and brass, but [to be] pluckt up by the roots ; we do confess that the carpenters, though prepared, have a hard task, requiring time to hew it down^b and root it up. And, when we call to mind how much the Service Book hath been cried up as the only way of God's worship ; how many thereby have had their wealth, and how difficil it is to forego the accustomed way ; we admire the power and wisdom of God who hath prospered you in your way, and led you this length through so many straits and over so many difficulties in so troublous a time."^c

Again, June 18th, 1646, they tell their "Much Honoured, and Right Reverend" Brethren, "There could not be wished by mortal men, a fairer opportunity than is cast in your laps, being invited and charged by so high an Authority, to give so free and public a testimony to those truths which, formerly, many of the Lord's precious ones by tongue and pen, by tears and blood, have more privately asserted. The smallest of Christ's truths,—if it be lawful to call any of them small,—is of greater moment than all the other businesses that ever have been debated since the beginning of the world to this day. But the highest of honours and heaviest of burdens is put upon you,—To declare out of the sacred records of Divine Truth, what is the prerogative of the

^a Their Letter is dated, "Jan. 6th, 1644[5.]"

^b Dan. iv.

^c "Acts of the Gen. Assemblies of Scotland," p. 291.

Crown and extent of the Sceptre of Jesus Christ; what bounds are to be set between Him ruling in his house, and Powers established by God on earth; how, and by whom, his house is to be governed; and by what ways a restraint is to be put on those who would pervert his Truth, and subvert the faith of many. No doubt mountains of opposition arise, and gulfs of difficulties open up themselves, in this your way: but you have found it is God that girdeth you with strength, and maketh your way perfect and plain before you.”^a

From the conclave in Edinburgh to their co-workers in London, no violence is needful for the transition; we advert therefore to Baillie, who writing again to Dickson, March 17th, 1645 [-6], says, “In the Assembly we are fallen upon a fashious [troublesome] proposition that has kept us divers days and will do so divers more, coming upon the article of the Church and the Church-votes, to oppose the Erastian heresy, which in this land is very strong, especially among the Lawyers, unhappy members of this Parliament. We find it necessary [!] to say ‘That Christ in the New Testament, had instituted a church government distinct from the civil, to be exercised by the officers of the church, without commission from the Magistrate.’ None, in the Assembly, has any doubt of this truth but one Coleman,^b a professed Erastian; a man reasonably learned but stupid and inconsiderate, half a pleasant, and of small estimation: but the Lawyers in the Parliament, making it their work to spoil our Presbytery, not so much upon conscience as upon fear, that the Presbytery spoil their market, and take up the most of the country-pleas without law, did blow up the poor man with much vanity; so he is become their champion, to bring out in the best way he can Erastian arguments against the proposition, for the contentment of the Parliament. We give him a free and fair hearing; albeit we fear, when we have answered all he can bring . . . the Houses, when it comes to them, shall scrape it out of the Confession; for this point is their idol. The most of them are incredibly zealous for it. The Pope and King were never more earnest for the Headship of the Church, than the plurality of this Parliament. However they are like for a time, by violence, to carry it, yet almost all [!] the ministry are zealous for the prerogative of Christ against them. We are, at this instant, yoked in a great and dangerous combat for this very thing. We have been often on the brink to set up our Government, but Satan to this day hindered us. The ministers and elders are not willing to set up and begin any action till they may have a law for some power to purpose; all former Ordinances have been so intolerably defective that they could not be accepted.

“The Erastian and Independent party joining together in the Houses to keep off the ‘Government’ so long as they were able; and

^a P. 325.

^b Thomas Coleman, M.A.; he “took the degrees in arts, holy orders, and became so accomplished in the Hebrew Language, that he was commonly called ‘Rabbi Coleman.’” In 1645 he preached a Test Sermon before the House of Commons, intituled “Hopes deferred and dashed,” on Job xi. 20: 4to. “He was not thanked for this sermon, but only ordered to print it, because the Presbyterian party disliked him, for that he too slightly spoke of ministerial authority, and seemed not to dislike the Independent, etc.” Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. iii. col. 211. ed. 4to. 1817.

when it was extorted, to make it so lame and corrupt as they were able; yet at last, yesterday an Ordinance came forth to supply the defects of all the former, that so without further delay we might go to work. We laboured so much as we were able, before it came out, to have it so free of exceptions as might be; but notwithstanding of all we could do, it is by the malignity of the forementioned brethren in evil, so filled with grievances that yet it cannot be put in practice. . . The Independents have the least zeal to the truth of God of any men we know. Blasphemous heresies are now spread here more than ever in any part of the world; yet they are not only silent, but are patrons and pleaders for liberty almost to them all. We and they have spent many sheets of paper upon the Toleration of their Separate Churches. At the last meeting, we concluded to stop our paper-debates, and on Thursday next to begin our verbal disputation against the lawfulness of their desired Separation. When we have ended, the Houses will begin to consider this matter: the most there, and in the army, will be for too great a liberty; but the Assembly, the City, and the body of all the Ministry in the kingdom, are passionately opposite to such an evident breach of our Covenant. . . A few days will clear many things of Church and State that, for the time, are in great darkness.—Postscript, March 31st 1646. . . The leaders of the people seem to be inclined to have no shadow of a king; to have liberty for all religions; to have but a lame Erastian Presbytery; to be so injurious to us, as to chase us home with the sword. These things to you three alone. . . Our great hope on earth, the city of London, has played *nipshot*: they are speaking of dissolving the Assembly! . . This people are swollen so big with successes that they are impatient to hear reason from any: the end can hardly be good.”^a

April 3rd, he wrote to Spang, “The City has much grieved us by their unexpected fainting; they will quickly repent it, but out of time. . . We are vexed that we hear the King’s desperate obstinacy, resolving to stick to the Militia and Bishops though he should die for it. Ashburnham,^b his grand counsellor, deceived by his Independent ministers, does put, it seems, the poor prince in vain hopes of the Independents’ concurrence to these his desires, albeit it be evident they seek his ruin. His misregard and malice towards us continues, albeit the Independents go on to whisper our correspondence with him. It is a marvel to me, if these men should always prosper, their ways are so impious, unjust, ungrate, and every way hateful. . . God has struck Coleman with death; he fell in an ague, and after four or five days expired. It is not good to stand in Christ’s way.”^c

Also, on the 23rd, Baillie addresses the same, telling him, “No appearance of settling religion or the kingdom: . . we pity it that a very few persons should be enabled to keep all in a dangerous confusion when all might be so easily settled. . . If we knew not there was a God who overruled the counsels of all men, and had a care of kingdoms

^a Let. 135. p. 195—199. ^b One of the King’s spies: see Clarendon, bk. x.

^c Let. 136. p. 199. The inveteracy of the Scots against Coleman, is rancorous; “but the whole Assembly did him the honour to attend his funeral.”

and churches, our grieved hearts would be much more grieved and faint. The Assembly have given in a very honest petition; but it is like shall have no good answer. The City ministers are to give in one much higher, not so much upon hopes of success as resolution to deliver their conscience. The citizens say they will give in another for the same end, but we do not believe them: their fainting has given our cause one of the greatest wounds yet it has gotten." ^a

The next day gave date to a Letter "For Scotland," in which it is related that "We have had divers strange traverses lately, not very comfortable. . . The Houses put out an Ordinance for the Erecting of Presbyteries, but so defective that while it was doing the City drew up a Petition against it; which the Houses voted a breach of their privileges. While we were in great hopes that the City would for all that, stand to their Petition, that we should learn to trust in no flesh, they shamefully succumbed: by a few fair words from the Houses they were made as mute as fish! Yet the Assembly were bold to petition, . . . for which also they were voted breakers of their privileges. The Assembly yet say they will be stouter than the City, and mind not, by a few whether fair or foul words, to acknowledge any fault where none was. And we also [the Scots' Commissioners] for our exoneration, do give in a fair Remonstrance against that ordinance; whereupon as yet we have got no answer, and scarce expect any good one. . . The Ministers of London have subscribed a Petition a great deal higher and larger than the Assembly, and higher than our Remonstrance. The City also has taken some courage, and are again in the way to remonstrate all their grievances, not only for the matters of the church but of the state. What it will produce, their former failing when most was expected, will let us promise nothing till afterward." ^b

From what the reader will have observed of the tactics of the Presbyterians in this chapter, thus far, he will be the more interested at learning those of the Parliament, designed evidently to "spoil Presbytery" ^c and to impede the Divines who were pushing in for the sweepstakes of victory! They were not men to be trifled with, and happily they were Englishmen, who devised as follows: "Questions propounded to the Assembly of Divines, by the House of Commons, April *ult.* 1646: Touching the point of 'Jus Divinum,' in the Matter of Church-Government. 1646." 4to. pp. 8.

"WHEREAS it is Resolved, by both Houses, That all persons guilty of notorious and scandalous Offences, shall be suspended from the sacrament of the Lord's supper; The House of Commons desires to be satisfied by the Assembly in these Questions following:

"i. Whether the parochial and congregational Elderships appointed by ordinance of Parliament, or any other congregational or presbyterial Elderships, are 'jure Divino,' and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? And whether any particular Church-government be 'jure Divino?' And, what that government is?

"ii. Whether all the Members of the said Elderships, as members thereof, or which of them, are 'jure Divino,' and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

^a Let. 137. p. 200, 201.

^b Let. 138. p. 201—203.

^c See back, p. 210.

“iii. Whether the superior Assemblies or Elderships, namely, the classical, provincial, and national—whether any or all of them, and which of them, are ‘jure Divino,’ and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

“iv. Whether Appeals from congregational Elderships to the classical, provincial, and national Assemblies, or to any of them, and to which of them, are ‘jure Divino,’ and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ? And, are their powers upon such Appeals, ‘jure Divino,’ and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

“v. Whether Œcumenical Assemblies, are ‘jure Divino ?’ And, whether there be Appeals from any of the former assemblies to the said œcumenical, ‘jure Divino,’ and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

“vi. Whether by the Word of God, the Power of judging and declaring what are such ‘notorious and scandalous Offences,’ for which persons guilty thereof are to be kept ‘from the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper ;’ and of conventing before them, trying, and actual suspending from the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper such offenders accordingly ; is either in the congregational Eldership or Presbytery, or in any other eldership, congregation, or persons ? And, whether such Powers are in them only, or any of them, and in which of them, ‘jure Divino,’ and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ ?

“vii. Whether there be any certain and particular Rules expressed in the Word of God, to direct the Elderships or Presbyteries, congregations, or persons, or any of them, in the exercise and execution of the Powers aforesaid ; and what are those Rules ?

“viii. Is there any thing contained in the Word of God, that the supreme Magistrate in a Christian State may not judge and determine what are the aforesaid ‘notorious and scandalous Offences,’ and the manner of suspension for the same ? And, in what particulars concerning the premises, is the said supreme Magistrate, by the Word of God, excluded ?

“ix. Whether the provision of Commissioners, to judge of scandals not enumerated—as they are authorized by the ordinance of Parliament—be contrary to that way of Government which Christ hath appointed in His Church ? And wherein are they so contrary ?

“x. In answer to these particulars, the House of Commons desires of the Assembly of Divines, their Proofs from Scripture ; and to set down the several texts of Scripture in the express words of the same : And it is Ordered, That every particular Minister of the Assembly of Divines that is or shall be present at the Debate of any of these Questions, do upon every Resolution which shall be presented to this House concerning the same, subscribe his respective name, either with the affirmative or negative as he gives his vote ; and, that those that do dissent from the major part, shall set down their positive opinions, with the express texts of Scripture upon which their opinions are grounded.”

Reverting to Baillie, and passing on to June 26th, Spang is informed, under the signature of ‘Jameson’ again, that “The scurvy base propositions which Cromwell has given to the Malignants of

Oxford, have offended many more than his former capitulation at Exeter; all seeing the evident design of these conscientious men [!] to the greatest conditions to the worst men, that they may be *expedit* for their northern warfare. Nothing so much affrays these men as a peace, albeit truly all men who are not misled see a very pregnant appearance of ruin to England, if they should war with us [!] at this time. Our great fear is now from the King; his wilfulness is very great: if he should be so obstinate as to refuse the propositions we will [shall] be put to a fearful perplexity. We resolve not to divide from England on any terms. If the King will not return upon just terms, what to do with him we cannot tell. . . The Queen's counsels seem yet to sway all. . . The French designs are, in my mind, contrary to the welfare of both kingdoms and the Protestant cause: that monarchy will quickly be more terrible to us than Spain was before. Yet so mad are the Sectaries that they would be glad to drive us [Scots] to the French. They are so blinded that they think it a matter very easy to subdue our kingdom, though united and assisted by all the power which Ireland, France, Holland, Denmark, and all our Friends in England, could make us! We pity such fury; and, by God's help, shall never tempt them, as they needlessly do us from time to time.^a For the matters of our Church, with much ado we got the provincial commissioners laid aside, and so resolve to act. . . The Parliament's 'Questions' have retarded us much: without them, we had ended the Confession of Faith. A committee has prepared answers for them all, much for our advantage, and contrary to the expectation of those who moved them. All the skill will be to pass them without debate: it will be endeavoured; but we fear great opposition from the Independents, who are as earnest as ever to keep off all determinations, and make the confusions both of church and state infinite."^b

At length a Letter "For Glasgow, July 14th," communicates that "On Sunday, in all congregations of the City, the Elders are to be chosen. So the next week Church-sessions in every Parish, and twelve Presbyteries within the City, and a Provincial Synod, are to be set up. . . The like is to be done over all the land. They go to this work unanimously and cheerfully at last, I mean all but the Sectaries! . . . The City of London and the whole land continue and increase in their desires of peace and love of our nation, and hating of the Sects, who, for their own wicked ends, would with all their hearts behold the destruction of both nations."^c

"For Mr. Henderson. Saturday, July 18th," he being then at Newcastle treating with Charles; in allusion to both whom Baillie writes, "Your debates upon Episcopacy I never took to be conscientious, but merely politic and a pretence to gain time."^d

So, August 4th, he wrote to "Mr. Robert Blair" then with Mr. Henderson, "The King's answer has broken our hearts. We see nothing but a sea of new more horrible confusions. We are afraid of

^a See Hume's Hist. of England. Chap. lix. August 17th, 1648.

^b Let. 147. p. 214, 215.

^c Let. 148. p. 216, 218.

^d Let. 150. p. 219.

the hardness of God's decree against that madman, and against all his Kingdoms." ^a

To "Spang," on the 7th, thus he writes, "I wrote none the last post, for I was at Oxford; the best built and booked University in the world, but the worst provided of learned and orthodox men I know of any. . . Many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if, in God's justice, he were destroying himself. . . Mr. Henderson is dying most of heartbreak at Newcastle." ^b

On the 13th, Baillie tells his ailing friend at Newcastle, "In the Assembly, we were like to have stuck many months in the 'Questions,' and the Independents were in a way to get all their differences debated over again. I dealt so with Mr. Rouse and Mr. Tate, that they brought us an order from the House to lay aside the 'Questions' till the Confession and Catechism were ended. Many took it for a trick of the Independents and Erastians for our hurt; but I knew it was nothing less. . . We stick on the article of Synods, upon the proposition of their Coercive Power, or their power to excommunicate. . . The election of Elders in the most of the parishes of London is passed with a cordial unanimity, and these who are chosen approved by the Triers." ^c

To Blair, August 18th. "No oaths did ever persuade me that Episcopacy was ever adhered to on any conscience; I esteemed all your debates on that subject to be but ridiculous pretexts to gain time till the last resolution came from your masters beyond sea; and now, when it is come, are you so wise as to dream that the abolition of Episcopacy will give any satisfaction? Will that plum please Scotland so well, as to make them join with the Malignants against England? . . . With much diligence, and art, and great perplexities, we strive, every day, to keep the House of Commons from falling on the king's answer. We know not what hour they will close their doors and declare the king fallen from his throne; which, if they should once do, we put no doubt but *all England* would concur. . . These false, traitorous whisperers, that would make the blinded prince believe that the Sectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to cast him and all his posterity out of England, they are impudent liars. I sometimes weep in secret for the evils which, most needlessly, that man is hastening on himself and his whole house, and many thousands of his poor subjects; but if so it must be, the Lord's will be done." ^d

The same day, a Letter to "Mr. David Dickson" states that "They have gone on in London, and have chosen very many gracious and able Elders. The Triers publicly have taken account of them, both of their life and knowledge, with their own consent. None have refused to be tried: they are all chosen for life: they will be a great help and strength to the government [!] The King's unhappy refusal of the Propositions has put us here in a great deal of confusion and perplexity; the Sectaries do exceedingly rejoice; the rest are in great

^a Let. 152. p. 221.

^b Let. 153. p. 221, 222. Henderson died within a few days after this notice of him.

^c Let. 154. p. 223, 224.

^d Let. 155. p. 224, 225.

sadness. . . Some further instructions are come to him from France, and the harmonious resolution of both nations to take a course without him, if he will not be advised, is more apparent to him than before."^a

Mr. Tate, a "Right Worshipful," is reminded in a Letter to "Consider if Mr. Lee,^b a very able and deserving man, ought to be set aside only for his zeal against Independents: the Deanery of Christ's-church is due. The ministers would [should] be sent to Oxford with all speed."^c

To "Lord Wariston. October 27th," Baillie, who subscribes himself, here, "Your master and servant," remarks that "If the King grant satisfaction to all the Propositions but that of Religion and the Covenant, and that be accepted by his people, as some whisper it will be, then both his and their ingratitude to God and us will not pass without a just revenge, though we be not in a present posture to take it[!]"^d

And to his "Reverend and Dear Brother," Robert Blair, he wrote, November 3rd, "Since Mr. Murray's departure, I have learned that the House of Commons have given the Covenant to a committee to be put in an ordinance; . . . also that some of the prime aldermen, and of the most leading both of the common-council and ministers of the City, have been with me and told me that, as some of them expressed it, they will be ready to spend the last drop of their blood in his Majesty's service, if he will take the Propositions; but if the Covenant be not at least approved as an act of Parliament and law, let all other Propositions be taken, and both the Houses agree with him as they please, the hearts of the City he would never get while he lived. I hear also, that not only the chief of the Sectarian party, but some others, seem, in private, to give their readiness to welcome the King, if the other propositions be granted, though the Covenant be shifted [!] The Sectarian party, and divers others who profess most to oppose them, seem to be in a way near a disposition to admit unanimously enough, of a charge against the King's person, which they say, is in readiness, and that the great stop to this—all fear from the Scots and the City—will be removed. If they find that the King, in his answer, give not quick and full satisfaction in the Covenant, I really believe the King is greatly abused if he dream that either the Scots or the City will make any considerable opposition to any course the Parliament shall be pleased to take with his person, if there be any more hesitation in establishing that Covenant. . . Will he scruple it till the Ordinance pass, the next debate will be about his negative voice in the Parliament; and very readily that shall be put in an Ordinance, and without it also there shall be no admittance of him or any of his to the throne! . . . Divers now begin to think that the King himself means a new war: but if it should be so, I confess it would be my great grief to see him after all his misfortunes, in that new misery of hastening the death and wrack of many thousands more of his subjects, for no purpose but the accomplishing of his ruin. . . Colonel Cromwell is a-coming from Holland, to be General-Major of the English foot. See if there be

^a Let. 156. p. 226.

^b Query, John Ley, M.A. ?

^c Let. 158: no date; p. 228.

^d Let. 165. p. 240.

great appearance of disbanding their army. . . The other day, orders were given to see to the passages on the Trent, that none may go north or come south but by their army's permission. We fear William Murray may be caught in his way. There is a high indignity here, that the King's resolutions for these things that concern the safety both of his person and kingdoms should have, all this time, so evident a dependence from French packets.^a This people's patient waiting for the King's last answer is very near a final period ; and all are afraid that one of these days the House of Commons' doors will be closed, and some high vote pass that never shall be recalled. . . There are here four or five juntos, all of divers and somewhat contrary cabals ; but these who are little acquainted with the designs of any of them are the greatest, strongest, and honestest party. Whatever they [any of the juntos ?] cause to be suggested, yet the body of honest men [Presbyterians ?] neither for their [the juntos'] nor his Majesty's pleasure will let themselves be long befooled ; but if they find their hopes deluded, or near to strike the stroke, which if once they had done, all the juntos for their own ends will comply, and leave the King and his family to deplore these lasting miseries which their false suggestions did much help to bring on."^b

To Mr. George Young, December 1st. "The 200,000*l*, was all told on Friday last. All this day our Commissioners have been agreeing upon the way of its receiving, and the going [home] of our army. . . We have had sore labour these weeks bygone to put-on many things in the Houses, Assembly, and City, much ado to get the great sum[!]. . . It was my dear friend Dr. Burges'^c singular invention, that all who contribute to this sum would [should] have as much of his old debt, with all the annual rents, counted to him, and for all make a good pennyworth of the Bishops' lands ; so the bargain being exceeding advantageous, the strife was who should come in with his money soonest. By this means we got the Bishops' lands on our back without any grudge, and in a way that no skill will get them back again. . . The Ministers of London have put out, this day, *a very fine book* proving from Scripture the Divine right of every part of Presbyterian government. . . The King, all his life, has loved trinketing naturally, and is thought to be much in that action now with all parties, for the imminent hazard of all. One greatest fear is that the Malignant Oxford Lords have drawn him to the Independents for the undoing of Scotland, and the Presbyterian party here. . . The body of this people would gladly embrace the King and peace ; but if one month longer he go on to dally, they will reject him for ever ; and if he then run to us, to draw a perpetual war upon our backs, he cannot be very welcome. . . A base scurvy pamphlet came out against our papers, which, by order of Parliament, this day was publicly burnt ; yet the House of Commons' answer to us was sent us this day also, little better than that which they burnt."^d

No doubt the reader's curiosity is awakened to learn particulars respecting the "very fine book" noticed above : know then, that the

^a See back, p. 214, July 18th.

^b Let. 166, p. 241—243.

^c See Neal's Hist. Puritans : edit. 1822. 8vo, vol. iv. p. 369.

^d Let. 167, p. 244, 245.

work described bears the title of “*Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici: Or, the ‘Divine Right’ of Church Government asserted and evidenced by the Holy Scriptures: according to the light whereof—besides many Particulars mentioned after the Preface—1. The Nature of a Divine Right is delineated. 2. The Church Government which is of Divine right is described. 3. This Description, in the several Branches of it, is explicated and confirmed. 4. The Divine Right of Ecclesiastical Censures, Officers, and Ruling Assemblies, is manifested. In all which it is apparent that the Presbyterian Government, by Preaching and Ruling Presbyters in Congregational, Classical, and Synodal Assemblies, may lay the truest claim to a Divine Right, according to the Scriptures. By Sundry Ministers of Christ, within the City of London. 1646.*” 4to.^a

Our notice of this “Tractate” must be inevitably concise, and so we only say of the Preface, that it is there represented that for this Publication “the necessity” is “evident, and urgent;” besides other reasons, because “hitherto no treatise of this nature is extant, positively laying open the nature of a ‘Divine Right,’ what it is; and a System of that Government which is so; and proving both by Scriptures.” Hence, this may be considered the Presbyterians’ MODEL, produced notwithstanding that the Independents had declined one on their part.^b “The commodity which may probably accrue,” is another reason: for, say they, “who can tell, but that some of them that in some things are misled and contrary-minded, may be convinced and regained?” They promised themselves “peace and comfort” that for this and for other “ends,” they had “not hid” their “talent in the earth;” but the last they name, is “and for this *end* we came into the ministerial calling, to bear witness to the Truth.” Their third reason for this publication is “The seasonable opportunity of sending it abroad at such a time as this is:” that is, as they were “beginning,” as they inform us, “to put that Covenanted Church Government into actual execution which we have, a long time, intended in our deliberate resolutions: so thus generally, we shall be engaged in the Government one way or other, either as acting in it as the church-officers or as submitting to it as Church members.” They proceed to rebut the allegations of “arbitrariness and tyrannicalness,” in anticipation; and having disposed thereof, in their way, arrived at this, among “a few doubts or scruples,” “But the Independent Government seems to be a far more excellent way, and it is embraced by many godly and precious people and ministers!” They answer, “What true excellency is there . . . save only . . . so far as it is Presbyterian?” Thus logically concluded, “Therefore the Presbyterian Government is equally, yea primarily and principally excellent!” And in challenging, “What one true excellency is there” wherein the one government “really differs”

^a The Edition before us, is that of 1654, or, “The third Edition, corrected and augmented in many places. With a brief Reply to ‘Certain Queries against the Ministry of England; and an Alphabetical Table to the whole annexed.’” 4to. pp. 272.

^b See back, p. 1.

from the other? nine points are set in parallel columns, the first range standing thus:—

“ In the Independent Government.

No other visible church of Christ is acknowledged but only a single congregation meeting in one place to partake of all ordinances.

In the Presbyterian Government.

One general visible church of Christ on earth is acknowledged, and all particular churches and single congregations are but as singular parts of that whole.”

In the like mode of falsification, the whole class is ranged, which we are invited to “read,” and then consider “How the Independent Government is, indeed, no Government at all to the Presbyterian!” They add, shortly, “And what though some pious ministers and people embrace the Independent way? This dazzles not the eyes of the intelligent, but of the infirm. . . The best of saints have failed in ecclesiastical affairs.” *Ergo*, Why not also, Presbyterians?

How oddly these “sundry Ministers” appeal to unprejudiced and unpre-engaged judgments,^a is sufficiently shown; we will dispense with their further labours in their present volume, and refer the inquisitive student to its own pages for conviction and satisfaction; which with eyes like theirs he might possibly discern and realise, though ours have sought in vain.

In our second volume, p. 127, is seen strictures upon the irrelevancy of the claim there instanced to “Divine Right” on the part of the Bishops. Who could suspect that one of their cloth, would play upon the subject in the spirit of banter? This has Swift done, in his “Letter of Advice to a Young Poet, etc. 1721.” He tells him, “I desire you to take notice, that in this advice of reading the Scriptures, I had not the least thought concerning your qualification that way for Poetical Orders; which I mention because I find a notion of that kind advanced by one of our English poets, and is, I suppose, maintained by the rest: he says to Spenser in a pretended vision,

——— ‘With hands laid on, ordain me fit
For the great Cure and Ministry of Wit.’

Which passage is in my opinion, a notable allusion to the Scriptures, and making but reasonable allowances for the *small* circumstance of profaneness, bordering close upon blasphemy, is *inimitably* fine; besides some useful discoveries made in it, as that there are Bishops in Poetry; that these Bishops must ‘ordain’ young Poets, and ‘with laying on hands;’ and, that poetry is a ‘cure’ of souls, and, consequently speaking, those who have such cures ought to be poets, and too often are so! And indeed, as if old Poets and Priests were one and the same function, the alliance of those ministerial offices is to this day happily maintained in the same persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable reason for that appellation which they so much affect, I mean the modest title of ‘Divine Poets!’ However, having never been present at the ceremony of ordaining to the Priesthood of Poetry,

I own I have no notion of the thing, and shall say the less of it here."^a

In a Letter of December 25th, supposed to be addressed to the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, Baillie inquires "If it please God the King come hither, who shall be his ministers [or chaplains?] By all means," he adds, "it must be provided that he be not permitted [!]¹ to have any service either from Episcopal men or Sectaries. There will be difficulty to get these eschewed. If the King have his choice, without rules from his Parliament, he will take no other than Episcopal men: if some have the power of either nomination or effectual recommendation, without doubt the prime Sectaries shall be planted about him. For the preventing of this, were it not meet, while the King is with us, to be thinking what ministers we could wish to wait on his family and children. . . Of our nation, beside Mr. Blair, I wish no other but one at most, my worthy brother Mr. Gillespie: of the English, the ablest—Herle, Marshal, Vines, Burges, or Palmer; but I believe Newcomen, Ward, Ash, Pern, Seaman, Whittaker, Calamy, would give as good satisfaction. I wish this motion were thought upon, as, if it be approved, that the best means for obtaining it must be used in time."^b

Before returning to his charge in Glasgow, Baillie wrote a Letter to Spang, not dated, but in which he states that "The City of London's notable Petition would help all, did not the great unhappiness of the King spoil all our hopes. . . The only thing principally insisted on, was to approve the Covenant. While we had great hopes of his yielding, whether emissaries from the Independents who do like him the better because he rejects the Covenant and Presbyterian-government, or the French who notwithstanding of all their contrary profession, yet for their own interest do endeavour the continuance of our troubles, [one or other] has made him peremptory in refusing the article of Religion. . . At last his answer is come to us, and this day we communicate to both Houses: it is but a mere general, that he desires to come here to be heard for the loosing of his scruples. The Houses have voted his coming to Holmby-House near Northampton, in quality little better than a prisoner; which he will never agree to. It will be endeavoured that the two Parliaments may agree in some course of his restraint if he continue in his unhappy courses."^c

In a Letter which Baillie began earlier but which bears date, 'Edinburgh, January 26th, 164[6]-7, "he informs Spang, concerning the erecting of synods, presbyteries, etc., in England, that "In the Province of London, and Lancashire, the bodies are set up: that the like diligence is not used long ago in all other places, it's the sottish negligence of the ministers [!] and gentry in the shires more than the Parliament's. That the Power of jurisdiction . . . is not put in ordinances long ago, it is by the coming [cunning?] of the Independents and Erastians in the House of Commons. . . The Assembly has in hand an answer to the nine queries of the House of Commons about the Jus Divinum of divers parts of the 'Government.' The ministers of London's late 'Jus Divinum of Presbytery' does this abundantly: also a committee

^a Reprinted, Somers' Tracts; 1748, 4to. vol. iv. p. 4.

^b Let. 169, p. 247, 248.

^c Let. 170, p. 249.

of the Assembly has a full answer to all these Queries ready. The authors repent much of that motion : their aim was to have confounded and divided the Assembly by their ensnaring questions ; but finding the Assembly's unanimity in them, the Independents' principles forcing them to join with the rest in asserting the Divine right of these points of Government whereupon the Parliament does most stick, the movers of these questions wish they had been silent. . . The translation of the Psalms is passed long ago in the Assembly ; . . the Commons passed their Order long ago ; but the Lords joined not, being solicited by divers of the Assembly, and of the Ministers of London, who love better [than that by Mr. Rouse^a] the more poetical paraphrase of their colleague Mr. Burton. . . When I took my leave of the Assembly I spoke a little to them. The Prolocutor, in name of the Assembly, gave me an honourable testimony, and many thanks for my labours. I had been ever silent in all their debates ; and however this silence sometimes weighed my mind, yet I found it the best and wisest course. No man there is desired to speak. Four parts out of five do not speak at all ; and among these are many most able men, and known by their writs and sermons to be much abler than sundry of the speakers ; and of these few that use to speak sundry are so tedious, and thrust themselves in with such misregard of others, that it was better for them to be silent. Also there are some eight or nine so able, and ready at all times, that hardly a man can say any thing, but what others without his labour are sure to say as well or better. Finding therefore, that silence was a matter of no reproach . . I was content to use it, as Mr. Henderson also did. . . We staid eight or nine days at Newcastle. The King took very well with me. I might have had occasion to have said to him what I pleased ; but knowing his fixed resolutions, I would not meddle at all neither to preach nor pray before him. His unhappy wilfulness does still continue ; and to this day he gets some mischievous instruments to serve his madness. . . There were some whisperings of the Sectaries plotting with him ; but this I scarce believe, for each of these do really labour the other's overthrow."^b

From the same city as before, he wrote to Spang, July 13th, " These matters of England are so extremely desperate that now twice they have made me sick. Except God arise, all is gone there. The imprudence and cowardice of the better part of the Army and Parliament, which was triple or sextuple the greater, has permitted a company of silly rascals, who call themselves yet no more than fourteen thousand horse and foot, to make themselves masters of the King, Parliament, and City, and by them of all England : so that now that disgraced

^a In Letter 190, Sept. 14th, 1649, Baillie tells Spang, " I think at last we shall get a new Psalter. I have furthered that work ever with my best wishes ; but the scruple now arises of it in my mind, [that] the first author of my translation, Mr. Rouse, my good friend, has complied with the Sectaries, and a member of their republic. How a Psalter of his framing, albeit with much variation, shall be received by our church I do not well know ; yet it is needful we should have one, and a better in haste we cannot have. The Assembly has referred it to the committee to cause print it after the last revision, and to put it in practice." P. 342.

^b Let. 171, p. 250—253.

Parliament is but a committee to act all at their pleasure, and the City is ready to fright the Parliament at every first or second boast from the army. . . I know the body of England are over-weary, long ago, of the Parliament, and ever hated the Sectaries, but much more now for their unexpected treachery and oppression. On the other part, the King is much pitied and desired; so if they give him not contentment, he will overthrow them. If he and they agree, our hands are bound. . . And whom shall we go to help, when none calls? But the King, Parliament, and City, as their masters commanded, are ready to declare against us if we should offer to [re-]arm. But if the King would call, I doubt not of raising of the best army ever we had, for the crushing of these serpents, enemies to God and man.”^a

Also from thence, September 1st, he tells Spang, “We have obtained leave [from the General Assembly] to print all our English papers. . . Mr. David [Calderwood] opposed valiantly the printing, . . because they held forth a session of a Particular Congregation to have a ground in Scripture; which he, contrary to his ‘Altar of Damascus,’ believes to have no divine right, but only a commission, with a delegated power from the Presbytery, tolerated in our church for a time. With great difficulty could we get the printing of that paper passed.”^b

That the course of the Letters might not be broken, the following tract, dated “28th December, 1646,” is placed in contiguity. “Anabaptism,—the True Fountain of Independency, Brownism, Antinomy, Familism, and the most of the other Errors which, for the time, do trouble the Church of England,—Unsealed. Also, the Questions of Pædobaptism and Dipping handled from Scripture: in A Second Part of the ‘Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time.’ By Robert Baillie, Minister at Glasgow. Lond. 1647.” 4to. pp. 179.

Much as the author hated sectaries, he made no difficulty in placing the Bishops, and their party, “that squadron of Malignants,” pre-eminent on his list of antipathies; for thus he tells the Earl of Lauderdale here, “In the following writ I point at the danger wherein not only families but the whole fabric of our churches and kingdoms do for the present stand; while the Episcopal and Sectarian factions are doing their utmost endeavours to have all our former sufferings to be but short prologues to new, very prolix, if not endless, tragedies. The one so far demented with a frantic passion towards the Government and Service of the Church of Rome, that all the miseries which they have brought upon themselves and millions of others, have not in the least degree cured the disease of their corrupted minds: so far are they from untying the knots that their own hands have made, or essaying to draw any of their deceived party out of the perplexities of conscience wherein their misinformations alone have cast them, that rather than to retract their errors, rather than to advise the lawfulness of joining with all the rest of the Reformed Churches in laying aside Episcopacy and Liturgic Ceremonies, they choose to give up the neck of their country to the sword of bloody and idolatrous strangers: they are content to draw all again to the hazard of a new, and more terrible, war.”^c

^a Let. 173. p. 255—256.

^b Let. 175. p. 263.

^c Epist. p. [ii.]

The object of the author being to deal particularly with the Baptists, so called, we feel it difficult, or invidious rather, to set out his positions in any way which shall not involve the present representatives of that denomination in some of the odium which he shows attaches to it. That the descendants have rolled away the reproach thus laid on their forefathers, is the shortest and most efficient answer to Baillie's representation, where he writes, "The errors of the Anabaptists, and their divisions amongst themselves, are so many that to set them down distinctly and in any good order, is a task which I dare not undertake: much less can I give assurance what is common to them all, and what proper to their several sects."^a It will help to expose the political ground of his hostility by his nationality, as thus; "This immoderate love of licentiousness . . . puts them upon a high degree of hatred and indignation against the Solemn League and Covenant, against the Scottish nation whence it came; as two great impediments to their quiet enjoying of that self-destroying and God-provoking liberty which, so passionately, they lust after. Though, for fear and other base respects, many of them have swallowed down the Covenant in such equivocal senses as are evidently contrary both to the express words and known intentions of the States which enjoin it; yet since the time their strength and hopes are increased, these of them who pretend to ingenuity and courage do not only with bitterness reject it, but it is now become the object of their public invectives as the most unhappy plague that did ever come into England! . . . The Scots they were wont to account as demigods; embracing them as their very saviours upon earth, so long as the Episcopal party kept them in any fear. That terror now being past, and the Scots beginning to urge, though with all meekness and courtesy [!] some performance of covenants and treaties, they cry out upon them with all bitterness and spleen. They censure the Parliament for ever calling them in; they load them with injurious calumnies for their very first contests in Scotland with the Malignant and Episcopal party there; the defensive arms of their Parliament and nation, they defame as an insurrection against the King, of a few malecontents, for the obtaining of their private, ambitious designs; neither do they make any better construction of the present arms of the English Parliament."^b And his judgment of recent transactions is given in these words: "The troublers of New England did not only plead for a freedom and immunity from all civil laws, the reasons whereof did not convince their consciences both of their lawfulness and expediency; but were also ready, if they had not been prevented by force of arms, in a very unjust and seditious manner, to have risen against the State, and to have cut the throats of their opposites. When, after their banishment, they were set down by themselves, they could not endure magistracy, but put it down as a condition 'unlawful' for a Christian to undergo."^c

What weight the annexed document prepared by an Episcopal hand is fairly entitled to historically, is not determined; it is placed under this year, 1647, that if there be any authenticity of its statements, the practices imputed, and the results they produced, may be so impressed

^a P. 29.

^b P. 57.

^c P. 59.

upon the reader's mind, as to be available for its better or more correct insight into the under-working towards that great crisis, which was henceforward more or less foreboded and dreaded.

“It plainly appears that in the year 1646, by Order from Rome, above a hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, who had been educated in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; part of these within the several schools there appointed for their instruction. In each of these Romish nurseries, these scholars were taught several handicraft trades and callings, as their ingenuity were most bending, besides their orders, or functions, of that church.

“They have many yet, at Paris, a-fitting up to be sent over, who, twice in the week, oppose one the other: one, pretending Presbytery; the other, Independency; some Anabaptism; and other contrary tenets, dangerous and prejudicial to the Church of England, and to all the Reformed Churches here abroad: but they are wisely preparing to prevent these designs; which I heartily wish were considered in England among the wise there.

“When the Romish Orders do thus argue *pro* and *con*, there is appointed one of the learned of those Convents, to take notes and to judge: and as he finds their fancies, whether for Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism, Atheism, or for any new tenets, so accordingly they be to act, and to exercise their wits. Upon the permission, when they be sent abroad, they enter their names in the Convent Registry, also their licences: if a ‘Franciscan,’ if a ‘Dominican’ or ‘Jesuit,’ or any other Order, having several names there entered in their licence; in case of a discovery in one place, then to fly to another, and there to change their names or habit.

“For an assurance of their constancy to their several Orders, they are to give monthly intelligence to their Fraternities, of all affairs, wherever they be disposed: so that the English abroad know news better than ye at home!

“When they return into England, they are taught their lesson, to say—if any inquire from whence they came—That they were poor christians, formerly that fled beyond sea for their religion’s sake, and are now returned with glad news, to enjoy the liberty of conscience!

“The hundred men that went over, 1646, were, most of them, soldiers in the Parliament’s Army; and were daily to correspond with those Romanists in *the late* King’s Army, that were lately at Oxford, and pretended to fight for his Sacred Majesty: for, at that time, there were some Roman Catholics who did not know the design a-contriving against our Church and State of England.

“But the year following, 1647, many of these Romish Orders who came over the year before, were in consultation together; knowing each other: and those of the King’s party asking some, Why they took with the Parliament’s side? and, asking others, Whether they were bewitched, to turn Puritans? not knowing the design: but at last, secret Bulls and Licences being produced by those of the Parliament side, it was declared between them, That there was no better design, to confound the Church of England, than by pretended liberty of conscience! It

was argued then, That England would be a second Holland, a Commonwealth! and if so, what would become of the King? It was answered, Would to God it were come to that point! It was answered again, Yourselves have preached so much against Rome and his Holiness, that Rome and her Romanists will be little better for that change! But it was answered, You shall have Mass sufficient for a hundred thousand, in a short space, and the Governors never the wiser. Then some of the mercifullest of the Romanists said, This cannot be done unless the King die! Upon which argument, the Romish Orders thus licensed, and in the Parliament's Army, wrote unto these several Convents, but especially to the Sorbonists, Whether it may be scrupled, To make-away our *late* godly King, and his Majesty, his son, our King and Master, who, blessed be God! hath escaped their Romish snare laid for him. It was returned from the Sorbonists, That it was lawful for Roman Catholics to work changes in Government, for the Mother-Church's advantage; and chiefly in heretical kingdoms, and so, lawful, to make away the King!"^a

It should seem, from the pamphlet ensuing, that matters were not yet come to an extremity on the part of the "Independents." They had, however, become by this time so numerous and influential, that to which side soever they attached themselves, the balance of power swayed accordingly.^b Enough has appeared to prove that wherein

^a "Thus much, to my knowledge have I seen and heard, since my leaving your Lordship; which I thought very requisite to inform your Grace: for myself would hardly have credited these things, had not mine eyes seen sure evidence of the same." July 20th, 1654. "The Rt. Rev. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, afterward Primate of Ireland, to The Most Rev. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh." From a Letter in Dr. Parr's Life of Usher, 1686. fol. p. 611. If the above relation be genuine, how is his Majesty's infatuation to be accounted for?

^b Dr. Z. Grey has produced, in his "Examination of Neal's third volume," 1757, 8vo. p. 390, what he calls "a remarkable information concerning the Independents;" and he adds, in his Appendix, No. lxxxii, it is "an original" in vol. xv. num. 9, of what in No. 1. of his Appendix, he styles "Original MSS." of the late Rev. John Nelson, LL. D.; now in the custody of the Rev. Dr. Philip Williams, S. T. P., Pres. of St. John's Col. in Cambridge." To us, it is "remarkable" only for its vagueness and the importance attributed to it; but it shall witness for itself.

"John Powle, of West Wickham in Buckinghamshire, Clerk, doth inform that, this day, he was told, That there is a design of Independents to make head against the Parliament, while the Army is in discontent: That it hath been debated in their Meetings and resolved upon, and that it is now ripe—that some who, within this fortnight, were in their judgment against this way of proceeding, are now for it; and, that they have very strong arguments to back this way of theirs—that God hath put an opportunity into their hands, and that they will not let it slip: that it is so carried, that it is impossible that any that is not of their way should come to the knowledge of it.' That Mr. Tho. Arnold, the party that made this discovery, advised some, or one of them to be jealous of their own hearts, and to take heed of such a way as this, for he knew they were of another mind but lately; and that he conceived the Parliament to be the Magistrate, and ought not to be proceeded against in this way. This 22nd of May, 1647. That this is for substance, what he spake, I will, if required, depose: John Powle.

"This Information affirmed by the said John Pozle, before me, the 22nd of May, 1647, Jno. Gayer, Mayor.

"Mr. Pozle lodgeth at the Three Golden Balls in Duck-Lane; Mr. Arnold lodges at the Hart's Horns in Bedford-bury, and at his lodgings the words were spoken.

"Indorsed, 'Report from and concerning the Commissioners employed first upon the disbanding to Chelmsford, 1647.'"

they might have erred, they were, notwithstanding, free from purely selfish ends, demanding equal terms for all classes and denominations, with so much restraint only, as should prevent any infringement upon civil relations and duties guaranteed by impartial legislative enactments. Be it as it might in other respects, they were not the party who hurried on the sad catastrophe, which *no party*, and least of all the Episcopal, is exempt from bringing about. The more remotely the descendants of all, live from those scenes of agitation, the less are they qualified to apprehend the pressure, which occasioned resistance proportioned to its force. This has brought before us—

“The Case of the Kingdom stated, according to the proper Interests of the several Parties engaged. i. Touching the Interest of the King and his Party: ii. The Interest of the Presbyterian Party: iii. The Interest of the Independent Party: iv. The Interest of the City of London.—A piece of rare Observation and Contexture; wherein all men are equally concerned.—1647.” 4to. pp. 16.

The four parties named are severally addressed, in a preface of one page, thus, “To the King. Sir, After so many storms I know you would willingly attain the wished haven, but then you must embark anew, and not in the old shipwrecked design [Episcopacy?]. And since it is no flattery to wish you well, for your own sake and many others, pray take this pamphlet to steer your course by; and account him as good a friend to yourself and the kingdom as any you have been acquainted with these seven years, who first delivers it into your hands, for I am confident were you abroad among your old Council, you should not reap so much of the truth of your Interest, as you may in these poor sheets which are but the gleanings of observation.—To the Presbyters: Sweet Sirs, Let not jealousy accuse this paper of a plot against the State! Truly I have added your Interest, out of pity to your condition; that since you cannot attain your ‘Jure Divino,’ you may at least open your eyes and preserve yourselves, if you please, in a handsome equipage, *Jure humano!*—To the Independents: Friends, You who are listed more immediately under the ‘Prince of Peace,’ ought not so to prosecute your Interest as to begin a War upon it, but only to remain on the defensive till your just liberty be confirmed, and the Prince’s due right restored; since conscience must needs remain quieter where the power is invested in one King than in a hydra of Presbyters. Above all things, you must not be Anti-Parliamentary, but exercise wisdom with patience, and the countenance of that Authority cannot long be wanting: a word to the wise.—To the City: Sirs, My desire is that you may flourish, which cannot be unless you mind only your peculiar Interest of Trade. If you resolve to live and die with Presbytery, consider that you can ill bandy against the other two parties, since it cannot be unknown that they are the major part of yourselves: ‘a city divided against itself cannot stand.’—And now, Gentlemen, but one word more to all: I suppose none can take just offence, since I state the Interests of all indifferently, pointing out to each the way to advance and preserve their own Party; and I shall commend to them what the Duke of Rohan saith of the states of Europe, That according as they follow their proper Interests, they thrive or fail in

successes; so the Parties now on foot in this kingdom, must look to stand or fall upon the same ground.

“THE CASE, etc. First, Touching the Interest of the King and his Party.—The King, as the case lately stood with him, was a very prisoner, and so being fallen from the height of fortune, must remit much of the height of his design, and what hath been lost by bandying, he ought to salve by a wary compliance. That this he may effect, in a short time, is very probable, since what Machiavel sets down as a sure principle towards the purchase of empire—*divide et impera*—is acted ready to his hands, by the mutual expense of spleen in his opposites against each other; so that all he hath to do is to sit still, to foment and blow the fire, and give the humours time to toy! [boil], till being tired in extremities there appear a necessity of one Third to rest in, which can be no other but himself; and then, his only Interest will be to close with that party, which gives most hope of indulgence to his prerogative, and greatest probability of favour to his friends. That neither of these can be expected from the Presbyterian, is evident for many reasons.

“And first, touching the prerogative, their [the Presbyterian] Government, in the nature of it, derogates not only from the Civil, in general, but carries with it a more special enmity against monarchy; so that they which intend to found the one must raze the fundamentals of the other in any kingdom whatsoever. Politic assertions, of this kind, should be strengthened by observations out of history; but the tender age of this upstart hierarchy, and the little entertainment it hath found in the world, yield us nothing of moment to observe, unless in our own island; for if we look abroad, we find it but straggling up and down in France and Germany, and in such places only as acknowledge little or none at all of kingly power: so that Scotland is the only visible kingdom where this pest is epidemical; and it was, first, Scotch charity to baptize it, as christian, into the name and privilege of a National Form. This was done during the minority of King James, when the lords and clergy ruling all as they listed, at length parted stakes—though the clergy then got and still hold the better,—that when he came of age he found the fable of Ixion’s Juno moralized upon himself; for as he, instead of a goddess, embraced a cloud, so the king when he thought to grasp his sceptre laid hold on a manacle, which kept his hands so fast during his abode there, that he could never act but when they pleased to let him, according to their own ‘Directory’ of Kirk and State. And in process of time, this heat of Presbytery proved such a hectic in the body-politic of Scotland that the substance of kingly power was utterly consumed, and nothing left, as we see at this day, but the bare bones, the very skeleton, of a monarchy; witness, the unlimited power of the Convention of Estates and General Assembly, but especially of this latter, which, like to the rod of Aaron, is in such a budding thriving condition that it hath devoured the rod of Moses, as his did the magicians’ of Egypt, and proves a scourge to the magistracy and people. This is a sufficient instance, being also the only one in the world, to manifest the antipathy betwixt a National Presbytery and the Civil Power of commonwealths and kingdoms,

wherein whosoever desires further satisfaction needs do no more but take a strict survey of their own books of Discipline.

“Secondly, touching the King’s friends—which are of two sorts; namely, the Bishops and their Clergy, the Courtiers with their Gentry,—they must expect less from the Presbyter than the King himself may: for, as they would leave the King nothing but a name without substance, so they will allow the Bishops neither name nor substance, and enslave the Gentry in their own lordships by a new way of parochial tyranny; for if so be they conform not, then they must expect in a short time to see the meanest of their tenants become their masters in judicature; and so what Solomon calls a great ‘vanity’ will be a prime mystery in this new Government.

“Hence then, we may conclude that the King’s Interest leads him to close rather with the other party, called Independent, as the only means to free him and his friends from the former inconveniences; and that for these following reasons: First, because they are the only friends to Civil Government in the world; leaving it wholly in the hands of the Magistrate: pleading exemption in nothing but their church-way! Whereas the Presbyters claim not only a distinct power in church affairs—as you may read in that branch of the Synod’s late Confession which speaks of church-censures,—but they borrow, also, so much from the Magistrate as will enable them to compel men’s consciences; and so, under this cunning pretence, That the Magistrate is bound to use or lend his power, to support their arbitrary constitutions—the proofs whereof they fish out of the judicials of Moses, and some places of the Gospel misapplied in some of their articles,—lurks the great ‘mystery of iniquity’ whereby they gain a power even over the Magistrate himself, who, in this case, must use the sword, for conscience’ sake, wheresoever they please to advise or command him. And so, both King and Parliament must give way, and compel others to submit to whatsoever they shall ordain, in their General Assembly, as for the well-governing of the Church!

“Secondly, because it is easy for the King to mingle interests with the Independents, and oblige them with that which is denied them by the Presbyter; namely, liberty of conscience! In which particular he ought also to pretend great tenderness; it being his own case, at present, to suffer by many pressing importunities to take the Covenant, and pass things of high importance wherein he is not satisfied, the refusal whereof upon scruple of conscience is the only cause of his non-access to the Parliament.

“Thirdly, because the Independents’ principles lead them to admit rather of Monarchy than any other government, as being that under which they presume of greater enlargements than when Many rule; who are usually most apt to gratify a faction in the National Church with accruments of worldly pomp and power, the better to support their own, in the State.

“Fourthly, here is a door of hope opened this way, for the Bishops and their Clergy, with all that are for the Liturgy and that government; whereas, if Presbytery take place in a national mode, then there will be form against their form, and policy against their policy,

which, when it shall be actually twisted with that of the State, can never be removed without length of time and extreme difficulty. Where observe, by the way, how it was ever the grand mystery which Satan set on work in the hearts of those who glory in that usurped title of ‘clergy,’ first to introduce a plausible, politic, prudential, way of government in the Church, as the only ‘pattern’ brought out of ‘the mount;’^a then, to gain it a sure being and repute with men, they were wont to take in some of the power of the World to countenance it, and force a submission thereto by all under the old specious pretext of ‘decency, conformity, and order;’ and lastly, to make all fast, the custom was to mingle Interests with the State, or the Prince,—as the Bishops lately did with our Kings; and the Presbyters do now with some great ones in the City,—and so their fundamentals being once poised with the others, then whosoever shall presume to move the one must shake the other and presently incur the brand of seditious disturbers of States and Kingdoms: which hath been no mean artifice of the Devil, in all times, to uphold his kingdom in the hearts of men against the Kingdom of Christ. In this particular, the Bishops and Presbyters have been alike faulty; but if these have time to supplant the Bishops—as they are in a fair way—and overact them at their own game, they are lost for ever without remedy.

“But, fifthly, by an immediate close with the Independents, and abandoning that cursed principle of universal compulsion as well in opinion as practice, since there [is] a numerous sort of people in the kingdom that will not be satisfied without the old external form of diocesan and liturgy, it is clear, then, that Independents may help to instate them in that form again, upon some visible assurance that themselves shall be left at liberty, rather than be trodden down by a *Mornival*^b or two of tyrants,—no less monstrous perhaps for ignorance than pride,—in every parochial Inquisition!

“The last reason is, because the King’s union with this party may so abate the fury of the Presbyter, that—whether peace or war ensue—those of the Court, Council, and Gentry excepted from pardon, and the rest that have not yet *compounded*, cannot continue long at this distance, without some probable hope that, humours altering, and, by the mediation of some, the rest being brought to a more moderate temper, it may be no hard matter to reconcile all within the limits of an Act of Oblivion.

“And so for these reasons, I conceive we may boldly affirm that since the King hath no hope of remedy from his friends here at home or abroad, his true Interest at present is, by some means or other, to close with that Party in this kingdom which they call ‘Independent.’

“The Interest of the Presbyter and his Party.—Presbytery was no sooner born at Geneva but it was nurst up here in England, in the wishes of many as heir-apparent of Episcopacy. For it is usual ever, in all worldly Church Reformations, as well as those of the State, to find some men, either out of conscience or envy, disaffected to the settled Government: out of envy, when they miss of that preferment which they expected by a change; out of conscience, when they see a greater glory of light and purity beyond it, and therefore will not

^a Exod. xxv. 40.

^b Mort-mal?

live by it, but beside it or above it: the truth whereof experience hath told us in all the degrees of Reformation in this kingdom; from popery to prelacy, from the bishop to the presbyter. And I shall willingly allow the Presbyters—who reckon themselves for the old Puritans of England—so much charity as to think that their disaffection proceeded merely from a conscience well informed; because I observe now an impress of divine glory and excellency in many of their practices: but yet I would have them to know that they are not yet come to mount Zion, till they be able to prove the Chair of a General Assembly the very Throne of Christ! And except they show all the lineaments of their Government derived naturally from Scripture, it will fright men's consciences, and make them disclaim it for a monster: for the Discipline now contended for is—as was the Bishops'—but external, prudential, matter of form and policy; and it is looked upon as so much the more intolerable, if rigidly pressed, by how much it opens a far wider gap for tyranny; because if the Bishops made us groan under twenty-four Dioceses and but one High-Commission, what will become of us under almost ten thousand Presbyteries, beside the torments of Classes, Provincial Juntos, Synods and Assemblies? Were they able to prove one of them Scriptural, it were a little honest bandying against men of different judgment; but since the continuation of that ridiculous plea for a *Jus Divinum* with compulsive power, can gain nothing but hatred from both the other parties; and must, of necessity, by disobliging their friends increase the number of their enemies, and, in time, exasperate both so far that nothing will satisfy but an abolition of the New Form as immoderate, and a re-establishing of the Old upon more assurance of liberty; therefore, the only Interest of the Presbyters is, to allow the Independents their liberty of church-way, to esteem them as Brethren, and not to make difference in circumstantialia a ground for persecution! And this, I shall further illustrate by reason.

“First, it is as much madness, to prosecute men because they are not like us in opinion, as it were to quarrel with them when they resemble us not in outward complexion. For, since we lost perfection in Adam, whatever knowledge we attain to now is either moral, by the improving of natural endowments, or else Divine, which is an influence [from] heaven upon the soul: for the former, we are beholden mediately to the bounty of nature and our own industry; for the latter, immediately to God. Therefore, where we see any weaker in judgment than ourselves, we ought to look upon them as deplorable rather than damnable. Vain man! what made the difference betwixt thee and thy weak brother? Did not free grace? ‘For what hast thou, that thou didst not receive?’^a And ‘God’ may ‘reveal’^b it to him also, in due time.

“Secondly, the design of Conformity or Uniformity in the Church, hath been and is the grand cheat whereby the Devil makes men run a-madding. Though it ever pretend a plausible end, of cementing the State against division, yet pull off its vizard and you shall find it to be both the mother and nurse of all division—as it ever was—through-

^a 1 Cor. iv. 7.

^b Phil. iii. 15.

out all Europe, in matters of religion. The witchcrafts of this Jezebel—they are—that trouble our Israel: for it is against common sense and reason, to expect that ever men will be one in opinion! The heathen said, *Quot capita, tot sensus*; so that those which endeavour it, seem to me as if they meant to imprison Æolus and all his sons in a bag, as it is said of the Laplanders; since opinion blows from every point of the Compass: and as a confinement of the wind torments nature with an earthquake, so to rob the soul, which is far more agile and diffusive, of its freedom, must needs cause a cholic with inflammation in the bowels of a kingdom. And therefore, till Uniformity-mongers be pointed at as the only enemies of a State; and this wicked persuasion be wrought out of the hearts of men, That they ought to make all men walk in that way per-force; which their priests cry up for the right! till men be less in the letter that they may be one in the Spirit—which none but the Spiritual can apprehend,—and until they leave crying ‘fire from heaven’ against Brethren in the Faith; we shall always have the kingdom in a flame, and, perhaps, themselves may be the first in ashes!

“Thirdly, men under oppression—though sometime wise enough—become mad, and usually trample down all relations to make way for a deliverer that gives hope of the least remedy; and as the condition of *being* alters, so men do vary their interests and principles.

“Fourthly, if a rigid course should be prosecuted, and so a breach be made betwixt those who, for the major part, are one by solemn Covenant, the Independent having that invincible plea of *se defendendo* on his side, the whole scandal will retort upon the Presbyter. And if it be objected, that the Independent occasions the breach by opposing the letter of the Covenant for a uniform Reformation; I answer, that the Covenant in its extent hath this ultimate limitation, namely, ‘according to the Word of God;’ no otherwise! the whole resolves into that, as being all in all. And then, if both Parties be reduced to that rule, let God and good men judge—for the World cannot—whose will be the breach!

“Lastly, a moderate condescension in the Presbyter will, by keeping the other from extremes, stop all new designs; and when there is more of the spirit of love in their proceedings, they will draw less of enmity. It will for ever confirm a brotherly union, which must prevent the forenamed insinuations of the Royal and Episcopal Party, and prove a bulwark within and a wall of brass^a about the nation.

“From whence, I once again infer the sole Interests of the Presbyters is to counter-work the King in his Interest, as their grand opposite, by complying with the Independent. And it ought to be their wisdom, to look upon all men and counsels in their own Party—whether of the purple or sable robe—that thunder in the behalf of a rigid Presbytery, as very Malignants, lurking among them, under pretence of Reformation, to draw in the less wise and more worldly fiery zealots to act for that Party under a disguise which they pretend most to hate; and by fulminating against our fast friends, as ‘heretics,

^a “Hic murus aheneus esto.”

and schismatics, etc.' to shipwreck us in the haven, and *casse* [destroy] all the successes of this Parliament by division.

“The Interest of the Independent Party.—As Presbytery is the rival of Episcopacy, so Independency being of a higher strain than to admit of human prudence in church-government, her principles stand indifferent towards either of them, as may serve most for her own advantage. Both the other take in some of the wisdom and much of the power of the World, and so share with the kingdoms of the World to make up a Church, whereby they draw the World after them; because the way is so suitable to worldly reason: thus carnal men will ever be for a carnal Church. But Independents affirm the Church ought to be a Spiritual building, framed of such ‘lively stones’^a as are not of the World nor of the wisdom of the World, but founded only upon the wisdom of God revealed in the Word by his Spirit; which they esteem sufficient to constitute and maintain a Church, without any assistance from the kingdoms of the World, whose power they leave *entire* unto themselves. The sum is this; both Bishops and Presbyters, by their Church-policy, stand competitors with the Magistrate; and Independents leave all to him, save only the ‘Kingdom’ of Christ, which, if you will take His own word, ‘is not of this world,’^b and so can be no trouble to it, unless His be first troubled by it.

“By this description then, it appears that the Government contended for, by the other two, is but mere Policy; and since their politics render them utterly irreconcilable, Independency—which owns no policy—becomes the balancing power betwixt them! And as it behoves either of the two, to strive to weigh down the other by a timely close with it, so the only Interest of Independency is to embrace that Party where a union procures most indulgence and little or no scandal: which, I conceive, may be expected rather from the Royal-Episcopal Party than the other; upon these following grounds:

“First, though principles of Faith should sway the Presbyters to brotherly amity with the Independents, yet by their driving so furiously upon terms of Discipline, and through their eagerness upon uniformity in the letter, slighting that glorious ‘unity’ in the Spirit^c which is the very life of christian profession, they give little hope of favour, but rather expectation of a fiery trial, seeing they begin to heat the furnace already.

“Secondly, though Bishops stand at a great distance, yet, setting aside that gross mixture of ceremonies, their Discipline were far more tolerable, notwithstanding they had power to exercise it to the utmost with compulsion; because tyranny cannot be so great in the hands of few as many. So that if hereafter—in case Presbytery be settled—our former plagues be not a thousand times trebled upon us, we must acknowledge our present freedom only to the courtesy and goodness of our task-masters. But if corrupt times come on,—as who can assure us they will not, since the old ‘mystery of iniquity’ is now in the world under a new form?—what then will become of our posterity, when the yoke shall be fastened to our necks by an act of Parliament?

^a 1 Pet. ii. 5.

^b John xviii. 36.

^c Eph. iv. 3.

“Thirdly, though the Episcopal are enemies to both Presbyters and Independents, yet considering these have been extreme[ly] civil in using their victories, and may now most oblige them in their lowest condition; and it being possible that both their Interests may stand together—with discretion—entire; then, if Bishops quit exorbitant compulsive power, and the King give assurance against it for liberty of conscience, the enmity betwixt him and the Independent may be soon extinguished.

“Fourthly, there can be no scandal to the Independent by such a union of Interests, since the woe following scandal belongs to them always by whom the grounds of scandal are necessitated. And therefore, that the scandal may clearly report [rebound] upon [the] Presbyter—as I proved before, it must,—the Independent ought not to admit of a breach till the ‘red dragon’^a begin to play Rex, till the ‘whore’ prepares to dye her ‘scarlet’^b anew, and the ‘pale horse’^c of imprisonment and exile threaten a range about the streets.

“Lastly, though this discovery of Interest may seem to portend ruin to the Parliament, yet it is far otherwise; for Independents ought not to look upon it, so as to neglect them in whose privileges and safety all liberty is involved; but, with all tenderness, to have regard unto them as the only *rampire* against all kinds of tyranny, since all proceedings, thence, against them as ‘heretics, and schismatics, etc.,’ are actuated only by some particular men whose desigus being laid in the dark, time alone must discover. But that which will crown [the] Independent Interest—and which is, indeed, true Parliamentary Interest, though Presbyterian drive another way,—is to reconcile the King upon such honourable terms, that as he and they are in all reason obliged to down with the ‘Dagon’ of a rigid Presbytery, so the ‘Engagement’ may be managed with such caution for the safety of the Parliament and assurance of liberty in time to come, as may remove all jealousies, and lay a sure foundation for a lasting peace.

“The Interest of the City of London.—This City bears the name of ‘The metropolis of England; the royal chamber; the grand emporium; the universal exchange, for traffic;’ so that her sole Interest, is a Free Trade, whereby having acquired large demesnes in all parts, she maintains a considerable influence upon the whole; which makes her stand on tip-toe, looking down with disdain upon all as unable or unworthy to stand in competition with her single self! The conceit hath been much heightened by those large contributions thence, which have been the very sinews of the war against the Royal Party; so that it is to be feared the huge animal, having found its own strength, may prove rampant and contemn the bridle, unless a little corrected by reason; therefore, I think meet to lay down these ensuing considerations.

“First, that which they have hitherto done must not be looked upon as done by their own strength and riches, but only as these received an authority, of [from] Parliament, to give life unto the action; without which, as then, so all designs, now, or hereafter, must prove abortive.

“Secondly, though the Citizens pretend religion to be the only necessary appendix to their trade, by clasping both together with a

^a Rev. xii. 3.

^b Rev. xvii. 1, 4.

^c Rev. vi. 8.

rigid Presbytery; and suppose this, the more pleasing safe-way, because they are made believe it is 'Divine!' yet if they please to look more narrowly upon the Scriptures, and the proceedings of their *Priests*, they may learn [that] the scope of their State-divinity is only to drive a trade in the ministry, upon them and their estates; which the Citizens shall soon find, when the Presbyterian charter is once confirmed by Act of Parliament!

"Thirdly, if only 'even reckonings, make long friends,' then it is like[ly] this hot love to a Presbytery may end in a divorce before the three years' end;^a especially when the accounts shall be cast up betwixt 'Clergy' and 'Laity,' that wormeaten 'Reverend' cheat of distinction betwixt brethren. It is true, indeed, some of them shall be admitted to a partnership in the tyranny; and this is the very decoy to allure them on; but usually the Preaching-presbyter sways all, and he is a very silly one indeed that knows not how to do it, since they either stand or fall, according to his report of their good compliance, in the opinion of the General Assembly—that holy of holies where the *lay-vulgars* must not enter;—which neat contrivance of invisible clock-work, will be sure to have a wheel going in all affairs of the kingdom.

"But, fourthly, suppose that the 'Lay Elders' themselves should have fair play from the *Priests*, yet what comfort will that be to the rest of the parish, who must be in little better condition than galley-slaves when the Eldership shall have an oar in every boat? And this appears, by the power given them to suspend persons from and admit to the Supper, as they shall see cause, according to an Ordinance in that behalf. In which Ordinance, there being no less than eighty sins enumerated—and an addition of many more, endeavoured!—any one of which, upon 'conviction' may include a man guilty, if they please to pronounce him [so]; then it is clear also, that since a man can hardly do any thing that comes not within the compass of those sins, all men must be irrefragably subject to their pleasure in all their dealings, or else be delivered up to the 'devil' forsooth, by Excommunication. Where then, will freedom be in a corrupt Presbytery, when Citizens shall not dare to dispose of their own estates, nor wear clothes as they please, nor manage their trades to fructify '*per cent.*,' nor use a hundred other fine feats, without a friend, or *feeling* in the Eldership? What will become of our lawyers too, when it is an easy matter to make the same Ordinance a shoeing-horn to draw on all cases depending betwixt man and man unto their own Consistories?"

"Fifthly, they may do well to consider that if they shall drive any other Interest than trade as their own peculiar, which may intrench upon the union of Interests before mentioned, or hinder them from uniting by underpropping the other party; it is clear then, that their power and greatness will be suspected, and become odious to Prince and people: for their high terms, already, with the Parliament, and the establishing of a militia in their own hands distinct from the rest of the kingdom, make wise men whisper as if they meant to found a new religious democracy by resolving the co-ordinations of power in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, into a popular senate.

^a "Colonel Pride's Purge," occurred Dec. 6th, 1648.

“ Sixthly, I would have them consider that the jealousies of States and Princes are great, and cannot brook any rival; nor will they judge themselves safe as long as any Corporation of subjects make a show of competition in wealth and power. Nor can it be safe for subjects to discover them[selves] too far in this way, lest they teach princes to secure and enrich themselves by seizing upon theirs.^a What made the abbies and monasteries so looked on; but only their great wealth? And what was the main plea to ruin them—as princes, if possible, will have some colour of law to set off actions of this nature,—but their holding vast possessions in their hands which could not pass from man to man, and so lay dead, to the prejudice of the commonwealth? I wish the City to ponder whether there be not the same reason, far more pressing, against the immeasurable revenues of their Halls and several companies; those unsatiable gulfs, which swallow up so great a part of the kingdom; and, whether their high vaunting may not bring on the same fate hereafter on the same ground, upon the first tempting opportunity?

“ Lastly, since then, their Presbytery is only of the World; they may do well to consider, how it is like to thrive in the World, since so few even amongst themselves are willing to entertain it; and the counties abroad are some of them, so wise, others so cross-grained to all novelty, that the general detest it; and [that as] therefore it shall appear that the Citizens are the men which resolve to bandy against both King and Independent—whose Interests tend to a speedy honourable peace and just liberty,—for the settling of that Government in the Church which neither we nor our children shall be able to bear; it is most certain, that the odium of a second War will reflect upon them, and the whole burden of guilt and expense rest upon their shoulders. And then they may guess what the consequence will be when their purses are exhausted, and both the other Parties, carrying the kingdom before them, shall be forced into a unanimous design of revenge to scourge their pride, with such an alteration, if not utter destruction, as may verify, perhaps, the fag-end of the old prophecy, that ‘ York shall be ’!

“ From all which, I may sum up this conclusion, That the true Interest of the City is to cool, by degrees, toward a Presbytery! Not all at once, lest it be accounted levity. And in the meantime, to stand neutral so far as not to make a distinct Party; nor drive any design at home or at Westminster, by hoisting up supernumerary Votes, and putting down all others with remonstrative or petitionary outcries; but to leave the Presbyterian Cause to stand or fall by reason, and sober debate in Parliament, that being the less looked upon in so turbulent a time, they may enjoy their city and possessions without envy, and the shaken kingdom—they keeping still—may have time to settle and recover the pristine health and splendour of a glorious Monarchy.

‘ O cives, cives, quæ vos dementia cepit,
—Tanti non est civilia belli moveri?’”

^a “Facile est baculum invenire, ut cædas canem.”

CHAP. LXXI.

BARTLET'S "MODEL."—PROPOSITIONS TO PARLIAMENT FOR GATHERING OF INDEPENDENT CHURCHES.—"THE INDEPENDENTS' DREAM."
JOHN COOK.—DECLARATION BY CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETIES.

WHAT was clamoured for by the Presbyterians, and declined to be produced ultimately by the "Apologetical Brethren" for reasons we have seen stated by themselves, came forth, at length, so far as the distinctive term "Model" is employed, from the pen of one whose prevailing characteristic is understood to be unobtrusiveness. Valuable as is this performance, it must not in any way be confounded with that contemplated by the Apologists, by whose advocacy our Cause, was, under Providence, generally so well sustained. These preliminary remarks are deemed a sufficient introduction to "ΙΧΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, or, A MODEL of the Primitive Congregational Way: Wherein Satisfaction is offered by unfolding—according to the Scriptures—What the Right Order of the Gospel, and Way of the Saints in the Visible Worshipping of God is, in the days of the New Testament. And, How the Saints, in these Days, may walk up to it, notwithstanding their present Hinderances. Together with the main points in controversy, touching the right Visible Church-State Christ hath instituted under the Gospel; with the extent of Church-Officers, and power of Particular Visible Churches, and continuance of Divine Ordinances and Institutions, under the Defection and Apostacy of Antichrist. By Wil. Bartlet,^a Minister of the Gospel, at Wapping. 1647." 4to. pp. 144.

"To all the Saints and Servants of Jesus Christ, scattered up and down in the Kingdom of England and throughout the World, that hitherto have been strangers to the paths of Sion [Jer. l. 5.], and have not worshipped God according to the Right Order of the Gospel:" in this dedication of ten pages, it is set down among the "reasons that prevailed, to the setting upon this work," to be "The stopping in some measure, if it be possible, the mouths of opposers; and giving satisfaction to other more moderate, that inquire after the truth of the Congregational Way according to the Scriptures; and vindicating of it also from those foul aspersions that have been and are still cast upon it and those that walk in it." Among the "ends" proposed in publishing, we read, "The truth is, I have, not a little, suffered from the tongues of men as a rent maker and peace breaker, for my endeavours to bring the saints—in the place where Providence cast me—into the Order of the Gospel." And we are told that "All the separation, in England, from Antichrist formerly, was more in respect of purity of doctrine than worship; and the Reformation that is now on foot is more in respect of Government in the Church of England, than of the Church-state of England itself; . . . for the same national form and frame [κράσις] of Church-state continues still, and is allowed of as it

^a Formerly of "the University of Oxford," p. 126.

was formerly before ever there was a renouncing of the power and authority of the Pope. . . The change hitherto is only in point of Government; the Constitution, is still the same! . . . March 1. 1646-7."

The first chapter unfolds the thesis "That there is, under the New Testament, a sacred visible Church-state, order, or polity, instituted and appointed by Jesus Christ and him only; to the observation of which, Believers are everywhere bound willingly to submit and subject themselves." Having largely set down the grounds of this weighty proposition, the propounder of it adventures "the discovering and confuting of those that are contrary minded."^a His first instance is of "those that affirm, there is no such external visible political church-order: . . . but all the government that Christ hath in believers is only internal by the Spirit." His second instance is of "those that teach and write for sound doctrine, That Jesus Christ hath not sole power of Headship over the Church: . . . but it is in the power of man also, to appoint and set up a frame of church-government and order. . . according to the nature and frame of those states and kingdoms wherein they live: and the foundation they build on is, by distinguishing between a supreme principal headship, and a ministerial subordinate headship."^b Among other duties of "the supreme magistrate," our author maintains that "They are bound to countenance and encourage all those that they find the Lord to make 'a willing people' in the ways of His worship, by granting them their liberty though they be the fewest and meanest, and never so much contemned and despised in and by the world; and though they also differ and vary—through their weakness—in some small circumstantial about the worship of God, among themselves; yet so long as they hold the Head and strive after the life and power of godliness in their walking, and submit to civil-government, they are to be protected because herein they do well, and so come within the compass of the magistrate's countenance, encouragement, and protection,—as Rom. xiii. 3, 4; Isai. xlix. 23;—whereas, on the contrary, if they should be discouraged by denying them their liberty, and exposing them to the rage and fury of malevolent spirits, they should never enjoy the end of their prayers to God in the behalf of the magistrate, 1 Tim. ii. 2."^c

Our author's third instance, is of "such as not only refuse to subscribe to the former truth, in lifting up the Lord Jesus Christ as the sole orderer and institutor of this visible church-state, order, and polity; but quarrel with those of the Congregational Way, for their forwardness and faithfulness in so doing; nicknaming them 'Independents:' as if self and creature denial, and lifting up the Name and authority of Jesus Christ, in the forementioned things, were blasphemy, and to be numbered among the seven deadly sins! Indeed, if such 'false accusers, fierce ones, despisers of those that are good,' as the apostle calls them 2 Tim. iii. 3; 'having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof,' ver. 5; could justly lay to those of the Congregational Way this lofty title of 'Independency'—proper only to the most high God—as men turned in upon themselves; regarding only themselves; living to themselves; depending on themselves, their

^a P. 19.^b P. 20.^c P. 24.

own wisdom, understanding, counsel, judgment, and strength; slighting and rejecting Him who is styled, James iv. 12, that 'one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy;' it were another matter. Or else, if it could be clearly evinced by any of the Congregational men's words and writings, opinions, or practices in Old England or New, first that they do altogether exclude the advice and counsel of the servants of Christ in neighbour churches, when there is occasion for it; or secondly, that they refuse to be accountable for their actions unto those who shall, in a fair and orderly way, according to the rule of the Gospel, in the name of Christ desire them; or thirdly, deny appeals unto men, as they will appeal to Christ in the Scriptures as the only Umpire and Judge, in matters controversial and dubious; or lastly, scorn to accept from men what they bring to them with the 'image and superscription' of Christ upon it, the Lord helping them by his Spirit, with the eyes of their own understanding, to see it: I say, if these things could be fairly made out against those of the Congregational Way, it were something! Then I confess, our 'Brethren,' as in words they profess themselves, might justly accuse us before heaven and earth of pride and arrogancy, of presumption, blasphemy, and impudency, as they are pleased, many of them, in the heat of their indignation, to do: but, for ever blessed be the Lord, this they cannot do. Wherefore is it, then, that the furnace of their displeasure is seven times more heated against those of the Congregational Way than formerly, and this title of 'Independency' so abusively given them? For my own part—all unavoidable infirmities incident to man excepted,—I know no other reasons than these; either because they will not subject themselves to their high presbytery; to their classical, provincial, and national, churches, and their absolute power of government over single congregations of saints; or, secondly, because they will not say 'God speed' to all such as bring the doctrines of blind obedience, and teach the fear of God by the precepts of men, to them! For as for those foul aspersions which are cast on the prime assertors of the Congregational Way by the sons of the high and lofty Presbytery, namely, of 'error, heresy, blasphemy, etc.;' are they not well known, to truly ingenuous and sober-minded men, to be no other than the fruit that comes from the womb of envy, hatred, and discontent? Do not they themselves know—whatever they bear the world in hand to the contrary—that neither Antipædobaptism, Rebaptism, Antinomianism, Arminianism, Arianism, etc.,—that are made the common evils of the times,—can justly be laid to the charge of the former persons, in Old England or New? No, not all this, while they have appeared in this cause of Christ! Let the records of the Assembly be searched, or any other places, and see whether any thing of this nature can be found against the 'Dissenting Brethren,' living or dead; or those that are of the same judgment with them touching the Right Order of the Gospel, and point of visible church-fellowship and government. What though divers that are erroneous, and hold such tenets as are destructive to Church and State, do shelter themselves under the name of 'Congregationalists;' shall the Way therefore, and those that are the chief

assertors and practisers of it, suffer for it? Is this, fair and honest dealing?"^a

"Wherefore to close this chapter, however we shall be dealt withal by the tongues and pens, or any other ways, of our opposers; we shall not be discouraged, but sit down with our afflictions as with our crown, blessing Jehovah that he will count us worthy to suffer for his Name and Son's sake."^b

The second chapter is headed with what this author calls the second "great pillar"^c of his discourse, thus, "That the visible Church-state, order, and polity, which Jesus Christ only hath instituted and ordained under the New Testament, etc.; . . . is a free society or communion of visible Saints, embodied and knit together by a voluntary consent, to Worship God according to his Word; making up one ordinary Congregation, with power of government within itself only." Passing over "the matter; the form; the end; the rule; the quantity, and extent;" we stop at "the privilege," the sixth and last of the particular heads which clear and confirm the present proposition; but all which, the author remarks, "hold forth to us a summary of the Congregational Way, in the right understanding of which, Christians may abundantly satisfy themselves and their friends about this way of the Lord, so generally cried down and opposed."^d "I add," he says, "having power—under Jesus Christ—of government within itself; to note the privilege and prerogative Christ hath endowed it withal, and to exclude that superiority that some claim to themselves over their Brethren in the point of church-power: for if every particular church of saints—which here we speak of—have received alike the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting, the kingdom of heaven, within itself; then certainly, no church whatsoever hath power of government over another."^e In support of this, he adduces evidence "from Scripture;" from "testimony" of the learned in England—Brightman, Cartwright, Fenner, Parker, Perkins, Baynes, Jacob, Robinson, and Ainsworth; Ames, Fulke, Whitaker, Reynolds, Willet, Taylor, and Sibbes;"—and, from "reason and argument." Under the "testimonies," he adds, "So then put all these together, . . . and then see whether it becomes men to say that none but a company of injudicious, weak, simple, idle, and giddy-headed men, are of this opinion, That the power of church-government is entirely within a particular church. But that we may leave men for ever without excuse, let us before we leave this particular, see what our 'Brethren' themselves, of the Presbyterian Way, do say for this in their piece called 'Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici' they lately set forth^f with all their strength, wherein when I read, methinks that Scripture of the Apostle is verified, 1 Cor. iii. 19, 'For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God: for it is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.' And my reason is, because where they should speak most, there they say least; and where they should

^a P. 27.—"It seems those Presbyterians that are now so hot and violent against those that are not of their own tribe, have forgotten the Prelates' practice to themselves of late!" P. 29. *marg.*

^b P. 29.

^c P. 1.

^d P. 30.

^e P. 35.

^f In 1646. See back, p. 218.

be strongest, there they are weakest: for whereas the whole volume consists of near about thirty-two sheets of paper, there is not much above six sheets that speaks to the point of their Presbytery, and not above a sheet and a half to the principal part of the controversy, p. 231; in laying down of which also, they have not dealt fairly and candidly by expressing themselves, in full plain, and ample terms, but equivocally and ambiguously;^a reserving more to themselves in their practice, than what is expressed in their proposition. . . These gentlemen, in the last chapter [15th] of their book, . . . grant six things to the Independents. . . What can be more fully to our purpose, than what these men themselves say? . . . Yet it is not all they say; for they say the Presbyterians have a further power, that ‘particular congregations have not; which is, the power of greater assemblies.’. . . But, first; Where do these men read in all the New Testament of these ‘greater and lesser assemblies’ that have this authoritative power over one another to excommunicate and deliver over to Satan? . . . Let them not think to put off the matter so easily, as if three or four old arguments,^b that have been at least ten times answered, will serve the turn. God’s people have learnt to be more wise now, than formerly. Do not these men know that it is a great question amongst themselves or their friends in the Assembly, Whether ‘*traditio Satanæ*,’ the power of delivering over to Satan—were not apostolical? That is, peculiar to the power of apostles, so as ordinary elders had it not! . . . Let the assembly of presbyters be never so great, yet I hope there is none of them that will affirm that such an assembly can proceed—by all their authority they claim—to the delivering over a particular church to Satan, *clave non errante*; they are not freed from error, no more than a lesser assembly. And commonly, the truth of Christ is with the fewer, not the greater number. One poor despised saint may understand more of God’s mind, and see further into some particular truth than a whole synod: and we have examples of it! Indeed, if they could or would claim to themselves an unerring spirit, as the Pope doth, it were something; or if they had such a presence of the Holy Ghost with them that they might say as the apostles did, ‘It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us;’ then, it were to the purpose: but before this be done, they do but *oleum et operam perdere*, and Jesus Christ will give them but little thanks in the end.”^c This opponent of Presbytery adduces a still more pinching argument, as another testimony of the learned; “If the ‘divine right’ be in the Congregational presbytery, as they acknowledge at large, p. 182, 183, of their ‘*Jus Divinum*,’ how comes it to pass, that they claim such power in higher assemblies? . . . Are there two ‘divine rights’? . . . The preaching elders of [the] greater presbytery, were ordained to their office by a questionable power—by

^a “And in laying down the difference between the Presbyterians and Independents [by way of parallel] in their Preface, they speak an untruth in the very first particular; for the Independents have left it upon record, that a particular church, is ‘a similar part of the catholic;’ their [the Independents’] own expression:” Ames. *Medulla Theolog.* [1623] cap. xxxii. sect. 4. See back, p. 219.

^b “*Recorta crambe fastidium parit et nauseam.*”

^c P. 45—47.

the Bishops—which they have not, to this day, renounced! The ruling elders, are made by a power as questionable—though not so antichristian—to wit an Ordinance of Parliament! as Mr. Saltmarsh hath lately observed in Reasons discussing ‘The Divine Right of Presbytery’ [1646, 4to.] p, 3.^a. . Such a government, possibly may stand for a time, as the Prelatical did, having the power of the prince to support it; but doubtless it will, being so near of kin to it—share in the like destiny. And that which moves me to believe and expect it, is not only the non-Scripturalness of this high classical way of government, but the unreasonableness and sinfulness of it.”^b This is shown in eight particulars; which with a representation of the anti-evangelical arguments for, and the ill-consequences of parochial or “civil divisions of men,” we have only thus touched.

The third chapter embraces the topic, “That the several administrations of this church-state, especially for seals and censures, are now, in these days,—since the death of the apostles, and extraordinary church-officers and governors,—limited to and bounded within every particular church. The officers of one congregation may not ordinarily and in common—as the apostles did—administer the seals and censures that belong to another congregation.” Out of the ten conclusions which support this assumption we select but the ninth, “That no such officer, as pastor, etc., can require from any other church or congregation besides his own to which he belongs, ‘and over which the Holy Ghost hath made him overseer,’ that respect, maintenance, and obedience, which are due from people to officers, as appears from Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. Neither stand they charged with giving account of the souls of any other than those committed to them in that particular church where they are called; nor can any other than those of their particular church challenge from them the watching over their souls, and dispensing to them the ordinances of Christ. This is clear and evident in nature, and civil government of states and families; . . but as ‘nature hath ordained one to one,’^c so Christ hath ordained, in his church, to each congregation their proper pastors and overseers. And they that know what belongs to the work, will not complain they have not enough to go through and answer for!”^d The chapter shuts up with an objection and a reply, which we record, because they are a voucher of the then state of parties: “Objection,—But they will not come into public! Reply,—Some churches are in ‘public,’ as you call it: and others have been, but have been forced back again; and all would be more public than they are—in the sense you call ‘public;’—if they might enjoy their liberty and not endanger their peace or purity. Let but Authority allow us that liberty they do the Presbyterians—as in conscience they stand bound, we walking peaceably,—to dispense the ordinances of Christ without molestation; and then see whether we could refuse it. Alas, alas, that ever men should find fault with us for that we cannot remedy, but count our affliction!”^e

The fourth chapter affirms, “That this church-state, with its officers, ordinances, and administrations thereunto appertaining, is of perpetual use to [till] the coming again of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

^a P. 48.^b P. 52.^c Aristotle.^d P. 64.^e P. 77.

the institutor of it: without either alteration or cessation." A qualification is subjoined, thus, "Doubtless, in respect of this or that particular church and single congregation, it may cease and be utterly lost; but in respect of the essentials of that instituted church-state and order of Christ revealed to us in his Word, and delivered to us by the apostles, and left by them upon record, for us to follow and practise, so it is not lost, but remains and continues to the saints to His coming again."^a "We find that the Scriptures are not lost, but by the power of Christ they have been preserved, yea recovered out of 'Babylon,' and freed from those horrible corruptions they were exposed unto while they were in the hands of Antichrist; and, why may not the Ordinances as well as the Scriptures; the church as well as her treasure?"^b As an inference, it is remarked, "That those men are mightily mistaken and out of the way, that stick not to affirm that the church-state and order of government thereunto correspondent, which Jesus Christ hath instituted, is mutable, and ought to be suited according to the laws and governments of particular states and kingdoms. As if the churches of Christ in the primitive times, had a mixed government and administration of the ordinances according to the laws and customs of the countries!"^c

The fifth chapter prescribes, "That the godly in this kingdom, are every where bound to gather themselves into the sacred, visible political church-state and order of the Gospel,—if they are of a competent number,—in those places where they live; or to join themselves to those particular churches of Christ which are already rightly gathered: one of these must be done by them."^d Ten motives are given and enlarged upon, to enforce this alleged obligation: "1. The call of Christ: 2. The example of the saints, in the primitive times: 3. Necessity of yielding obedience to Christ's commands, calls for it: 4. Christ hath ordained no other condition to abide in, here: 5. The Word and Spirit of Christ, are more especially entailed to this church-state: 6. Christ takes most delight to be with the saints, in this church-state: 7. Many singular privileges, the saints enjoy in this church-state: 8. Many excellent helps and advantages, to their souls: 9. The admirable beauty and glory, that shine forth in this church-state: 10. Without this, the work of Reformation will be to no purpose!"

The sixth chapter shows, "How, and in what manner, the godly are to embody and join themselves together into holy church-fellowship, in the places where they live; and, what concerns them to know and practise, after their embodying."^e The sound and practical illustrations herein, being in accordance with what we have already gathered from other writers, we pass them over at this place.

The seventh chapter, "Holds forth the several hinderances and impediments that do stand in the way of the godly, whereby they are kept from this Gospel church-state. All which hinderances, are removed, in answering all the principal objections that are made against it."^f

^a P. 78

^b P. 81.

^c P. 84.

^d P. 88.

^e Under this Motive is an admirable analogical "resemblance" between Heaven and this church-state on earth; in ten particulars, occupying nearly three pages.

^f P. 101.

^g P. 112.

The first impediment, is represented thus, “That there are many learned and godly ministers as well as private christians, that both write and speak against this way.”^a Amidst other considerations “to remove this,” one is, “Have we not experience of many ‘godly’ men, Conformists, in the late time of the prelates, that did side with the bishops against their ‘godly’ brethren,—the Nonconformists,—that wrote against, . . . and prest, those very things at that time, that now these men practise which speak evil of what we now stir up the ‘godly’ unto? Now if it be so, then it is not so much to be wondered [at] that ‘godly men have their hands, and tongues, and pens, against this way of the Gospel which we conceive to be a step or two higher for purity, and nearer to the will and mind of Christ, and practice of the primitive times, than what is now on foot.”^b Another is, “It cannot be denied but there are also multitudes of ‘godly’ of all sorts and callings, in the magistracy, ministry, practice of law, physic, in councils and armies, both in city and country, that are for it: and not only in this city and country, but foreign countries; and the number increaseth daily, and is like more and more to increase, till it have prevailed against all other, as Dan. ii. 44, intimates.”^c Again, “Seven years since, many ‘godly’ preachers and professors were for episcopacy, for the ceremonies, for the use of the service-book: what sermons were preached! what books were printed in the defence of them; and against those that opposed them! How were the bishops honoured and revered, bowed to, vindicated, and stood for; and that with great eagerness and violence; so that those that were against them, were deeply censured by their brethren! But now, it is otherwise. And why so? but because their judgment is changed, and men say that God hath opened their eyes and convinced them of the evil of those things which before they saw not! And it is well if it be so; and not simply a disclaiming of these evils, from the Parliament’s removing of them and enjoining the contrary. . . . But suppose the best; that what men now do, is from the Lord’s merciful enlightening of them; . . . will it not therefore follow, that there is a possibility, before seven years come about again, they may see further into this mystery of the Gospel, and so discover the unsoundness of their present standing in the parish-churches as they are constituted and receive their life and being from the civil laws of the land? The air is enlightened by degrees, not all at once; and so are the saints!”^d

The second impediment to be removed, is, “That salvation may be had in that present church-state they for the present are; and therefore judge it a needless thing to come into any other church-state.”^e . . . “Such [objectors] should consider, whether the truth of grace doth not teach them to have respect to the whole revealed will of God? And not to dispense with themselves in the neglect of obedience to any the least part of it.”^f . . . Have they not many precious talents, gifts, and graces, bestowed upon them; for which they shall be accountable to Christ one day; which now are, as it were, put under a bushel and lie asleep, and of no use or benefit to themselves or others? All which, if they were once come into a society of faithful and zealous saints,

^a *Ib.* ^b P. 107 [113.] ^c P. 114. ^d *Ib.* ^e P. 106 [116.] ^f *Ib.*

would be occasioned frequently to be brought forth and improved to the glory of God, the benefit of others, and their own great increase and advantage!"^a

The third impediment, is, "That they have as learned and godly a ministry over them, as any to this day in the world."^b "It cannot be denied, but divers of those parish-churches have those over them that are both learned and godly; though withal it must also be granted, that there are in the kingdom, a far greater number of such as have neither learning nor godliness that go for ministers of the Church of England, and are settled in those parish-churches; such as are not only the shame and blot of this nation, but have already endangered the welfare of it, and are like to do it a second time if the Lord from heaven prevent it not."^c

The fourth impediment, or hinderance, is, "That they look upon this way as a way of Separation; which hath been, and still is, such an eyesore to many that they had rather die than touch [be touched] with it."^d

The fifth stumbling block, is, "Because they see many, after they have entered on this way, to fall into grievous errors; and some, turn libertines and grow loose in their way of walking."^e "As a learned author saith, 'What flaming sword is there in the hand of a classical presbytery, to keep men out of errors which may not be in a congregation?'"

The sixth impediment is, "Because they say this way cries up for Toleration for all sorts of religion and liberty of men's consciences, and so every man may do as he list; and what confusion and destruction will this soon produce in church and state?"^f

The seventh impediment that stands in the way of the 'godly' to this blessed work, is "That they cannot see it to have the Magistrate's countenance and allowance."^g "Who knows, but by the time the three years' 'allowance' of the other [way] be fully expired, the Lord may so far reveal himself to Authority as that it shall not only countenance the Congregational Way but also make a law for the establishing of it; not only, three years, but as the laws of the Medes and Persians that shall never be altered or repealed[!]"^h "What ground for comfort can those have to build on, if the magistrate should approve of it and countenance it,—as we doubt not, as we said before, but, in the Lord's time he will,—when they enter upon it for that very reason and cause, Because it is the command of the magistrate, and he approves of it? . . . Now I say, what comfort can these men have in what they do? seeing that hereby, 1. They make the order appointed by Christ for his service and worship to depend on the will and pleasure of men? 2. Their fear of God is taught 'by the precepts of men,' Isai. xxix. 13. And, 3, Their honouring of the creature herein, is a flat dishonouring of God; for this kind of obedience to human power, diminishes, if not annihilates, the right and true obedience that is due to Divine power, setting up the minister and servant in the place and room of the Lord and Master."ⁱ "Then . . . by this doctrine, Magistrates are not to be revered, nor regarded? A mere non sequitur! For, cannot Cæsar

^a P. 111[117.]

^b P. 118.

^c *Ib.*

^d P. 121.

^e 122.

^f P. 124.

^g P. 135.

^h *Ib.* See forward, p. 247.

ⁱ P. 136.

be obeyed, unless he be set up in God's room? But this is no other than a vile aspersion that malicious and envious spirits would cast on the faithful servants of Jesus Christ. . . Certainly, whatever such men talk, in press and pulpit, Authority may for ever be assured that those that faithfully endeavour in all good conscience, as for their lives, to honour the eternal God and their Saviour Jesus Christ in one command of His, they will in another; and therefore they need not doubt but those they nickname 'Independents' will by the help of Christ strive to obey the fifth commandment as well as the first, or any other. And I suppose, to this day—notwithstanding all the aspersions of malevolent tongues and pens—Authority hath found the truth of this we now speak of, in abundance; and I doubt not but so they shall to the end."^a

The eighth, and last great impediment, is, "That they are jealous lest this way we plead for is but the device of man; having not the stamp and image of Christ upon it, whatsoever we pretend; and so, if they should close with it, they cannot expect the Lord's presence with them and blessing upon them in the practice of it; but [that] the Lord may say to them, as he did to the formal Jews in the like case, 'Who hath required these things at your hands?' Isa. i. 12."^b "Now, for removing of this huge mountain I shall only desire one thing may be seriously considered, which is this, That far be it from those of the Congregational Way to persuade any man whatsoever, to walk in obedience to and the practice of that which Christ himself will not own for His, nor carries his 'image and superscription' upon. Wherefore let it be put to the trial, Whether this way of worshipping God I have pressed the godly in the land to the practice of, do not hold weight in the balance of the sanctuary, and be not more like to Jesus Christ's than all other ways of worship that are on foot in the kingdom? I shall for this purpose, set before the godly some few brief particulars that most naturally agree to this way we press unto the practice of, and undoubtedly prove it to be 'from heaven,' and hath the Eternal God in Jesus Christ for its only author and institutor!

"1. That way of visible worship and government in the church of God that is most agreeable to the Scriptures, in all its parts and parcels; that must needs be the way of God: but such is the way we have before set down, commonly called 'The Congregational Way,' and nicknamed 'Independency.' 2. That way [of visible worship and government] that most lifts up Jesus Christ, and throws down and abaseth the creature; that must of necessity be the way of God. 3. That way, that makes most for holiness and advancement of purity in the hearts and lives of men; that cannot be denied to be the way of the Lord, and to carry Christ's 'image' on it. 4. That way, that carries most of Christ's glorious power and presence in it and with it, to the souls and consciences of men; that is without controversy, the way of Christ. 5. That way, that in the very nature and essence of it not only tends to the preservation of the spiritual liberty of those that are within it, but to the safety and welfare also of those that are without it; that must needs be the way of the Lord. 6. That way, that hath not only least of the world in it, but most of the world's

^a P. 137.^b P. 138.

hatred and opposition against it; that unavoidably declares it to be of God: but so it is with this way we plead for, therefore, lastly, 7. That way which draws the most choice and heavenly souls to the embracing of it and delighting in it as more suitable to the working of the Spirit of Christ in them; that none can deny to be the way of the Lord: but so it is with this Congregational Way we plead for.”^a

“Take a brief view of the truth of the way, in these particulars from Scripture: For the Matter of a visible church; ‘saints,’ Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; xiv. 33; Phil. i. 1—7; Col. iii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 27.—For the Form; uniting together in one spiritual body politic, 1 Cor. x. 17; xii. 12, 20, 27; Eph. ii. 22; and therefore compared to a temple, house, candlestick, natural body, etc.’ as I showed, chap. ii.—For the Quantity; as many as can meet together in one place, Acts ii. 1; v. 12; vi; xiv. 27; 1 Cor. xiv. 23.—For the Power of government within itself, Matt. xviii. 17—19; 1 Cor. v. 4—7, 13; Acts xv. 22, 23; Rev. ii. 20.—For the Office and Officers of a particular visible church, Eph. iv. 11, 12; Rom. xii. 6, 7; 1 Cor. xii. 28.—For the choosing of officers, by the whole church, Acts i. 15—26; vi, 2, 3; xiv. 23.—For Admission of members, the godly and their seed, Acts ii. 38, 39; as the seed by covenant; so themselves by declaration of their repentance, and profession of their faith in Christ, as Matt. xvi. 16; Acts ii. 38, 41, 42; xix. 18, 19; 1 Cor. vii. 14.—For casting out from the church, Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 5, 13; 2 Cor. ii. 6; vi. 14; Rev. ii. 20.—For Partaking in church-fellowship with other churches, upon recommendation, Rom. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. iii. 1.—For Craving the help and assistance of neighbour churches, in difficult cases, by way of advice and counsel, Acts xv. 1, 2.—For Sending-out some of the members in [on] the church’s business, 2 Cor. viii. 19; Phil. ii. 25; Rom. xvi. 1.—For the Duties of pastors and people each to other; abundant Scriptures might be produced, as 1 Thess. v. 11—14; Heb. xiii. 17; Acts. xx. 28. So that here we have, in a little room, given you an epitome or compendium of the substantial parts of the Congregational Way: . . . especially that which hath been most of all controverted and called into question.”^b

The eighth, and last, chapter, contains “A short exhortation to three sorts of persons: Such as are truly godly, but are yet strangers to this Order of the Gospel: such as are open enemies to this way of the Lord: such as God hath showed mercy unto in bringing them to Sion, and put their souls in possession of this heavenly privilege.”^c Upon the last, “as the close of all,” it is urged, “Labour after peace: Strive after purity: Persevere and hold fast to the end!”^d

^a *Ibid*

^b P. 139.

^c P. 140.

^d P. 143. From another locality, this writer subscribes his name to “Sovereign Balsam: Gently applied in a few Weighty Considerations, by way of Query, for healing the Distempers of such Professors of Religion as Satan hath wounded and drawn aside, under the Notion of ‘Living in God,’ to the utter renouncing and casting off the Use of Divine Ordinances, and Gospel Institutions of Worship. With an Appendix, by way of Postscript, to such Professors; wherein the most principle Grounds upon which they build their Practice, are fully answered and removed. And a Catalogue of the Errors that many of them hold, since they left the Ordinances, discovered. As also, a true relation of God’s extraordinary work-

It may justly excite surprise, at the first glance, that a paper bearing a title like that beneath, should emanate from the body,—whether entire or partial only, does not appear,—which it purports to describe; and to seek for legislative protection! Having neither explanatory matter, nor a single name to indicate its origin, the tract consists only of “Propositions to both Houses of Parliament, for Gathering of Churches, in the Behalf of many Congregations in the City of London, and other parts of the Kingdom: Who are honest, godly, well-affected People, and of approved Integrity: Commonly, but falsely called ‘Independents.’” Printed in the Year 1647.” 4to. pp. 6.

“i. That an Act of Parliament may be passed, giving liberty for the Gathering together of Churches unto Christ, and Setting-up of Church Ordinances in the Name of Christ, according to the Rule of the Holy Scriptures, Acts xiv 27; 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 1.

“ii. That a hundred and twenty persons, met together with one accord in the name of Jesus Christ, by prayer and supplication, may, as a Church, enjoy the liberty of the Ordinances according to the practice of the primitive Churches in their purity, Acts i. 14, 15.

“iii. That when a Church is to be erected, the Members that are gathered may be visible saints and believers, whose lives and conversations are free from scandal and blame, and who have received the grace of God whereby they are enriched in utterance and knowledge by Jesus Christ, 1 Cor. i. 2—8.

“iv. That visible saints being so gathered together for the constituting of a Church, they may unite themselves into a body, by a Covenant with the Lord to congregate with a true heart in full assurance of faith having their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed with pure water; to hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering, and consider one another to provoke to love and to good works; not forsaking the assembling of themselves together, to serve the Lord, Heb. x. 16, 22—25.

“v. That every Member, at his admission into the Congregation, do promise to give himself as to the Lord to be guided by Him, so to the Church, by a ready obedience, to be guided by them in the Lord, 2 Cor. viii. 5; Phil. ii. 12.

“vi. That every Congregation so gathered, may have full and free power to choose their own Officers, without the help of Bishops, Synod, Classis or Presbytery; for such Congregations are Churches before they have Officers, and so a right to election, Acts i. 15; 24: and so the Children of Israel did put their hands upon the Levites, Num. viii. 9, 10; Acts vi. 3.

ing upon one of this way very lately, in Plymouth, to the sight of his error; for the good of others published. By Will. Bartlet, an unworthy Minister of the Gospel and Lecturer at Bythesford [Biddeford] in Devonshire. 1649.” 4to. pp. [67.]

^a Fuller, in his Church History, 1655, bk. xi. p. 208, represents the objections to this term thus, “Independency taken for absolute subsistence, 1. without relation to God, is profane and blasphemous; 2. without relation to the king or state, is seditious and treacherous; 3. without relation to other churches, is proud and ambitious; 4. without relation to particular Ministers, is churlish and uncharitable.” Time has, however, for ever fixed that conventional meaning to the term, which was designed, on its first application, to be simply a denominational epithet.

“vii. That the Church-Officers may be Pastors, and Teachers, Elders and Deacons, according to the Word of God, Eph. iv. 11; Acts vi.; [1 Pet. v. 1.]

“viii. That the said Pastors, and Teachers, Elders and Deacons, may be such as shall be fit to perform those places as Witnesses of the sufferers of [for] Christ, and partakers of the glory that shall be revealed, to feed the flock of God committed to them, and that cheerfully and willingly, not aiming at filthy lucre and gain, not as being lords over God’s heritage but ensamples to the flock; and such as are of honest report, and fit for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and the offices to which they are called for the edifying of the body of Christ, Eph. iv. 11, 12; 1 Pet. v. 1—3; Acts vi. 5, [3.]

“ix. That no Pastor of any Congregation may be admitted to gather more Members to himself than will make one Church consisting of such a number as may conveniently meet in one place, in one congregation to partake of the Ordinances, 1 Cor. xi. 20; xiv. 23.

“x. That every Congregation may be a distinct Church of itself, as we read those were in the Apostle’s time, 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 1.

“xi. That the Church-Officers and Poor-Members be maintained by contribution every Lord’s day, 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

“xii. That the Churches may have power to censure their Officers,^a if they see just cause: as Paul gave commission to the Church of Colosse concerning their Minister, Archippus, Col. iv. 17.

“xiii. That Jesus Christ may be advanced in his throne over all authority, as King, Priest, and Prophet, Dent. xviii. 15; Acts vii. 37; Psal. cx. 4; Heb. v. 4; Isai. ix. 6, 7; Rev. xv. 3

“xiv. That the work of the Ministry may be to preach, and deliver the sacraments to the people; and that no unnecessary employment be put upon them to hinder that great work, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

“xv. That such persons who shall disturb the people of God—amongst whom God hath promised to be—when they are congregated to worship God in his Ordinances, may, by a Law, be punished according to their demerits, Matt. xviii. 20.

“xvi. That each Congregation have power only to judge those that are within themselves, of their own Members, in a church-way; not meddling with those who do not join with them, 1 Cor. v. 12.

“xvii. That in Civil matters, the power be left wholly to the Civil Magistrate, to punish offenders according to Law, of what congregation or church soever any persons shall be, that shall have their causes represented before them, Rom. xiii.

“xviii. That the Power of Church-government and discipline may not be in the Ministers and Officers only, but in the whole Congregation, which is the Church, Matt. xviii. 17.

“xix. That in Church-Censures in the judging of the incestuous persons, blasphemers, and wicked members, there be a gathering together of the Congregation, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

^a See back, vol. i. p. 248, note ^d.

“xx. That with that Church where the believing husband, father, or master, shall walk, there the wife, children, and servants—even the whole family—may walk together, according to order and decency, and the rule of God’s holy Word, 1 Tim. v. 1, 2; 1 Cor. vii. 7, 14, 20; xiv. 35; Eph. vi. 1.

“xxi. That nothing in Church-Discipline may be established contrary to the way which Christ hath left for all Churches, which, in the essentials of it, is unchangeable, and to be kept until the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Tim. vi. 14.

“xxii. That for the propagation of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, such men as are gifted may, upon approbation on the trial of his gifts, be admitted to preach; they walking free from scandal in life and error in doctrine, according to the rule of God’s Word, and the example of the primitive churches, Acts xi. 19; viii. 14; ii. 10; iv. 31.”^a

As we are not bound to declare that the wisdom of the early Independents was in all cases, absolute, so we have no reluctance to record what we know of advantage taken by any opponent when occasion may seem to be afforded. It is no justification, nevertheless, that such opponent should himself run beyond due bounds, and show thereby his own side to be the worse; this remark belongs especially to “The Independents’ Dream of a New-Nothing, called a Church, without either Government, Doctrine, or Manners, suitable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ: Zealously interpreted by a Christian Brother who is a perfect Enemy to Confusion. Showing, how the Independent-dreaming Teachers, through the Spectacles of Phantasy, discover strange New-Lights and new-born Truths, wherewith they deceive the Hearts of the Simple, and allure them into the Labyrinth of their innovated traditional Form of Godliness. 1647.” 4to. pp. 6.

The paternity of this piece is discernible in this passage: “We may publicly conjecture from whence the Independent Seducing-Teachers have their new lights, even the father of lies, who was a liar from the beginning, he hath possessed their wavering and unstable thoughts with an *ignis fatuus*, or a prodigious comet which presageth ruin to the Church and State; maintaining a faction clean contrary to the League and Covenant which, by Ordinance of Parliament, hath been generally entered into.” From such a beginning, all that follows will be the less marvelled at. “Good warrant,” continues this champion of proscription, “have the magistrates of England to suppress any innovated faction, from the practice of the prophets and elders of Israel, prescribed in holy Writ for their imitations who, in all ages, had the

^a “The Independents, though inconsiderable at the first, even to contempt, being not above six among fourscore in the Assembly, nor double that number visible in both Houses, have played their cards so well, and followed their business so close[ly], that they have got the Purse of the Kingdom at their command; the whole Strength of it, at their devotion; and now grasp at the Authority also, and seek to establish their iniquity by a Law. But by what steps and degrees they have climbed thus high, is very difficult to discover exactly; the foundation being laid deep underground and carried up with as much art as ever building of that nature was.” The Regal Apology: Or, The Declaration of the Commons, Feb. 11th, 1647[-8], canvassed. Wherein every Objection, and their whole Charge against His Majesty is cleared, and for the most part retorted. Printed in the year 1648.” 4to.

sword of justice in their hand to punish all seducers; as appears, Deut. xiii. 1—5; 1 Kings xviii. 21; Judges vi. 30, 31.^a

“For their Church-government, after their separation into new-moulded congregations, the better to imitate the whole college of apostles and presbyters, they would grace every sucking-church of theirs with all the authority the grand presbytery at Jerusalem could challenge to themselves, and additional innovations more than they ever practised; as evidently appears when, contrary to the Scriptures, they give authority to silly women to have voices in admitting members into their solely sanctified societies. . . The great emoluments which do redound unto their seducing Teachers, may move them, in private, to plead for this form of government; yet it being contrary to the express Word of God—1 Cor. xiv. 34—36; 1 Tim. ii. 9, 12.—there is neither sense nor reason why such destructive practices should be tolerated.”^b

“How ridiculous, then, do the seduced Independents make themselves, who, forgetting to search the Scriptures as the Bereans did, do embrace with great applause the innovation of brain-sick phantasies, when in the whole current of the Scriptures there is no warrant that after men believe and are baptized, they should walk with them some time for a sufficient trial of their conversations and make a public confession of the faith, and produce evidences for the truth of their conversion; enter into a solemn covenant, and have the joint consent of the whole congregation; before they can be admitted members of their church: had these circumstances been necessary, Christ would have put them into the apostles’ commission; and the Holy Ghost—Acts i.—would have suggested all these things into their memories.”^c

“Therefore, St. Paul’s [Peter’s] caution is seasonable [epist. 2. ch. ii. 1—3], to take heed of false teachers, whatsoever show of sanctity they make, abusing the simplicity of the people, for their own advantage.”^d

Having thus dismissed an opponent, we turn towards an *advocate* whose career and whose destiny impart a more than ordinary interest to what we shall be enabled to produce in connexion with him. At present, we are called to consider “What the Independents would Have: Or, A Character, Declaring some of their Tenets, and their Desires to disabuse those who speak Ill of that they know not. Written by John Cook, of Gray’s Inn, Barrister. Lond. 1647.” 4to. pp. 16.

“BEING called to the study of the great controversy of this age, many years since, by an occasional residence with some who dissented from the Church of England, concerning Independency of Churches; I stood as stiffly as I could for Episcopacy!

“I read, with a single eye, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Jacob, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Johnson, and every book else I could find of that subject, *pro* and *con*, as conceiving the Kingly-office of Christ Jesus to be the only point worth studying; and when the points of their arguments stuck so close that I could not answer them, I grew angry—the Lord lay it not to my charge—and held a fair correspondence with the

^a P. 2.^b P. 3.^c P. 5.^d P. 6.

Church of England in all the Ordinances so long as I could possibly get leave of my conscience so to do.

“And the question, truly stated, is but this, Whether the inventions of men, ought any more to be mixed with the institutions of Christ in his Kingly-office, than their good works, in his Priestly-office? Which I am confident, ere long will be as much out of question as, Whether the protestant or the popish be the true religion? Whereof I hold it altogether impertinent to discourse, it having been so clearly vindicated by learned pens.

“But because there is a great noise made, What would the Independents have? they never yet told us their desires! the poor children are kept fasting all day, and then some rigid spirits, like the curst step-mother—to whom they dare not speak for fear of a slap on the mouth,—quarrel with them, why what would these untoward children have? is any body troubled with such paltry rascals and harlotry baggages as I am? these scurvy children make me weary of my life! Whenas she knows well enough, it is bread that the children cry for.

“I shall tell you, in a word, what will content all the Independents in England: it is this, They desire neither more nor less than what the Puritans desired of Queen Elizabeth and King James; namely, an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of all prelates and ecclesiastical officers, other than such as themselves shall choose; and to be accountable to the magistrate for what they shall do amiss, submitting to the civil government in all things; and, to be liable to all taxations that, by law, are chargeable upon persons of their condition: not holding any opinions destructive of state-polity; not having a natural tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom, as all seditious practices have; but otherwise to be as free to choose their own company, place, and time, with whom, where, and when, to worship God, as they are in the choice of their wives; for a forced marriage will not hold. This, I say, will satisfy all that go under the name of Independents; which name, and the word Presbyters as it is used, I wish they were extinct and buried. If there must be a distinction, I wish rather they might be called Conformists and Reformists.

“But to give you an account of some of the tenets of him that is properly and singularly called an Independent, by way of a character: He is one that judges every man in a happy condition—though he hold many errors—that believes in Jesus Christ; and is content to be every man’s servant, so as Christ may but reign over his conscience; which, if He should not, he knows not where He is to reign.

“He holds a subordination of officers in the same church, but an equality in several congregations; which as sisters, depend not upon one another, but are helpful as one hand to another: as God hath ordained a parity and eminency in power between several kings and princes, and that one ought not to invade the other’s sovereignty; not excepting against the consultative, persuasive, and deliberative synod, but the ruling-synod that shall command any thing imperio voluntatis, by a Pythagorical authority, without demonstrating any utility or advantage to accrue thereby. And therefore, an Independent is he that depends not on any but Christ Jesus the Head, in point of canon

and command, for spiritual matters; but is dependent upon man in all temporal matters absolutely; and for spirituals, by way of advice and counsel; it being an article of his faith, That every man must be saved by his own faith, and knows no medium between a reasonable service and an implicit faith!

“He counts the royal law of Unity, amongst honest men, to be the supreme law of the most noble descent; to which, all inferior orders of Uniformity must do homage, as the ceremonial law to the moral; loving every man that hath anything of Christ in him, or common honesty; and would not have Discipline breed disaffection!

“Concerning the discipline of Christ’s Church, [he] does no more depend upon man than [concerning] the doctrine; and counts it the most glorious light in the world, to see Jesus Christ walk as King, ruling by the sceptre of his Word in the midst of his golden candlesticks.

“He is ever privy to his own infirmities, being far from dreaming of perfection in this life: therefore doth not separate from mixt communions, because he thinks himself too good, or better than his neighbours; for he thinks himself the greatest sinner, being most privy to the deceitfulness of his own heart, and is sure he hath more errors than he can discern; nor is it because he would displease any man, but because he dares not displease God, for he is fully persuaded it is a sin in him to do otherwise.

“He thinks no man will be godly, unless he will promise to be so; therefore wonders that any Christian should speak against a church-covenant, which is no more than a promise to do that, by God’s assistance, which the Gospel requires of him: yet will not say, that it proceeds out of a desire of carnal liberty, or contempt of the ordinances; for rigid censures, seldom lodge in meek and humble breasts. He esteems protestation, against practice, prevarication; as if Bilhah had said, Though I lie with Reuben, my heart is honest to my husband! for one acre of performance, is worth a whole land of promise.

“He is a professed enemy to all imperative, co-active violence, in matters of conscience which are not an offence against civil justice; and thinks, that to force men to come to Christ, is but to make them hypocrites. He cannot be content with an inferior accommodation for his soul, when he may have a superior; going to the ordinances, to meet Jesus Christ there, and to hear good news from heaven; he desires to find Him in the fullest manner; but is not of so strong a constitution, as to fast till Authority settle a form of worship!

“He holds the Word and sacraments not to be the constitution of the church,—no more than the law is the commonwealth, or the axe the house,—but the means and instrument of constitution; and counts him the only extravagant man, that flies from reason which makes all men so noble. He is of an opinion that the far greater part of men in the kingdom believe that an honest, upright meaning, will win heaven; and hope so to live, as by their good works, prayers, and good meanings, to be saved! and therefore, does not conceive these men to be visible members of Christ’s body, and consequently [ought] not to communicate in the distinguishing ordinances. He thinks it ill

done to enforce any, under penalties, to receive the sacrament, possibly to seal up his own condemnation.

“ He is for every Reformed Church, so far as it is reformed ; but says, many Scotch ministers complain that things are not thoroughly reformed with them ! He counts it licentiousness, not Christian liberty, to affront those that be in Authority ; and never speaks anything against the national way of worship, but to justify his own if called thereunto. He will not be beaten but by Scripture weapons : and in reading Scriptures, neither stretches things wider nor draws them narrower than God has made them. He holds persuasion to be the gospellary way ; and that liberty of religion to all Protestants, is the bond of religion against Papists. He believes the community of the Faithful in appearance to be the immediate receptacle of all ecclesiastical authority ; and holds non-communication with churches—when one church, after fasting and prayer, shall tell a heretical company, that it appears they are in the state of damnation, as heathen and publicans, and better a millstone were hung about their necks than to give such just offence,—to be as effectual to attain the spiritual end, as excommunication.

“ He is sorry that Brethren should fall out by the way ; being all animated by one Spirit, as the body by one soul ; but is glad that himself is not the least cause of the disagreement ! He thinks spiritual diseases must have spiritual cures ; and thinks it no proper way to confute a heretic, to break his head with the Bible. He is one that desires to live lovingly with all the world, and loves most where he sees most of God. He does not so much desire that Jesus Christ should love him, because he knows He loves him already ; nor that he should love him more, because he knows He loves him enough ; but that he might love Christ, and love him [still] more : and, he joins himself in church fellowship not to gain heaven, but to witness his love to Jesus Christ ; and desires to love himself no further than he finds the image of God renewed in him !

“ He counts it a great honour and security to Protestants to join all as one man against popery ; and desires heartily a *union* with our brethren the Scots, which he conceives may very well be without a *uniformity* ; which is a condition for the saints above, fully enlightened ! He thinks religion is *ab eligendo* as well as *à religando*, and that the French Protestants are cordial and sincere that may either go to mass or to church, as they please[*sic*]. He conceives a moderate presbytery, such as men cannot except against in point of reason and conscience, is best consistent with the happiness of this Kingdom : and [asks] why should not moderate men be content with a moderate discipline ? He loves an honest Presbyterian better than a dishonest Independent ; and believes that the want of morality excludes from heaven.

“ He believes that this Army would fight as heartily for the State against popery, or any that should do them wrong, as ever they did for the liberties of this kingdom ; and desires that the parliament and army would grant as much to the City of London as may possibly consist with the safety of the kingdom. He freely forgives all those that rail against him in pulpits ; and prays that God would make such ministers more zealous to advance the power of godliness than their own power !

“ He desires to learn the truth with all diligence and humility ; and if, for the present, he be in an error, he hopes all good Christians will excuse it, because it proceeds from a desire of all possible purity in a congregation ; as if a servant be over diligent, thinking to please his master by doing his business too well, no ingenuous man would blame him.

“ He judges him the best commonwealth’s-man that will suffer much himself when it may conduce to the public peace, and that is most forward to go in a way safe for the Kingdom, though dangerous to himself ; and him the best Christian, that studies truth and peace, yet so as a union of hearts rather than a vicinity of houses, is to make up a congregation according to the New Testament, than which he conceives his way no newer !

“ Concerning the errors of the times, many whereof pretend [proceed] from weak judgments, but strong affection to Jesus Christ, he thinks all this smoke is not without some fire : but because the common enemy, the papists, have more differences among themselves, lest our jarring should be their music, he desires we may spend our wits upon them, and our charity upon one another : and if all truths be seasonable, he conceives that the Assembly sitting so long before they agreed upon anything, was the great occasioner of them ; they kept the kingdom too long fasting, as if all men had been of a like strong constitution, whereas passengers to heaven are in haste, and must walk some way or other, and he that hath gone ‘ far in a wood is loth to turn back though he be wrong ’ ; so dangerous is it to procrastinate in their matters, and very rare for a man to confute himself !

“ His practice is to baptize the children of one or both believing parents, as federally holy : the contrary opinion of some anabaptists, or antibaptists, make him study Scripture, in piety and devotion, more ; there being neither express precept nor example for it, and the correspondency of the seals under both dispensations more ; and possibly that may be a truth which, for want of light, he conceives to be an error : if it be an error, it is a very harmless one ; resting there, and cannot disturb the public peace.

“ If an ‘ Antinomian ’ doctrinal do not prove an antinomian practical, he thinks some of those opinions are very comfortable ; and learns hereby not to exalt duty too much but to study free grace the more, and [to] believe that the doctrines of justification and satisfaction have never been more clearly taught than by them that have been so called.

“ He hopes ‘ Seekers ’ find the way to heaven, yet counts it sad that any should wait for new apostles—they may as well seek a new gospel ;—and that those ordinances which Christ hath purchased with his precious blood should be counted shadows, [he counts] much derogatory to his love and wisdom : yet he suspects his own heart, and thinks that possibly some men live at a very high rate in spiritual enjoyments being wholly at rest in God, and have the less need of ordinances : and for those that think the saints are here in full perfection of grace and glory, his sinful heart tells him it is an error ; yet he will not judge any tree to be evil but by its fruits. He knows no hurt in a million of millenary-like errors : who would not be glad to see Jesus Christ ?

“ That Christ died for all, he judges to be a great error ; for then all must be saved, or possibly none may be saved ; yet there are prudential reasons and motives for it, as the papists have for good-works ; if not meritorious, why commanded ? If He died not for all, why is he preached to all ? Yet the maintainer’s aim is thereby to honour and exalt Christ, which is the great design of the Father ; and thereby his greater study, and so by different opinions, he learns to do things upon clearer principles, and so to walk in love and peace, as seeing Him who is invisible, and knows no reason why their brethren—by the good leave of the master of the family, and Parliament—may not live lovingly together.

“ He thinks it very absurd, that popish bishops should ordain ministers ; as if the sheep should have no shepherds but such as the wolves appoint ; the rather, for that the apostles did not abridge the *people* of that liberty of choosing an apostle, much less may a synod deprive them of choosing their own officers.

“ He desires no toleration for any errors against religion, or state-policy ; but of some errors in religion, which do not raze the foundation, conceiving liberty to be the best means to cure all such differences, and that the sword hath no capacity to settle religion, being not sanctified to that purpose. And if imprisonment cure a heretic, it is but like his curing an enemy by letting out the imposthume, when he thought to kill him ; for mystical wolves are to be killed mystically ; and therefore, [he] marvels that any politic Christian should oppose his desires, for why may not he which, five years since, was for bishops, considering the wheeling vicissitude and revolution of things, five years hence be an Independent ? He thinks compulsion is the only way to make hypocrites ; and if church-papists were ever accounted most dangerous, he wonders why men should be forced to go to church.

“ He thinks it strange that Christians should have most wars, who can least justify them ; but conceives it is for want of liberty of conscience. The Turk hath more colour to come with three or four hundred thousand men to invade this kingdom, because we are not of his religion than one protestant hath to persecute another. And he verily believes that if every man might take his religion upon choice and trial, thousands would be saved which die securely making no question of their salvation. He thinks it is a solecism for ministers to bid men ‘ search the Scriptures ’ when they may not profess that which they find to be true ! He finds that this kingdom had little peace since the bishops banished men into New England, where Independency hath been so far from being the root of evil as it hath cured schisms and heresies.

“ He conceives the rigid Presbyters are notable politicians to put the parliament between themselves and the envy of the people, for they do but untie the points and deliver the party to the magistrate to be whipt, as the papists do who put protestants to death because protestants delight in persecution ! but wishes they would be moderate, if they intend to last, for the rigidness of the bishops was their ruin. He doth not find any punishment in Scripture for tender consciences ;

and by that politic law which puts idolaters to death, their cattle also were to be destroyed.^a He would gladly conform to the present government, if he had his conscience at command, in his own power; and knows no reason why carnal professors should oppose liberty but because they desire not to be troubled about religion, but have it put into their mouths by Authority, which they hope will stand between them and harm!

“He conceives variety of opinions in circumstantials, is but as one star differs from another: difference in hearts cannot hurt, nor difference in heads need not breed difference in hearts; and [he] understands not, why covenants should be made to repair castles in the air; and since the moderate disciplinarians agree that every congregation in America hath entireness of jurisdiction intrinsically within itself, he wonders that any man should hold that churches are in a worse condition where the magistrates profess Christianity; or that it is not a favour that corporations may determine differences within themselves; but he looks not at the likeliness of the means, but [at] Christ’s institution, who is [the] only King of the conscience; and conceives that all the world hath no more power over the conscience than a tinker hath, which can be no disparagement to say that a stone hath as much life as the sun. He conceives that Matt. xviii. ‘Tell the church,’ are very plain words, but that learned men have invented distinctions to make them intricate; and that Christ hath intrusted ‘the keys’ to hang rather at his spouse’s girdle than with the stewards, and that a church’s censure being ratified in heaven, there can be no appeal on earth to any other church!

“He conceives that such a liberty, will wonderfully endear all conscientious men to the magistrate, the king and parliament will gain the hearts of the people, without which all obedience will be uncordial. Compulsion can no more gain the heart than the fish can love the fisherman. As for those arguments, of disorder and confusion, the two theological scarecrows, he conceives they are but imaginary vain fears, yet have been so drunk with the blood of the saints that, like Lycurgus’ vines,^b he would never have them more urged; for a heretic is but to be rejected, and as Luther said, to be burnt with the fire of charity; nor should we send them to hell, who give no signs of repentance. He is an irreconcilable enemy to tyranny and popery, and it is the joy of his heart that God may have glory, though in his confusion.

“He counts every godly Presbyterian to be his dear brother; but not to be preferred before the truth! He conceives that whosoever is above his brethren in spiritual matters—unless empowered—is a pre-

^a Levit. xxvi. 22.

^b He ordered all vines to be cut down, that himself and his subjects might be secured against that extravagance and debauchery occasioned by the abuse of wine. This, his foes turned into a mythos, that “he cut off his own legs, mistaking them for vine branches.” Ovid. Met. iv. 22. Accordingly, what force or propriety is in this precedent, is applicable alike to those statesmen who, under the apprehension of the abuse of freedom, civil or religious, exterminate the just rights of all but of some favoured sect; mistaking, therefore, real imbecility for that true strength which arises from voluntary unity, never from constrained uniformity.

late ; and the only way to make the Assembly more victorious than Alexander is by reason and gentleness to conquer consciences, without blood.

“ He conceives that magistrate in probability to be more religious that will suffer differing opinions consisting with the public peace, than he that, Haman-like, will have all to bow and stoop to his sheaf ; and that all the wars in christendom have sprung from this one depraved principle, To suffer no opinion but his own : for how can truth appear but by argumentation ?

“ He thinks it a sin either to follow an erring conscience, or to do against it ; but to oppose it, the greater sin, for he that will do the least sin against conscience is prepared in disposition to do the greatest.

“ He marvels any man should hold Independency not to be God’s ordinance, and yet a National Assembly to be apostolical, which is most independent.

“ He thinks there are many deer without the pale, straying sheep without a fold, and when all is done, there will be wolves within, and lambs without ; but thinks that to honour Christ is to do his will ; and is most troubled to consider how one sheep should bite and persecute another !

“ He believes the government of the church lies upon the shoulders of Jesus Christ, and that the Pope may as well maintain a priesthood under the Gospel after the example of Aaron, as that magistrates may punish different opinions after the example of the godly kings of Israel and Judah who were types of Christ and directed infallibly, and yet suffered Herodians, Alexandrians, Saducees and Pharisees ; unless the errors be of a moral and capital consideration that may endanger the people’s welfare.

“ He verily believes that the ardent endeavours of the godly Presbyterians and Independents are to conserve the ordinances in purity, and [the] purging of the church from scandal ; and would fain believe that the difference between them is but small, that the union may be the more easy ; and sees it most apparently that the interest of all honest godly men is wrapt up in a speedy union to love one another entirely, though of different judgments, otherwise God’s people are likely to be in a worse condition for their liberties than ever they have been.

“ He has ever been a faithful well-willer to King and Parliament, an enemy to all oppression and cruelty, a real friend to speedy justice, and urbanity ; and thinks he is no good neighbour that desires it should only rain in his garden : he thinks all the delight in this world without the liberty of his conscience, is a burden intolerable. And, judges Christ’s Kingdom to be only there where His laws are in force ; for that county is no part of a prince’s dominion which is not regulated by his laws.

“ He is a homager to King and Parliament for the exercise of a good conscience ; not to beg liberty from man to be a christian, nor to settle the divine right of worship ; but to be protected in the free exercise of it. He cannot act contrary to his light received, without manifest ruin to his own soul, nor practise—but by the magistrate’s permission—without apparent hazard of his person and family ; there-

fore entreats all christian spirits who have any credit with the magistrate, and have felt the weight of an oppressed conscience, to mediate for him, as men, christians, fellow-sufferers, and fellow-helpers.

“Some think it the greatest mistake in the world that any generation of rigid men should be so unnatural [as] to kill their own fathers, and persecute their own brethren who but lately suffered with them: but [he] concludes, that superstition is an unreasonable thing; and that pride and covetousness in some men are enough to make a man of the Indian’s mind, by any means not to be of the Spaniard’s religion! He marvels [that] any man should be an enemy to tender consciences, the want whereof is the plague of this wicked world; and that rich man that cannot feast till his poor neighbours have bread to eat, hath a tender conscience.

“He knows no injustice in an error or opinion, and marvels why believers should contend about the faith which they have already and can never lose; and thinks it far better that Protestants, who in a parish are of three opinions, should rather have three several meeting-places than fight and live in perpetual jars with one another; therefore, reckons liberty of conscience to be England’s chiefest good, because nothing else can procure love and peace: for did God, for the safety of a sheep, dispense with his own law, and are men so wolvish [as] to prefer an inferior law of Uniformity to the royal law of Love which is the life of a Kingdom? But men may ruin themselves, they can never ruin the Truth! He thinks it a very uncivil part for any man not to yield to a civil government; but in matter of opinion, thinks it misery enough to refuse Christ Jesus and Salvation; and that to tie up the outward man, unless he be turbulent or unjust, is a Reformation for dogs and bears.

“He thinks it is but dissembling, for young people to contract themselves and after[wards] ask their friends’ consent; to fast and pray for that which is already resolved upon: and believes that never did any bloody Roman persecute any man under the notion of a saint, but as an instrument of evil, or disturber of the state!

“He thinks it strange that none but [those] in office may preach, and yet one may preach to get an office! And how Beza, who was never ordained, could ordain others! But he thinks there is less need of an accessory solemnity than of the people’s salvation; and, marvels why a man may not preach by his tongue as well as by his pen, the rather for that Jehoshaphat sent to his *princes*, to teach in the city of Judah. Princes have preached in Geneva, and Lairds in Scotland. Not to be a minister, without an outward calling; but having an inward call, to preach to edification, though the line of ordination were never stretched over him! He thinks him not zealous of men’s salvation, that murmurs at all men’s preaching that are not fashioned in his shop; and wishes that merchants would send men to preach Jesus Christ to the Indians, as well as factors; for he thinks the true interest of England is the Protestant Cause, to be as zealous to advance that, as the Spaniard is for popery.

“He thinks it impossible that the civil peace of a kingdom should be broken, unless the laws be violated; and how lilies should scratch,

and lambs tear wolves, and doves persecute hawks, and virgins scold, are things that lie very remote from his intellect.

“He thinks nothing more hinders a Reformation, than taking things upon trust; not supporting authority by solid reason. He wishes that every ingenuous man would disclaim all practices, specially in matters of law, that are against the law of true reason: a confident adherence to authority, and a ready prostration to antiquity; preferring old errors to new discoveries of truth, being prime causes of all injustice and oppression; as if an argument from authority, were any proof to a wiser man! A generation of rigid Formalists, making religion overthrow itself, by destroying mercy and humanity!

“It is well for many scandalous railers, that he is a man of a peaceable spirit; and all the hurt that he wishes to the kingdom is, That Independents were the worst men in it!

“He draws his sword for public liberties; which being substantially settled, by King and Parliament, and secured, he will gladly sheathe it, and say ‘The Lord hath done all;’ and, hopes that no ingenuous man will envy him those liberties which were purchased for him by the blood of Christ; knowing that a communion in Unity will be a glorious supplement to the rent of Uniformity; which may seem strange for a time, but will quickly be embraced by all honest men. A solid reason will at any time convince him, and he loves to read discourses which are rational; therefore to charge him with wilfulness and obstinacy, is a supercilious and censorious severity, if not an uncivil and unchristian offence; for God is the searcher of all spirits. To whose grace and goodness he commends the courteous reader.”^a

That an important crisis could not be very far off from this period, was unquestionably foreseen through many indicative signs. Much of

^a About the same time with the above, for it is printed without a date, came forth “Redintegratio Amoris: Or, A Union of Hearts between the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons in Parliament, His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army under his Command, the Assembly, and every Honest Man that desires a sound and durable Peace accompanied with Speedy Justice and Piety. By way of respective Apologies, so far as Scripture and Reason may be Judges. By John Cook, of Grays Inn, Barrister. — ‘The falling out of Lovers, is the renewing of Love.’—4to. pp. 86. The nearest exposition of the particular object of this piece which our limitation affords, is what these words convey, “Nor can I believe what some of the Assembly pretend, That he which is imprisoned for his conscience has the liberty of his conscience! And now I have named that which is the great apple of contention in this kingdom; for to speak my thoughts freely, though I believe most of the Assembly are men regenerate, and good christians, and therefore I love them, yet had they never met, I am as confident as confidence itself can make me that this kingdom had long since been settled in a peaceable posture; for we may thank them for their learned distinction of ‘Presbyter’ and ‘Independent,’ between whom lovers of peace desire to make the difference very small, but contentious spirits study to make it a wound incurable. . . The difference between them is not essential but gradual—for I look upon ‘Presbytery’ as a step to ‘Independency,’—not in the body but in the garment, and therefore undoubtedly time and wisdom may temper a reconciliation: only through pride and covetousness comes this contention concerning liberty of tender consciences! Truly, whether the sword can be any better employed than for the defence of true religion? and, whether it be not as lawful to fight for Christ’s Kingly Office against the opposers of it, as for the Priestly Office against the Papists? it is not my intention to clear any particular, but to give some general hints.” P. 45, 46.

the matter contained in our pages evinces enough to help the attentive reader in his prognostication of great results; he must resort nevertheless to more general history, to assist him towards a more competent apprehension of the real working of all the wheels whirling as they were to the same *terminus*. “Adversity,” it is said, “makes strange bed-fellows;” and though the saying be homely, it is applicable in, hitherto, a singular instance, and which is now clearly before us. For the severance of the two chief classes concerned, we cannot be expected to admit our revered ancestors as mainly in fault; it was certainly none of their producing, that in a point which they maintained upon principle with the vast majority of the Faithful, and therefore “Believers,” throughout all Christendom, a severance, at times bitter, still pertinacious, should exist. The distance between those classes might formerly as now, have afforded its gratification, from the notoriety of the fact that what in this particular our ancestors and we oppose, has been, not to say is, often appropriated the most zealously by those who have been most signalized for opinions and observances which have in the highest degree accompanied wildest enthusiasm!^a These remarks are designed to introduce “A Declaration by Congregational Societies in and about the City of London; as well of those commonly called ‘Anabaptists’ as Others. In way of Vindication of themselves: Touching 1. Liberty: 2. Magistracy; 3. Propriety [Property]; 4. Polygamy; Wherein their Judgments concerning the particulars mentioned, are tendered to Consideration, to prevent Misunderstanding.—1 Cor. ix. 3: Psalm xxxv. 11.—1647.” 4to. pp. 13.

Without a set preface, these partners in affliction express themselves thus, in the opening passage: “It is no new thing, for the people of God to be, through malice, misrepresented by some, and through weakness, misapprehended by others, as touching the principles of their profession and opinions about matters of religion.” They confess, “It cannot be denied, but that the erroneous opinions and irregular practices of some particular persons making profession of the same way, and passing under the same denomination with the servants of God themselves, have from time to time, ministered occasion to the ignorant and weak to misconceive, and opportunity and advantage to the malicious to misshape the state and temper of the judgments and ways of the generality of people fearing God, and ‘walking’ before Him ‘in truth’ with all their hearts. . . And, forasmuch also, as there are some sad examples in the Land, of the vanity and wickedness of some men who having professed the same way of worshipping God, and been called by the same name with ourselves, have so far fallen from the grace of God and the principles of their profession, as not only to do things inconvenient and unworthy the name of Christians, yea of men, but also to justify themselves therein as well-doers, to the great reproach of the Gospel, the breaking of our hearts, and the offence of the world before whom they have laid ‘the stumbling-block of their iniquity;’^b

^a What shall we say of an instance so recent as this? “We may not live to see the consummation, but we believe that professed christians are rapidly dividing into two classes, Roman Catholics and Baptists!” Pref. to vol. v. of “The Baptist Mag. Fourth Series. 1842.” Svo.

^b Ezek. xiv. 3.

we cannot but judge that, both in relation to the Gospel itself—the honour of which is, in great part, involved in the innocency and honour of those people that hold it out unto the world, and accordingly suffers in their reproaches,—as likewise, in relation to men of the world, strangers to God, who harden themselves against the way of God and his servants, upon the forementioned occasion; the undeceiving and enlightening of whom, lies upon us as a duty to be endeavoured;—yea, and in relation to our own innocency and integrity, the which we are bound to vindicate on this behalf: a necessity lies upon us to do some act by which the truth and reality of our judgments and principles touching those things wherein we so undeservedly suffer in the thoughts of men, may be brought out into an open light, to be beheld and known of all men; which then, we doubt not, will be found to be nothing less than what many have fancied them to be. We are very sensible that some men have even filled the world with the noise of their outcries against us, as if we were the advocates of all licentious liberty, disorder, and confusion; but, how unjustly, will one day appear, to their shame.”^a Mark this, ye spirits of Baillie, Bastwick, Edwards, Prynne, Vicars, *et id omne genus!*

Defining the “Liturgy” they plead for, to be no way bordering on looseness or licentiousness, they profess themselves “to be as faithful assertors and zealous maintainers” to their power, of magistracy and government; the liberty [freedom] of men’s persons, and property of [in] their estates, “to speak without vanity,” as any other men whosoever. “What necessity here is for men to enjoy themselves in safety and honour, the same necessity there is of laws and governors! And as Magistracy and Government in general, is ‘the ordinance of God,’ which he in love to the world hath appointed for the good of men;”^b and, as we do not disapprove [of] any form of Civil Government which hath a direct tendency and subordination to its proper end; so we do freely acknowledge, that a Kingly Government bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and a good accommodation unto men!”^c So much, to their immense honour, for their Civil principles.

Now for somewhat towards the acting upon these principles. “And, however it be a thing desirable to have such to be Governors as fear the Lord, inasmuch as together with their moral principles they are under the solemn engagement of christianity to execute judgment and justice, and faithfully to discharge their trust, and will be more ready to protect godly men—who generally, are the hatred of the world—and to propagate the Gospel in their territories than other men will be; yet whatever the Magistrate is, in point of religion, he is to be revered and obeyed in all those commands of his which do not intrench upon or rise up in opposition to the commands of God, or fall cross to the common interest of men, the maintenance whereof is his charge.”

“And inasmuch as variety of actions, and uncertainty in endeavours, are necessary in the management of public affairs; and since every man is not alike qualified for the same action, nor hath that discretion and propension of his own accord to fall into that place which is most

^a P. 3, 4.

^b Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 4.

^c 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3.—P. 4—8.

proper for him ; and since also, there is so much ‘ darkness ’ remaining in the minds of men as to make them subject to ‘ call evil good, and good evil,’^a and so much pride in their hearts as to make their own wills a law not unto themselves only but unto others also ; it cannot but be very prejudicial to human society and the promotion of the good of commonwealths, cities, armies, or families, to admit of a parity, or all to be equal in power. . . . Therefore we cannot but conclude, That the ranging of men into several and subordinate ranks and degrees, is a thing necessary for the common good of men ; as being the only means to remove obstructions, and to preserve order and agreement in all agitations tending thereunto.”^b

Upon the subject of “ Property,” they declare against “ a community amongst men, in the good things of this life, as necessary ;” because, say they, it “ dissolves men’s *propriety* in them.” They say, “ When that commandment—for so it is, interpretatively—went forth unto christian men, to ‘ provide ’ for their own, ‘ especially those of their own households ;’^c for that end amongst others, that the church might not be burdened with them ; undoubtedly, either there was a difference between the church’s stock and that which particular persons did possess, or else the apostle must needs speak very impertinently : the latter of which, to assert, were to blaspheme that Spirit by which he wrote.” Upon the case of “ that instance and example, of those primitive christians,^d they write, “ But though these christians acted so as if they had had no interest or property in their estates, yet certainly a property they had ; nor was this property dissolved merely by their becoming christians, as appears plainly by what was spoken by the apostle Peter to Ananias. . . . If therefore God hath built up a wall of separation between the estates of men and men ; the affirmative whereof sufficiently appears by many acts of his will ; then, far be it from us who profess ourselves to be His servants, that we should endeavour to throw it down !” While upon this point, they introduced a warning, saying, “ We cannot promise the world, that they shall never find any such amongst us : for whilst there are temptations without and corruptions within that expose men to the danger of falling, and that all men that profess strictness in religion are not so vigilant and wise as to stand upon their guard, it cannot be but ‘ that offences will come.’ ”^e

Touching “ Polygamy,” they write, “ If any scurrilous persons shall, of purpose to blemish religion and to make themselves ‘ glad with lies,’^f give it out as if we intended to enlarge and extend wedlock by law established in this Land : . . . or, if any who have been looked upon as professors of religion have so fearfully fallen as to break through bounds not only of religion but also of morality, and to defile themselves with those that are not their wives, and to cover their shame shall go about to plead the lawfulness of polygamy ; we earnestly desire that all men may do both us and that way of religion which we profess in the world, that right as not in the least to charge either the one or the other therewith, as if we were any partners thereof.”^g

“ Thus,”—they proceed,—“ having shaken off those vipers of

^a Isai. v. 20.

^b P. 7,* 8.*

^c 1 Tim. v. 8. 16.

^d Acts ii. 41 ; iv. 35.

^e Acts v. 4.

^f Matt. xviii. 7.—P. 7—10.

^g Hos. vii. 3.

^h P. 10, 11.

calumny and reproach which some, unworthily, have laboured to fasten upon us; and having cleared our own innocency, . . . our hope is, That all men—except those that have joined themselves in a confederacy with hell; and have struck hands with the Devil, as being resolved, with him, to accuse the ‘brethren’^a—into whose hands this ingenuous and solemn Declaration of ourselves shall come, will both perceive and believe that we are no friends or favourers either of those unrighteous ways against which we have now declared more particularly, or of ‘any other thing that is contrary to wholesome doctrine.’^b For, so far are we from patronizing or tolerating anything of this nature, that our earnest desire is, That the Magistrate into whose hand the sword of justice is put, may draw it out impartially against all those, whether pretenders or not pretenders to any strictness in religion, that do in word or deed disturb the civil peace of the Land, in doing or speaking things destructive to the honour, safety, or interests of men, in body, name, or goods.”^c With sentiments conformable to these, they address themselves to the Most High for help, and conclude with an ascription of praise to Jesus Christ “in all the churches of the saints: Amen.”^d

CHAP. LXXII.

HOOKER’S AND COTTON’S “SURVEY.” PART I.

THE treatise before us, hinted at in our first volume, p. 492, is, in some copies, accompanied by two title pages, bearing the same date; the first issue of copies bears that title only which assigns the entire work to the first of the two names which appear on the second, amended, title, and is also deficient of the four titles of the pieces *surveyed*. The additions are here placed between brackets.

“A Survey of the Sum of Church-Discipline: Wherein the Way of the [Congregational] Churches [of Christ] of [in] New England is warranted [and cleared] *out of the Word* [by Scripture and Argument], and all Exceptions of weight *which are* made against it [by sundry Learned Divines, namely, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, in his Book called ‘The Due Right of Presbyteries;’ Mr. Samuel Hudson, in his Book named ‘The Essence and Unity of the Church Catholic Visible;’ Mr. Robert Baylie (*Baillie*) in his Book intituled, ‘A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time;’ The Author of ‘Vindiciæ Clavium;’ are fully] Answered. Whereby *also* it will appear to the Judicious Reader, That something more must be said than yet hath been, before their Principles can be shaken, or they *should be* unsettled in their Practice. [In Two Books. The first] By [Mr.] Thomas Hooker, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford upon Connecticut: [The second, By Mr. John Cotton, now Teacher of the Church at Boston] in New England.—2 Cor. xiii. 8.—London, 1648.” 4to. pp. 296, 90, 46, 59,—491.

^a Rev. xii. 10.

^b 1 Tim. i. 10.

^c P. 12.

P. *ult.*

We shall begin our excerpts at the Epistle to the Reader, dated Hartford, October 28th 1647; here, after having stated that "Christ hath, in a special manner, caused the truths concerning his visible government of the saints in this world, . . . as with more glory to break forth, so with more power to lay hold upon the spirits of many than in former times: so that not contenting themselves with mixt Fellowships and other pollutions in the things of Christ, the abhorred errors and mistakes of their former ways,—and not finding encouragement, for what they desired according to God, in the places of their then sojourning; they were provoked to make many inquiries on earth, and send up many cries to Him whom their souls loved in Heaven, to know where he fed his flock 'at noon.'^a . . . He answered the desires of many in carrying them into this wilderness, where they acknowledge themselves to have received warmth and refreshing under His wings. . . Among others, we have been sharers in this rich privilege. . . But the only wise and holy God, for our great unworthiness hath lately made a sad breach upon us by the death of our most dear Pastor,^b the author of the ensuing treatise. . . The stroke is direful and amazing when such a stake is taken out of the hedge, such a pillar from the house, such a Pastor from his flock, in such a time and place as this. . .

"Some of you are not ignorant with what strength of importunity he was drawn to this present service, and with what fear and care he attended it. . . The discourse was finished by himself. . . and sent, near two years since, to be made public; but the Lord in whose hands all our ways and works are, determined otherwise. . . At last he was overborne, and condescended to what now is again endeavoured; though before the full transcribing, he was translated from us to be ever with the Lord. . . Nothing is added to or taken from the author's primitive copy, for the substance of it. . . [Signed] Edward Hopkins, William Goodwin."

At the conclusion of some elegiac verses by "Sam. Stone, Teaching Elder of the same Church at Hartford with him," he writes,

"If any to this Platform can reply
With better reason, let this volume die;
But better arguments if none can give,
Then *Thomas* Hooker's 'Polity' shall live!"

The following stanzas while they show in part their author's varied powers, are a testimony of his deep and brotherly affection for the deceased.

"'Twas of Geneva's worthies said, with wonder,—
Those worthies three,—Farel was wont to thunder;
Viret, like rain on tender grass to shower;
But Calvin, lively oracles to pour.

All these, in Hooker's spirit did remain,
A son of thunder, and a shower of rain;
A pourer forth of lively oracles
In saving souls—the sum of miracles.

Now, blessed Hooker, thou art set on high
Above the thankless world and cloudy sky;
Thou dost, of all thy labour, reap the crown,
While we here reap the seed, which thou hast sown."

J. COTTON.

^a Cant. i. 7.

^b July 7, 1647.

From another hand, we learn that "This treatise was finished and sent over transcribed under the eye and exact review of the eminently accomplished author himself, well nigh two years since. . . But it was then buried in the rude waves of the vast ocean, with many precious saints in their passage hither. . . That forementioned destiny that hath attended this book hath, at times visited my thoughts with an apprehension of something of like omen to the Cause itself [that] it pleads for, against the Presbyterial Government. . . Certain I am of this . . . that God's design and pleasure are, for what ends and issues Himself only knows—to renew and hold up this controversy amongst us as if we were but new begun, notwithstanding all that sluggish backwardness in those that have been called, yea cried out upon, to maintain it; and those slight and despising thoughts in others, as not worth the pains and travail! . . . As touching this treatise and the worthy author of it . . . the trust of viewing it at the press being committed to my care, I have, out of the honour I bore to him, and love unto this cause my heart is in, endeavoured to discharge it with my utmost diligence and faithfulness.—Tho. Goodwin: April 17, 1648."

¶We shall not follow this author throughout his own Preface, wherein he traces briefly the progress of the corruption of Christianity from "immediately after the ascension of our Saviour" to the Reformation; when we find him saying of "King Henry the Eighth" that it "is storied of him as his mistake [that] he cut off the head of Popery, but left the body of it yet within his realm!" The "power" of the hierarchy, he adds, "was abated when 'a parity in the ministry came to be acknowledged and received in the churches of the Reformation: . . . but whether all ecclesiastical power be impaled, impropriated, and rightly taken into the Presbytery alone; or, that the People of the Particular Churches should come in for a share; . . . this, is left as the subject of the inquiry of this age, and which occasions great thoughts of heart on all hands. . . In the Presbytery; as being very loth to part with that so chief privilege, and of which they have taken possession so many years: . . . amongst the Churches; as they may clear their right, and claim it in such pious sobriety and moderation, as becomes the saints; . . . though it hath been withheld from them by the tyranny of the Pope and prescription of times. . .

"This present term of God's patience, promiseth some allowance to His people, the distressed and despised ones of Christ, sub forma pauperis to take leave to lay claim to these privileges which they have conceived to be part of the legacy bequeathed unto them by the Lord Jesus, being estated and entitled members of the visible kingdom of His Church. To set out the bounds of these interests worthy Mr. R[utherford] hath bestowed great labour which I have, again and again, attended; and as I do freely acknowledge to have received light therefrom, so I do profess I do readily consent with him in many things. . .

"The reader must know, for his direction in this inquiry, my aim only was and is to lay down, and that briefly, the grounds of our practice. . . What we have learned we do profess; and yet profess still to live that we may learn. And therefore the errand upon which this

present discourse is sent is summarily to show these two things unto the world. 1. That there must be more said than yet it hath been my happiness to see, before the *principles* we profess will be shaken; and, consequently, it cannot be expected that we should be unsettled in our *practice*. 2. That I might occasion men eminently gifted, to make further search and to dig deeper, that if there be any vein of reason which lies yet lower it might be brought to light; and we profess and promise not only a ready ear to hear it, but a heart willing to welcome it. . . It is the honour of a man truly wise, to be conquered by the Truth; and he hath attained the greatest liberty, that suffers himself to be led captive thereby.

“That the discourse comes forth in such a homely dress the reader must be desired to consider, it comes out of the Wilderness where curiosity is not studied. Planters if they can provide cloth to go warm, they leave the cuts and lace to those that study to go fine. . . . Being *λόγῳ ἰδιώτης* as the apostle hath it,^a if I would I could not lavish out in the looseness of language; and as the case stands, if I could answer any man’s desire in that daintiness of speech, I would not do the matter that injury, which is now under my hand: Ornati res ipsa negat: the substance and solidity of the frame, is that which pleaseth the builder; it is the painter’s work to provide varnish! . .

“If the reader shall demand, How far this way of church proceeding receives approbation by any common concurrence amongst us? I shall plainly and punctually express myself in a word of truth, in these following points, namely,—Visible saints, are the only true and meet matter whereof a visible church should be gathered; and confederation is the form.—The church, as totum essentialia, is and may be before officers.—There is no Presbyterian church, that is, a church made up of the elders of many congregations, appointed classicwise to rule those congregations, in the new Testament.—A church-congregational, is the first subject of the Keys.—Each congregation completely constituted of [with] all [its] officers, hath sufficient power in herself to exercise the power of the Keys and all church-discipline, in all the censures thereof.—Ordination is not before election.—There ought to be no ordination of a minister at large; namely, such as should make him pastor without a people.—The election of [by] the People, hath an instrumental causal virtue, under Christ, to give an outward call unto an officer.—Ordination is only a solemn installing of an officer into the office unto which he was [has been] formerly [formally] called.—Children of such who are members of congregations, ought only to be baptized.—The consent of the People, gives a causal virtue to the completing sentence of excommunication.—Whilst the church remains a true church of Christ it doth not lose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away.—Consociation of churches should be used, as occasion doth require.—Such consociations and synods, have allowance to counsel and admonish other churches as the case may require.—And, if they grow obstinate in error or sinful miscarriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.—But they have no power to excommunicate.—Nor do their constitutions bind formaliter et juridice.

^a 2 Cor. xi. 6.

“In all these, I have leave to profess the joint judgment of all the Elders upon the [Connecticut] river; of Newhaven, Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield: and of most of the Elders of the churches in the Bay, to whom I did not send in particular, and [yet] did receive approbation from them under their hands. Of the rest to whom I could not send, I cannot so affirm; but this I can say, That at a common meeting, I was desired by them all, to publish what now I do.”..

The first chapter of the First Part, of the “Survey,” is headed thus: “Ecclesiastical Policy defined.—Ecclesiastical Policy, is a skill of ordering the affairs of Christ’s House, according to the pattern of His Word.” Here we find our author come at once into contact with him who bore his surname and acquired pre-eminence in another community: “Church-Polity, is a form of ordering the public spiritual affairs of the Church of God. . . Nor is it possible that any form of polity, much less of Polity Ecclesiastical, should be good, unless God himself be author of it. . . But forasmuch as no form of church-polity is thought by them to be lawful or to be of God, unless God be so the author of it that it be also set down in Scripture; they should tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it must be there set down in whole or in part.”^a But our author dilates upon his several terms, and tells us that when “the apostle would instruct Timothy touching the subject now to be entreated of, and furnish him with directions fitting and sufficient thereunto, he terms it, by knowledge, or skill [$\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$] how to demean himself in the house of God,’ 1 Tim. iii. 15. It is the knowledge of the duty of some rule that lieth upon him. “Ordering,” he refers to Col. ii. 5, as if the apostle would refer “the whole work of the Gospel to these two heads, doctrine and discipline.” And here “by a metonymy of the adjunct, the managing of all church ordinances according to ‘all the forms thereof as Ezekiel speaks, chap. xliii. 11, the outgoings thereof, and incomings thereof, with that piety and spiritual prudence most suitable to all that time, place, persons, and practices, can acquire, as dispensed by some and received by others, is understood.”

“The political body, or church visible, results out of that relation which is betwixt the professors of the faith when, by voluntary consent, they yield outward subjection to that government of Christ which, in his Word, he hath prescribed. . . ‘For the Father judgeth no man,’ and by a parity of reason, in a right sense He calls, quickens, rules, no man; ‘but hath committed’ the immediate dispensation of all ‘to the Son;’ John v. 22: which power He exerciseth invisibly, in their hearts by the operations of his Spirit; but exerciseth it visibly, by his ordinances and officers in his Church, as upon his subjects who profess allegiance and homage to Him: Eph. iv. 8. 11. . . Hence, observe by the way, that the root of this power lieth first in Christ as a Head, and is communicated by virtue of that commission received from the Father: Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.

“We now see the proper and adequate subject about which Ecclesiastical Policy is exercised, to wit, ‘the affairs of His House;’ the things that appertain to the visible church, his visible Kingdom on earth. . . Men sustain a double relation: as members of the commonwealth, they have civil weapons; and in a civil way of righteousness they may and should use them. But as members of a church, their weapons are spiritual and the work is spiritual; the censures of the church are spiritual, and reach the souls and consciences of men.

“This clause—‘according to the pattern of the Word’—points where the laws of this Kingdom are to be found and whence to be fetched. . . Christ the King of his church and Master of his house, he only, in reason, can make laws that are authentic for the government thereof. And here we shall take leave to stay a little, and make this ground good before we pass; because we shall have special use of it as a main pillar to bear up the building of the following discourse against the cavils of Papists and Formalists.” We dismiss the entire contents of the six pages containing this precautionary matter, and hasten to make such selections from the next chapter as, after dropping the dialectical formulæ, will enable us to

^a Richard Hooker’s “Ecclesiastical Polity,” Bk. iii. sect. 1, 2, vol. i. p. 207, edit. 1830.

set forth such matter as relates to the individuals and parties more especially disputed against.

PT. I. CHAP. II. Treating of "The Constitution of a Visible Church, in the Causes thereof," the author writes, "Touching the inferior helping Cause, namely, the civil magistrate. How far he may be said to have a hand in the erecting of churches? . . . we willingly pass it by, being not yet persuaded that the chief magistrate should stand a neuter, and tolerate all religions." Concerning the "Matter" of a Church, he says, "Our first conclusion is negative: Parish precincts, or the abode and dwelling within the bounds and liberties of such a place, do not give a right or make him matter fit for a visible congregation. No civil rule can, properly, convey over an ecclesiastical right. The rules are *in specie* distinct, and their works and ends also, and therefore cannot be confounded. Civil power hath a nourishing and preserving faculty of Ecclesiastical orders, officers, and their several operations; Isai. xlix. 23: but in their proper constitutions, they cannot meet: *imperare* and *prædicare* are not compatible, hath been a ruled case, admitting no contradiction in an ordinary way. One is complete and hath all the Causes, without the other; and therefore one doth not receive its constitution in whole or in part from the other. Civil power may compel Ecclesiastical persons to do what they ought in their offices, but doth not confer their offices upon them. The Kingdom of Christ is spiritual, and not of this world. That proposition, then, is beyond controul: the second is open to experience. But, the taking up an abode or dwelling in such a place or precinct is by the rule of policy and civility; a man hath it by inheritance from his parents, or purchaseth it by his money, or receives it by gift or exchange: *ergo*, This can give him no Ecclesiastical right to church-fellowship.

"That right which any man hath in church-fellowship, excommunication out of a church can, nay doth, take away: for excommunication is, according to the intent of the Word, the cutting off from all church-communion; and whatever right before he had in his admission, is now disannulled by his excommunication: 'let him be as a heathen,' Matt. xviii. 17. But excommunication doth not nor can take away a man's civil right to the house and land, civil privileges, . . . civil office or authority, he is invested in: *ergo*, That is no Ecclesiastical right.

"If parish precincts should have [give] right to church-fellowship, then atheists, papists, Turks, and profane ones who are enemies to the Truth and Church; yea, men of strange nations and languages who neither know nor be able to do the duties of church-members, should be fit matter for a church because they have abode in such places; yea, those should have right to whom Christ hath denied right, Rev. xxi. 27. Much more might here be added, but that the tenet is so gross that I suppose any, seriously judicious, will see the error of it. We shall come nearer home then, and

"Our second Conclusion is, Visible saints only are fit Matter, appointed by God, to make up a visible church of Christ.

"Saints, as they are taken in this controversy, and in the current expressions of Scripture which look this way and speak to this subject—'Saints at Corinth, Philippi, Rome; in Cæsar's house'—were members of the churches; comprehending the infants of confederate believers under their parents' covenant, according to 1 Cor. vii. 14; and such constant expressions of saintship, do intimate that either they were such, or at least [were] conceived to be such in view and in appearance. I say, in appearance; for when the Scripture so terms and styles men, we must know that 'saints' come under a double apprehension; some are such according to charity; some, according to truth. Saints according to charity, . . . we call visible saints, leaving 'secret things' to God, Dan. ii. 22; . . . though such be the secret conveyances and hidden passages of hypocrisy, that they may be gilt, not gold; seemingly such only, not savingly; known to God and their own hearts, not known to others: so Judas, Demas, Simon Magus, Ananias, etc.; and therefore our Saviour proceeds with such not as God who knows the heart, but in a church-way as those who judge the tree by the fruit. *De occultis non judicat Ecclesia*, that which the church doth not see it cannot censure: 'some men's sins go before; and some come after;' 1 Tim. v. 24. . .

"It is true, the expressions of some of our Brethren, as those also of the Separation, are somewhat narrow at the first sight, and seem to require exactness in the highest strain; yet were they but candidly interpreted by the received princi-

ples according to which they are known to proceed, they would carry a fair construction to any brotherly conceiving. Of this I speak, because I do observe,—and I cannot but profess I do observe it with trouble and grief,—that Mr. Rutherford, a man of such learning and sharpness of judgment, and in other things and at other times, of pious moderation, should yet so commonly and frequently; and if I mistake not, without occasion offered many times; load the expressions, of those against whom he writes, with such a sense that their own grounds, to his own knowledge, do directly oppose; and their [whose] own words by an easy interpretation, may admit a contrary meaning.

“I shall constrain myself therefore upon so just an occasion, to endeavour to clear this coast, that, if it be the will of God, I may for ever silence misconceivings or misrepresentations in this case: and therefore, I shall labour, first, To lay out the meaning of those of the Separation, out of their own words: secondly, Punctually to express how far rational charity, rectified by the Word, will go in giving allowance to the visibility of saints; thirdly, I hope I shall make it appear that we require no more saintship to make men fit matter for a visible church, than Mr. Rutherford’s own grounds will give us leave.

“First: The mind and meaning of those our Brethren of the Separation, is written in so great characters that he who runs may read it if he will; nor can he readily mistake, unless he will. Mr. Ainsworth against Mr. Bernard,^a ‘Saints by calling,^b are the *only* matter of a [true] visible church; yet withal, we hold that—‘Many are called, but few chosen,’^c p. 174; hence, he cannot hold that they are true believers, nor truly converted or truly sanctified; for then they should have been all ‘chosen’ and elected, which in open words he doth peremptorily deny. The sense, then, can be no other but this, That saints by external and outward calling, are fit matter of a church, for had they been inwardly called they had also been elected! This being the meaning of their tenet, if Mr. Rutherford be pleased to look into his first book, chap. ix. p. 100, he will find that he there gives his reader to understand that he and Mr. Ainsworth are of the same mind; for he lays it as a firm corner-stone, the first conclusion that he propounds for the true understanding of the true constitution of a church, ‘Saints by external calling, are the *true* members of a visible church.’ These are his words, and Mr. Ainsworth’s are the very same; only he says the ‘true’ matter; Mr. Ainsworth says the ‘only’ matter; wherein, there can be no odds in regard of the substance of the thing intended, for ‘true matter’ is that which now is inquired after; and if all other matter beside them is false, then they [‘saints by external calling’] are the only matter, in truth, of the church.

“Here we, Mr. Robinson,—a man pious, and prudent,—express his own opinion in his own words; who thus propounds the question and the state of it betwixt him[self] and Mr. Bernard: ‘Before I come to the point in controversy, I will lay down two cautions,’ saith he, ‘for the preventing of error in the simple, and of cavilling in such as desire to contend. First, it must be considered that here [where] the question is about the visible or external church which is by men discernible, and not of that church which is internal and invisible which only the Lord knoweth; we speak here, of visible and external holiness only, whereof men may judge, and not of that which is within and hid from men’s eyes [man’s eye]: for we doubt not but the purest church upon earth may consist of good and bad in God’s eye; of such that [as] are truly sanctified and faithful [faithful and sanctified], and of such who [as] have only, for a time, put on the outside and vizard of sanctity which the Lord will in due time pluck off, though in the meantime [meanwhile] man’s dim sight cannot pierce through it.’^d So that we have expressions full. The church consists of some who are faithful and sincere-hearted; some counterfeit and false-hearted: some really good, some really bad; only those who appear so bad and vile, should not be accepted. And doth not Mr. Rutherford say the same? In the same place, Mr. Robinson adds, ‘[Secondly,] I desire it may be remembered, that the question between [betwixt] Mr. Bernard and me, is about the true and natural members whereof the church is orderly gathered and planted: and not about the [degenerate and] decayed estate of the church and

^a See back, Vol. I. p. 170.

^b 1 Cor. i. 2; Rom. i. 7; Eph. i. 1.

^c Matt. xx. 16.

^d “A Justification of Separation,” p. 112. See back, Vol. I. p. 204.

members; for we know that natural children may become rebellious, the faithful city a harlot, the silver dross, and the wine corrupt with water [Isa. i. 2, 21, 22]; the noble vine so planted, whose plants were all natural, may degenerate into the plants of a strange vine [Jer. ii. 21].’ The expressions are so plain that there needs no explication; nor can a man, that will deal candidly, mistake. . . . When, therefore, we meet with such phrases printed and recorded, ‘Only the saints, faithful, called, and sanctified, are to be members of a congregation;’ he must needs be exceeding weak or exceeding wilful, that will not easily and readily give such a construction as this, namely, Persons visibly, externally such, to the judgment of charity; not always really and internally such, by the powerful impression of God’s grace! Let, therefore, such mistakes be for ever silenced in the minds and mouths of such as are wisehearted and moderate. We have thus, cleared the expressions of our Brethren of the Separation.

“We shall now punctually express our own apprehensions, and with as much openness and simplicity as our shallowness can attain unto, punctulis ergo agamus. First; It is not the eminency of holiness that we look at, in the entertainment of members, but the uprightness of heart: it is not the strength and growth of grace, but the truth, that we attend; Rom. xiv. 1. Heb. v. 13. Secondly; This truth we know is and may be accompanied with many failings and infirmities which, more or less, may break out and appear to the apprehension of the judicious. Thirdly; The judgment of this truth of grace as clouded and covered with failings, is not certain and infallible either to church or christian. Philip was deceived by Simon Magus; Paul misjudged of Demas; all the disciples conceived as well of Judas as of themselves, though he was a thief, and bare the bag, nay though ‘a devil’ in God’s righteous sentence which he passed upon him. The sum is, ‘The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know it?’ The Lord himself takes that as his place, ‘I the Lord search the heart, and try the reins; Jer. xvii. 9, 10. Fourthly; this judgment, then, of others’ sincerity est tantum opinio, non scientia; and therefore, the most discerning may be deceived therein: they may proceed according to the rules of charity, and yet not pass a sentence according to the reality of truth. Fifthly; Charity is not censorious, y^t judicious, —she wants neither eyes nor watchfulness,—‘hopes all things, and believes all things’ that are hopeful or believable, 1 Cor. xiii. 7; even yields and inclines to the better part, unless evidence come to the contrary. . . . Sixthly. The grounds of probabilities by which charity is poised according to rule, are either taken from the practice or from the knowledge of the party. The way and ground of our proceeding according to both, may be expressed in this proposition, He that professing the Faith, lives not in the neglect of any known duty, or in the commission of any known evil; and hath such a measure of knowledge as may in reason, let in Christ into the soul, and carry the soul to Him; these be grounds of probabilities by which charity, poised according to rule, may and ought to conceive [that] there be some beginnings of spiritual good!

“I shall explicate both [the way and ground] in a word: He must not live in a sin; . . . known sin. . . . There is a breadth of ignorance in some, like a dungeon, so dark and loathsome, that reasonable charity will readily conclude that there can be no grace; Isai. xxvii. 11: and in this sense, and according to this explication, we do directly deny that proposition of Mr. Rutherford, ‘This proposition is false,’ saith he, [that] ‘Those only, we are to admit to the visible church whom we conceive to be saints, and are in the judgment of charity persuaded they are such:’ Bk. ii. p. 259. This proposition in the meaning formerly mentioned, we say is true; and we require no more saintship, to make persons members of a visible church, than Mr. Rutherford’s own grounds will give us leave and allowance to do. . . .

“Third Conclusion: Churches, constituted of fit matter, may be corrupted by the breaking forth of scandals, and pestered with scandalous persons; which may so far be tolerated until in a judicial way, the censures of the church be exercised upon them according to the rule of Christ, and they thereby reformed, or else removed and cut off from the body.

“There be three branches in the [this] conclusion which hold forth evidence of truth at the first sight; and therefore we shall not stay long upon proof. . . .

“These Conclusions premised, the arguments of Mr. Rutherford against the visibility of saints to be right Matter of a church, will admit an easy answer.” As

we cannot condense into any synoptical representation, the six pages of "arguments" and "answers," so as to do justice to both sides, we select only our author's remembrancer, "That our question is not, Whether members now [already] received, and visible Christians in the eye of charity, may so degenerate and break out into scandalous courses and apostasies, that they may be [come] scandalous and that grossly? but, the question is, Whether in the orderly gathering of the church, such according to the way and warrant of Christ, can and ought to be received? And therefore to dispute, [that] the church now gathered, hath wicked and ungodly in it, and such as be not visible saints; therefore, it may be gathered of such! is so broad in consequence, and makes the church-door so wide, that Mr. Rutherford's own principles will proclaim it to be the broad way that leads cross to the tenor of the Gospel."

"PT. I. CHAP. iii.—Whether the Invisible Church, be the principal, prime, and only proper subject, to whom all the seals and privileges of special note do belong?—... That particular truth which will be like a seamark to teach us how to steer our course and compass aright is, by him [Mr. Rutherford] thus expressed: 'The invisible church catholic, is the principal, prime, and native subject of all the privileges of Christians, etc.; and the church-visible, as she is such, is no ways such a subject. The non-consideration whereof, we take to be the ground of many errors in our Reverend Brethren in this matter.' Bk. ii. p. 242. dist. 3.

"This is his seasonable warning, unto which I readily attend; and because I would not create molestias. et serere lites sine causâ, I shall crave leave to make inquiry into two things, . . . 1. Whether the invisible church, be the principal, prime, and only subject of the seals of the covenant? 2. Whether the holding of this conclusion, will necessarily make us forsake our doctrine touching that power we give to the people, and our assertions of Independency and Congregational Churches. . .

"The first argument which Mr. Rutherford allegeth . . . is this, 'Those only who are within the covenant have right to the seals.' Bk. ii. p. 248. And this is Peter's argument, Acts ii. 38, 39, to prove the baptizing of infants. 'But only the invisible church hath right to the covenant:' I answer, Externally those are within the covenant who, expressing their repentance, with their profession of the Truth, engage themselves to walk in the ways of God and in the truth of his Worship, though they have not, for the present, that sound work of Faith in their hearts; and it may be, shall never have it wrought by God's Spirit in them. And of persons thus in covenant, the apostle speaks Acts ii.; and that, to Mr. Rutherford's apprehensions elsewhere, as it will appear easily to any who will weigh the context. That being in covenant, is here understood, which was visible and intelligible to the apostle, according to the grounds of judicious charity; otherwise the apostle's counsel had not been of warrant to carry them to the practice of baptism, if he had given them direction upon a misconceived ground; nor had they reason to follow his direction, for reply had been easy.

"Invisible christians, have only right to seals: but whether we be such, we for the present do not know; and it is certain you can neither see nor know, for truth of grace is invisible to man. . . The invisible works of grace which do make the church invisible, are to be believed; cannot be seen, nor [do they] come within any certainty of human knowledge: and this is not only confessed in the general, but acknowledged also to be meant in this place. 'Three thousand were added to the church,' ver. 41, who could not all be approved to the consciences one of another to be true converts. . .

"The contrary tenet, That 'only' the invisible church, hath right to the seals; will draw unavoidable difficulties with it, and give such advantages to the adversaries of God's grace and the dispensation of his ordinances, that they will hardly be regained. We are compassed about by Mr. Rutherford, in this chapter, bk. 2. p. 247, with a crowd of accusations: . . . but I would be loath any of our tenets, maintained professedly by us, not fathered upon us injuriously, should lay such a corner-stone to build up the wretched doctrine of the Anabaptists as this of his doth. For let Mr. Rutherford help us to answer the Anabaptists upon his grounds, thus reasoning, Those that I cannot know have any right to the seals, to them I cannot give the seals of the covenant in faith, as the apostle calls faith; but I cannot know that Infants are of the invisible church, which 'only' gives them right to the seals: therefore, I cannot, of faith, give the seals to them! . . .

"Having, then, gained so much, that in a true sense it is a truth that the visible

church is within the covenant, and hath right to the seals, according to the warrant which God hath left in his Word; let us inquire, Whether there is not allowance given in the Word, to give to the church visible titles of special note; and this also, is an especial privilege which is by Mr. Rutherford denied to the visible church. First; it is called 'the flock, or church, redeemed by the blood of God.' Secondly; it is styled 'the body of Christ.' All this, in a savoury sense,—according to former and familiar explication; speaking still according to the judgment of charity, which is the only line according unto which our conceivings are to be led,—is safe and true.

"The first is expressed, . . . with as much evidence as can be desired, Acts xx. 28, πάντι τῷ ποιμνίῳ; the 'church' here, is, according to us, Congregational; to Mr. Rutherford, it is Presbyterian; but take it either way, it must needs be visible. . . . But these are called 'the church, redeemed with the blood of God;' than which style none can be more glorious. . . . Taking redeemed, and sanctified, as visibly, though not really such, the stream of the text runs pleasantly, without the least appearance of a doubt.

"It is called 'the body of Christ,' 1 Cor. xii. 27, 28.

"These evidences of truth once taken in and entertained, a way is readily made to the right understanding of all Mr. Rutherford's arguments, so far as they seem to cross any opinion and practice of ours. . . . All those heavy indictments which are charged upon us are wiped away; nay, they melt away of themselves before the explication of this holy truth of God, as snow before the heat of the sun. They who hold a visible church, to be, externally, within the covenant; and the redeemed ones of God—his sons and daughters—to be his body, and house, of which Christ is the Head and Husband in a visible manner; they, cannot be said, by the inference of any right reason, to maintain, That Christ died for all such, in God's intention; or, That all such, are chosen to glory; or That God intendeth to save all such. There is not a colour of any consequence, from such a ground, to make good such a conclusion. . . .

"The Conclusion I am to prove, I thus propound: The invisible church catholic, is *not* the prime and principal subject of the seals of the covenant. They do not καθ' αὐτὸ, belong to it; which is, according to Mr. Rutherford's mind, They do not belong to all them and only to them, ἀντίστραμμένως καὶ καθολικῶς." Four "arguments" follow, in proof; but we are restrained here to this solitary remark, "I commend to Mr. Rutherford's review, and the consideration of the judicious reader, what is writ by himself, 'If any after they be received, shall be found not to be added of God because they be not regenerated, yet we are not to cast any out for non-regeneration, even known:' bk. ii. p. 260. If you be bound to keep such a complete church-state, I suppose you will not deny them the seals; and then they shall partake, and you shall give the seals to such whom you know have no right to them because they are known not to be of the invisible church; because they are known to be non-regenerate persons!

"We have now finished the main query, and given in our reasons why we cannot yield to Mr. Rutherford's Advertisement. We shall add one word touching the other particular propounded to debate, Whether the holding of this Conclusion, will necessarily make us forsake our doctrine of Independency and popular government, so far as we give power to [the] People to act in church-affairs. . . .

"That conclusion which overturns Mr. Rutherford's main principles touching the government of the visible church; that, will rather confirm our proceedings than weaken them: but this conclusion, now in debate, doth so, as may thus appear, That which puts all offices and the exercise of them, and the seals and the dispensation of them, into the hands of Believers; that, overthrows the pillar-principles of Mr. Rutherford concerning the government of the visible church. But this opinion that makes 'the invisible church the prime, principal subject of all christian privileges,' and so of offices, officers, and the dispensation—for these are such—doth put all offices and officers, the seals and dispensations of them, into their hands. . . . Because this conclusion, or opinion, puts the formalis ratio of all these offices and ordinances into the hands of 'invisible' believers: and that also is evident; because it makes it agree to them ἀντίστραμμένως καὶ καθολικῶς. . . .

"PT. I. CHAP. iv.—Of the Formal Cause of a visible church, The Church Covenant.—We have done with the Material Cause: . . . we are now come to consider of the Formal Cause, That which makes the church to be that which it is,

and gives the specifical nature thereunto. For take all the Faithful, whether they be seemingly or sincerely such, scattered up and down the face of the whole earth, these are but like scattered stones in the street, or timber felled in the woods; as yet there is neither wall made up, nor frame erected.

“They who be sincere, are truly said to be the mystical Body of Christ; built upon Him by a saving faith, and so enjoy union to and communion with the Head: but they cannot, to common sense, be thought to make up a visible communion when they are not only severed one from another, but it may so fall out, as in times of persecution, [that] they may be wholly unknown each to the other. This invisible communion, by faith makes up the church-militant, taken mystically; and it is but one, in all the world. But the church we are to attend must be visible,—so many as may comely meet together in one place, who as they have the right to all ordinances, so they may enjoy the use of them in Christ’s order;—and so they must be and accordingly are styled, many; ‘the churches of Judea; the churches of Galatia; etc.’ That, then, which gives the Formality of these ‘churches’ we are now to inquire [into]; and the conclusion we maintain, this—Mutual covenanting and confederating of the saints in the fellowship of the Faith, according to the order of the Gospel, is that which gives constitution and being to a visible church! . .

“It is free for any man, to offer to join with another who is fit for fellowship, or to refuse; it is as free for another, to reject or receive such who offer; and therefore, that they do join, it is by their own free consent and mutual engagement on both sides. . . Whence it is evident, first, That it is not every relation, but such an engagement which issues from free consent, that makes the Covenant. Secondly, [That] this engagement, gives each power over another. . . according to the terms of the agreement. And lastly, . . *free* engagement; free, I say, in regard of any human constraint.

“This Covenant, being taken up in a church-way, and for spiritual ends, therefore in reason should be of such who are fitted thereunto; namely, visible saints. There is great cause why such who thus are to engage themselves, and enter upon such a society, should be careful and watchful to search sedulously and labour to be acquainted with each other’s fitness and sufficiency in judgment and spiritual discerning to such a service; and because the work also is of so great a weight it in reason calls for serious humiliation and seeking unto God, for to go along with them, and to vouchsafe His blessing and presence unto them when they enter upon the same. And hence it is the manner of our churches that there is both more thorough observation thereof attended [unto] by such, touching their estate and condition, and seeking of God by such by solemn fasting and prayer; when such a work is first entered upon, than is attended [unto] in taking in or receiving of all the members that desire to join themselves to the fellowship of the church afterwards.

“This Covenant is dispensed or acted after a double manner: Explicitly, when there is an open expression and profession of this engagement, in the face of the assembly: . . Implicitly, when in their practice they do that whereby they make themselves engaged to walk in such a society according to such rules of government which are exercised amongst them; . . but do not make any verbal profession thereof. Thus the people, in the parishes in England, when there is a minister put upon them by the patron, or bishop, . . perform all services that may give countenance or encouragement to the person in this work of his ministry: . . they declare that by their practices, which others do hold forth by public profession. This, Mr. Rutherford cannot be ignorant of. . . And I would entreat the Reader to observe, that if he meet with such accusations, That we nullify all churches beside our own; That upon our grounds received, there must be no churches in the world but in New England, or some few set up lately in Old; That we are rigid Separatists; etc.; such bitter clamours, a wise, meek spirit passeth by as an unworthy and ungrounded aspersion: . . Audi alteram partem.

“If it be here inquired, How far the Covenant is of necessity required? . . The answer may be, 1. An Implicit Covenant preserves the true nature of the true church, because it carries the formalis ratio of a confederation in it. . . Implicit and Explicit, are but adjuncts: . . and therefore the essence and being of the Covenant may consist with either. 2. In some cases, an Implicit Covenant may be fully sufficient: as, suppose a whole congregation should consist of such who

were children to the parents now deceased who were confederate; their children were true members, according to the rules of the Gospel, by the profession of their fathers' Covenant, though they should not make any personal and vocal expression of their engagement as the fathers did. 3. It is most according to the completeness of the rule and for the better being of the church, that there be an Explicit Covenant: for thereby the judgment of the members comes to be informed and convinced of their duty more fully: they are, thereby, kept from cavilling and starting aside from the tenor and terms of the Covenant: . . . thereby, their hearts stand under a stronger tie and are more quickened and provoked to do that which they have, before God and the congregation, engaged themselves to do. . .

"Cohabitation [or vicinage] in the same strictness is not required, nor can be attended, by all, in the same manner. . . For the Policy of the church and other rules, as they are not in nature so they should not in their use be in opposition but in subordination each to other. . . All states may be compelled to send some men to sea for traffic; sometimes, by way of just war; and yet no prejudice done to any rule of Christ, or church-order, in that case. . .

"Every Particular Church, rightly gathered, is a 'city,' Heb. xii. 22; a 'house,' 1 Tim. iii. 15; 'the body of Christ,' Eph. iv. 13, 16; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 27, 28: and all these places are spoken of particular visible churches; . . . not the catholic: and to this purpose speaks Mr. Rutherford, bk. ii. p. 302. . . Being then spiritual cities and corporations; . . . visible saints being the Matter, this their union and combinations must make up the Form. . .

"Matt. xviii. 15, we have a legal and orderly way laid forth by our Saviour in which brethren only of the same church, ought to deal one with another; which they cannot exercise with infidels; nor yet with other christians, as our own experience, if we will take a taste will give in undeniable evidence. . . 'But each, hath power over their own;' as Mr. Rutherford grants. Each member hath power over another; each over Archippus, Col. iv. 17,^a not only to tell him by entreaty, but in a legal way to convince him, and in case of pertinacy to bring him to the church and there to complain of him; for he is a 'brother' as well as any of the rest, and therefore the process of our Saviour lieth as fair against him as against another. Beside, all these are degrees of binding [Matt. xviii. 18]; each makes way for the other; and the gaining and forgiving, is a degree of loosening. Nay, in case he [Archippus] shall be detected and brought to the church for heretical doctrine, or some heinous villany; take Mr. Rutherford's principles, in case the classis will not censure him, he will grant the congregation may reject such a one, and make him no pastor to them; and I suppose that will prove a power which can take away, the chief power an officer hath, from him. This, learned Whitaker, hath disputed and concluded.^b If therefore, the pastor, the teacher, if Peter, if Archippus be 'frater,' each 'brother' hath as good law against Archippus as Archippus hath against him, and the proceeding must be the same; for Archippus must remit him to the church, if he were the meanest 'brother.' . .

"They who have power to choose their ministers and rulers, they have power to admit or reject such who offer themselves to be members. . . It is not christian affection [only] that can make it [that is, a church visible]; for such are so united that never saw each other and shall never enjoy the society of each other. It is not cohabitation; for this falls within that dispute of civil precincts which we have formerly proved gives no being to an ecclesiastic society. Meeting in one assembly, unites not persons together; for infidels and Turks, 1 Cor. xiv., may come into church-assemblies to hear the Word . . . and yet are not made members for that reason. It is, therefore, in the House of God as it is in other houses; we must become *covenanting* servants, if we have any interest there, or think to challenge any privilege there! . .

"PT. I. CHAP. v.—Whether Baptism doth give Formality, or make a Member of a Visible Church.—If there be a church, and so members, before Baptism; then Baptism cannot give the formality: because *forma* is causal and so is, in nature, before *formatum*. But the church now considered, as *totum essentialis*, is before baptism: for ministers are before baptism; else baptism may be administered lawfully by such who are not rulers, pastors or teachers; which is denied by all ortho-

^a See back p. 248. Art. xii.

^b "De Concil. Cont. iii. q. 5. c. 3. p. 600: Si Petrus ipse, etc."

dox divines and, I question not, but by Mr. Rutherford. And there must be a church of believers to choose a minister lawfully; for none but a church can give him a call, and without a call he cannot administer. To this, Mr. Rutherford answers, bk. ii. p. 219, 'It is false that the church-ministerial which only can baptize, is before the officers; for they should then be before themselves, which is absurd.' The answer . . . secretly confutes itself, and confirms the cause: for if baptism cannot be before a ministerial church; nor that, before a church congregational, which must make choice of a ministry; then, such a church is much before baptism! Beside, let it be supposed that at the coming of some godly, zealous christian and scholar, into the country and a company of pagans—many—are converted to the faith; I ask, whether these may not join in a church-fellowship and choose that man pastor? and, whether that choice was not lawful according to God? therefore, here is a church before a minister, and so before baptism! . . . If the seals do not work grace where it was not, but suppose the first grace wrought; then, the sacrament sealing our incorporation into the church, it presupposeth this Covenant first made, only it adds a further confirmation thereunto. The church was visible when there was no seal; neither circumcision nor baptism: therefore, these do not constitute it, or any member of it. Gen. xvii. 10, 11.

"PT. I. CHAP. VI.—Whether Profession makes a man a Member of a Congregation.— . . . Profession doth make—that is, add a causal power with baptism to—a member of the visible church; and so as a member of all the visible congregation on earth. The expressions of Mr. Rutherford which lead me thus to conceive his meaning are diverse in divers passages of his books: bk. i. c. 9. p. 116, 'This doth not hinder but yet they may hear, and so be members of a church:' bk. ii, p. 125, 'When a person removes from one congregation to another, he makes a tacit covenant to serve God in all his ordinances with that new society; but he is not therefore made a member of the visible church, for that he was before:' bk. ii. p. 95, 'A called pastor is a member of the visible church before he be called to be the pastor, though he be no member of any particular congregation,' which expressions carry a kind of mysterious difficulty with them; we shall take liberty to look further into them in the following discourse. Lastly, bk. ii. p. 194, he hath these words, 'He who is a member of one visible congregation is by his baptism and sincere profession, and his professed standing in covenant with God, a member of all visible congregations on earth, and is baptized into all congregations on earth.'

" . . . To be a member to the catholic church firstly; that is, to be a member to a whole which a man nor did, nor could see, nor do any homage to, nor receive any direction or influence of government from; this, I say, is such a sublimated imagination, that I must confess it is beyond my shallowness to conceive; I do believe, beyond the breadth of any man's brains to express! . . . It is not general Profession, that will serve the turn; but there must be a peculiar engagement and appropriation to this or that particular body. . . . But by this Profession, no man hath authority over a party; for if they have any let them claim it, and their own experience will easily evidence their mistake. How can, or why should, one church claim it more than another? . . .

"We deny that Christ hath given power of jurisdiction to one particular congregation over another. . . . There is a specificating, or to speak more narrowly, an individual formality, which makes a real difference in the particular nature of *this* church from *that*. . . . If *this* and *that* particular combination of churches, give a peculiar being distinct to this Classis from another, then the like may be in particular congregations: that Mr. Rutherford grants, and therefore this cannot be denied. . . . That a man should be a general husband to all women, or a woman a general wife to all men, because marriage-covenant is common to all; it seems strange at first sight, and therefore it is counted 'folly' on our part 'to seek' any 'difference' here; and we are content to bear the charge of 'folly' for it.

"PT. I. CHAP. vii.—An Answer to Arguments made against the Church-Covenant.—By no procedure short of transcribing the whole, can we set before the reader the scope of the contents of this chapter; we take up therefore only the following particulars. "Some expressions which here fall from the pen of Mr. Rutherford are to my apprehensions new paradoxes: as, 'A called pastor who hath gifts, and a calling from the church, is a member of the visible church before he be called to be their pastor, though he be a member of no particular congre-

gation! The difficulties are these, that a pastor may have a calling from the church before he is elected by a particular congregation, and so be an individuun vagum, a pastor of all people and yet of no particular people: That a person may be a member of the visible church and yet be no member of it;—and that, I will infer from his own words, thus, He that is no member of a particular congregation, he is no member of a visible church; ‘but a pastor may be a member of a visible church and yet be no member of a particular congregation;’ therefore he may be a member of the visible church and yet no member! The second part Mr. Rutherford affirms. I prove the proposition: If all particular congregations, are all the members that the visible church hath; then he that is not a member of a particular congregation is no member of a visible church: for that which comes not within the number and compass of members is not a member. But, all particular congregations, are all the members that the visible church hath: therefore, he that is not a member of a particular congregation is no member of a visible church! . . .

“That which is added, ‘Touching a church newly erected, she then becomes a sister church with others, yet she needs not a new covenant to accomplish it.’ No, certainly; . . . our Covenant once entered upon, all the relations that depend upon that, or may be inferred from that, are included in that Covenant, and therefore needs no more: as a woman being in covenant with her husband, all the duties to his kindred are required by that and flow from that covenant; there needs no other. . . .

“PART I. CHAP. viii.—Wherein the Precedency of a Church as it is Totum Homogeneum, is handled.—. . . ‘God hath set officers in the church; 1 Cor. xii. 28: therefore ‘the church’ is before officers. As the setting of the candle in the candlestick, presupposeth the candlestick. The church is the candlestick, Rev. i. 20; the officers are the candles. Mr. Rutherford answers, ‘God hath put and breathed in man a living soul; therefore he is a living man before the soul was breathed in him! Friend the logic is naught.’ A friendly warning is good, but the logic may be good also for anything that is here said. . . . That the body which is the subject to receive the soul, must in nature be before the soul; is very good logic: and thus the comparison holds betwixt the church as the totum essentialia, and the officers. But to take man in a proper sense, as an effect consisting of body and soul, and to say in propriety of speech, ‘God breathed life into an effect that had life; God put a form into an effect that had a form;’ no law of language will admit, . . . much less the rules of reason bear it. For the form is put into the matter, and is there in nature before the effect exists: it neither is nor can be said to be put into the effect. Besides, here is yet a further advantage to the cause in hand, in that the church is not only the subject in which these officers are, as totum essentialia, but by virtue of her choice, she is causal of the officers call; and therefore, in reason, must be before them.

“.. When the church shall have just occasion . . . to reject her officers for heresies, or gross villanies; when they reject them do they therefore destroy the church . . . in so doing, when they labour to preserve themselves, may use the means for their preservation? . . . ‘When the shepherds are removed, the tents cannot be called the tents where the shepherds are [that is, the shepherds’ tents,] yet they may be called ‘the tents fit to receive them;’ and in point of that fitness they are the same they were before they were chosen, and remain the same. It is true, ‘to remove the candlestick is to remove the ministry;’ because the ministry and ministers have their dependence upon the church. Destroy the man, the whole, you destroy the parts; but it holds not contrawise. . . . It is granted on all hands, that where officers are not, there is no communion in the *sacraments*: is there, therefore no *church* communion? . . .

“We have done now with the first query, and made it clear—That this church is before all officers, and may be without them. The second question now comes into consideration, Whether there be any Presbyterian churches in the New Testament, of Christ’s appointment and institution; or only Congregational?

“PT. I. CHAP. ix.—Of the Nature and Being of a Presbyterial Church.—. . . ‘Governments’ are not in the church, unless they be appointed by Christ, 1 Cor. xii. 28; yea, the blind Pharisees could grope at this in the darkness of their delusions. Matt. xxi. 23. So that the putting of this Jurisdiction and Rule; that is, Authoritative or Office Jurisdiction, whereof we now speak; into the hands of

any who are not appointed to the office of rule, is merely the usurpation of that 'Man of sin;' or a preparation to bring him in; or a remainder of him not fully cast out; not the native and natural institution of our Saviour, the Lawgiver of His Church, and therefore you shall observe [that] whatever may promote the plenitude of the Pope's power and bring the last resolution of all thither, it is so given to some of his creatures in eminent place that in issue it may be confined within the compass of his triple-crown.

"Hence, the 'Bishop,' which is the Pope's vicegerent, he will dispense his power, to his poor underlings, by such pittances and allowances that the poor snakes may be trained up by their daily experience to acknowledge where the treasury of his power is stored up, and whither they must go to fetch it. Hence first, he [the underling] must be made a 'Deacon,' and allowed to read but not preach; to administer baptism, but not the supper: not that one sacrament is of greater eminency than the other, but that the servants must know they have no power further than they have his allowance. At the next turn, he is made 'Priest,' and to that he hath fresh writings, and fresh seal, and fresh ordination; and when that is attained yet he cannot preach in any assembly besides his own, but he must have a license and allowance for that; and all this, ad placitum! and therefore, when all is granted he must do none of these, if his 'Lord Bishop' be present and will officiate in his own person. So much power the 'Bishop' hath over so many parishes that, by this means, his power being received from the Pope, the fulness may be derived from him and returned to him again in a ready way.

".. All jurisdiction must issue from an order or officer; but there is none but officers of Christ allowed in the church; therefore no jurisdiction spiritual, ecclesiastic, can be exercised but by an officer of Christ, and therefore, surrogates, chancellors, archdeacons, deans, officials,—vicars-general,—abbots, monks, friars, cardinals, jesuits, etc., which are hatched and spawned by the pride and luxury, ambition and tyranny, of that 'Man of sin' as vermin and strange creatures out of the slime of Nilus, they are none of the orders and officers of Christ; and therefore have no authority, by any right from Him, to exercise any jurisdiction in His churches or amongst His people!

".. These two, order or office, and jurisdiction, are not members or species of power put in way of opposition one against the other, but are in subordination one to the other; hence there must be an office before the jurisdiction or rule issuing therefrom: therefore, where there is an office there is no right of rule or jurisdiction as such whereof we here speak: hence, they who have the same or equal offices, they have the same and equal office-rule or jurisdiction: hence, whatever is added besides office, it adds no jurisdiction or rule ecclesiastic at all to any. From these grounds thus laid, I take leave to dispute.

"Argument 1. If the churches combined, have no more power than they had before they were combined; then they can exercise no more jurisdiction than before, and therefore have no Presbyterial power; are not distinct Presbyterian churches. But they have no more power after their combination than before: Therefore, no Presbyterian jurisdiction; and so are no Presbyterian churches.

"The assumption, where the doubt only lies, is thus made good: They who have no more offices, nor officers, than they had before; they have no more jurisdiction. But they have no more officers; because each [church] send their own. Therefore, they have no more power.

"Arg. 2. If they have jurisdiction, then either over all the churches in the combination or only over some.. If they have jurisdiction over 'all' these, then are they officers, pastors, teachers, ruling elders in office, to them all.. But to say they are pastors of them all, is to make a road and ready way for Pluralities, Tot-quotes, Non-residencies, etc. The proof of the minor; namely, If . . over all, then are they pastors, etc.: this, Mr. Rutherford denies, bk. ii. p. 325, 326, 'Though they rule many congregations, yet they do not bear that relation of watchmen and proper pastors to every one of these congregations that a pastor of a particular church beareth to his particular flock.' Thus Mr. Rutherford becomes like Naphtali, gives us pleasant words, but I fear they are but words.. His own words, bk. ii. 335, are these, 'We think the relation of the eldership to a whole classical church, is not founded upon an office different from the offices of pastors and elders which they have and are clothed with in relation to their particular congregations, but authoritative acts of the same office!'. . These authoritative

acts which are put forth issue from him either as a pastor or as no pastor, ruler or no ruler: if as no pastor, then acts of jurisdiction, and those authoritative and supreme, may be expressed and exercised by one who is no ruler. And this, Mr. Rutherford and all men gainsay. If they proceed from him as a pastor, then as a pastor of his particular congregation, or as a pastor of another congregation; not as a pastor of another church besides his own; for then, one man may have two pastoral offices and two churches, which is contrary to Scriptures and all sound divines: *ergo*, they must proceed from him as he is pastor to his own particular flock: *Quod fuit demonstrandum*. Again; If he put forth such acts as a pastor, then those upon whom he puts them forth either are his flock, or are not his flock; . . . if his flock, then either the same he first had,—his congregation,—or another. The churches combined, cannot be his congregation, because they are many and distinct: *ergo*, he must be a pastor of many flocks! . . . and so there is a ready way and road for Pluralities and Tot-quotes: *Quod fuit demonstrandum*. . .

“Arg. 3. That course which divides the things which God hath joined together and ought for ever to go together, that is unlawful. But to sever jurisdiction and teaching, is to part the things that God hath joined together. . . The Presbyterian combination, severeth these. . . When it was asked, Whether are the classical-elders ruling-elders or teaching-elders to the classical-church? Mr. Rutherford answers, p. 330, ‘They are both and they are neither in divers considerations. They are teaching-elders in all the congregations distributively taken; they are ruling, in all collectively taken: they are teachers *κατὰ τῆς*, in some reserved acts, not constant teachers. It is true, he that is a ruling-pastor is also a teaching-pastor, but not to that same flock always.’ The reply is, When we inquire what kind of elder a classical-elder is? we are told, That they are elders teaching in all congregations distributively; that is, take classical-elders, as they are congregational-elders; and that is all one as to say, no classical-elders; and then they are teaching-elders. For so far as they have reference to their proper flocks, they were teaching-elders before the combination; and so all that is gained is this, A classical-elder, as he is no classical-elder, is a teaching-elder: and so there is not a distinction or divers consideration of a classical-elder—which should have been the term distinguished,—but a non-consideration of him as such. Further; it hath been often said, That these acts of the elders issue from one and the same office. Now where there is one and the same office, there is one and the same officer; and so the same power of teaching and ruling, and the same duty. Lastly; we have here that for granted which before we concluded, That a person may have many flocks! he may be a teaching-pastor in one, and a ruling, in two or three or thirty! for it is affirmed, That a ruling-pastor is also a teaching-pastor, but not to the same flock always. Therefore, he may have many flocks! And so the Lord Bishop may be a teaching-pastor in the cathedral, at Canterbury, but a ruling-pastor in all the province collectively taken! . . .

“Arg. 4. That which lays a burden upon teaching-elders which God never laid, nor are they ever able to discharge; that is not suitable to God’s will and Word. But this classical course doth so. . . The apostle appointed ‘elders’ in every church, and charged them to attend the ‘flock,’ not flocks. [1 Pet. v. 1, 2] . . .

“Arg. 5. If they be pastors over all the congregations in the circuit, then they were new chosen by the several congregations, or not. If they were not chosen, then a pastor may be a pastor by an especial appropriation to a people of whom he was never chosen; which is cross to the rules of the Gospel and the nature of the relation: If they were chosen by them all, . . . here is really non-residency brought in. . .

“Arg. 6. . . That course of government which nullifies the power of the elders and people of the congregation and their proceedings in a righteous way, that is not a power of Christ. But this doth so; as instance, The greater part of the classis may sentence a member of a particular church to be excommunicated, when the elders and all the people judge [him], and that truly, not to be worthy of that censure. . .

“Arg. 7. That course and proceeding which cannot attain its end, is not appointed by our Saviour. . . But the classis excommunicating, and the people and elders of the congregation refusing to submit thereunto, their excommunication would be of no force; for they would still maintain communion. . .

“Arg. 8. This jurisdiction . . . either issues from the power they had before their

combination, or from some new power they have received since. . . Not . . . before ; . . for Mr. Rutherford maintains it as a principle, ' That one congregation hath not power over another ; ' and reason evidenceth as much. . . If . . . from some new power, that must proceed from some new order or office received from their combination ; for jurisdiction issues from order. . . But there is no order or office added to them at all, for they were pastors and teachers and rulers before the combination, and there be no other officers appointed by Christ. And therefore, this place and power put now upon them is, I fear, an invention of man. . .

" They who give no office, give no power : but the combination of churches gives no office to elders, who were in office before they combined : therefore, they could give no power. And yet the dispute saith it doth, and the doctrine of a classical church must of necessity maintain that principle. Either these are mazes and mysterious twistings, or I confess, I am much mistaken.

" I would entreat the serious reader to observe what depths lie hid in this device. A pastor may be a pastor in relation to a church and yet never be chosen ; for a classical elder is so : and why may not a Bishop be so ? Would you see a person that hath the formal essence of a pastor, and yet never did, nor is bound to preach ; so a classical elder is to his classical church : and why may not a Bishop also have the like ? Would you see a person that hath the office of a pastor to teach, but must have no power to rule in chief acts of jurisdiction ? behold, it is the poor pastor of a congregation ; preach he may, and administer the sacraments he may in his own congregation ; but the classis keeps the key of jurisdiction, they must send in his censures, excommunications ! And why may not a Bishop do so, if ye will ? Would ye see a person exercise jurisdiction over churches and yet not be bound to preach to them ? behold, the classical pastor doth so ! And, therefore, why may not a Bishop rule a diocese and preach only at his cathedral ? It is all that can be said, That many are joined with that one in joint power to do this ; true, but what if the elders met in the classis should give power to one man to take many to himself and exercise all the jurisdiction without them ; not as a Moderator only, to order the actions of the assembly, but as having the power of a Judge ? He is then, a perfect Bishop !

" . . Let Mr. Rutherford give me but one place in Scripture, or one sound reason for it, That a person may be a pastor to a people by whom he was never chosen : And, that he may be a pastor—as the office of a pastor is appointed by Christ—to such to whom he neither can nor should preach constantly : And, that he is bound to exercise jurisdiction of censure and decision of doubts, to such to whom he neither needs, nor indeed is bound, to feed, by the Word : Or, lastly, that the churches may give power to a man or men, that Christ never appointed : and I shall profess I will willingly yield the cause. But they must either make good the first three, or else prove the latter ; or else the pillars of the Presbyterial Church will fall !

" . . A ' church,' in the Gospel, is never used only for ' elders.' There cannot be a definition given that will agree to a Congregational and [a] Presbyterial Church. . .

" How far a particular congregation is bound to meet in one place : our practice here, will be the best exposition of our opinion ; and that is usually given thus, In case the congregation grow too big, and therefore be forced to swarm out ; or in case they transplant themselves from one place to another, so that part be forced to go before to make preparation for those that follow ; we then send one officer with the smaller party, and the greater number remain with the rest ; and yet all are but one church in our account, and under one presbytery of elders, chosen rulers of the congregation. But when the congregations are fixed, and they are established in peace, and settled with support about them, there should be no more than may comely and comfortably meet together to partake of all ordinances, the use and benefit of the labour of their officers. . .

" PT. I. CHAP. x.—Such arguments, as Mr. Rutherford allegeth for the Confirmation of a Presbyterial Church, Answered.—. . His first argument is taken from ' the church ' mentioned in Matt. xviii. 17. . . Should our Saviour mean a particular synagogue, they had not the power of excommunication in their hands ; for the church of the Jews was a national church, and unto Jerusalem the males were bound to repair three times in the year ; and if they were not cast out from hence, no excommunication could be complete, for they had their liberty thither to appeal.

. . . And to say that our Saviour alluded to the national church of the Jews, is to confound the government of the Gospel with that of the Law. . . The direction of our Saviour points out apparently some standing tribunal and that at hand; such a 'church' whereof both the parties were members. . . The judgment in the Sanhedrim was mixed,—as the phrase intimates, Deut. xvii. 12; 2 Chron. xix. 5—7,—partly of ecclesiastic, partly of civil judges who, as the case did require had their hands and voices in the verdict; which carries no resemblance in our church-work. . . 'But women and children cannot rebuke openly:'. . . No, the wise God provides that the votes and judgments of these should be included in the male and chief of them; and [that] in them, they should be satisfied; and therefore, the wife is appointed to ask her husband 'at home,' 1 Cor. xiv. 35. . . The argument taken from Paræus' authority, 'That there can be no complaint to a multitude;' needs no answer, being experimentally false. How ordinarily are complaints made to Parliaments. . . That the word 'church,' in the New Testament is sometimes taken for officers only: Mr. Ball seeing the strength of the reason coming down the hill upon him; which at least might and, indeed, doth cast such a strong suspicion upon the cause here propounded, leaving of it alone, desolate, destitute, of the least loving look of the allowance of any text that might be a second in the field; the good man according to that sagacity and sharpness of dispute wherein he excelled, bestirs himself and musters up all his forces, seeks far and wide, to win some consent; but at last all comes to this, That a many 'may suppose some such thing here;' but cannot get one place to speak professedly for him! . . . Let us hear then what Mr. Rutherford adds, 'To the angel of the church of Ephesus,' Rev. ii. 1; here angel stands for the whole church:'. . . see, how strangely and harshly the words will sound, To the angel, etc., that is, To the *church* of the church of Ephesus!' I suppose a man will find little reason in such rhetoric. A second place; is Acts xviii. 22, Paul called in at Cesarea 'and saluted the church.' It cannot be thought, in reason, that the elders only were there 'saluted' nor by that word intended; because it appears by the next verse, that the apostle's scope was to confirm the hearts of 'the disciples' in all this voyage of his. . . Neither women alone, nor children, will make a church; nor have any public power put into their hands for that purpose. . . Whenever the church meets in Christ's name, she hath Christ's power to execute all acts of discipline as well as doctrine; having her right constitution. It is clear in the text, 1 Cor. v. 4, the church might, and should have cast out the incestuous Corinthian, without Paul's provocation, nay, without his knowledge; . . . and therefore the church is blamed in that she did not so. . . His 'spirit' doth not dispense the excommunication, nor give them power to do that which they could not do before; but encouraged them to go on in the work which they had formerly neglected, and was so necessary to be performed.

"PT. I. CHAP. xi.—Touching the First Subject of Ecclesiastical Power; Where the Nature of it is discovered, and the arguments brought against it answered.—. . . Ecclesiastical Power,—made known unto us usually in Scripture under the name of 'Keys,' the sign or adjunct being put for the thing signified; the ensign of authority, for authority itself,—is double; supreme and monarchical, delegate and ministerial. The supreme . . . resides only in our Saviour—Rev. i. 18; iii. 7; Isai. ix. 6; Phil. ii.—. . . of this, we do not inquire in this place. A subordinate and delegate power, which is proper to our present disquisition, is nothing else but, A right, given, by commission from Christ, to fit persons to act in His house, according to His order. . . Fit persons . . . to wit, such persons who are made able to receive this power and to put forth the practice thereof. . . And upon this ground it appears how all such consequences with which we meet so often conclude just nothing. If power be in the church of believers, then women and children might exercise it! so Mr. Ball [and] Mr. Rutherford. . . That is taken for granted which ever was and for ever ought to be denied, . . . and therefore I here mention it that the reader may look at it as not worthy the consideration whenever he shall hereafter meet with it. . . The whole church is an army, 'terrible with banners' [Cant. vi. 4.]. The whole army is in daily fight; but all the parts do not fight in the same manner, but each person keeps his place and posture. The power is in the whole firstly, but each part knows its rank and acts after its own order and manner: the officers in theirs, and the members in theirs. The whole acts some things immediately, something mediately; but all is acted by it [the whole], or by power received from it. First, the power of judgment: the

whole may be, and doth act, in admissions and excommunications; for the reason is alike in both. . . Secondly, the power of gift or election, is that which the People have; as the corporation hath power to choose a mayor and to give him authority to do that which themselves cannot do; so it is with the body of a congregation, who do elect and leave the impression of an office upon men gifted; though they be not such formally themselves, nor can be said to labour in word and doctrine, to be rulers, to dispense sacraments; only what this *giving* is, is to be understood with a *grain of salt*, and requires a wise and wary explication. . .

“First, the rise of this power .. will speedily appear if we eye the end, which always steers the action among such as be agents by counsel. . . It is the highest law in all policy, civil or spiritual, to preserve the good of the whole: at this all must aim; and unto this, all must be subordinate. This potestas iudicii, appertains to all; as ἐλέγχειν, Matt. xviii. 15; κρίνειν, 1 Cor. v. 12; both which, express acts . . in a judicial manner. . . This ground being laid, that objection in which many place so much confidence, is easily answered; . . If the People should censure the pastor, then there should be pastors of pastors; and the sheep should be shepherds! . . The people judge not as officers, but as members of the whole, to whom by virtue of the common laws of combination they have subjected themselves [each has subjected himself], in case of delinquency, to be ordered for the common good. The feebleness of this objection will more fully appear, if we take it in the like. Take a Classis; suppose the several pastors, or many of them offend, the rest admonish and proceed in censure against them: the objection grows on as strongly; here be pastors of pastors! Nay, yet further; let it be supposed, which is possible, that all or most of the pastors offend, and the Ruling Elders with the rest . . proceed against them, be it for heresy or error broached and maintained; here the inferior do censure the superior; those of the one order judge such as be of a superior! Secondly, the rise of this power, appears from a principle laid in nature. It is a staple rule which claims entertainment without any gainsaying. No man, by nature, hath ecclesiastical power over another; by constraint it cannot be imposed regularly: . . for coercive power expressed by *outward* constraint and violence, is cross wholly to the government of Christ in His church, whose ‘kingdom is not of this world.’ . . The inference is undeniable, So far as, by free consent, their combination goes, so far and no further the power they have one over another reacheth! . .

“The second thing to be inquired is, The manner how this [power] is communicated. Those who are thus met together, having power dispersed among themselves, they voluntarily consent to unite this their power, and to devolve it upon one to whom they will submit, walking by the rules of Christ and confining himself within the compass thereof. So that this right of rule, thus united and devolved upon one, is officium, or the right of office properly so called. Eph. iv. 11, 12; 1 Cor. xii. 28. . .

“And hence again, it is more than plain, That men may give a call and power to such and such to be pastors, and yet themselves not pastors. . . A pastor’s power, or power of office, is a united power from many. The people’s is a divided power, lying in many combined, and therefore not the same. Hence the power of judgment is not the power of office; and therefore the fraternity may have the one when they have not the other. Hence, the elders are superior to the fraternity in regard of office, rule, act, and exercise; which is proper only to them: . . the people, or church, are superior to the elders in point of censure. . . Hence, the censure of excommunication, for the act, is common to elders and fraternity; only for the manner of managing it, it is peculiar to the elders to be *leaders* in that action; and thence it is, they are called ἡγουμένοι, Heb. xiii. 17. . . Hence again, they [the fraternity] do not give the power, which formerly they had, away from themselves and cease to be what they were, as in civil offices; . . a man sells his office, and ceaseth to be what he was before; . . it is not so here, but by voluntary subjection they give an undoubted right to another which none nor all of them ever had formaliter but virtualiter only; and therefore, the power of judgment over each other they keep still, and can by that proceed against any that goes aside, though he were an officer! . .

“The third thing to be inquired: Where this power is seated, as in the first subject. . . This controversy . . is, of all other, of greatest worth and weight; and therefore both needs and deserves most serious search and trial. . . The power of

the Keys is committed to the church of confederate saints, as the first and proper subject thereof. To remove the distaste with which the minds and hearts of most have been taken aside as touching this truth propounded, it will not be unseasonable nor unprofitable by some plain and short explication . . . to remove that malignant humour of prejudice which hath eaten so deeply into the apprehensions of men, that they are not willing to give any welcome entertainment to this part of Christ's counsel. . .

"Proposition i. That the power of the Keys is seated in the church as the proper subject, is no novel opinion : . . . it hath antiquity and authority to honour it, as far as that honour will reach : this I propound not as placing any casting or convicting power in this evidence ; for a cause is not the less true because of late discovered ; but only to stay the stomachs of such whose expectations are not answered in any opinion unless it be mouldy with age ! We will suffer years to speak a little, in this behalf.

"The place of those that Peter sustained in Matt. xvi. [16—19], to them the 'keys' were given : but that Peter speaks in the name, and sustained the place, of the church, . . . Origen, Hilary, Augustine, . . . together with troops of our divines, with one consent, give approbation hereunto, as any may read in Parker, *De Politia Ecclesiastica*, lib. iii. cap. 2, 3. . . Nay, Mr. Rutherford yields thus much, bk. i. chap. 2. p. 21, 'We oppose Fathers to Fathers,' saith he ; so that the Fathers, by his own confession, write for this : Again, . . . touching excommunication, p. 49, 'Here grave Beza—our divines—Calvin, Bucer, Bullinger, Melancthon, Bucan, Paræus, Rivetus, Sibrandus, Junius, Trelcatius : the Fathers, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Theodoret, Theophilact ; require all to be done *'plebe consentiente.'* . . . Peter Martyr, is peremptory and definitive. . . Loc. Com. de Excommun. sect. 9, 'Unde concluditur, non absque consensu ecclesie quempiam excommunicari posse !'

"Prop. ii. The 'keys of the kingdom,' by way of metaphor, signify all that ministerial power by Christ dispensed and from Christ received. . . The 'key' of royalty, is in the hand of Christ. . . The 'key' of charity, as it is sometimes called—but very improperly—is in the hand of all believers. . . The 'key' of *subordinate* power, . . . only such, and all such, have, who are combined in a special corporation and come under the external government of the sceptre of Christ in the Gospel ; such have 'good law' . . . to proceed against any that will not stoop to the rules, and be ordered by the laws of that 'kingdom' of His.

"Prop. iii. . . This delegate and *subordinate* power is firstly in the church, and is communicated to none, acts in none, but by means of her. Whence it is clear that it suits not the rules of reason to cast some part of the power upon the people, firstly ; some part . . . upon the rulers ; as though there were two 'first subjects' of this power ; which the letter of the text gainsays, 'To thee, I will give,' Matt. xvi. 19 ; not to *them* : to 'thee,' as representing one state or condition of men : to 'thee' bearing the place of elders, or sustaining the person of believers. . . That conceit is more wide from the mark, If any shall make but one 'first subject' of . . . and yet have others to share in this power, and not by means of that ; for this is indeed to speak daggers and contradictions. . .

"Prop. iv. The 'power of the keys,' take it in the complete nature thereof, is in the church of believers as in the first subject ; but every part of it is not, in the same manner and order, to be attended for its ruling in the church, but [only] in the order and manner which Christ hath appointed. . . The power of office, is only, in the rulers formaliter, in the church radicaliter, et causative. The power of judgment is, in the church, formaliter ; and in the rulers, directive. . . Either the people have power to put forth a causal virtue in passing the judgment and censure upon the delinquent, or else it belongs to their place and is their duty, only to consent ; but this latter cannot be granted. To consent to evil, and say 'amen' to an unjust censure, is sinful ; and so not their duty ; the sentence given by the elders may be unjust. . . To understand Matt. xviii. 17, of the Presbytery alone, crosseth the rule of righteous proceeding appointed by our Saviour. . . Suppose three elders in the church, and they all under offence ; . . . the brethren . . . must tell 'the church,' that is, the elders ; . . . which to do, is irrational ; to make the guilty party a judge in his own cause ! . . . Suppose two of the three be offenders ; . . . the aggrieved party must complain to 'the church,' that is, to the third elder, and so *one* should be 'the church' . . . contrary to reason, and the wisdom of Christ.

If the power of judgment be in the rulers only, then it is either in some of them, and by them derived unto others, or else it belongs to all equally by the same commission; there can be no third way devised; . . . but it is confessed, that all the rulers who dispense the 'keys' have not equal power; the teaching-elders are in degree and office both differing from the ruling-elders and superior to them. . . . Suppose . . . the rulers, . . . three or four, [should excommunicate] four or five hundred brethren; . . . being lawfully excommunicated, *ex concessis*, there is no flock, but all is scattered; therefore, their office, as shepherds, is destroyed! It is observed by Ames, That a church or body of people combining, cannot be excommunicated; because then a body having and retaining its essence, should be cast out of it; which is impossible.^a

"Let us now see what be the arguments which Mr. Rutherford propounds for the confirmation of his tenet that 'The officers, those not of one congregation, but of many, have the power of the 'keys conferred upon them as the first subject.' . . . That office-power is, formaliter, in some select person who hath ministerial spirit and gifts, . . . we all grant: nor can Mr. Rutherford show any sober and judicious professor or writer of the Reformation that maintains the contrary. [R.] Parker, Ames, Robinson; this last, in his most rigid times of separation, thus professeth, 'That the government of the church before the Law, under the Law, and in the apostles' times, was,—and so still is,—not in the multitude but in the chief;' and then he adds, 'it never came into their [our] hearts to deny this:' only, as he saith, 'it is one thing [for the officers] to govern the church; and another thing [for them] to be the church!' Justification of Separation, p. 134. . . . 'The Word' [saith Mr. Rutherford] 'hath no canon how the People should order the Keys.' The places are express, the directions plain; Matt. xviii. 17: . . . and as in one peculiar duty, of admonition, wherein the greatest both danger and difficulty lay, the Lord is pleased to point out the way and to put it almost past question; the like proportion should be held and constantly attended in the other duties of brotherly love, 1 Thess. v. 11—13; 2 Thess. iii. 14; Heb. xiii. 17; Rom. xvi. 17. The last dispute of Mr. Rutherford, issues from that so ordinary and often mistake, in not differing the power of judgment from the power of office, and confining the power of 'the keys' unto too narrow a compass, as though the authority of office was there only to be attended; when it hath appeared that it is of far larger extent. Whence the consequence is very feeble, 'If God require such abilities and qualifications in officers which he doth not in all believers, then the power of the keys is not in the church.' . . .

"Assumption, bk. ii. p. 9, 'The church of Believers combining in church government, but wanting their pastors and teachers; is not wisdom's house, [Prov. ix. 1], nor builded by pastors and doctors given to edify and gather the body, but they are only the materials of the house; yea, wanting the pastors they want ministerial power for pastoral preaching, and administering the seals.' The assumption fails; and all the proofs are not able to prop it up from falling to the ground; for they are but bare affirmations of many particulars which either are so many untruths or mistakes of things that have some truth in them. As it is untrue that 'combined believers, etc., are not wisdom's house;' since we have formerly proved that such a church . . . is before officers, and may be without them. And what can be more plain? When the Scripture affirms, Acts xiv. 23, that the 'church,' by lifting up of hands, did make and choose them elders; in reason they must be before their elders! When Paul chargeth the elders, Acts xx. 28, to watch over 'the flock,' over which the Lord hath made them overseers; he implies there is a flock distinct from their overseers. When the 'church' rejects her officers, as heretical; doth she then destroy herself, and cease to be a church because they cease to be officers? It is untrue, that 'believers thus covenanting, are only the materials of the house;' when we have formerly proved that such a confederating company hath the materials and formals required to the constitution of a house. If combination can make a Presbyterian church, why not also a Congregational church? It is a mistake, and not a full explication of that which hath a truth in it; that is, that 'wanting pastors,' they want the 'power' of edifying the body of Christ, which is required in a visible church; for the answer is, when they want pastors they want that power that 'totum organicum' hath to edify; but they want not that power, which a church

^a De Conscientia; bk. iv. cap. xxix. q. 11.

taken as a 'totum essentiale' should have, to edify itself: but it hath power to choose officers; and so, to provide for pastoral preaching and administration of the seals by their means. Lastly, let Mr. Rutherford tell us, how God set teachers in the church, if teachers are *before* the church? . . .

"Before I pass hence, I shall crave leave to offer some things to consideration touching this 16th chapter of Matthew; a place upon which all sorts have pressed in, first or last, to claim some privilege to themselves. The Pope will needs have all power belong to him, as Peter's successor. The Prelates, they claim the next place for pre-eminence as peculiar to them. The elders and officers of churches conceive it best suits their ministerial condition. And now, at last, the Fraternity lay in for some allowance to themselves, and that they are looked at in the first intent of Christ. . . This power of the 'keys' cannot be given to one single society of men, formally, in all the kinds of it; because it requires several kinds of subjects, formally different; as some ruling, some teaching, some electing. Hence it follows undeniably [that] these 'keys' and the power signified by them, must be given to such who have some of this power firstly; and formally, and originally, and virtually, can give the rest of the power which, so given, may be fully exercised in all the acts of binding and loosing according to all the necessities of the church and intendment of our Saviour. And this, may readily be accomplished and easily apprehended to be done by a church of believers; they can admit, [can] elect, this formally belongs to them; and officers being elected by them the whole government of the church will then go on in all the operations thereof, and be fit to attain the ends attended [*sic*] by our Saviour. . . The second [thing], wherein the greatest stress lies in this inquiry is, Whether the 'church' mentioned in that text be the visible or invisible church,? . . . Whether the 'church' there, might not, in a safe sense, be conceived to be the visible church? all things weighed, my apprehensions came to be inclined and biassed that way; and that for this reason, until better appear, That 'church' is here meant which is built upon the rock 'Christ,' by the visible confession of Peter, as explicated immediately before: but the invisible church, is not built by a visible profession such as Peter's was. . . That 'church' is here understood against which the 'gates of hell' cannot prevail; but against the visible church the gates of hell have prevailed; therefore, the visible church is attended [*sic*] in a double respect: either as this or that particular congregation; or else as a church universal, existing in [all] the particulars. And in this latter sense it is taken in this place: and then it is a sure and confessed truth that 'the visible church, doth not fail;' and this is the judgment of all the orthodox, as Mr. Rutherford grants, bk. ii. p. 107. And in this sense *salvo meliori iudicio*—is that place to be understood, 1 Tim. iii. 15, 'That thou mightest know how . . . to behave thyself in the *house* of God.' This 'house' is the visible church; for Timothy is instructed how to demean and carry himself in it; therefore he must be acquainted with the 'house' and the occasions thereof, and to demean himself suitably thereunto, which is inconsistent with invisibility. This direction was to continue to all succeeding officers, even to the end; and that in all their particular charges; and therefore must be a pattern of a church, or a church as existing in its particulars, which Christ will have while the world continues: Eph. iv. 12, 13.

"PT. I. CHAP. xii.—Touching the Catholic and Visible Church, etc.—Before we come to the scanning of this great controversy which hath exercised the hearts and pens of the most learned in this age, we must of necessity clear the terms of the question. . . When we say 'A congregation of visible saints covenanting to walk in the ordinances of the Gospel, is the prime and original subject of the power of the Keys'; I suppose it is obvious to common sense that as we do not, so we cannot understand it of this or that individual congregation, as though they only had it, or none but they; or as though they had it firstly and all from them: this, I say, is obvious even to envy itself; for what meaneth those clamours of 'Independency' which are cast upon our persons and opinions, if we should hold that one particular [church] did depend upon another? And in that we maintain this as a truth, That every particular congregation hath equal power with another, and complete power—taken with all its officers—to the exercise of all ordinances; we do, by such an assertion, profess that this power is common to them all, and therefore cannot be proper to any, but only in the individual and special determination thereof. The issue is this then, That 'the power of the Keys, belongs firstly to a congregation of covenanting believers, not as this congregation,

but because a congregation of such ; and thus I do conceive—salvo meliori judicio—that of our Saviour is to be interpreted, ‘ I will build my church,’ taking a visible congregation of visible covenanting believers, as that which is a pattern and a sampler—as I may so speak,—which leaves an impression upon all the particulars, as common unto all, and is preserved in all : . . and in this sense it is, the Lord Jesus never wants a visible church, on earth, though this or that visible may, doth, and will fail ; as we see by plentiful experience and proof out of the Word, in those famous congregations of Corinth, Galatia, etc.

“ A congregation of covenanting visible saints, being a *genus* to all the particular congregations, which are *partes homogeneæ*, or species thereof ; hence it follows, that a congregation doth firstly communicate its whole nature to every particular church : . . and from this ground it is, that each congregation hath all ecclesiastical power that is seated in the general nature of the church : . . hence, ‘ catholic church,’ in this sense, is never to be seen but in particular congregations, nor yet ever exerciseth its power and operations alone—or *seorsim*—but only in the several assemblies [or assemblies severally] . . . Hence the nature of the church-catholic, or general, comes to be determined [by] and confined to its particular ; and being determined, it only acts in that, . . and hence, by the way, the weakness and fallacy of that conceit will easily be discovered, That profession in the general, should make a man a member of all particular churches on earth. . . From the first ground it follows, That each particular congregation, is complete and independent for the exercise of all acts and dispensations belonging to a congregation or church : . . again, The general nature of a church as it is preserved, so the full good in the full latitude thereof is promoted and advanced by the particular congregations which are the species thereof : . . hence, a Classis . . can be no species of a church ; . . and jurisdiction cannot be firstly there, because if the nature of a church be complete without it, then the power and jurisdiction of church-government is complete without that, and not first in that.

“ Mr. Rutherford would have ‘ the apostles to receive the Keys in the name of the whole catholic-ministerial-guides : because they must stand [have stood] in the place and room of a single society when they received that commission, John xx. 23.’ The apostles, in that commission, . . were sent into all the world to lay the foundation of the Gospel by an [their] apostolical power ; and, in this sense, have no successors ; nor did they stand in the room [or, as representatives] of any [officers]. . . It must be a single society, and one relation they must undergo : whatever [else] will be affirmed, will be prejudicial to his cause ; for if they were in the room of teaching-elders, then ruling-elders have, by this commission, no right to the Keys ! If they supplied the room of ruling only, then the teaching-elders must claim nothing from hence. Again ; I would willingly know, when they supplied the room of either of these : whether . . of all of them, or of some ? if of all, . . whether *severally* executing their offices in their places, or combined together in a classis or synod ? If it be affirmed—which cannot be denied with any reason—That they supply the room of these, as they be *severally* executing their offices,—for their authoritative preaching, is ‘one part of binding and loosing,’—then, each particular ruler may bind, loose, excommunicate and absolve, in each particular congregation, as well as in a classis. Nay, because they are first elders in the particular congregations, before they be in a classis or synod ; and there succeed the Apostles as rulers ; then they may be, nay must be, there, the first subject of the Keys, because there they first succeed the apostles in binding and loosing by official preaching. If it shall be said, The apostles represent elders as they are conjoined in an œcumenical council : this belongs to some only ; for all elders never met in an œcumenical council. Besides, this is not proper to elders, for brethren there meet also ; whereas this relation the [an] apostle here supplies, must be common to all that single society, and only to that single society whose room they sustain. . . They supplied the place of deacons, Acts vi. 1, 2 ; and had virtually and so could exercise the power of all officers. And therefore, lastly, when they supply the place of elders, this shows what an elder should do in his order and according to his place ; but whether he be the *πρωτον δεκτικον* of church power, this evinceth not ; but in no manner or measure evidenceth any thing touching the combination of elders, or their power. . .

“ All visible members exist in particular congregations, and are perfected by ordinances therein. . .

“ We maintain, each congregation hath equal power with another ; therefore

we say, that 'the power of the keys' belongs to a congregation as existing in its particulars, and therefore equally belongs to all particulars, in all which, the general with the particulars are preserved and perfected. The complete being of a church attended,^a as in Scripture phrase we find it, and as it suits with the rules of reason; it comprehends the particular in the general, and the general comes to be determined in the particular; and therefore the tenet Mr. Rutherford propounds is not that which we maintain, but that which he is pleased to make to himself.

"CHAP. xiii.—Of the Catholic Church as it is totum representativum; etc.—. . . Learned Whitaker allegeth from the nature of a synod, That since a general council doth represent universam ecclesiam, there should be some of all sorts and orders of men sent thereunto; as pastors, doctors, elders, brethren, who should as it were personate and supply the place of the whole. All these, so sent and assembled in the council, have a decisive and definitive sentence in the acts that shall be made; decrees and determinations, that shall pass. This is made the hinge and the very casting difference of the controversy betwixt us and the Papists; whereby our men vindicate the liberty and power of 'the brethren' met in council, against the usurpation of the Pope and his Proctors, whereby they would arrogate and monopolize all authority of deciding and determining controversies unto the Prelates. And therefore Bellarmine would carve out all the authority to that crew and company, and says, 'apostolos judicasse, presbyteros consultasse, plebem audivisse tantum.' But Whitaker . . . maintains that which is openly contradictory to the popish conceit: *Nostra vero hæc sententia est, non solos prælatos habere jus definiendi in conciliis, sed homines quosvis idoneos eligi posse, qui ad concilium mittantur, eosque liberè pronunciare debere.*—De Concil. Controv. ii. Q. 3. cap. 1.—

" . . . 'The power of the keys' was before the representative church; yea, before it had any being: for the churches had the 'keys' and the exercise of them by the space of three hundred years after our Saviour, when as yet there was not the name of an 'œcumenical council' heard of in the world. . . The churches delegate all, both persons and power, from themselves, to the making up of such a general assembly: and, therefore, they had all officers, and they the exercise of their office-power, before that day, long. Nor will that distinction relieve the cause in this distress, to wit, That in order of nature, they are only, firstly, in the representative; but in order of time, they are before, in other subjects. Nay, the medicine makes the cause worse, though it was sick before: for that a proper quality should be, in time, before its proper subject which gives it its being; and that it should be, in time, before its own nature wherein its being lies; is beyond the relief of all the rules of reason! . . .

"Acts which are common to 'brethren' as well as to such as be officers; those are not proper [to] nor do proceed from an office, or officer, as such, but from some root or respect which doth indifferently belong unto both,—as it is evident in the case in hand,—because they all act as messengers: for that, as we heard even now, gave the 'formality' to the member of a synod. . .

"I much doubt if a catholic council can formally excommunicate a national church: Mr. Rutherford, bk. ii. p. 418. And, indeed, he may well doubt it. For suppose that many persons in the particular churches of the nation shall complain of the evils of the churches, and groan under them: the excommunicating of these churches would inflict the punishment as well upon the innocent as the nocent. . . But it is certain, if the churches refuse the sentence, the power of the council can never prevail to attain its end. . .

"True it is, when one church of Christ hath righteously cast out a man, all other congregations should account of him as such an outcast; . . . unless any thing appear to the contrary: and they should so express themselves towards him as such a one whom the Lord Christ hath sentenced and judged 'as a heathen;' and therefore it becomes all who are the subjects of Christ, to judge so of him. . .

"Bk. ii. p. 320, we find these words, the question being there propounded; Since a scandalous person living betwixt two neighbouring presbyteries, and so likely to infect both equally and indifferently by his offence; why therefore, should he not be cast out of both? Mr. Rutherford's answer is this; 'Though he dwell

^a See back, p. 284; and see on, Pt. iii. chap. ii. arg. 4. where this word is used in a like sense.

in the borders of two classical presbyteries, yet since God—the God of order—hath made him a combined member now by institution of one presbyterial church, not of another, he is to be excommunicated by the one, not by the other.’ A man would think, at the first blush, If one classical church do not excommunicate *antecedenter*; by the same proportion of reason, many must not; nay, none but his own classis do excommunicate him; and therefore, how can ‘the catholic church’ be said to do this *antecedenter*? But Mr. Rutherford best knows his own meaning, and this will occasion him to explicate it!

“PT. I. CHAP. xiv.—Of the Church Universal, as it is Totum Integrale.—. . . We have now done with our inquiry touching the Catholic Visible Church. We shall remind the reader of two things which may be of special use, and so we shall put an end to this dispute. First: From the foregoing discourse, he may discern wherein especially the opinion of Mr. Rutherford appears touching this ‘catholic-visible-church’ with any certainty. As namely, . . . bk. ii. p. 305, ‘The power of the keys, by order of nature is only in the catholic representative church, as in the first subject.’ It is not to me certain, what he holds touching the ‘catholic-visible-church’ considered either as ‘totum universale’ or ‘integrale:’ what probabilities his expressions carry either way, we have formerly intimated out of several places, and therefore I think it most fair to fasten nothing upon him, unless his words were fully and conclusively clear. It is certain that if ‘the power of the keys’ be in the catholic representative church, as the first subject, they cannot belong *firstly* to the catholic church either as ‘totum universale’ or ‘integrale;’ the distance and difference among these three, according to former explication, is so great and vast. Second: Again let me remind the reader what light the truth hath gained, if we look at it as laid forth in the right frame of it; as thus, The common nature of a church, and so the nature of officers in that proportion, are only existing, acting, and become visible, in the particulars, as their species. Hence, all *officers* and *office-power*, as the nature of the church, so *their* nature is equally, *firstly*; independently, communicated to all particular congregations; so that they do not receive office nor office-power, one particular from another or [from] more particulars, because all particulars share in all equally and *firstly*, as species partake of the nature of a genus. Hence, it is not lawful for the churches to give away this their power unto others, nor lawful for others to take it away from them: and therefore, they should not, by combining themselves with others, lose this; nor should other churches, by combination, take this power from them, in whole or in part.

“PT. I. CHAP. xv.—An Answer to Mr. Hudson, concerning the Church-catholic-visible, as Totum Integrale.—While I was inquiring and writing touching this *Ecclesia-Catholica-Visibilis*, an especial providence brought a book to my view which did purposely entreat of this particular subject: the author, Mr. Hudson, a learned man and a faithful minister of the Gospel.^a . . . Though I could not consent to what he writ, yet I could not but unfeignedly prize the learning, perspicuity and painfulness, expressed in his writing; therefore I thought good to cast in some few considerations touching the things of greatest consequence therein. . .

“There is one principal point—I say, principal, because the whole frame of the dispute stays upon that as upon the main pillar and foundation,—which, if it fail, the whole falls to the ground, as Mr. Hudson confesseth; ‘I find,’ saith he, ‘the subject of my question exceedingly opposed, and that by our Divines; and therefore I must crave leave to confirm that sufficiently, or else whatever I shall say of the predicate will be as a house built upon the sand, or a castle in the air.’ p. 11. . .

“I could not but observe a secret kind of Divine dispensation that the Presbyterian way must need the help of a point of Popery, not only as a pillar by which it must be underpropped, but as a foundation or head corner-stone upon which the whole building must rest, and be erected. . . The state of the question is fully this, Whether there be a catholic-church-visible, as totum integrale, consisting of all the particular churches as its members? And to this, we must answer, yet, negatively.

“Because this question thus propounded, looks so fully like a popish tenet at

^a “The Essence and Unity of the Church-Catholic-Visible, and the Priority thereof in regard of Particular Churches. 1645.” 4to.

the first appearance, Mr. Hudson desires to put a Protestant dress upon it; . . . and therefore he would difference . . . in three things: the Pontificians take 'visible' for conspicuous and glorious: they hold the name of the 'church-catholic' to belong to one church; they hold that this 'visible catholic church' should be under one 'visible universal head.'

"The reply is, this salve only skins over the sore, . . . for it is certain there be many collateral errors which go in the crowd and company with this popish opinion. . . Mr. Hudson well knows that Bellarmine, with the rest of the popish champions, marshals these causes as distinct companies, when [he and] they come into the field. . . All the differences Mr. Hudson propounds are so many distinct questions among the Pontificians, and this 'ecclesia catholica est visibilis,' is a fourth. . . And when we say that 'ecclesia catholica non est visibilis,' neither they [our Divines]^a nor I, mean that it is not conspicuous to the eye of the world; but that there is no such *ecclesia aggregata ex omnibus ecclesiis visibilibus* that hath any being in *rerum natura*, or was instituted by our Saviour. . .

"The confession of Mr. Hudson is very remarkable: . . . This 'made our Divines deny the Pontificians a church-catholic-visible,' namely, That so they might deny 'a visible head' suitable thereunto: as though he had said, Unless they had denied the one, they could not have denied the other! . . . When . . . he would bear the reader in hand, that Christ as man, consisting of body and soul, and living in the church, must, in that regard, be the visible Head of his church, though now ascended into heaven, p. 23; I would affectionately desire him, in God's holy fear, to consider what he writes; for it is not only untrue but very dangerous to hold, That Christ as mere 'man' . . . is a visible Head of his church. . . And yet this he doth and must say, if he say any thing to the argument in hand. But upon this grant, it will follow, that Christ is such 'a Head' that is not present with his 'body,' nor doth, nor can lend influence to his whole body and the members thereof in all places; and therefore, must not be sufficient to supply fully the necessities thereof: which, how derogatory and prejudicial [soever] to our Blessed Saviour and the fatherly love of God the Father to his church; I am persuaded his love to Christ will make him more sensible of such indignity, than I am able to express. It is certain, our Saviour is 'head of the church' as mediator, God and man, who hath fulness of all grace and of all power committed to him: . . . therefore we must leave the work to Christ, who, as he is everywhere so he can do all things; *alias enim Caput non esset*, otherwise he should not be a Head: Whitaker, *De Pontif. Rom. Q. 1. cap. 3. arg. 6.* Hence, that which Mr. Hudson takes for granted, that Christ was a 'visible' Head and 'Monarch' in the church, is not safe nor true. . . 'Christ did not reside in the world as a visible monarch, nor came he into the world to set up [a visible monarchy]: Whit. *sup. Q. 1. c. 2. p. 14; et. p. 533, 544.* . .

"The national church was made up of the synagogues,' as Mr. Hudson's words are, p. 21. Hence again, . . . it follows, the 'catholic church' receives being from the particulars; and therefore it is after and out from them. . . This *Totum catholicum*, is aggregate of the particulars, as a heap is aggregated and made up of many stones—Mr. Hudson, p. 24,—an army of many regiments; but our senses will say, if asked, the stones must be before the heap; the regiments, in reason, before the army that ariseth out of them! That only which puts fair colours upon this false conceit, is the misapprehending of some particular examples; namely, when they say that any portion of water divided, every part of it is water, and hath the name and nature of it. . . Take a quart of water and divide it into two pints, here is a division of *integrum* into its members; though each pint may be called water, yet a pint cannot be said to be a quart, because the division of that *totum* will not permit it. . .

"Mr. Hudson thus writes, 'Particular churches are made up of the members of the church-catholic; and [who] partake of the benefit and privileges of the church primarily, not because they are believers [members] of the particular churches, but of the church catholic.' p. 11. So that we have Mr. Hudson's mind and method thus laid open before us: When a man is converted to the profession of the Gospel and so becomes a visible believer, he is then a member of the visible-church-catholic: he hath, by this his profession and membership with the

^a "Whitaker, *De Eccles. Q. 2. c. 2. p. 57.*"

church-catholic, right unto all church-privileges: he then becomes a member of a particular church; but hath not right to church-privileges because of that, but because of his former membership with the catholic church. This is his method! God's method, in his Word, is this; A person is converted and becomes a visible believer: he comes to be adjoined to the Jewish church, and turns Proselyte: because he is now converted and turned Jew, he may eat the Passover and enjoy all the other privileges, Exod. xii. 42; Isa. lvi. . . The Lord says, It is not because he is a believer; but because believing, he joins to the church; therefore, he partakes of church-privileges! Mr. Hudson affirms, It is not because he joins to the church; but because he is a believer, that^s he hath right to the privileges of the church. Which are open contradictions *in ipsis terminis*. . .

"The Psalmist, cxlvii. 20, confines and inappropriates them [church-privileges] to the Jew, 'He hath not dealt so with any nation;' neither have the heathen knowledge of his ways: What is the privilege of the Jew? 'To them were committed the oracles of God,' Rom. iii. 2, not to any other! And therefore it is that Divines . . . conclude . . . that the church was then *in populo Israelitico*, but now *in populo Catholico*: that it was then in a nation, according to that, 'I will make of thee a great nation,' Exod. xxxii. 10; but now, in all nations, according to that, 'Go, preach, and teach all nations,' Mark xvi. 15; Matt. xxviii. 19; and in 'Christ,' there is no difference either of Jew or Grecian, Scythian or Barbarian—Col. iii. 11. And in this notion and consideration it is that I conceive the 'visible church' may now be called 'catholic,' and not in the time of the Jew,—because the Gospel is preached to all people, universally and indifferently, and [the visible church] gathered out of all without any restraint; but was then confined *populo Israelitico*.

" . . Mr. Hudson's 'demonstration,' as he terms it, is this: 'If particular churches be visible, then there is a visible-catholic-church; but particular churches are visible, therefore,' etc.

" . . This argument doth not probably conclude the cause, much less necessarily demonstrate it! Duræus urged Dr. Whitaker with this argument . . . which he and all ours do constantly deny. . . After Dr. W. had told him, that the 'catholic church' is not to be confined to one age and time, but comprehends all the Faithful of all ages which went before us and are now in heaven; then he demands of Duræus, Whether all these be 'visible,' or not? De Eccles. Lib. iii. p. 110. He comes yet nearer home and drives him to a greater strait: . . he peremptorily and readily denies the consequence; affirming that the 'members may be *aspectabiles*, but the whole not so;' and gives the reason of his denial, 'Si enim catholica—If the catholic be aggregated of many parts, then when these parts are gathered together, the whole may be seen; but the parts, as severally, cannot be seen:;' and [he] adds, answerably, 'When the parts are seen severally, then the *totum*, as aggregated, cannot be seen.' Nay . . . the concurrence of . . . these two worthies [Sadeel and Whitaker], you may find, Whit. De Eccles. Q. 2. c. 4. arg. 11; 'Ecclesiam catholicam adversarii dicunt—Our adversaries—saith Sadeel [contra Turrian.]—affirm the catholic-church to be all particular churches spread through the whole world; and because the particulars are visible, therefore, they conclude the catholic aggregated of all these, to be visible also!' So that it is plain, the Papists plead the same argument with Mr. Hudson, for their cause. . . But Sadeel and Whitaker both make a round return, 'Sed hoc nihil absurdius dici potest!'

"It is not enough, to make up a *totum aggregatum*, that the several members are under the same laws and governed after the same manner! . . . Several countries and kingdoms who have nothing to do with each other in their precincts and jurisdictions, yet may have the same laws and the same manner of government; only that, which makes them an entire and complete commonwealth in themselves, is the aggregation of them under the same governors, as the chief, whether one single person . . . or many. . . There needs no 'visible' monarch over all churches, but faithful pastors and teachers set over every particular congregation for improvement of all ordinances, sacraments, and censures for the good thereof. . .

"Where there are many particular churches, amongst them there is *totum genericum* exists: . . but in his [Mr. Hudson's] sense [out of Eph. iv. 16], that all particular congregations do exist aggregated together as members of the catholic [church]; that should have been proved, but it is not touched, much less evidenced. . . We have thus done with Mr. Hudson's 'demonstrations.'

“ We shall now weigh, with like liberty, the Scriptures which he propounds to this end and purpose.

“ The first alleged by him is Acts viii. 3, and to this also may that be referred, Gal. i. 13, . . . That ‘ church ’ is there meant which Paul persecuted: but he could not, nor did he persecute the whole company of professing believers in the whole world, for he could not see them nor know them. Besides, he did not persecute the church of the Jews in Jerusalem, that is, the Jewish church, and yet it is certain there were there many that believed. But, as the text saith and he affirms of himself, he persecuted that ‘ way ’ and all that he knew of that ‘ way ; ’ which was indeed the Christian church in Jerusalem, . . . and therefore ‘ church ’ is put by a synecdoche, for that particular church, and also for the men and members of it, Acts ix. 2 : . . . they fled far and wide, and therefore he might persecute them where he found them. . . . The apostle gives in a peculiar ground why he was thus carried . . . not simply because they were ‘ believers,’ for such many in Jerusalem were that were of the Jewish church, Acts v. 13, 14 ; but because they made this manner of profession touching Christ and salvation by Him alone, rejecting the ceremonies of the law. To this also you may refer those two other Scriptures, Act. ii. 47 and 42 : . . . the ‘ church ’ is distinguished from all the rest, ‘ many ’ whereof, were certainly professing believers, chap. v. 11. To this head, namely, of the Christian church of the Gentiles, you may add that, 1 Cor. x. 32 ; . . . that it cannot be meant of the ‘ catholic church,’ the words of the text give apparent testimony. . . . To this head also, belongs that of Eph. iii. 10 : . . . it is such ‘ multifarious wisdom ’ which was now made ‘ known ’ by the churches ; but before, to the church of the Jews ; and therefore the churches of the Gentiles are here to be considered and understood : unless, as I said, it be meant of the invisible church—ver. 9 : . . . but however it be taken, it helps nothing to Mr. Hudson’s *Ecclesia catholica*.

“ Mr. Hudson adds, 1 Cor. xii. 28 ; 1 Tim. iii. 15 ; Eph. iv. 11, 12 ; ‘ these places must needs be meant of the catholic church,’ says he. No ! but they are to be understood of every particular—or which is all one, and my meaning—of the church as a *totum universale*, existing, and determined in its actings, by the particulars ; or, if you will, the apostle points at one particular, but includes all particulars by a parity and proportion of reason ; as ‘ God set in the church ’ of Corinth, and so in all churches, ‘ apostles and teachers ; ’ the church of Ephesus is ‘ God’s house ; ’ and so are all churches truly constituted: the church of Ephesus is ‘ Christ’s body ; ’ and so are all the churches instituted by Christ : they are all one, in the general nature of them. . . .

. . . “ If setting an ordinary officer in the church, be by election ; then, in that church he is ‘ set ’ by which he is elected ; but a particular company combined in a particular congregation they only elect ; not the whole company of all believers in the whole world : therefore in that, he is only ‘ set.’ . . . A particular congregation, which is the true church of Christ, it, as a ‘ pillar,’ doth hold out the profession of faith and gospel *more forensi* : . . . that which is not seen by any, that, as a ‘ pillar,’ cannot hold out the truth *more forensi* ! . . . Set aside the particular congregations, the several operations thereof, and privileges therein ; if Mr. Hudson, or any man, shall demonstrate some particular, either acts, privileges, officer or officers, that are peculiar to this ‘ *totum aggregatum*, ’ I will yield the cause. . . .

“ The consideration of ‘ church ’ as *totum genericum*, gives answer to all those places where the word ‘ kingdom ’ is used to signify the ‘ visible church ; ’ . . . but . . . the word, in many of the places here quoted carries another sense, and doth not reach the cause in hand, much less conclude it. . . . So likewise, those similitudes of ‘ floor ’ and ‘ field,’ they point out all particular congregations under that condition which is common to them all ; to wit, that they are made up of a mixed multitude of good and bad ; or, which is all one, they look at the general nature of a congregation existing in its particulars, but put not on the relation of members to an *integrum* at all. Nor doth the seeming reason of Mr. Hudson, alleged to the contrary, p. 15, carry any constraining force to persuade a man seriously judicious. . . .

“ The place of Matt. xvi. 18, *attonitos tenet interpretes*, like the body of Asahel, puts every man to a stand that passeth by : 2 Sam. ii. 23. True it is, that doting delusion of the Papists, making Peter’s person the ‘ rock,’ is hissed out of all that have attained any eye-salve of the Scripture to clear their understanding in the

truth thereof: yet there remain more difficulties and mysteries in some parts of the text which were never seen with any full convicting evidence to this day, though many have set themselves, and that sadly, to the search thereof! We will only attend the particular here specified by Mr. Hudson, What 'church' is here understood? . . . I do incline to Mr. Hudson's judgment, That the 'visible church' is here understood; yet I must profess also, that his proof is no way satisfactory either to evidence that it must be 'visible,' much less a 'catholic-visible-church.' . . . That this cannot be a 'catholic church' of Mr. Hudson's cut, I would reason from his own words and explication, which I think have weight in them: That church, which only includes the church of the Gentiles, and that *to be* built; that, cannot comprehend the whole company of the Faithful in the whole world, and so cannot be a 'catholic church:' but, this 'church,' Matt. xvi. 18, by Mr. Hudson's own words, 'includes only the church-evangelical of the Gentiles.' The proposition hath sense, to settle it; for there were many, of the church of the Jews, true believers and professors: the minor, is Mr. Hudson's own expression, p. 17.

"We are now near home. The last place where any strength of dispute lies is in 3 John 10, where excommunication is called 'casting out of the church.' . . . That particular church, where Diotrephes usurped 'pre-eminence' is understood. . . . Let us hear how Mr. Hudson can force any 'catholic-visible-church' with any concluding evidence from hence. His words are, 'If the 'church' here, be a visible church; I would know, Whether a man truly excommunicated in one congregation is not thereby excommunicated from brotherly fellowship in all congregations?' I answer, Yes; and what is gained from thence? . . . It follows of necessity [that] all that fellowship he might enjoy by virtue of communion of churches must, of necessity, be denied unto him; and he, justly deprived thereof. Because in the virtue of his fellowship with one he gained fellowship with others; and therefore, when he is justly deprived of the one by the censure of the church, he must, in all reason, be deprived of the other! But by what strength of inference a 'catholic-visible-church' should be concluded from hence, I confess I see not. If Mr Hudson conceive that the party was an actual member of every congregation,—and that when one congregation cuts the party off from his particular membership he had with it, by the same act it cuts him off from all the others: if this be his meaning, there be as many mistakes almost as words in such expressions, and therefore the inference must be wholly destitute of strength and truth. . . .

"Those two places, Eph. iii. 21, John x. 16, are either understood of the church invisible, as the circumstances seem to intimate; or else they show that unity, and so community, of the dispensation of Christ, in all the churches of the Gentiles, with which the general nature of a church . . . fully suits; and therefore give no appearance of a proof for *catholica ecclesia visibilis*, as 'totum integrale' and 'aggregatum.'

" . . . This bottom breaking, there needs no battery further to be erected against the rest of the discourse; it moulders away without any more ado. . . . Only for a close, I shall be bold to offer some few considerations . . . touching some 'propositions,' two whereof are expressed in the tenth and eleventh conclusions; the third and last, may be found in the eleventh page. . . .

"i. 'Those parts'—that is, a particular congregation,—'are limited and distinguished from others by the civil and prudential limits, for conveniency of meeting and maintenance, and transacting of business.' . . . When the christian church of the 'hundred and twenty' was erected in Jerusalem, Acts i. 15, beside the church of the Jews formerly instituted and yet not abrogated; was it ground sufficient thus to conclude, Because they are in the same city, therefore they are the same church? I suppose the inference will be judged unsound by all. . . .

"ii. 'The membership of a particular church is devolved on him by God's disposing providence, . . . into the place allotted out, by Civil Prudence, for such a particular society to enjoy such ordinances of God conveniently together.' . . . No Civil rule can give an Ecclesiastical right: because those are two kinds of government opposite one against the other; and each of them entire and complete within itself. . . . God's people are a free people, and their combination issues from free consent. . . .

"iii. 'Particular churches are made up of the members . . . primarily, not because they are members of the particular churches, but of the catholic.' . . . If particular churches be made up of the members of the catholic; then, the 'catholic church'

and the 'members' thereof must have a being, before *either* can give a being to the 'particular:' but I see no rule of reason nor testimony of holy Writ as yet, to settle such an assertion. . .

"CHAP. xvi.—We have now done with Church Power: Of Church Communion, as it is a peculiar Privilege to the Member of a Church.—The privileges of the church present themselves next to our consideration. . . And here we shall make the entrance of our inquiry about that question propounded and largely debated by Mr. Rutherford, bk. ii. p. 269, 'Whether ordinary Hearing be a part of church communion?' . . . Communion, according to the nature of the word, implies ever something common to many, wherein they share by way of proportion, each person according to his condition and place. . . The communion of the church, lies either in the things which they do enjoy, as sacraments, censures; or else, the special manner appropriated to them in their dispensations. And though the things sometimes be common to other besides the church, yet the manner of dispensing, and so of enjoying these, is always peculiar to the church. . . It is plain from Mr. Rutherford's own grant, that the ordinance itself, nor the public dispensation thereof, nor the hearing of the dispensation, do make church-communion. . . Therefore, we are to inquire what he meaneth by 'set' and 'ordinary,' bk. ii. p. 269; and 'professed' and 'resolved hearing,' p. 270. . .

"The preacher may, in preaching, edify the church met for that end, and convince an 'infidel' coming in occasionally; 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25. And yet the 'infidel' doth not join in church-communion, though [he doth join] in hearing the Word preached: . . . hence, the 'infidel' may be converted, and so enjoy the benefit of the ordinance and be built upon Christ, at that his occasional coming; and so, join in worship with them and yet not in church-worship. . . by Mr. Rutherford's own grant [bk. ii. p. 270]. Hence, the 'infidel' may be called by others, and being so called, he may come and hear and partake in the worship, and yet not as church-hearing or worship. Hence, church-hearing will be then church-communion when, by virtue of church-covenant, they put forth church-power in dispensing; and persons, in virtue of that relation, stand bound to submit, in attending to such administrations; and thus, all the Members hear: but the 'infidel' hears upon another ground, and so shares in the act but is not under the church-power and manner of the dispensation of that act; and therefore, his hearing is not church-hearing. . . Hence, this hearing doth not separate a visible member in genere notorium visibilium; because it belongs to an 'infidel' also: . . . nor doth this hearing bring the hearer under any tie. [All which, are so many answers to his six Arguments.]

".. If this 'hearing' would make a person [to be] of such a flock, and so the minister, his pastor; then, this kind of hearing of a wicked and unworthy minister, would make a man partake with him in that sinful station of his. Which [to do] hath ever been accounted irrational, in [by] those who have been rigid in their Separation. . .

"Heathen come not within the privilege-respect of a brother in church-communion [1 Cor. v. 13; Matt. xviii. 17] though they come to church-hearing. . .

"When the pastor did preach, authoritatively, in his congregation, he did not only dispense the Word unto his people—as one out of office may do—but he could by virtue of his office and relation enjoin them to hear it: they, in virtue of their relation to him as a pastor, could expect and require it from him. Yet 'heathen' coming in *obiter*, they partake of the good of the dispensation but are not under the authoritative power of the dispenser; so that he by his authority could not require them to hear, nor they by any relative interest to his power could challenge him to speak to them. . .

CHAP. LXXIII.

HOOKER'S AND COTTON'S "SURVEY." PARTS II—IV.

"PART II.—Of the Church, considered as Corpus Organicum.

"CHAP. i.—Of the Number of Officers therein, and the Nature thereof—. . . A church without officers, is a true church in regard of the essence of it: . . . but it is not complete but lame and maimed in regard of the integrity [or entireness] of it. The Lord Christ therefore hath provided for the perfection of his church in this behalf also. . . Eph. iv. 8, 11, 12. . . He is a Head political, by outward guidance and government, as well as a Head mystical, by his special and spiritual conveyance of his grace. The consideration of the nature, institution, and operations, of Officers, hath a constraining power to conclude this truth beyond all control. . .

"For the officers of the church, which are now standing and ordinary, there is required a visible company of people that must concur and consent to *call* them. The persons must be tried and approved—and therefore, visible—that must be called. God sets ordinary officers in his church, but it is by man, and therefore he must 'know them.' [1 Thess. v. 12]. . .

"Touching the number of these officers, generally two things are to be attended, i. Whether besides these five appointed by Christ, any more can lawfully be added, or should be tolerated? . . . The offices of the Deacons and Widows. . . Elders. . . the Pastor, and the Teacher. . . The Church of Scotland complains bitterly that a constant Moderator made way for a Bishop, and so for the bane of their churches! . . . ii. The other thing in general to be observed is, That they must be kept distinct: . . . one person must not endeavour to engross all nor several of these together: as, to be ruling-elder and pastor, or one and the same man to be elder and deacon; for it is apparent by the apostle's discourse, Rom. xii. 7, 8, that they are put in way of opposition as *membra dividentia*,—*ἔιτε ὁ διδάσκων ἔιτε ὁ παρακαλῶν*,—therefore cannot be in subordination or subjection one to the other. . . All the 'members' have not one and the same office; *οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν*; ver. 4. It is therefore wide, to say as Mr. Rutherford, 'that this comparison holdeth not in all;' because it must hold in the very thing that is intended, yea, specified; for this is the hinge upon which the comparison turns, ver. 4, 5, and the ground of the apostle's inference, *ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα διάφορα*, ver. 6. . . 'The apostles did exercise both;'. . . since they, so assisted, saw reason to lay down one that they might improve the other, none will dare to take up both unless he will presume he hath greater both sufficiency and ability than the apostles! . . . This may suffice, for the number.

"We shall now take a survey of the several [particulars or sorts]; . . . and we begin with the 'Ruling Elder's' place, for that carries a kind of simplicity with it; . . . *quo simplicius, eo prius*. . . That there is such an office and officer appointed by Christ. . . hath been maintained by many of Christ's worthies; . . . and now at last by those two famous and eminent champions, Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Gillespie. So that we have no controversy here, but with hierarchical persons, the force and power of whose arguments lie especially in a pursuivant and a prison, armed with authority of a High-Commission! And therefore we shall content ourselves to settle the Scriptures shortly upon their basis and bottom. . .

"The first argument, we have from Rom. xii. 7, 8, . . . where all these officers are numbered and named expressly. . . The 'gifts' here mentioned and considered are not such as have reference to a Civil, but to an Ecclesiastical condition; 'one body in Christ,' ver. 5. The operations also, which issue from the several functions, evidence as much. . . 'Gifts' here, are not such as be common and belong to all christians, as faith, hope, love, holiness, etc. Those gifts are here meant by which the 'members' of the 'body' of Christ are distinct one from another and have several acts appropriated to them; as ver. 4, 5, *τὰ μέλη πάντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σώμα*, etc. . . *Ἐἴτε ὁ διδάσκων ἔιτε ὁ παρακαλῶν* ver. 7, 8; the weight of the phrase, having the article in that manner added, notes

not every 'member,' but some by way of eminency. . . Had they been private 'gifts,' one would have contained the other, as 'distributing' might be included in 'showing of mercy.' These public functions and 'gifts' are ranged and referred to two heads: . . . *Προφητεία ὁ ἐιδικῶν, ὁ παρακαλῶν . Διακονία, ὁ μετακίδου, ὁ προϊστάμενος, ὁ ἐλεῶν* so that 'prophecy' and 'ministry' are here put as common heads unto which the rest may be referred: . . . the first distinction the apostle expresseth in the plural; the second in the singular. Beza *in locum*. So that it is a mere conceit . . . of such who say that Paul intended to set down the several functions in the church: then, there should be seven, not five; making 'prophecy' and 'ministry' two, when these are not distinct species, but two general heads unto which the particulars were referred. . .

"The second argument, is taken from 1 Cor. xii. 28, . . . The functions the apostle here names were partly extraordinary and so temporary, serving the necessity of the church in that estate; . . . some were ordinary and to continue . . . The 'gifts,' themselves are expressed in the abstract; *ἀντιλήψεις; κυβερνήσεις* . . . when the apostle says *ἕς μὲν*, though there be an apparent *ἀνανταποδοτον*, yet *ἕς ἐί* is to be understood, and that hath a . . . necessary reference to the persons: look to the words after ver. 29, 30, he interprets the 'gifts' by the persons in the second repetition; *μὴ πάντες ἀπόστολοι; . . . μὴ πάντες χαρίσματα ἔχουσιν ἰαμάτων*. . . It is most apparent in some of the particulars, [that] though the apostles did prophesy and teach, yet prophets and doctors were special functions appropriate to some men; so also were deacons: and therefore also, it hinders not but 'governments' might be a special kind of rulers distinct from 'teachers.' From which premises the dispute issues thus, as 'apostles, prophets, and teachers,' are distinct, so are 'helps and governments' distinct. . .

"A third argument is taken from that famous place, 1 Tim. v. 17; which is full to our purpose. . . Do but suffer the 'deacon' to lay aside the care of the poor; make him half a priest, give him the allowance that he may baptize, but not give the sacrament of the supper; raise the 'ruling-elder' one stair higher, that he may be a 'teaching presbyter;' by this time, the Bishop is beyond the bound of an ordinary 'elder,' and with a little help he will be handed up into a diocesan palace; and one lift more will make him a Primate; and if the kings of the earth favour him, he will make himself a Pope presently; for they differ but in degrees, not in kind! . . . A 'ruling-elder' . . . if he be confined within his compass, the wings of Pope and Prelate will be exceedingly clipped and their power impeached. . . I shall satisfy myself to give the native [original] and natural [unforced] sense of the words. . . The form of the context stands thus: when the apostle . . . had directed to the right choice of the 'widow'. . . he intimates also his mind how she should be respected by the church in whose service she is employed; 'honour widows,' ver. 3. . . And from thence he takes occasion to leave an apostolical canon upon record, how the 'elders' of the churches should be provided for: to wit, the lowest degree of 'rulers' are worthy . . . of 'double honour,' . . . that which may answer their places, employments, and prayers. But the 'elders' . . . of the highest rank and whose place requires laboriousness in 'Word and doctrine,' they may most especially challenge . . . this 'double honour,' ver. 17, 18. The words carry a distribution with them; . . . the persons and offices being the things compared, it is certain they must be distinct persons. . . By the apostle's peremptory determination, the meanest Minister that is conscientious and laborious in *preaching*, should have more honourable respect than the Diocesan who sits in his Cathedral, and under the name of 'ruling,' tyrannizeth over the poor people, but labours not to feed them with the 'Word' of life! To the evidence of the text, we may add the testimony of Ambrose, which carries an amazing kind of manifestation and discovery with it. 'Apud omnes ubique gentes honorabilis est senectus, unde et Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia *Seniores* habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesâ, quod quâ negligentia obsoleverit, nescio, nisi forte Doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri.' The brightness and *patness* of the witness is such as though it had been writ with a beam of the sun, and dazzles almost the eyes of envy itself. . . I shall leave a mark or two of remembrance upon the words, that the wisehearted reader may be made *cautulous*; and so, fenced against all such forgeries of devices which the carnal reasons of men of corrupt minds have coined and vented to take off the evidence of [in] the testimony. Let him know then, first, that the 'Elders' mentioned by Ambrose, were such that

their places and offices were almost 'worn out' . . in his time ; but that the office of preaching-elders was not : *ergo*, those 'Elders' were not such. Secondly ; that the defacing of the power and rule of these 'elders' came, as he conjectures, partly by the 'idleness' but especially by the 'pride' of 'Teachers,' because they alone might be lifted up : *ergo*, these 'Elders,' could not be 'Teachers;' for those 'Teachers' laboured to destroy the place and power of these 'Elders.' . . Again ; the 'Teachers,' it is said . . their aim was to make themselves alone 'eminent ; . . eminent, by the disannulling of the honour of others' places : [*ergo*,] they [those 'Elders'] could not be such who were of that rank. . . And this is sufficient to wipe away all such exceptions . . to weaken the authority . . of this . . testimony, which hath, and doth torment all the Prelatical party !

"We are now to inquire, What be the duties of their places ? and that with so much brevity as we may. . . Some [duties] he [the 'ruling elder'] hath in common with the Pastor and Teacher ; some, be proper and peculiar to himself. . The duties which are in common to him [them] with the rest of the 'teaching elders' [if there be more than one], are . . before the Assembly meets, or when the Assembly is met. Before, . . when there is any emergent occasion : . . for they are [each, or] all 'leaders ;' all 'governors ;' all 'watchmen,' in this common work ; and must have a common influence of counsel. . . Heb. xiii. 17 ; 1 Cor. xii. 28 ; Acts. xx. 28. . . Offences ; . . it belongs to them all, by way of pre-consideration and preparation, to ripen the occasions, . . that the understanding of the meanest in the congregation may be able . . to pass sentence answerably. . . When the church is met in the ordering of the proceeding of any public . . act, . . the ['ruling] elder' . . hath liberty and authority to interpose his judgment . . without any leave asked ; order and decency only observed.

"The duties which peculiarly . . are appropriate to his [the 'ruling-elder's'] place . . concern the carriage and [or] demeanour of the members in their more private way. . . When under the exercise of God's hand they . . be exercised with any spiritual wants ; . . and are not able to pray for themselves ; Jas. v. 14. . . And by the same parity . . of reason, if any want comfort . . or through ignorance are not able to understand the things delivered [in the public dispensations] they may call for the help of the ['ruling] elder' in private. . . And hence it follows, that he hath power to inquire of the condition . . of such of the members. . . Any uncomely and uncomfortable differences arising betwixt the members, he is to set himself . . to remove and still them. . . Touching the carriage of any of the congregation to those that are 'without,' . . it appertains to his place . . that if false, it may be cleared ; if just, the party may be censured, and the credit of the Gospel so provided for. . . Such as are willing to join with the congregation . . he is . . to take special consideration of their persons and conditions ; . . and to lead the whole Assembly in the work of their admission by presenting them to trial [and] calling for their allowance and approbation by vote. And it seems to us to follow from hence, that in case the censure of excommunication is to be administered, it appertains to him to lead the action and pronounce the sentence. . . For how unequal and unreasonable would it seem to a man acquainted with the weight and work of the ministry, that when the Pastor or Teacher should be attending upon reading, and searching the sense and mind of God in the Word ; . . 'Who is sufficient for such things ?' . . that they should be then taken off their studies, and be found to attend upon men's special weaknesses or wants . . so that the one must of necessity be neglected, or they [be] distracted in both ? Whereas this appointment of our Saviour provides for both, without any prejudice or disadvantage to either !

"That which presents itself next to our consideration is, The Office of the Pastor, and then the Teacher's. . . The scope of the Pastor's 'office' is to work upon the will and the affections ; and by savoury, powerful, and affectionate application of the Truth delivered, to chafe it into the heart ; to woo and win the soul to the love . . the approbation and practice, of 'the doctrine which is according to godliness ;' and hence he that exhorts is enjoined to attend upon 'exhortation,' Rom. xii. 8. . . The Teacher's Office : . . there is a 'doctor' *in Scholâ, in Ecclesiâ* ; both have their special use, . . but the second is here meant, for he is given to the church for the gathering and perfecting 'of the body,' and that is, of the church or congregation. . . That wherein he shares in common with the Pastor is that they have, both of them, authority and right, delegated from Christ, to consecrate and to administer the sacraments. . . When I say, preach, out of authority of office ; I so speak

because, as we have formerly disputed, 'Brethren' who are qualified may, as occasion shall require and they [be] invited thereunto, preach or publicly open the Scripture; . . . and yet not do it out [because] of office. . . The aim and scope of the 'Doctor' is to inform the judgment and help forward the work of illumination in the mind and understanding, and thereby to make way for the Truth, that it may be settled and fastened upon the heart; and [he] is therefore enjoined to attend unto 'teaching,' Rom. xii. 7. Not that it is not lawful for him to administer a word of 'exhortation' as it were by the way; but . . . that is not his main work; . . . and therefore a 'word of knowledge' is said to be given to him, 1 Cor. xii. 8. Hence all such dispensations which do properly and immediately conduce to this end, do belong, in an especial manner, to him. . .

"The controversy which hath exercised the world since that 'man of sin' was advanced into the chair of ambition, and [which] falls in here, is 'Whether Episcopus and Presbyter be the same, jure Divino?' . . . Episcopus, is threefold; Divinus, Humanus, Satanicus. A Bishop, by *Divine* institution, is such an officer which Christ hath set in his church; . . . and such are Pastors and Doctors, Tit. i. 7; 1 Tim. v. 17. *Humanus*, is a President or constant Moderator chosen by consent of Ministers meeting and consulting about the affairs of their churches in their common consociations. . . Prevent that irregularity of fixing such an employment constantly upon one man, there is nothing . . . but may be tolerated in consociations, . . . as emergent occasions shall require. *Satanicus*, is such an Episcopus which the enemy, Satan, actuating the pride . . . of men, hath . . . brought into the church; that so he might midwife Antichrist into the world, this being the next step to 'that Man of sin:' and he becomes Princeps-Episcopus who, by his insolency hath . . . at last confirmed even a monarchical power unto himself. And however the Pope—the Universal Bishop—is the 'Man of sin,' yet the Bishop—especially when he is ascended into his Archbishop's chair—is the same, but only considered in his minority, as the *Child* of sin, or the 'Man of sin' in his boyhood! . . . He appropriates to himself to be Rector and Judex. . . The Scripture owns no such officer. . . If 'Pastors and Doctors' Eph. iv. 11, be sufficient teaching-ministries to perfect the church, 'until we come to the unity of the faith,' ver. 13, then there needs no more but these. . . That prime place of Jerome, ad Evagrium, shows the charter whence all the authority was derived, Unum ex se electum in altiori gradu collocarunt, quem Episcopum nominaverunt! Whence it follows, that 'bishops' were first presbyters; that they had their first election and constitution from them, and therefore presbyters had their rise and ordination before bishops; therefore, if they can give ordination to bishops, they can give it to presbyters also; they who have the same commission, they have the same power from Christ; . . . John xx. 21, 'Prout me misit Pater, ego mitto vos'.

" . . . The apostle, when he had considered that the Lord had put 'life' and 'death' into the hands of the dispensers of the Word, he cries out 'Who is sufficient for these things?' 2 Cor. ii. 16. And if no man be 'sufficient,' it is, then, needful every man should bestow his whole strength upon it. Hence, it is unlawful for a Minister to be a Magistrate. . . It is beyond any ordinary ability to undertake to discharge both, unless he would wrong both. . . That channel was wide enough wherein the full stream and strength of their [the apostles'] endeavours might be laid out unto the utmost, Acts vi. 2, 4. . . A good steward lays in 'old' and 'new,' or else he could not bring it out; Matt. xiii. 52; 1 Tim. iv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 13: partly in his dispensation, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2; Acts xx. 34. . . He that goes to war, doth not entangle himself in the things of this life; 2 Tim. ii. 4. . .

"As he [the Minister] puts forth his effectual working and the full employment of his time and strength for the good of the church; the 'body' also, should, jointly, put forth their effectual working for his temporal good: so that they should make provision for him and his family in the things 'of this life.' . . Provisions in this kind, is 'wages,' and not benevolence: Matt. x. 10. . . And the apostle determines it by the verdict of all laws; . . . of nature, 1 Cor. ix. 9; of nations, ver. 7; . . . of God, ver. 14. They must not live of their patrimony, but 'of the Gospel:' as instance, ver. 13. . . This provision should be so honourable and comfortable as that it may attain the end for the which it was appointed by God; and so collected by the people and given to the ministers. . . And if they must not entangle themselves in the businesses 'of this life,' the church must not be an occasion [that] they should! . . . They must be 'given to hospitality,' 1 Tim. iii. 2, and therefore they

must have such supply as that they may not provide for their own comforts only for [the] present, and lay in for this in a faithful way of providence, but that they may be able to give comfortable entertainment to strangers as opportunity shall be offered [3 John 8]. Touching the order, how this may be raised; that place of the apostle is of all other most pregnant . . . Gal. vi. 6. . . That from whence it must be raised is—*ἐν πάσιν ἀγαθοῖς* [in all goods]; that is, ‘all good things’ that are communicable: . . . whatever ‘good things’ he [a man] may make common, if he have for himself and to spare, he should communicate according to his place; portion, and proportion. . . In all there must be a communication; as if they [the ‘body’] have land, lots, meadows, cattle, etc., so must the ‘body’ provide for them [the ministers:] so provisions for clothing, diet, or any choice comfort that God casts in occasionally which may be communicated, they should even of those special communicate. The persons that must do this, . . . every one ‘that is taught;’ whether servant or master, bond or free, rich or poor; yea, though, in other cases, he receive contribution, yet when or wherein God betrusts him with any good thing wherein he may communicate; and if he find the Word powerful, he will be provoked to do it. And against this I know no judicious and pious Divine, unless it be such as are taken up too much with a tang [relish] of a Popish and Jewish way of tithing. . . Upon this ground laid I shall take leave to add several things.

“This way of maintenance is most safe, and certainly, in the times of the Gospel, most suitable to the mind of God. . . This maintenance is sufficient, and abundantly satisfactory to answer the work that is done, and the end to which it is given. . . Not only many, but all, bring in something of all they have. . . And here there is a latitude given to divers apprehensions: some conceive the Lord’s treasury being committed to the Deacons for supply of all tables of officers and the tables of the poor, both its [the assembly’s] own and others,—that this treasury should be furnished every Lord’s day by the freewill offerings of the assembly, every one casting into it as God hath blessed him; 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3. They also conceive [that] this rule, of Gal. vi. 6, may be attended in this way. . . Others again, conceive that the maintenance mentioned in the foregoing place [in Cor. xvi.] cannot be fully raised by a treasury common to the poor and [the] ministers; nor can it be gathered upon the Sabbath day. . . This coupling of the poor and [the] ministers in one common treasury, [say they] confounds the works of justice and mercy; for the poor who are to be relieved out of mercy they share in the contributions which are put in out of a just recompense of wages to the ministers. . . It should be no breach of love, that each church follow her own light herein. In case any member shall fail in this free contribution . . . it appertains to the church to see the reformation of that evil, as of any other scandal; and therefore . . . how it may be regulated, . . . the church is, according to God, to determine it; and the deacons, according to such a determination, are to seek the execution of it. . . It is most suitable to rule, that each man should know his proportion . . . that so his judgment and heart may be satisfied in what he doth, and just offence [be] prevented in what is done.

“This way of raising maintenance, appointed in the Gospel, is far differing from that way of tithing, in the Law. . . Those tithes . . . were out of ‘the seed of the land, the fruit of the trees, or of the herd of the flock:’ Levit. xxvii. 30, 32; Deut. xiv. 22, 23. . . The Levites were to receive the first tenth, and pay ‘the tenth of the tenth’ unto the priests, Neh. x. 38; so that if the patrons of tithing look at the command given to the Jew, as a moral law, they must confine themselves precisely to the prescript form thereof; therefore, the ministers must have the tenth of a tenth [only,] and from them haply who were never ‘taught’ by them! . . .

“Of Deacons.—The name ‘deacon’ . . . signifies as much as to administer; and implies any kind of administration, whether civil or ecclesiastical. . . In a more special signification, it includes . . . ‘deacons; widows.’ As in that place, Phil. i. 1; a place very remarkable, . . . ‘To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi;’ there is the body of the congregation; and then [Paul] adds, ‘with the bishops and deacons:’ in these two expressions [or appellations] all the rulers are to be understood: pastors, and doctors, and elders, are comprehended under the name of ‘bishops.’ [so] Paul styles them, Acts xx. 28, [‘overseers’]. . . The second word is ‘deacons,’ such as administer to members weak in their estates, or the poor; or weak in their bodies, or such as be sick; and so both these [deacons and widows] are comprehended in 1 Cor. xii. 28, ‘helps.’ . . Most strictly, and as it concerns our purpose in hand, it sets out such officers who are designed, by the

church, to dispose [dispense] the estate and treasure thereof to their several purposes. . . That this is a distinct office in the church, several scriptures give undeniable evidence: Rom. xii. 7, 'he that distributes:'. . . were this a christian duty common to all, the apostle would overthrow his own purpose; for he should have showed things agreeing to all alike, when he should have shown that some things are peculiar. . . 1 Tim. iii. 8—10: . . and lastly, do we look into Acts vi. 1, 2, 6, we may see the ground and occasion of the institution and scope of their calling. . . Whence, it is apparent that this was a public office: . . that this their service was about the attendance of 'tables,' etc.: . . the full and careful attendance unto this work could not stand with careful, constant, and conscientious attendance unto the ministry of the Word, as ver. 2; therefore 'provide men' fit for this thing, etc. ver. 3, 4: these cannot stand together; we must either lay aside the one or prejudice the work of both. . . It appears, what the Episcopal ordination of a deacon is, whereby they make him half a priest, or a priest in preparation. . . This 'the mystery of iniquity' hath eaten into the frame and wholly defaced the institution of our Saviour, so that there is nothing of an evangelical ordinance that can be discerned!

"The first error—which was indeed the first inlet into the usurpation of the bishop, and exaltation of the 'Man of sin'—was that they lifted him [the deacon] up above his place, and crowded him into a corner of the pastor's office, giving him right to baptize, which is directly cross to the order of Christ. . . If any man shall say, they may attend both [tables, and the pastors' or doctors' place]; the practice and profession of the apostles will confute and confound such a conceit; Acts vi. 4. . . The gifts of 'Deacons'. . . 1 Tim. iii. 8 . . are such as will not furnish a man to be a Minister: . . it is not required [that] *he* should be 'apt to teach' [as ver. 2]. . . Stephen's was not a sermon, but an apology . . for the clearing of his person and cause; Acts vii. Philip was an 'evangelist'. . . Acts xxi. 8. . . *Βασιμὸς*, in 1 Tim. iii. 13, is not a 'degree' of the Ministry; but . . a good 'standing' in the church: . . for, as we have formerly said, If a man may be a fit deacon and yet, by some impediment in his utterance, can never be a minister; then, is he not by his deaconship, in any necessary preparation thereunto. . . This 'deacon' being the steward or treasurer of the church, the thing for which he is mainly to be employed, as for which he [his office] was ordained [instituted?] . . for the benefit of the 'body'. . . He must address himself, with much observance, to receive those provisions which shall, or ought to, be committed to his trust. . . It is for him to inform himself, by advice and counsel from the 'body,' what every man's 'freewill offering' should be: . . for though the church-contribution be a freewill offering in regard it should willingly and with a ready heart be tendered unto God, yet neither in the Old Testament nor under the New [1 Cor. xvi. 2] the thing itself, nor yet the measure, was left to a man's own dispose [*sic*] or liberty: compare Deut. xvi. 10, with Levit. xxii. 18, 19. . . Upon this information and direction, given by the 'body,' he must observe whether each 'member' perform this his due and duty; and in case he shall fail, he is to admonish him; . . and in case he reform not, . . bring him to the censure of the church. What is . . but promised, he must give attendance . . to require it; that thus . . he may not be to seek, [when] succour may be wanting. . . Rom. xii. 8, 'he that distributes,' this implies and includes all the rest; for he that must distribute, he must gather, he must keep it by him: thus his office is said to attend 'tables,' that is, to lay out the revenues and treasury of the church as may be behoveful: to provide elements for the Lord's table; . . for the table of the poor, that is, for all their wants; . . for the tables of the ministers . . according to that debt which the church owes to them in the way of wages. And here his providence, faithfulness, and pains, will fully be employed.

"PT. II. CHAP. ii.—Wherein the Nature of Ordination is discussed; and the Seventeenth Chapter of Mr. Rutherford is considered and answered, as touching the Power he giveth to a Pastor in, and over, other Congregations besides his own.— . . Whereas it is said, p. 264, that we make 'ordination and election of pastors, all one, by a mistake;'. . . we shall take leave therefore to insist upon these particulars, by way of inquiry:

"i. Whether Ordination is, in Nature, before Election? That which occasions an inquiry here is the words . . of worthy Mr. Rutherford, p. 265, 'Ordination, is that which formally makes . . a pastor: the people's election doth only appropriate the man's ministry.'. . . P. 267, 'It is presupposed, by order of nature, that

A. B. is first called, and ordained a pastor, by Christ, and the laying on of the hands of the elders, 1 Tim. iv. 14, before the people elect him for their pastor: for if A. B. be no pastor, the people cannot choose him to be their pastor; neither doth the people's election give any such power to A. B.' . . P. 269, ' . . People's election appropriateth such a man who is already a pastor, to such a charge, but doth not make the pastor a pastor; but chooseth him only to be their pastor.'

"I confess I find some such expressions as these in Bellarmine; . . but Dr. Ames seasonably tells him, he placeth the cart before the horse, Anti Bellar., vol. ii. lib. iii. cap. De Ordinatio. p. 76. I know also, that it is a popish course which our prelates use . . that they ordain a priest, and . . the bishop sends the man to take possession of his parish and tithes, and the poor multitude suffer themselves so far to be befooled and oppressed. . . But I cannot meet with any judicious writer, who either knew or maintained the course of the Reformed Churches, that placeth ordination before election! Nor did I ever conceive that to be the order of Christ: for I have taken it for granted what Cyprian says, 'Videmus de divinâ autoritate descendere, ut sacerdos, plebe præsentē, sub omnium oculis delegatur, et dignus et idoneus, publico iudicio et testimonio comprobetur; Lib. i. ep. iv: . . Of Chemnitius: . . Musculus: . . the Magdeburgenses: . . Honourable Plesse: . . Calvin and Beza: . . judicious Ames, in his Medulla—libro nunquam satis laudato—' Electionis adjunctum consequens et consummans est ordinatio, quæ nihil aliud est quam solemnem quædam introductio ministri jam electi in ipsius functionis liberam executionem; ' Lib. i. cap. 39, sec. 34. To which agrees his expression, in his Bellarm. Enervat.—Vol. ii. lib. iii. cap. 2. De Vocat. Minist. p. 76.—' election gives jus ad rem; ordination, jus in re.' . . I issue all with Gerson Bucer, Dissert. de Guber. p. 334. . . And in the following discourse, I hope it shall appear, That Ordination doth depend upon the people's lawful election, as an effect upon the cause, by virtue of which it is fully administered. . .

"ii. Whether Ordination gives all the Essentials to an Officer? 1. How far the Essentials of the ministry or minister, may be given by man; calls for some special disquisition: because it will appear, upon trial, that the contrivement of these truths is so secret and subtle that it drives men into divers conceivings as not being able to discern how, in the work of the institution of the ministry, the Essentials come to be woven together; the thread is so fine spun that the dim eye of man's discerning can hardly find it or follow it, much less cut it! And because there is here no small difficulty, and it is the very hinge upon which many weighty consequences, and, in truth, controversies, turn; I shall be bold to offer some things to consideration . . by several conclusions. . .

"Conclus. 1. There is a causal virtue put forth, in a subordinate way, by some under Christ, to bring in the formality, or specific being, of an Ecclesiastical office to a person or party that is called thereunto or stands possessed thereof.

" . . All agree in this, . . —the frenzy of some Familists and Anabaptists only excepted, who cashier all governments and governors or rulers out of churches and commonwealths . . —all, I say, that are willing to be led with the light of any reason, do readily grant there should be an outward call. In the lowest order and office, [that] of a deacon, this was observed, . . Acts vi. 5, 6: and it is a staple and standing rule which teacheth all, by proportion, Heb. v. 4. . . Gal. i. 1, 'men' did not institute the office of an apostle, as the authors of it; nor was it 'by man,' as the instrumental cause, conveyed over unto Paul; but it was every way immediately from God. There are, therefore, in reason—as all judicious [commentators] collect out of the place—these two ways of dispensation to be attended; first, when God, immediately, institutes . . any place of authority; and immediately also, from himself, appoints the person thereunto: thus, the calling, and persons called; namely, of the apostles, were from God, immediately. [The] second way of dispensation is mediate: when . . the Lord . . doth use other instruments for the communication of this authority, and the investing of a person with a right to exercise [it], and yet still the office be truly said to be His alone. And herein the popish usurpation in appointing orders, and the orders appointed by them, appear to be totally antichristian; . . because they are 'of man' and 'by man.' . . But those [orders] which the church, according to the institution and allowance of Christ takes up; those are wholly from him; . . yet are they by the church, to whom He hath, first, delegated power, and, in a subordinate manner, by such instruments as he sees fit, conveys a right to some persons that they may possess

such places and exercise such offices. . . [That officers must of necessity be invested with a right, or *jus*] . . . we see it plain, because without this Call, none can warrantably do any act, . . . he hath not the specific form of an officer, . . . whatever is done . . . is void. The strength, validity, and efficacy, of an outward Call herein appears beyond gainsaying, if it proceed from such who may give it by rule; because . . . he is then a complete and true officer and may act any part of his office though not *inwardly* graced and fitted worthily to such a place, or work, by God. ‘The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses’ chair,’ Matt. xxiii. 2, that is, had this outward Call to that office; therefore they must be *heard*, by God’s own charge, ver. 3, though they were most unworthy men; . . . ver. 16, 27. . . And therefore there is more than ‘mediatio subjecti’ considered, in the giving of this outward Call, if we look at the rigour of the phrase. . . This ‘mediatio subjecti,’ then, is to be attended not so much in regard of the parties that are taken to office, but in regard of those who, in a subordinate way, are instruments under Christ; and so, as instruments, put forth ‘a causal virtue’ to leave the impression of an office-right upon another. For otherwise, we shall not be able to find and maintain any mediate calling. . . In Acts xiv. 23, the scope of the place is to show what provision the apostle made for the churches in supplying them with officers . . . which, before, they had not; but now . . . they, under God, gave a being of an outward Call to such persons to sustain that place . . . which formerly they had no power to execute.

“Conclus. 2. Hence it follows . . . That it is an act of power, as an instrument, or means, under Christ, to give an officer the being of an outward Call in the church. . . He or they who give the external Call, or leave the impression of the power of office upon another; they have the power of judging that other; they cause that, virtually, which another hath, formally; not they, themselves.

“The next thing that comes to consideration is, 2. By what means the Essentials of this power may be conveyed? And here . . . we shall . . . show . . . what doth not give this power; . . . and then . . . what doth. The negative we shall lay forth in two conclusions.

“Conclus. 1. Ordination—as it is popishly dispensed, under the opinion of a sacrament, and as having the impression of an ‘indelible character,’—doth *not* communicate the Essence of this outward call.

“What is the Popish sense here, the Prelates—being their proper successors, who tread in their steps and keep their path for the most part, in church-discipline,—cordially and privily maintain, though they be not so willing openly to profess; and therefore, though they will not have all the world know that they hold seven sacraments—and so, that of ‘Order’ to be one,—by full expression; yet they intimate some such thing by the ambiguity of their language, which those who are their familiars can easily scent out: as namely there are but ‘two sacraments, absolutely [two only, as generally,] *sic* their Catechism in the book of Common Prayer, etc.] necessary to salvation.’ . . . But for the ‘indelible character’ . . . to make up the formality of a ‘priest;’^a that, to my own knowledge I have heard stoutly defended and determined, in the schools of the University. . . The refined secrecy and subtilty of this speculation, is so high, that it forced the Schoolmen to snuff the candle so near that they put out the light. For first, they will have it a quality diverse from grace; only a preparation thereunto: secondly, it must be common to all that receive the sacrament; truly or feignedly such: thirdly, it must be fixed and engraven in the soul in that ‘indelible’ manner so that it cannot be blotted out, nor burnt out in the flames of hell!

“And in truth, we cannot easily see the sleight and cunning in carving out this ‘character;’ for the aim of this device was threefold. First, that the dignity of the Episcopacy might be advanced. . . Secondly, that the honour of priesthood,—as papists and prelates speak—might be maintained, some special excellency must be left upon it. And because the baseness of the carriage of that popish crew might bring their persons and places out of esteem, therefore they must have some ‘character’ that could not be defaced! . . . Thirdly, because the right of the one, in what he gave; and the worth of the other in what he received; had no reality;

^a “Ministerial Power is a *mark* of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special Order.” R. Hooker’s Eccles. Polity, bk. v. sect. 77. Hanbury’s Edit. 1830. vol. ii. p. 372, and notes upon the place.

therefore they must join something as a far-fetched conceit, that the secrecy might hold men in admiration of that which passed their apprehension; and thence came the minting [inventing] of this mysterious nothing! . . .

“The School[men], who commonly, when they attend their own liberty of dispute, will speak out; they are so dazzled in their own sayings that they do, in issue, as much as profess they know not what they say. Some, that it [‘this indelible character’] cannot be gathered from the sacred Scriptures, nor the testimony of the Fathers, nor from natural reason.^a Others, that authority only gave it life, and that non multum antiquam.^b Some, that reason doth not demonstrate it, nor evident authority prove it.^c Nay lastly; that the determination of the Church—in whose bowels it was bred and had its being, if anywhere—is not express in the point.^d And hence, they cannot tell what to make of it: one while, it is ens relatam; as Durand and Scotus: another while, it must be ens absolutum, as Thomas: whither to refer it, they cannot conclude!

“Some, will have it in the first species of a quality;^e some, in the second:^f others choose the third;^g others, the fourth.^h And all these, like the Midianites, at daggers drawing among themselves, seek, by might and main, how to confirm their own imagination, how to confute others: thus, when they would have it, they cannot tell where to find it, where to set it; some will have the ‘understanding’ to be the subject of it, as Thomas; some, the ‘will’ as Scotus.

“That it is no ‘saving’ grace they will all confess; because the worst of men may have it: that it is no ‘common’ grace; because it doth appertain only to some persons in Order [Orders]: but it must be a ‘supernatural’ quality which perfects the soul, and makes the man like to Christ; and continues with him [even] in hell! a pretty tale! . . . It is a ‘common’ quality, in regard of man’s nature: it is not omni, nor soli; and it hath no special inseparable principle in the soul, which should make it inseparable.

“So the sum which returns after so much ado, is this, we have found a mysterious nothing! only, if any will admire and adore the device . . . he may; and truly make his ignorance ‘the mother’ of that ‘devotion!’ Thus we have taken leave to sport ourselves as it were . . . with this speculation of the popish vassals and the prelacy; which is not altogether unuseful if it were for nothing else but this, to show how wily the vain mind of man is to coin devices to darken the Truth of God, and to delude itself!

“Conclus. 2. Ordination administered according to the method and mind of Mr. Rutherford; namely, as preceding the election of [by] the people, it doth not give Essentials to the outward Call of a minister.

“Arg. 1. For it is cross to the apostle’s institution. . . Acts vi. 3; contrary to their [then] present practice, ver. 5. If none but those who were first elected by the people should be ordained, and all such who were so chosen could not be refused; then, to ordain before choice, is neither to make application of the rule nor communion of the right, in an orderly manner; and so, in issue, defaceth, and makes ineffectual, the frame of the institution. . . Nor need that stumble any . . . because [that] the instance is given of ‘deacons’ which are officers of a lower rank; since the reason is the like in both, or rather forceth *à fortiori*. . . If that be here objected which is often and ordinarily in the mouths of the prelates and their followers, That the apostle delegated this authority to Titus, and put the dispensation of it into his hand; Tit. 1. 5: [we] answer, True! the apostle did appoint him [Titus] to do this work; but to do it according to his [the apostle’s] mind, and in the order which Christ had instituted; and of which he had given him a precedent by his own practice, Acts xiv. 23, namely, when the ‘elders’ were elected and presented by the church, he [with Barnabas?] then laid hands [?] upon such, and such only. . .

“That manner of sovereignty in proceeding, which the apostle would not take nor use, in the churches; in reason, he would not allow his scholar to arrogate to himself. But we shall take Paul’s practice for a precedent in this behalf: his course is plain, ‘When they had created them elders in every church,’—or as the

^a Scotus, 4 Sentent. Distinct. 6. Quest. 9.

^b Cajetan.

^c Gabriel. 4 Sent. Dist. 6.

^d *Ibid.*

^e Vasques, 3. Qu. 63. Disp. 154.

^f Thom. 3. Qu. 63. Art. 4.

^g Altiodorens. lib. 4. Art. 3. cap. 2.

^h Marsilin. 4 Q. 4. Art. 1.

Geneva [version] reads it, 'when they had ordained^a elders *by election* in every church,'—and prayed and fasted; 'they commended them, etc.' . . . So that the people had the chief hand in the calling of officers: they first choosing, before any ordination could be orderly dispensed. And that this was the mind of the apostle . . . it is added that he [Titus] 'should redress things amiss;' and must not this be done by the officers and the church also, according to the rule of Christ?

"Arg. 2. It is not the scope of ordination by God appointed, to give the Essentials of an officer's Call; therefore, from thence it is not to be expected in an orderly way.

" . . . The antecedent only, needs proof. . . I suppose it will appear from that famous place, 1 Tim. iv. 14, which, in this treatise of Mr. Rutherford, hath so often been alleged, and conceived also to carry another sense. Let us therefore, in God's fear . . . ease ourselves for future times of any further trouble from this text whenever it shall be alleged against us. Three things, then, require special explication, . . . first, What the 'gift' is? here said to be 'in' Timothy^b; secondly, How it was 'given by prophecy?' thirdly, What 'the laying on of the hands of the elders' adds, and why used?

"1. What this 'gift' is?—The word *χάρισμα* hath, according to the divers acceptations of it, occasioned interpreters diversely to express their apprehensions; we shall leave each man to his own. . . I rather incline, . . . for all the leading, yeasting, circumstances of the places, seem to carry it that way, to wit, That by 'gifts' must necessarily be meant those spiritual and gracious abilities which Timothy received by the Spirit in way of 'prophecy'—of which, presently,—and by which he was fitted and furnished to that extraordinary work of an evangelist. . . Besides, that place which is parallel to this, and speaks expressly to the same purpose, 2 Tim. i. 6; the sense therefore must be the same in both. A man is not said to 'stir up' his office that is in him, but to 'stir up the grace' that is in him being put into office!

"2. How this was 'given by prophecy?'— . . . If the Spirit of God did, immediately, direct the apostles in their . . . journeyings; . . . in reason, . . . the Holy Ghost would not be wanting to discover to them what companions were most fit to further their comfort and the work especially commended to their care. . . And this last sense, I conceive most suitable to the present place; . . . namely, he [Paul] enjoins him [Timothy] to 'stir up the grace' which by the imposition of his hands—being directed by the Spirit of prophecy [1 Cor. xii. 10]—he did according to God's special appointment communicate unto him; as that was the usual ceremony, taken up for that end and purpose, Acts xix. 6, by the apostle, in conveying the graces of the Spirit. And thus all things suit comely: the words are *διὰ προφητείας*, 1 Tim. iv. 14; not *διὰ προφητων*;^c and *διὰ ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν*, and *διὰ προφητείας* aim at one, and are the explication each of other.

"3. What 'the laying on of the hands of the eldership' adds?— . . . The 'eldership' here notes not the office but the officers; for as Mr. Rutherford elsewhere well observes, 'the office hath no hands;' nor is the word ever found so used in all the New Testament. . . By 'eldership' then, is meant the officers; but whether they were the pastor and teacher and the ruling-elders of one congregation, called a consistory; or, whether they were the concurrence of the officers of many congregations together, termed a classis; I could never yet hear any arguments that did evince either by dint of undeniable evidence; Didoclavus, p. 160. Either apprehension will serve our turn. . . We say then, This 'imposition of hands' added not to the constitution of Timothy's office; gave no Essentials thereunto; but only, a solemn approbation thereof. And this we force by double reason from the text. First; that which was beyond the power and place of 'the presbytery,' that they could not communicate. Nothing acts beyond the bounds of its own being. But to give the Essentials of Timothy's office, was beyond the power and place of 'the presbytery,' either congregational or classical: for the office was extraordinary; their places and power, ordinary: that was to cease, and is now ceased; which should not be, were it in the power of ordinary officers—who yet remain in the church, and shall do 'to the end of the world'—to give being thereunto! Secondly; besides, . . . the 'gift' here named was not the office, but the graces which were in Timothy . . . whereby he was apted and enabled to that extra-

^a "Constituissent," *sic* in Vulgata; etiam, "constituas," in Tit. i. 5.

ordinary work; whence the inference, The outward gitting and fitting an officer to his place, especially extraordinary, is beyond the power and place of a 'presbytery.' . . In short, the natural and native sense of the place is only this, Despise not those gracious qualifications which God by his Spirit, in the extraordinary way of prophecy, hath furnished and entrusted thee withal: the laying on of the hands of the eldership by way of consent and approbation, concurring therewith to thy further encouragement and confirmation in thy work! . . Dido clavus observes . . when the χάρισμα . . is spoken of . . Paul, as having a hand therein, then the phrase is διὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου but . . with respect to the 'eldership,' the phrase then is, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου: it is 'by the hands' of Paul, there is a causal virtue, under Christ, of constitution; but it is 'with the hands of the eldership,' as concurring by way of approbation only. This ground being gained, many things follow. . . Hence it is plain, that Ordination therefore presupposeth an officer constituted; . . therefore, it is not an act of power, but order; therefore, those who have not the power of office may put it [ordination?] forth; therefore, though it be most comely^a that those of the same congregation should exercise it, yet the elders also of other congregations may be invited hereunto, and interested in the exercise of it in another church where they have no power and upon a person who hath more power in the place than themselves: thus it was here, Timothy was an evangelist, and therefore by virtue of his office was to move from place to place, to 'water' where the apostles had 'planted,' as either the need of the people did require or the apostles did call; and in those places where the elders who laid on their hands had certainly nothing [else] to do, they might reasonably approve of that power which they could not give nor exercise.

"Arg. 3. That action which is common to persons and performances or employments, and applied to them when there is no Office at all given; that action cannot properly be said to be a specifying act to make an officer or give him a call.

"The minor, is evident by instance Acts xiii. 2—4; 'As they were ministering'—'some [certain] prophets and teachers,' ver. 1.—'the Spirit said, Separate unto me Barnabas and Saul unto the work which I have called them: and when they [!] had fasted and prayed, and laid on their hands, they let them go.' Where for our purpose in hand, these particulars are presented to our view: first, the 'Spirit' had formerly *called* Paul and Barnabas to the work, and therefore the words are in the preterperfect tense, προσκέκλημαι . . We read of Paul's call and commission given him expressly, Acts ix. 16, 17: and the office being extraordinary, and immediately from God; it could not be, that the officers and elders of the church could be the cause of the Call. . . Secondly; that the church [that church only; vide "Quære" supra.] by *her* officers were, therefore, appointed to 'separate' them to that service unto which they had been before 'called' of the Lord. Thirdly: this separation, is signified and performed by prayer and laying on of the hands of the officers; which was not to put a new office upon them, but confirm their sending unto the Gentiles: Chamerius, lib. iv. De Sacram. N. T. cap. xxiv. p. 25: whence it is plain, that imposition is an act which is common to persons, and applied upon other occasions; therefore, is not a specifying act to bring in this Call of an officer. And upon this ground it seems it is, that the Church of Scotland is so far from conceiving laying on of hands necessary in ordinations, that they do not only not use it, but judge it unlawful to be used, unless some special considerations be attended; as it may appear in that accurate work, called ——— [sic, in the copy.]

"Arg. 4. If ordination give the Essentials to an officer before election, then there may be a pastor without people; an officer, sine titulo; as they use to speak; and a person should be made a pastor at large; as, to follow Mr. Rutherford's similitude, 'the ring that is made and completed in the goldsmith's shop, it is ready for any man that comes next who will buy; being made to his hand.'

But this individuum vagum, or a pastor at large, is irregular, and cross to the order of the Gospel. For in this, as Mr. Best saith, an apostle differeth from a pastor, that the apostle is a pastor through the whole christian world; but the pastor is tied to a certain congregation, out of which he is not to exercise pastoral acts. To this, Mr. Rutherford answers, 'We allow of no pastors ordained without a certain

^a A "Quære" is placed in the margin; perhaps by the editor, to whom the copy was entrusted.

flock'. . . Their grant hath a constraining power to conclude what Mr. Best allegeth . . . Strange ! how Mr. R. remembered not what he wrote two pages before, 'That A. B. is made indefinitely a pastor for a church,' p. 263. . . That which is lastly answered, yields the cause wholly. . . And a pastor is *only* pastor of that flock over the which the Holy Ghost, by the church's authority, hath set him as their pastor; but yet so as when he preacheth in another congregation he ceaseth not to be a pastor, howbeit not the pastor of that flock,' p. 266. . . True, while he preacheth to 'another congregation, he ceaseth not to be a pastor;' it is that we all say and grant; but yet he doth not preach [to them] as 'a pastor'. . . Mr. R. propounds and maintains, p. 261, 'We [presbyterians] hold, that a pastor may officiate as a pastor without his own congregation.' . . Out of Mr. R's own principles it shall thus appear, 'Those whom a pastor cannot judge, over them he can exercise no pastoral act : . . but pagans and infidels, a pastor cannot judge,' p. 226; to them, notwithstanding, he may preach, *ergo*, barely to preach to a people, is no pastoral act. . . That which learned Junius speaks of the largeness and lawfulness of the extent of the bishop's rule by human grant, that to go beyond his bounds is to be *αλλοτρι επισκοπος*, or *παντεπισκοπος*, I may truly apply to a presbyter who is staked down *τῷ ποιμνείῳ*, to the flock, over whom he is made overseer, [namely] to play the bishop in another man's diocese, or in every man's diocese, is a fast too big for his foot!

"That which is alleged touching the partaking of the sacrament, by some of one congregation in another, hath, of all, the greatest difficulty; because the administration . . . is a ministerial act, and can be done but by a pastor or teacher: and, what authority hath he to do it, or they to receive it from him, to whom he is non-pastor?

". . . It hath been a course which ever I have questioned, and against it, many years since, I have alleged many arguments, and therefore I could readily ease myself of the argument [here] by professing the course unwarrantable. . . But supposing it to be lawful, we will see how far the objection . . . toucheth the cause in hand. First, then; these particulars are plain, and beyond exception, The minister hath power to consecrate the elements in his own place and charge: In that he there consecrates and administers, he doth not go beyond his pastoral power: Nor can he reject whom the assembly lawfully admits. Secondly; therefore now the question grows, What title any, of another congregation, have to come to the sacrament; and by what right the church can admit them? . . . 1. A person . . . must come at it, in a right order of Christ; that is, 'the party must be member of a visible congregation, because the seals can there only be rightly and orderly administered: I say, . . . of 'a'. . . not this or that particular. 2. Hence, whoever is thus qualified may lawfully be admitted to that ordinance, by the assembly: [and] therefore cannot lawfully be rejected by the pastor. . . so that such an administration, doth not evidence that the ruler doth anything beyond his place, or hath any power out of his place or particular charge; or yet, that the receiver shares in anything more than his right. . .

"That which remains, . . . That we say, 'pastors have, essentially, their calling from election [of the people];' we shall . . . make good; Christ helping.

"Arg. 5, and last. If ordination gives the Essentials of a pastor before election; then, by that alone, he hath pastoral power.

"Against which, I thus reason: . . . This is the condition of a pastor ordained without the election of the people; he may, according to rule, be justly hindered from executing any act of a pastor. Suppose all congregations full; they may justly deny him any leave or liberty to preach, or administer either seal or censure, amongst them: and so he shall be an officer complete . . . and yet shall be justly . . . hindered from doing any act of his office! Which is cross to reason, and the rule of office-bearing,

"By this time, we have . . . finished the Negative Part of our discourse. . . For the Affirmative Part; our conclusion, then, is this,

"Conclus.—Election of the People, rightly ordered by the rule of Christ, gives the Essentials to an officer; or leaves the impression of a true outward Call, and so an office-power upon a pastor.

"Arg. 1. . . Ordination, which comes after, is not for the constitution of the officer; but the approbation of him, so constituted, in his office: for *relata* are *unum uni*, says the rule, and completely give mutual causes each to the other.

"Arg. 2. It is lawful for a People to reject a pastor, upon just cause,—if he prove

pertinaciously scandalous in his life, or heretical in his doctrine,—and put him out of his office; *ergo*, it is in their power also to call him outwardly, and to put him into his office!

“The consequence is plain, from the staple rule, *Ejusdem est instuere, destituere*: the antecedent, is as certain, by warrant of the Word, Matt. vii. 15; Phil. iii. 2 [with 2 Cor. xi. 13.] . .

“Arg. 3. It is taken from the manner of the communication and conveyance of this power, which we do conceive doth of necessity require [that] it must be derived by way of election.

“. . . Conveyance of power is done two ways: either by authoritative commission; . . . or voluntary subjection. . .

“1. When ordination was conceived to be authoritative delegation—I speak only of a ministerial manner of dispensation,—and put into the hand of the Bishop, he presently begins to challenge place of superiority: . . . hence came that woful generation of curates and vicars; and that device, of ordination *sine titulo*, when the Bishop left some impression of his power—as it were, in *deposito*—until there came a fit time to dispense it. Hence came the mangling of offices into broken parts; there must be one ordination, to make him a deacon; another, to make him a priest; and when all is done, the poor *devotiatory* must have yet a further license to preach. . . Some of these pangs of popery and prelacy like the moths of ‘the mystery of iniquity’ have eaten into the Presbytery in some measure. They have taken power to themselves, to ordain before election; and to make indefinite pastors: which argues, they must have power seated in themselves. . .

“What then, is communicated?—We here see what use we have of the consideration of [a] ‘character’ *indelibilis*, [remarked on] before.—. . . ‘It must be a relation;’ so Durand confesseth—Sent. 40. Qu.—. . . If it be a ‘relation,’ where are the termini, or foundation betwixt whom this ‘relation’ stands? . . . The rest of the popish crew . . . would not give way to this, because they clearly perceived that the pastor was in ‘relation’ to his people; and then the Essence of this indelible character, and so this power also, must arise from his people; which would quite spoil the fashion of the sacrament [of orders] and the sovereignty of the Bishop’s ordination!

“2. There is a communicating of power by voluntary subjection; when, though there be no office-power, formaliter, in the People, yet they willingly yielding themselves to be ruled by another; he, accepting . . . that right which they put upon him by free consent. . . The reason: Those in whose choice it is, whether any shall rule over them, or not; from their voluntary subjection it is, that the party chosen hath right, and stands possessed of rule and authority, over them. Hence, many things: 1. There is an act of power put forth in election. . . 2. The power that the pastor hath, extends no larger nor further than [to] his own people. . . 3. Such may, by a virtual power, bring in the impression of a ruling-power, who neither have the power formally nor can exercise the act of that power and place lawfully. The church, or people, can make a pastor—as we say—by election, who cannot do a pastoral act. . . 4. Persons may virtually communicate power to another, who are inferior to and ought to be ruled by that power so communicated: . . . so that when they walk according to the laws of that place and authority they have, they [those ‘persons’] are to submit to them [the officers] in the Lord; but when they go beyond their place and power, they may, by the rules of the Gospel, reform them. 5. Lastly, we see the feebleness of that conceit, which is mouldy with the tang of ‘the mystery of iniquity,’ . . . that *Episcopus generat patres*, and this made a piece of the royalty and peculiar privilege belonging to his place.

“Arg. 4. If the Essentials of a pastor be communicated from the eldership or bishop merely, then there will be pastor of pastors, and that in propriety of speech.

“For the pastor that is made by them hath reference to them. . . It is that which is contended for, . . . that it should be appropriated to their places only, to make officers. But this, Mr. Rutherford condemns, and reason gainsays; for it would breed and bring a confusion amongst all offices and officers, and it is charged upon us and our cause as an absurdity, often, by Mr. R. We desire they would take the charge home to themselves to whom it justly belongs as being firstly guilty of it.

“ We are now come to the third thing to be considered: What Ordination is.

“ The premises . . considered, . . we shall only nakedly propound the description: . . Ordination, is an approbation of the officer, and solemn settling and confirmation of him in his office by prayer and laying on of hands.

“ . . Though there be no convicting arguments in the Scripture which will [do] infallibly conclude it, yet because it is most commonly received, and seems most probable out of that charge to Timothy, ‘ lay hands *rashly* on no man,’ 1 Tim. v. 22; I am willing to follow the road when I have no constraining reason to go aside. Only I shall add, . . that Ordination is not an act of supreme jurisdiction, but of order rather. . . To put so transcendent greatness upon it, will not pass current when it comes to the scanning. . . Augustine’s determination: *Ordinare, quid est aliud nisi orare?* Chrysostom, 1 Tim. iii. calls it^a *Ferme nihil!* The issue is, the main weight of the work lies in the solemnity of prayer; which argues no act of jurisdiction at all.

“ The fourth thing which offers itself to our inquiry, with which we will end this dispute, is, To whom the right of dispensing this ordinance doth appertain?

“ . . The plain state of the question may be presented in these particulars, very shortly:

“ 1. When the churches are rightly constituted, and completed with all the orders and officers of Christ, the right^b of Ordination belongs to the Teaching-Elders; the act, appertains to the Presbyters, constituted of Ruling and Teaching, when an officer is invested in his place; for of these, it is expressly spoken, even in the letter of the text, 1 Tim. iv. 14. So that to appropriate this to a ‘ Bishop ’ of peerless power; who is a mere human creature; . . as he shall go against the text, that shall endeavour it, so it will be a course void of reason to . . confute it. . . Paul’s episcopus and presbyter are all [both] one.

“ 2. Though the act of Ordination belong to the presbytery, yet the *jus et potestas ordinandi* is conferred firstly, upon the church, by Christ, and resides in her: it is in them, instrumentaliter; in her, originaliter. They dispense it immediately; she, by them, mediately: so Junius, *Controv. v. lib. i. cap. 7. not. 9, 45*; Zancheus; Bucerus, in *Matt. xvi*; but most pregnant, and indeed impugnable, is the testimony of Melancthon, *De Potestate Episcoporum, Arg. 2.* . . All these officers are *coronation* mercies given to the church; the extraordinary, are given immediately, the ordinary, mediately, that she should have power not only to preserve them when she hath them, but to provide them when she wants them; and unless she could do the one, she should never do the other, for were it so that ordinary pastors should be made [elsewhere] and then given to her, how were they not as immediate as the other? . .

“ 3. In case, then, that the face and form of all the churches are generally corrupted; or else, the condition of the church is such that she is wholly destitute of presbyters; she may then, out of her own power given her by Christ, provide for her own comfort, by ordaining her own ministers. . .

“ If a *classis* must be *Ecclesia orta* and made [up] of the ministers sent from divers congregations, then did congregations provide ministers firstly; for a *classis* did not receive them from a *classis!* . . If presbyters elected and gave first being to a bishop—Hieron. *ad Evagrium*—then were they before him, and could not receive ordination from him!

“ PT. II. CHAP. iii. Of an Independent Church.—Wherein the state of the Question is opened, the distasteful term of ‘ Independency ’ cleared and the right meaning put upon it: Mr. Rutherford’s Arguments, in the Thirteenth Chapter, debated.

“ . . A Particular Church, or Congregation, is not absolutely supreme; for it is subject unto and under the supreme power politic in the place where it is. So that the magistrate hath a coactive power to compel the church to execute the ordinances of Christ. . . He is a ‘ nursing father,’ thus, to the church to make her attend that wholesome diet which is provided and set out as her share and portion in the Scripture. Nay, should the supreme magistrate unjustly oppress, or persecute, she

^a Οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον, Hom. xi., and Theophylact, after him, *ferme nihil*, next to nothing.

^b A note in the margin intimates a doubt whether ‘ right ’ or ‘ rite ’ be the correct word here, or even ‘ right use; ’ the MS. copy being indistinct.

must be subject; and meekly, according to justice, bear that which is unjustly inflicted.

“Again; she is so far subject to the consociation of churches that she is bound, in case of doubt and difficulty, to crave their counsel. . .

“.. The church may be said to be ‘Independent,’ namely, sufficient[ly] to attain her end; and therefore hath complete power. . . to exercise all the ordinances of God. . .

“The word then, in its fair and inoffensive sense, imports thus much, Every particular congregation rightly constituted and completed, hath sufficiency in itself to exercise all the ordinances of Christ. . . And if she have a completeness of power in the highest ordinances, why she should be denied the like in those that are of less excellency, I know not. . . The apostle knew no dispensation of so choice an excellency as preaching—1 Cor. i. 17;—that was the cheerful part of his errand. If ordination or excommunication had been of so great eminency above all other, certainly he would have mentioned some of them. . .

“It is granted, by Mr. Rutherford, that in islands which . . . cannot enjoy the society of neighbouring churches, . . . that among them, ordination, and so excommunication, may be performed by the congregation. This being an ordinary and common case; . . . and many such, which carry a proportion hereunto; I say, hence it appears that the power . . . naturally lies in the congregation. . . To put the Lord Christ to immediate and extraordinary ways when according to the course of ordinary traffic and commerce, as the states civil in such places [cases ?] have intercourse with other states, so might the churches have with other churches, it hath no show of Scripture or reason; especially if we add, that the first synod, which is made a pattern to all the rest, was a concurrence of such churches which were two hundred miles off one from another. . .

“Come we now to the consideration of such arguments which Mr. Rutherford allegeth against this ‘Independency’ now propounded. . . First there is not the least show in all the Scriptures, of ‘ordination before election.’ . . Secondly, when churches were completed with all their officers, that then ‘ordination’ was acted by a ‘college [classis] of pastors,’ there is not a syllable in the [any] text that saith any such thing. Examine we particulars by a sudden survey, and both these will be evident at the first sight.

“In Acts i. there is but one church, and no ordination. . . In Acts vi. the church was not complete with officers, and the apostles as extraordinary persons, did act there. . . In Acts xiii. 1—3, there is no ordination to office: the officers of one [a single] church [Antioch] did what was done in an ordinary way; therefore, no precedent, for the pastors of *many* churches [collectively] what they either may or should do. But that out of Acts xiv. 23, how it can be haled in to the purpose in hand, it is beyond my apprehension: first, for there is no mention made of the laying on of hands, but *κειροτονήσαντες*—lifting up the hands! secondly; here are not officers of many congregations completed, but officers to be made ‘in’ each particular congregation: thirdly; here is no act of ordination mentioned, but of election: fourthly; and therefore, that which is here alleged was the proper and peculiar act of the people; as all our divines evince against papists and formalists, and the native signification of the word doth evidence. . . That of Acts xx. 17, 28, is as far wide, if not further: for first, it cannot be proved that there were the elders of many, but of one —‘the’—church, as all the casting circumstances carry it: secondly; but certain it is, here is no act of ordination performed or intended; and therefore, nothing concerning that can be concluded. The same is true of Phil. i. 1; 1 Thess. [i. 1.] If there be any probability of dispute, it must be taken from 1 Tim. iv. 14; but it hath been proved before, that here was not an ordination of an officer, because it is beyond the power of ordinary officers to give being to extraordinary officers such as Timothy; and therefore his laying on of hands [Paul’s] was like that Acts xiii. 2, 3. . . To that 1 Tim. v. 22; also Tit. i. 5; . . we say, first, here is nothing in the text that gives the least intimation of a classis. . . but the charge is directed expressly to Timothy and Titus in particular: secondly; the manner how ordination is to be acted by the one, or elders to be constituted by the other—for the word is larger in Tit. i. 5, *καταθήσης*,—it is not expressly discovered; . . ‘as I had appointed thee,’ what this appointment was . . . no man can determine: thirdly; . . the churches . . . being newly founded and planted, were *to be* furnished and perfected with rulers by the help and

direction of Timothy in the one, and Titus in the other place; and therefore in none of these, the question is touched . . . of churches furnished with officers: fourthly; it cannot be . . . the apostle would . . . appoint another way . . . than he himself practised—I speak to that of Titus;—but *he* ‘ordained elders’ by the suffrages of the people, and established them by . . . fasting and prayer, Acts xiv. 23; that is all, . . . there upon record; therefore this appointment Titus and Timothy must follow! fifthly; in all those charges . . . to Timothy and Titus, in these epistles it never was intended they should act them alone; . . . when it [that] is enjoined 1 Tim. v. 20, 21, Tit. ii. 1, will any man say that these duties must not be attended [to] by *all* the elders of those churches, and that they . . . stood charged so to do, as well as Timothy and Titus? . . . Imagine there had been deacons ‘wanting,’ Tit. i. 5; must . . . he do it alone? . . . Lastly: Timothy and Titus are . . . here, either . . . evangelists, . . . and then not . . . ordinary precedents; or else . . . as expressing [performing] common actions of government which are to continue . . . with those who succeed them; . . . and then it will follow . . . that the like acts, particular officers may express [perform] in their particular congregations; and hence, the inference will be fair against Mr. Rutherford’s assertion [that ‘one pastor with one single congregation, cannot exercise this point of discipline-ordination;—and so not all points of discipline.]. . .

“An Independent church can call and ordain officers, and is bound so to do before she can enjoy some ordinances; for none can consecrate and give the sacrament but only pastors and teachers, and therefore those she must provide before she can partake; and this is the most easy and certain means to provide and so to continue a faithful ministry, according to Christ’s appointment ‘to the end of the world:’ . . . whereas classes and synods have totally failed, and come only to be restored and recovered by the help of particular congregations!

“PT. III. CHAP. i.—Of the Government of the Church.— . . . The work which is of common concernment unto all the members when the assembly is dissolved [separated,] is that Watch which they stand engaged to express [observe] each to the other for the good of the body so confederate, above or before all other [works]. . . They have special power one over another, and that by virtue of the covenant, for by free and mutual consent they . . . willingly yielded themselves . . . to walk in all the ordinances of Christ, and to ‘be subject one unto another,’ 1 Pet. v. 5; to be proceeded judicially against [agreeably] to the process. . . Matt. xviii. . . This Watch reacheth any, and this kind of process is good against any: every ‘brother;’ and therefore ‘Archippus,’ Col. iv. 17, and any elder, if he be a ‘brother’ he is liable hereunto. This is the Watch which we must *express* towards such as be ‘within,’ 1 Cor. v. 12.

“For ‘the perfecting’ and increase ‘of the body,’ we must attend [have regard to] such as are to be brought in; for this being a spiritual corporation, as none can be constrained to join to it. . . so neither can they join [willingly], unless the ‘body’ do as freely . . . entertain them. It is not dwelling in the same city, parish, or place, not the being a subject of the same kingdom, that doth interest any in this privilege. And as the church can compel none, against their wills to join, so the civil magistrate should not . . . force the church to receive, or any to join, . . . against their wills. The civil power may compel them to come under the call of God, and attend the ordinances, and force them to use means of information and conviction [?] . . . but the civil magistrate is to leave the church to follow the rule of Christ in her admissions; . . . Christ’s people are ‘a willing people;’ faith is not forced.

“In the Admissions, two things are to be attended; first, What is to be done before they come; secondly, What there, when they are come into the assembly. First, . . . the person that desires to join . . . the church, is to make his desire known to the ruling-elder, or elders: for it is peculiar to his [or their] office to lead the action of admission: it . . . falls not within the compass of labouring ‘in the Word and doctrine,’ 1 Tim. v. 1. . . He [the elder] is then to inquire diligently . . . touching the uprightness of the person’s carriage and conversation from the testimony of others who know him intimately. . . He must take notice, by way of conference, what his [the applicant’s] knowledge and acquaintance are with the things of Christ and His kingdom; . . . whether he be a visible saint, to the judgment of reasonable charity! . . . He then sees way and warrant to propound the desires of such to the church; that they also, may use their best information. . .

touching the unblamableness of their conversation. And as for that, that the members should at several times, by several companies, repair in private, to them to examine the work and manner of their conversion; . . . it . . . wants precept and example, for anything that ever appeared to me, in the Scripture. . . The stress of the trial lies not there; . . . for there be many truly and savingly called, who never knew the time and manner of their conversion; and therefore cannot relate it unto others. . . Time of inquiry being [having been] granted, if, upon serious observation and consideration, the 'brethren' find any just exception . . . they repair to the elder, leave their complaint with him, and that is sufficient to stay the proceeding for the present. But if . . . there appears nothing scandalous; the person doth, shortly, give some reason of his hope, in the face of the congregation, and is admitted; engaging himself—To walk with them in the covenant of the church, according to all the rules of the Gospel that either are or shall be made known to him. If it be here inquired, what is the rule according to which, satisfaction is to be regulated? . . . in a word, If a person live not in the commission of any known sin; nor in the neglect of any known duty; and can give a reason of his hope towards God: this, casts the cause with judicious charity, to hope and believe there is something of God and grace in the soul; and therefore fit for church-society. . . This rule being [everywhere] received and agreed upon, it would marvellously facilitate the work of Admission; . . . and prevent such curious inquisitions and niceties which . . . prejudice the progress of God's ordinances. . . In receiving women, . . . they may so speak in the church . . . as to answer a question propounded to them: yet because their feebleness . . . modesty . . . and fearfulness, are such; . . . we are forced to take the expressions of such in private, and make report of them to the congregation; and since this is necessary for some and warrantable for all, it is most without exception to receive all after the same manner; that so the infirmities of the weakest may be relieved, and the seeming exceptions of others also may be prevented.

"The last question belonging to the head of Admission is this, Whether those that are dismissed from other congregations must, necessarily, make their confession afresh; or, whether recommendations be sufficient? I answer, . . . first, The testimony of any Church of Christ ought to be valued according to the worth of it. . . . When any report or relation comes from so many [witnesses] in such a relation, . . . the thing is sufficiently certified; and therefore Paul makes it the highest evidence of testimony that can be given, 'The brother whose praise is . . . through all the churches,' 2 Cor. viii. 18. Secondly; yet because the churches may decline in regard of their practice, and walk at a greater breadth of liberty, either in respect of their actions or of their opinions, than others can, and they indeed should; . . . each [other] church hath her liberty to follow the light of the Word and the rule thereof, . . . rather than to sit down merely with the allowance of men; . . . and . . . to require humiliation answerable to . . . offences, and to exact a profession and confession of the truth, and an open renunciation of such errors, before they [the parties who may desire to be received from other congregations] be received. . . . So Paul advised, Acts xx. 29; . . . and 'the disciples' [concerning Paul himself] chap. ix. 26. . .

"PT. III. CHAP. ii.—Of the Dispensation of the Sacraments.— . . . Amongst many other ends of the sacraments, this is one, that it is a landmark and a separating note of [between] the sheep of God's fold and such as are 'without,' 1 Cor. v. 12. . . . Our purpose is not to handle either the number or nature of the sacraments, because that belongs to the head of Doctrine; but we look at them as they come within the compass of church-polity. . . .

"It is a frenzy of the Anabaptists which begins to labour with the loathsomeness of itself, That any christian gifted, who can teach, or administer a word of instruction to win a disciple after him; that he, in a corner, may baptize him also whom he hath won to his opinion. But as Paul said of Jannes and Jambres, 2 Tim. iii. 9, their madness is made to appear 'to all' who are not willing to shut their eyes against the sun when it shines in its beauty! For if the Lord Christ, in his infinite wisdom and kingly care, conceived it necessary for the honour of the place and the execution of the work of a Deacon to appoint choice men, and solemn ordination to authorize them to the work, Acts vi. 3, 6, that they, being called and fitted to the work, might be accepted therein of the people, and blessed by Him who did appoint them to that employment; in reason, what greater need is

there that persons . . . peculiarly gifted, and furnished with grace and ability, should be 'called' to this work of preaching, and dispensing these holy mysteries! . . . Add hereunto, that the apostle, as by a flaming sword, doth stop the way to all pretenders . . . Heb. v. 4. . . Yea, the Lord himself doth appropriate this; . . . Eph. iv. 11. 'Are all Teachers? etc.' 1 Cor. xii. 29.

"We are now to inquire, Who be the parties who have right, by rule and allowance from Christ, to receive? And here it is agreed on all hands, Such who are come to ripeness of years, . . . being, to the judgment of charity, not only really within the covenant of grace, but truly also within the compass of the covenant of the church! We will not therefore . . . prove that which hath approbation of all: but . . . there is a twofold question; . . . first, betwixt us and the Anabaptists: . . . secondly, betwixt us and Mr. Rutherford. . .

"To find the right basis, . . . we now dispute not about the wickedness of men while they remain members: . . . if the church . . . shall tolerate, sinfully, such evils and evil persons, . . . they cannot then deny them the privilege of members. So that while 'the prophets' prophesied lies, and 'the priests' ruled by their means, and the 'people' would have it so—Jer. v. 31—and grew corrupt while they were members—though corrupt members—they did share in the passover, and their children were made partakers of circumcision: so, those of Sardis—Rev. iii. 1. . . The pinch, then, of the question lies here, Whether persons non-confederate, and so, in our sense, not members of the church; parents, though godly, being yet unwilling to come into church-fellowship; do entitle their children to the seal of baptism, being one of the privileges of the church? ^a Lubricus hic locus, et difficilis: . . . I could have willingly wished that the scale might have been cast upon the affirmative part. . . The main-pillar principle which fortifies the judgment against all approaching assaults, is the nature and truth of church-covenant: . . . and the best of all those arguments . . . raised to make a breach upon that part of the Discipline which, like braces in the building, binds all the parts together, have rather strengthened than stirred my judgment. . .

"Conclus. i. Children, as children, have not right unto baptism; for then all children of all nations, sects, and sorts of men, should be made partakers of it. . .

"Conclus. ii. . . Predecessors cannot convey this right, without the next parents; for it is that *paterna potestas* which belongs to them, to dispose of their own. . . If both the next parents were apostates, it is not in the power of all former predecessors to bring the child to the enjoyment of this privilege; so that if the next parents be *causa adequata* of intituling their children to such spiritual advantages, then it belongs to them alone, firstly. . . Apostacy, takes off the federal holiness of the children, 1 Cor. vii. 14. Hence it is a misapprehension and misapplication of that place Exod. xx. 6, that therefore the predecessors though far removed can entitle children unto baptism. . . 'Mercy' here, is that saving mercy which God never fails to bestow on his elect; grace here, and glory hereafter; reserving a variety of dispensations in regard of divers privileges or benefits as seems best to the counsel of his own will. . . By the peremptory and plain affirmation of the apostle, Rom. xi. 17, etc., through 'unbelief,' the 'natural boughs' were cut off from church, and church-privileges. . . God shows 'mercy,' and so the privilege of a sacrament, to such who had godly predecessors within the compass of a thousand generations; but I had godly predecessors within that compass, therefore I have title to that 'mercy,' etc.: this conclusion all men reject. . .

"Conclus. iii. The next parent being *causa adequata* of conveying or withholding; . . . it follows, inevitably, that children may either be deprived or possessed of privileges. . . The faithful 'covenant' Deut. xxix. 11, of the parents, doth as fully entitle them and so advantage them in the privileges thereof; as the careless rejecting of the 'covenant,' Gen. xvii. 10, doth disadvantage and debar them. . . And since it is confessed . . . that temporal benefits, are dispensed and continued unto undeserving children for the faith and piety of their godly parents; as unto Ishmael for Abraham's, Esau for Isaac's sake; Gen. xxi. 13; xxvii. 39; and so frequently . . . for 'David's sake,' 1 Kings xi. 12, 13; xv. 4; etc.: it need not seem strange, . . . that temporal punishments, are laid upon their children to correct the sin of their wicked parents. . .

^a We have ventured to transpose the latter two clauses of this sentence: that which is in the middle here, standing last in the copy, and preceded with the word 'their'—'their parents,' etc.

“Conclus. iv. Hence, parents must first have right themselves, before they can convey it unto theirs; and they can deprive them of no more than they can give them. . .

“We shall now . . . offer some reasons to the consideration of the reader, and so leave this so difficult a head of Discipline. First; it is confessed on all hands, that baptism is a privilege of the church, either catholic or particular; . . . and therefore as circumcision of old was counted . . . to difference and distinguish them who were ‘aliens,’ Eph. ii. 12; so is baptism now, in the time of the Gospel: secondly; it hath been proved . . . that only the next parent can convey this privilege. Upon which premises, . . . the issues [are] thus—

“Arg. 1. They who have no right to baptism, they ought not to receive it. . .

“Arg. 2. If those children only who were externally in covenant were to be circumcised; then those who are externally in covenant in the christian church, are to be baptized: but these children only who were externally in covenant and born of confederate parents were to be circumcised, Gen. xvii. 10.—Mr. Rutherford, bk. i. p. 165. . . When Mr. R. affirms that ‘the covenant in general was made with infants of eight days old; and our covenant is not made with infants;’ the affirmation is a great mistake: . . . this covenant, then and now, is the same for the kind of it, and lays the foundation of the conveyance of all the right that children have to this holy ordinance of Christ.

“Arg. 3, is taken from Rom. xi. 17. . . Children of parents non-confederate, are not engrafted into the ‘olive,’ the church. . . The profession of the parent, is *not* enough for the engrafting of themselves and their posterity; for that engrafting or admission into the church is here meant which excommunication . . . can take away; . . . but profession of the truth, excommunication cannot take away: . . . therefore that is not the engrafting here meant.

“Arg. 4. If a pastor of any congregation have no power by any rule to require a non-confederate to be baptized, or to bring his children to baptism; then, a non-confederate hath no power by any rule to require baptism, of a pastor of any congregation. . .

“Arg. 5, is taken from 1 Cor. xii. 13. This ‘body’ is not the mystical and invisible, but the political and visible ‘body of Christ;’ and this visible ‘body’ is not here attended^a as the catholic-visible church, but as a particular church; it supposeth our union to it and communion with it, and that is done only by confederation. . . That ‘body’ is here meant in which ‘teachers’ are set up by Christ, ver. 28. . .

“We are now to inquire, The Manner of the Dispensation [of the Seals] ? . . . First; that they must be dispensed publicly, in the presence and with the concurrence of the church solemnly assembled. . . He [Paul] compares the supper of the Lord to their ordinary supper; so he opposeth, manifestly, the church or congregation to the ‘private house;’ and declareth that the Lord’s supper should be celebrated in the congregation, as the banquet should be kept in their private houses: 1 Cor. xi. 20—22. . . The sacraments are badges to show our separation from all profane societies; . . . therefore the administration of them should be such as should suit the nature of the [each] ordinance; . . . and therefore it is that in times of persecution when the church dare not, nor is it meet she should show herself, . . . though they be done in the house of a private man, yet because they are and ought to be administered in the presence of the congregation, there is neither *private* preaching, nor *private* celebrating the sacraments. Secondly; that . . . after the Word opened, the Seals should be administered. . . Matt. iii. 2, 3, with 5, 6. . . This manner of administration is common to both. There is something that is peculiar to each.

“First; Baptism is the sacrament of our initiation and engrafting into Christ: . . . Rom. vi. 3. . . And hence baptism is once administered, and never to be repeated, because of the stability of the covenant of grace. . . Whom Christ calls effectually, he preserves for ever ‘through faith unto salvation,’ 1 Pet. i. 5. . . No falling away then, totally, or finally from the covenant; and therefore no repeating of baptism which seals up our entrance into the covenant. . . As they were baptized by the Spirit, so they were baptized with water; for so the proportion requires: . . . not that we are *dipped into* ‘the Holy Ghost,’ Acts i. 5; but that the

^a See back, p. 286, where this word is used in a like sense.

Holy Ghost is *poured upon* us, Acts ii, 33. . . The nature of baptism, and the administration thereof, answers the work of *application*; . . we ‘*apprehend*,’ as we are ‘*apprehended*,’ Phil. iii. 12. . . The applying and casting the water upon the body, best resembles the nature of burial—Rom. vi. 4.—but the *dipping* of the body into the dust doth no way so lively resemble burial, as the casting dust and mould *upon* it!

“Secondly; the supper is a sacrament for our nourishment, and our growing up in the Lord Jesus; and therefore it is appointed, by him, to be frequently used. . . I Cor. xi. 26, 34. . . In the administration, as there be distinct parts of the ordinance so there is a distinct blessing [implied] ver. 24, 25. . . There is not all Christ, sacramentally, but in both [elements].

“PT. III. CHAP. iii.—Of Censures.—The Lord Christ’s . . yearning compassion, hath made him here so careful that he hath appointed each particular brother . . to help forward the spiritual health of all in confederacy with him. . . Such human infirmities which unavoidably attend the best saints breathing upon earth while they carry a body of death about them, are not to be taken as matter of offence intended by our Saviour: nor have we any just cause to stumble at such straws, or to be taken with distaste against the carriage of a ‘brother’ in that case; and therefore they come not under the nature of an offence in this advice of our Saviour, Matt. xviii. 15. If the sin be such which is like a stone of stumbling in our christian course, and therefore needs to be reformed in him that commits, and to be removed out of the way of him that sees it; we must here attend our duty: Matt. xviii. 15, Levit. xix. 17. But if yet it be not so clear, but doubtful, though our thoughts and apprehensions lead that way; it is not yet ripe for any church-process: but if fears and suspicions pursue us, as fearing we do not what we should for the good of our ‘brother,’ . . we may inquire, by way of doubt, . . but not adventure to censure; for it is a safe rule, Where we have not found ground of conviction, we have no reason to administer an admonition. If the offence be such . . that we have evidence enough of argument and rule to convince our apprehension, it is yet the fairest way . . to hear . . what can be said by the offending party for his defence; . . we may better . . fasten a *convicting* reproof upon a ‘brother,’ which is that our Saviour counsels—*ἐλεγξον*—Matt. xviii. 15. If this fear and wariness were well attended, those ordinary mistakes, clashings, sayings and gain-sayings, and the many offences committed amongst ‘brethren’ while they come to reform one offence given, would easily be prevented, through the help . . of Christ. . .

“But if the offence be . . notorious, . . as open drunkenness, swearing, stealing, lying; or [and] that a ‘brother’ . . be constrained to ‘tell it to the church,’ . . by way of preparation, the offence must first be brought to the elders, and by [among] them debated and delivered to the church; . . secondly to them it appertains to judge whether the things [charges] be of weight and worth; . . for if they be petty businesses . . it is in their power to prevent such causeless and needless disturbance; and therefore to suppress any further proceeding therein. . . So yet to prevent injustice and partiality in such cases, the party who takes himself [to be] wronged may complain of the elders in that behalf: and if the congregation see apparently [that] they have dealt unjustly and partially, it is in their power to rectify it: but if the complaint prove unjust and unreasonable, be it at the peril of him that complains, for he is to be censured sharply and severely as . . refusing to listen to the reasonable advice and counsel of those who were set over him by the Lord; as also, because he hath needlessly disturbed the peace of the congregation. . . Thirdly; this preparation is to be made by the elders, because the body of the people, if numerous, . . cannot in reason, bestow their time and pains. . . as the intricacy and perplexity of the work will sometimes require. . . He that complains. . . must not dare to complain to the elder . . unless he can plainly and peremptorily lay in his accusation: I say peremptorily accuse . . because I would prevent such weak expressions as, . . ‘I take it so; I conceived it so: It was so reported, etc.’ [and] as his accusation must be plain, so his proofs must be direct and pregnant: . . there must be two ‘witnesses’ [at least] to establish ‘every word; except the things be otherways evidenced sufficiently, as by confession, etc.

“On the elders’ parts, . . let the accusation be presently and exactly recorded, together with the answer thereunto. . . Let them confine all parties to the point in hand. . .

“The execution of the sentence issues in four things: first; the cause, exactly recorded, is as fully and nakedly to be presented to the consideration of the congregation: secondly; the elders are to go before the congregation in laying open the rule so far as reacheth any particular now to be considered, and to express their judgment and determination thereof, so far as appertains to themselves: thirdly; unless the people be able to convince them of error and [or] mistakes; . . . they are bound to join their judgments with the elders’, to the completing of the sentence: fourthly; the sentence . . . is to be solemnly passed, and pronounced upon the delinquent, by the ruling [teaching?] elder; whether it be the censure of admonition or excommunication. . . . Touching this last, . . . all the body are bound to reject all church-communication with him [the malefactor]; and that, because he hath renounced the rule of Christ, and is therefore justly delivered up to Satan to be his slave in the kingdom of darkness, who would not be a subject to Christ in the kingdom of light. They are to renounce all voluntary and unnecessary familiarity with him even in civil converse; that they may as much as in them lies without any breach of any bond or relation that lies upon them, discountenance him in his course, and cause him to be ‘ashamed’ [2 Thess. iii. 14]; and therefore, in some particulars he is below the degree of a heathen, ‘with such a one eat not,’ 1 Cor. v. 11; and yet if an infidel invite to a feast, we may go, by allowance from the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 27; and by parity of reason, we may invite such occasionally: but the like carriage we may not express to an excommunicate! . . . Hence excommunication being an ordinance of so great terror, and of so . . . great concernment unto all; if we look at the manner, it must be proceeded in with much moderation, pity, patience, and long sufferance: if there can be a healing of a corrupt member, we must not be hasty to cut it off. If we look at the matter, it must not be for petty-aberrations, but for such evils as the mind and conscience of a man enlightened by the Truth of God, would condemn in himself or any upon the first serious consideration, were his understanding left to the liberty of reason . . . and not perverted with prejudice and selfishness. Such evils which are either heinous and [or] abominable, as fornication, adultery, incest, murder, treason, etc.; or if not so gross, yet carry the face of evil in their forehead upon the first serious and well-grounded consideration of reason, and have been pertinaciously and obstinately persisted in after the improvement of all means upon them for conviction and reformation; these only, deserve excommunication, by the rules of Christ, 1 Cor. v. Matt. xviii. 17. When such evils are presented to the church and there is a mutual and joint concurrence of all, every particular congregation hath received power from Christ to proceed to excommunication without any more ado. . . . The like also may be done if some few should dissent, in case their reasons be heard and answered, and they silenced by the power of argument. But in case things prove doubtful . . . and the difference grow wide and great, it is then reasonable to crave the counsel and help of neighbouring churches: not to receive any power from them to execute the censure, but that they may see the truth cleared; the erring parties may be convinced; the way also warranted: which being done, either all will agree, or else the major part of the church hath power and right to proceed and pass the censure. . . . But in case the . . . consociated churches shall advise to withhold; the case will then appear doubtful, and want ground of conviction on the church’s part; and therefore . . . they must stay their proceeding. . . .

“The compass according to which the people should confine themselves in putting forth their power and judgment may be conceived in this rule, The fraternity have no more power to oppose the sentence of the censure thus prepared and propounded by the elders, than they have to oppose their doctrine which they shall publish: but they have as much power to oppose the one as the other. . . . — I speak of the censure as dogmatically propounded, not of the judicial passing of it. — . . . That their [the elders’] power is equal in both, appears probably thus; when the cause is cleared and proved . . . the [teaching?] elder may refer it to the Word, and out of the Word preach it as a doctrine; so that the sentence the elder will pass shall be a point he will preach; and therefore, none shall oppose the one but he shall oppose the other. And hence it follows . . . if they [the fraternity] cannot confute his doctrine, they are bound to entertain and establish it. Therefore, they must do so with their [the elders’] censures, as the inference forceth. And

this kind of proceeding in judicature discovers so much wisdom, care, and faithfulness, of the Lord Christ in providing for the comfort, honour, and safety, of His Church, as the like is not to be found in all the Governments upon earth wherein the greatest excellency ever appeared to the apprehension of the sons of men. For behold, the Lord Christ is so tender and compassionate over His Church, that the meanest member thereof shall not be touched, in the least measure, in his liberty; but He hath fitted, called, and appointed, His officers, wise and holy 'watchmen' [Heb. xiii. 17] that shall secretly and seriously examine all things with all exactness; shall receive nothing but upon such proof as that whereby 'every word shall be established;' and yet when all this is evidenced, they shall not proceed against them [any] in private, but they shall present all these evidences to the view and consideration of them all [the fraternity], lay open the truth before them; and nothing shall be done that they shall oppose, but must approve . . . as suitable to the rules of truth and righteousness and love. And this proceeding is held, in all things to all His members. The like is not to be found on earth! . . .

"It is yielded on all hands, that the fraternity may renounce and condemn the false, erroneous, and heretical doctrines of an elder; . . . yea, reject his opinions, and take away his office from him; they may do as much, by parity of reason, against his false and unjust censures. . . . The conclusion then is, The fraternity [is] put for the causal power, in the censure of excommunication; whence it receives its complete being. And here lies the *supreme tribunal*, in point of judgment! . . . Mr. Rutherford grants, that it is the constant received and maintained opinion of divines, ancient and modern, that excommunication be done 'consentiente plebe:' bk. i. p. 44. . . . Let it be supposed, that where there be three elders, two of them should turn heretics and continue so; how could the church proceed against them, unless there were a causal power in the fraternity to accomplish this censure? For if by 'church' be meant the eldership, how can one, be the church? . . . That excommunication should proceed and be completed by one man, is contrary to grain of the words and the process of our Saviour set down in Matt. xviii. which is, to rise by increase from one to two or three, and thence to a multitude. This ground thus proved being received, many collections flow naturally: . . . first, The power of judgment and power of office, are apparently distinct: . . . the elders in point of 'rule' . . . are supreme; . . . but in point of power of judgment or 'censure,' the fraternity are supreme; . . . nor need any man strange [wonder] at this distinction when the like is daily obvious in parallel examples. . . . The Lord Mayor is above the Court; . . . and yet the Court is above [him] in point of censure. . . . Thus the parliament is above the king; the soldiers and captains above their general. . . . That is a staple rule, which stands fast, The whole hath power over any member and members; and can preserve itself and safety against any of their power that would annoy or destroy it. And this must be yielded by all those who give power of excommunication to synods and councils, in that brethren as well as elders are members of the synods; and the acts of those assemblies issue from both elders and brethren, as all the orthodox prove against the popish impropiators. . . . Lastly; the church . . . hath right and power of managing these censures, because it belongs to her *καθ' αὐτὸ*, and appertains to her as such a body, and therefore cannot be taken away unless her being be taken away! . . .

"PART IV. Concerning Synods.—CHAP. i. Wherein Mr. Rutherford's Sixth Argument is debated, taken out of Acts xv., and the Nature of that Synod discussed; and how far that or any other Synod can be said to bind, by any Warrant from the Word.— . . . This authority [derived to Synods, etc, from Christ, in his Word] is by several men severally considered: namely, it is either authority of church-counsel, or church-jurisdiction: Mr. R. p. 271, near the end. . . . By authority of the Word only, from whence their determinations are fetched and confirmed apparently. And then, they are said to bind *materialiter*, in regard of the thing determined. . . . And so their counsels are no other than God's commands, [and] contain a divine authority which is now, by them, discovered, and in his Name applied; . . . as Acts xv. 20, enjoins to 'abstain from fornication,' which are the express words of Scripture from the Law in the Gospel. But besides this, they are said to bind *formaliter*, when it is supposed and [or] taken for granted that the decrees are not only required in the Word, but enjoined by such who have church-jurisdiction, and in virtue of that authority can impose; and in cases of refusal,

have power to censure ecclesiastically. We conceive the former, that is, the authority of brotherly counsel, is attended by Christ; Mr. Rutherford expresseth much learning and labour to maintain and prove the latter. . .

“Of Acts xv. This synod was not extraordinary. . . It is true, the apostles were extraordinary men . . . but that was not here attended, nor in virtue of that did they act. . . For in extraordinary revelations and infallible assistances, men do not join ordinary churches; . . . but so the whole work was carried here; the men *disputed*, inquired: each man had allowed liberty to propound his thoughts, had recourse to the Scriptures and reasoned out of them, verses 7—18. And therefore, the Lord here leaves a copy and sampler, to all succeeding generations, how to seek the truth by way of trial, in the use of such means which He hath appointed. Their sentence, was not therefore scriptur[al] or canonical because they decreed it; as when they were infallibly assisted and acted ‘by the Holy Ghost;’ 2 Pet. i. 21. . . To ‘abstain from fornication’ . . . is the very letter of the text [Matt. xix. 9]; the other particulars issue out of one ground, and thence have the strength of divine prohibition, for in things of indifferent use—as those which were ‘strangled,’ and ‘blood’—the rule of the apostle admits no gainsaying: 1 Cor. i. and last, [viii. 16.]; Rom. xiv. They were not therefore canonical Scripture because decreed; but *è contra*, because they were Scripture, therefore they were decreed! And it is one thing to make *mandatum, quò tale*, divine Scripture; another thing when the matter is by force of undeniable consequence gathered out of Scripture, to give it out as a mandate: verse 28. . . The synod may be said to charge the truth of God upon the churches . . . by way of authoritative counsel; because they have [had] the divine authority of the Scripture commanding all that they decreed long before; . . . and the power whereof they, by way of application, pressed upon their consciences in the particulars mentioned. . . So any christian that shall publish and preach that of 1 Cor. vi. 18, he may press this prohibition as binding the conscience . . . not from the authority of him that speaks, but because it is Scripture that is spoken; and may lawfully lay an absolute *necessity* upon all his hearers that they must keep that charge, since it is God’s charge now published and applied by his means. . .

“I shall reason from his own grant, ‘That which is not in the Word, is a device of man:’ Mr. R. p. 202. . . And that which I desire may be especially observed in this place is, that from this grant I cannot see how—I do not say the authority of a classis or synod can be proved, but how—either a classis or synod can be maintained to be an ordinance. If [they be], and so parts of his Worship [Discipline], then they are if not expressed [in], yet necessarily may they, nay they be, collected out of, the Scripture: for that only is a part of God’s worship, which God himself appoints: but it is here granted, that all these ‘divisions of nations into provinces, of provinces into territories and [called] classes,’ are not to be found ‘in the Word.’ Therefore, they are no ordinances of Christ! . . . When it is added, ‘that John and Thomas [and so many threes and fours of believers] should be members of an [Independent] congregation, is not found in the Word;’ I answer, it is found, though [it were] not particularly expressed, . . . yet so as may necessarily be collected therefrom: All who are ‘believers’ . . . should, by duty, attend upon Christ in all his ordinances, and therefore in church-fellowship; as the apostle disputes and concludes Eph. iv. 11—16. . . I conceived it necessary to take notice of that ‘division of a nation into provinces, etc,’ because we have herein the foundation laid and a way made for synods, which must have their garb cut after this compass; but it shall anon appear [that] this apostolical pattern, will quit us of any such constraining influence. . . Were it enough for several churches to assemble and set out decrees which might bind all indifferently, whether they had commissioners or no commissioners in their meeting; then the decrees of one province or nation might impose upon another province or nation; which is, by all, conceived and concluded to be unequal: nay, it may fall out that they may impose contrary things, and so of necessity breed and bring confusion and vexation instead of reformation! . . . ‘But this synod at Jerusalem sent their decrees to all the churches of the Gentiles, who [some of whom] never sent their commissioners thither; therefore [the decrees of this synod bind more than those who delegated messengers to it] only by way of counsel. That pattern which sends a church [by its commissioners] two hundred miles for a synod and consociation; that doth not tie a church either to a provincial or national synod. . . If it

be replied, If I may go so far, therefore I may gather one nearer : I answer, True . . . but it is as true [that] by this pattern any delinquent may refuse to do so ; but [for] when his cause comes to be scanned, and he to be convented before a provincial or national synod, he may plead that liberty which the practice of the apostles, propounded here as precedential, will allow : and so, by this sampler, national and provincial synods are wholly made frustrate, and may as well be rejected as received. . .

“PT. IV. CHAP. ii.—Where Mr. Rutherford’s Arguments touching the Superiority of Classes and Synods above Particular Congregations are considered and answered.—. We shall now address ourselves to the examination of the seventh and ninth arguments [in his 15th chapter] because they arise out of one root, and one bottom serves to bear them both. ‘If when an obstinate brother offends we must tell the church, then the same course is to be taken when an obstinate church offends ; p. 217 : for Christ’s remedy . . . is hence argued to be imperfect if excommunication doth not remove all offences, and prevent the leaving of many lumps ; p. 221. He that careth for the part must much more care for the whole church, and ordain excommunication for the edifying of it. And he that takes care of a national church, who can doubt but he hath care of edifying and saving, in the day of Christ, churches of nations and provinces ; p. 221.’ . . I desire no better armory to fetch weapons from to wound this cause withal : for from the ground of this argument, I would reason thus—not that I take it to be good, but it is good against him and his cause, because it is his own :—If when an obstinate brother offends I must tell the church ; then when an obstinate church offends I must take the same course : then when an œcumenical synod or council offends, I must take the same course. But that is exceedingly irrational. . . Excommunication cannot remove the offences of an œcumenical council ; therefore Christ’s remedy is ‘imperfect’ ! . . When Mr. Rutherford hath answered this, he will answer himself.

“Reasons against [this seventh argument] : 1. That course of proceeding which hinders the removing and healing of offences, that is not Christ’s course. . . Suppose I am a delinquent ; the classis will proceed against me ; I appeal to a synod : . . from it to a national, and from that to an œcumenical council : and [now] since there hath not been a general synod near upon this *two* hundred years, nor when there will be any, who can tell ! before that be gathered, censure cannot be executed, upon these grounds. 2. That which frustrates the power of congregations, yea, directly crosseth the rule which our Saviour hath given for the exercise of discipline in each particular church ; that is not Christ’s way. . . Whoever hears not the voice of ‘the church,’ is to be cast out and accounted ‘as a heathen :’ but he who appeals from the judgment of the church after admonition, he hears not the judgment of the church ; therefore he deserves to be cut off. And yet, by this law of appeal, the law of Christ . . . is wholly crossed ! . . 3. . . Though there be not an appeal made to an œcumenical council ; . . the party that broacheth false doctrine in Scotland, is not convinced . . . by the classis ; but makes an appeal, . . but that shall not be [to] a provincial nor national synod in Scotland, but [to] one in Germany or Holland : and from this pattern, he pleads his lawful liberty in such a proceeding. If they went . . . two hundred miles, from Antioch to Jerusalem ; why may not I, upon the like occasion, challenge the like liberty ? And who can oppose, unless he will oppose the precedential practice of the Gospel. . . Thus, human devices prejudice God’s ordinances ! . . The truth is, a Particular Congregation, is the highest tribunal unto which the grieved party may appeal, in the third place : . . if difficulties arise . . . the counsel of other churches should be sought, . . but the power of censure rests still in the congregation, where Christ placed it. . .

“‘We desire,’ saith he, ‘a warrant from God’s Word, why sister churches may use some power of the Keys against sister churches ; such as to rebuke them, and plead with them ; and yet we may not use all the power of the Keys, even excommunication ; p. 222.’ . . That rebuking out of christian charity, is diverse from an act of authority and excommunication ; I suppose there need no better proof than his own principles will yield : one classis may admonish another ; one provincial synod may counsel, may rebuke another ; . . one or all of these, may plead with a general council. And yet he grants, one church cannot excommunicate another ; one provincial synod hath no power over another ; none of all these can excommunicate a general council, nor have they authority over it ! He adds, ‘The Jews

did justly excommunicate the church of the Samaritans, and Christ alloweth thereof, John iv. 22 : in which words, Christ pronounceth the Jews to be the true church, and the Samaritans not to be true.' From these words, how to fetch or force an excommunication of a church, I am yet to learn: for by his own confession, 'excommunication, is to deny all church-communion with those who were of one church and communion;' but so, the Samaritans were never of the Jews. Besides, there is not any act of power expressed. . . Should a man reason thus, If our Saviour condemn^d the Samaritans' worship; . . then one 'sister church' may excommunicate another: I suppose the repeating of such a consequence, were reply enough; as he, *recitare est confutare*. . . A man never so mean may separate from the assemblies of Turks, Pagans, and Papists; yet for the same person to [pretend to] excommunicate such an assembly would be a sinful profanation of God's ordinance.

"His eighth argument, is taken from the common concurrence of the apostles, in their counsels and carriages of businesses: . . 'The select pastors of the christian world, and select brethren, chose Matthias, Acts i.: the treasury of the churches was committed to the apostles, because that concerned all; iv. 34, 35 : the common synod of the twelve apostles ordained deacons; vi. 3—6: there is a synod of pastors at Ephesus, whom Paul warned to take heed of the flock; xx. 17, 28 : Peter giveth an account of his going to the Gentiles, before a synod of apostles and brethren, xi. 2—18 : an assembly of elders appoint Paul to purify himself; xxi. 18, 24; a synod of elders ordained Timothy; 1 Tim. iv. 14.' These several places . . have met us, as it were, at every turn: . . in all which we have referred . . them unto this as the proper place. . . The office of the apostles being extraordinary, . . extraordinary practices, are no suitable ingredients to make up ordinary precedents, as certain and standing copies to succeeding generations. . . This being once mentioned, and remembered, it will ease us of needless repetitions. . . I reply then first, generally: That there can be no warrant or proof of a synod, in these several instances; will appear . . from Mr. Rutherford's own principles, p. 204, 1. That the members of a synod, must be elders and brethren sent as commissioners from several churches; which are not here to be found in any of these places: 2. 'The ground of this gathering members from many churches, must be matter of weight; and that which is attended with much difficulty and danger also:' 3. 'The manner of their proceedings, is by way of disquisition, and agitation of all or many of the members who are willing to speak:' 4. 'The decisions and determinations are by common consent and joint approbation of all in whose name such sentences are decreed and published: And none of all these is to be found in any of these instances [or texts, supra]; so that to my shallow conceiving, there is not the least semblance of a 'synod!'

"But let us come somewhat nearer, and take the particulars into special consideration. . . If Peter directed the particular assembly, how far they should go, and after what manner they should proceed in making way for the choice of Matthias; then 'synods' have ecclesiastic authority over particular congregations: how crazy is such a consequence! And yet the second instance carries a further distance from the cause in hand. . . Where are the joint voices and suffrages of apostles, pastors, and select brethren of 'many congregations,' which were to be demonstrated, by promise, to be in this example? Besides, how 'deacons' are to order the treasury of the church, needs no 'synod' at all. . . To reason then, from this place, If the apostles . . did manage the treasury of the church, because the office of deacons was not yet instituted; then, a 'synod' hath authoritative ecclesiastic power over a congregation: such an inference, hath little cement of reason! Neither doth the third instance come near the conclusion to be proved. . . If the apostles laid their hands upon the deacons elected by the people; therefore, a 'synod' hath authoritative power over a congregation: such an inference will appear feeble at the first sight! The eleventh of the Acts . . hath as little, if not less, evidence of proof, than any of the former. . . But hence to reason, If Peter gave an account and warrant of his communion with Cornelius to those Jews that questioned it, . . be it done before them or never so many besides them; then, a 'synod' hath an authoritative power over a congregation: there is no conclusive force; nay, in truth, nor a colour, in such a consequence! That of Acts xxi, carries some small appearance at the first view. . . There is nothing here done or recorded, but what the elders of a congregation might do to some faithful minister that was arrived at their coast: . .

without all question, 'synod' there was none, because it must be either provincial or national. . . And to reason hence, If James and the elders met to entertain Paul at his coming, and he saluted them; and they suggested to him how he might so carry himself. . . that he might crush the false rumours that were spread of him; then, a 'synod' hath ecclesiastical authority over a congregation: there is no constraining force in such a kind of reasoning! That of Acts xx, hath least of all, that looks this way. . . Where is there any the least show of the joint voices and suffrages of apostles, elders, and select brethren of 'many congregations?' . . . To reason thus, If the elders of Ephesus met at Miletus were sent for by Paul to come to visit him as he passed by in his travel and to take their farewell of him, and to receive some holy counsel from him; then, 'synods' have an ecclesiastical power over congregations: how unreasonable would such a reason seem! The last place alleged, 1 Tim. iv. . . proves not that for which it is brought: . . . we have only the hand of the eldership, but not a word of any select brethren that were interested in this work. . . The consequence of the proposition, upon his [Mr. R's] own grounds, cannot be gainsaid: if the select brethren have a joint hand and suffrage, in the work of ordination, with the eldership; then is not the work proper to the elders: for which, he hath so frequently, so constantly, contended through his whole book! . . .

"Arg. 10. [the 9th referred to the 7th]— . . . Let us now listen to the reasons which Mr. Rutherford allegeth, whereby he endeavours to prove [that] because the government of Independent Churches doth not authorize persons to be pastors and teachers to pagans, and by pastoral authority to make them the churches of Christ; therefore that government is 'deficient in the means of the propagation of the Gospel.' 1. 'Because it is unbecoming the care of Christ, that pastoral authority should be so confined at home and imprisoned within the lists of every Particular Congregation, that the 'care' spoken of 2 Cor. xi. 28, should be in no pastor upon the earth, but be dead with the apostles.' . . . That one, or many, or all, of them should have 'pastoral authority,' and out of that ground exercise pastoral 'care over all churches,' or indeed, over many; it is cross to the institution of our Saviour, and therefore should not, nay in truth cannot, be exercised by any ordinary man: . . . but 'pastors and teachers,' who have but *ordinary* gifts, they have but . . . a particular congregation to till and teach; and he that knows his duty and doth his duty will find enough of that: τῷ ποιμνίῳ, Acts xx. 28. . . The Saviour hath now put an end to the *extraordinary* callings of apostles and evangelists. . . He that keeps the stream in one channel, he best provides for [against] the strength of it. He adds, 2. 'As if those places, 1 Cor. x. 32; ix. 19—21; Rom. i. 14, 15; ix. 2, 3; did not press, upon all ministers of Christ, the extending of their pastoral vigilancy to the feeding and governing of all the churches in their bounds that make up one visible body: p. 225.' . . . All that is here said falls short. . . Rom. i. 14, is peculiar to the calling of an apostle. . . The rest of the places respect only a double christian duty unto which all men are bound. . . 3. He would infer some 'seeming absurdities'; . . . as first, 'Hence it must follow that when the Grecian church shall be wronged by the Hebrew, that the pastors may not synodically meet and, by joint authority, remove offences; Acts vi. i.' I reply, There is no colour for such an inference. . . From his own grant, though they do thus meet, yet he denies they can 'give power over the churches under other presbyteries.' The second inference is of the same stamp, . . . 'It followeth that all the meetings of the apostles and pastors to take care authoritatively for the churches, as Acts i; iv. 35; vi. 2—4; xi. 1; xxi. 18; xx. 28; viii. 14; xiv. 1—3; xv. 6; were all meetings extraordinary, and temporary,' I reply, Let all be granted, for the present: . . . yet this gives in no evidence that they can give pastoral power and jurisdiction to men out of the churches: . . . no ordinary pastors can judge those who are 'without;' and those are infidels, by this grant. . . If therefore government by Independent Churches be insufficient, because it authorizeth not persons to be pastors over Pagans, etc.; then, this government by 'synodical' meeting will be insufficient: for we see it labours of the same fault! . . .

"Eleventh argument; 'For sanctified reason, teacheth that the stronger authority of the greater politic 'body' of Christ should help the parts of the 'body' that are weaker, as 1 Cor. xii. 23, 26. . . Therefore, the greater body, and national church, is to communicate its authority for the good of a particular church, which is a part

thereof.' The proposition is true; but the assumption takes that for granted which is the very question to be proved; . . . for there be no national churches which are the *integrum* to particular congregations as the 'parts' thereof! . . . When it is lastly added that 'The argument is drawn from the greater authority in the politic body, to the lesser; but brotherly counsel, is no authority:' it is true the argument is taken from that authority, in the . . . similitude; but that similitude is not made good in the case in hand, and in the reddition which was the thing to be proved: for it is the thing questioned, and by us denied, That a classis hath any power, according to Christ, over particular congregations.

"Twelfth and last argument; 'If Christ left the churches of a whole nation in no worse case than the national church of the Jews was in . . . for the turning away of wrath; then, hath Christ ordained to churches, in the New Testament, national assemblies which authoritatively, etc.: but Christ hath left the churches of a whole nation in no worse case, . . . 'The proposition is denied; because there is a marvellous difference betwixt the national church of the Jews' and all other churches that ever were or shall be, since that. . . Nor yet doth it follow from hence, that the churches of the Gentiles, in times of the New Testament, be without these, that therefore they are left in a 'worse case;' because they had the types, we the truth; they the shadow, we the body. Every congregation visible rightly gathered, hath right unto and use of all ordinances; all the officers, both the seals of the covenant: so that we need not go to Jerusalem, either to passover or sacrifice! . . . God's people, who enter into church-covenant and fellowship of the faith are and should be free in so doing: church-fellowship, is to be ordered and acted by ecclesiastical policy, not civil: if a prince . . . should, by covenant and oath, make his whole kingdom a national church, he should do more than he hath any word of Christ to warrant his work. . . The ends of general Reformation may be attained by power of the civil magistrate, who may, authoritatively, require all the churches in all their several assemblies to attend the mind of Christ: . . . if corrupt, they may be compelled by the civil power to attend the rules of Christ which . . . they would be content to cast off."

At this place we arrive at "An Appendix to the former treatise, concerning Synods," prefaced by "An epistle of them that sent the book over to be printed;" in which it is signified the [former] treatise concerning Synods is not so complete as was intended by this reverend author: . . . these few questions here annexed . . . found in his study . . . may be somewhat useful to the further clearing of the same subject. . . The whole discourse doth manifest that he denies a Synod that hath juridical power; . . . and he grants a Synod that hath a power of counsel, Acts xv."—"Here were but two churches: one church advising with another: p. 49."

"PT. IV. CHAP. iii.—1. What is a Synod? 2. How are Synods proved: or, what Scriptures or Reasons prove the necessity of Synods? 3. What is the power of a Synod? 4. To whom the power of Calling Synods doth appertain?" Many of the particulars under these heads are but as jottings of what is comprised in the larger dissertation. That which most of all attracted our surprise, and demands some notice is the concluding matter:³ "It belongs to the supreme magistrate and the power of his place, to enjoin the solemn and public concurrence of the several persons of the churches; and to appoint and nominate whom of those he will have to consider of such weighty and doubtful cases which concern the public profession and practising of the Worship of God within his dominions. . . They [the churches] may as christians, maintain private communion one with another; seek, and by entreaty call for, the counsel and help one of another; and, as they be churches, use that christian privilege of auxilium et consilium to further their own good and promote the work under their hand: and that act, requires no allowance of [the] magistrate at all. . . But when any proceed to [gather] public and solemn assemblings, this comes properly under the cognizance of the magistrate, . . . and requires his allowance. . . [For] first that a right opinion, and worship of God, should be openly professed within the territories and jurisdiction of a state, appertains to them as that which comes within the verge and object of the state and policy to attend. . . Secondly; hence the supreme magistrate hath liberty and power both to inquire [into] and judge of professions and religions, which is

true, and ought to be maintained; which is false, and ought to be rejected: for were he bound to follow the judgment of the churches or ministers, if they should judge a toleration of all religions lawful, or judge the false to be true, he then were bound to nurse the false religion and false churches. . . . If the churches need and desire the protection of the magistrate, in their way of worship; then they must be ready to give him an account of their way when he requires it, and therefore to concur and assemble upon his appointment that so he may know and lend his patronage and protection. This conclusion, in all the particulars of it, is made good by all the examples in the Old and New Testaments; as that of Asa, Hezekiah, Josiah: Herod, Matt. ii. 4." ^a

CHAP. LXXIV.

CLEMENT WALKER, HIS "TWO JUNTOS," HIS "HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCY," ETC.—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—OXFORD PURGED—BAILLIE—SYNAGOGUE POLITY.

OUR introduction to the first of a set of pamphlets published anonymously, but written by Clement Walker, Member for Wells, Somersetshire, and of whom Anthony à Wood says, that he and Prynne were inseparable brethren;^b shall be a note upon it, by David Hume; "This is an author of spirit and ingenuity: and being a zealous parliamentarian, his authority is very considerable, notwithstanding the air of satire which prevails in his writings."^c His several pieces bear the impress of resentment occasioned by disappointment, of which, evidence will be produced; it is easy, consequently, to estimate the quality of his judgment by the state of his thermal temperature. The first is, "The mystery of the Two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independent. Or, the Serpent in the Bosom, Unfolded.—Printed in the year 1647." 4to. pp. 20.

The prefatory address, "To the Unbiassed Reader," calls upon such a one to "Consider how, by a prevaricating number of 'Grandees,' our first principles are altered; our religion into schism and hypocritical profaneness: insomuch that the Lord's supper is now almost everywhere discontinued, for want of—I know not what—imaginary Utopian holiness: the creed, Lord's prayer, and ten commandments,—the instruments of faith, hope, charity, . . . —left out of the Directory. Thus much for religion. Our known laws, being the second principle held out to the people by the National Covenant and many Declarations, are turned into arbitrary, emergent and upstart 'Orders' and 'Ordinances of Parliament; every day rising, and every day withering, like mushrooms: so that we are now governed *jure vago et incerto*; . . . a great misery. The third principle, is our liberties. What is become of them, this little treatise will tell you, as also of our properties." The address is wound up with its share of cumbrous pedantry, and is subscribed, "Theodorus Verax." We must now

^a A laboured reply to the above piece, is intituled, "A Survey of the 'Survey of that 'Sum of Church-Discipline,' penned by Mr. Thos. Hooker: etc. By Sam. Rutherford. 1658." 4to. pp. 521. Other replies, by Hudson and Cawdrey, will be noticed in their places.

^b Athenæ Oxon., sub Nomine.

^c Hist. of Eng. chap. lix. an. 1647.

assay to penetrate “The Mystery,” which began to be unveiled, and is unveiled, in these words :—

“The Kingdom being overgrown with prerogative, corruption, and superstition—the fruits of a long and lazy peace—by a long discontinuance of Parliaments ; at last, by Providence, his Majesty was necessitated to call a Parliament, the only college of physicians, to purge the much distempered body of the Commonwealth. In this Parliament, a contest between the King’s prerogative and the People’s laws and liberties begat a war, the Divines on both sides, out of their pulpits sounding an alarm thereto. And not only sermons, but Declarations of Parliament and the National Covenant, holding forth to the People the defence of religion, laws, liberties and properties, inflamed the People to the rage of battle, as the elephant is enraged at the sight of red ! This war occasioned extraordinary taxes and levies of money, such as were never heard of by our ancestors, and were irritamenta malorum, the nurse of our corruptions.

“This incentive, working upon the human frailty of the speaking and leading members of the Houses caused them first to interweave their particular interests and ambitions with the public ; and lastly, to prefer them before the public. Wherefore the said leading men, or ‘Grandeets,’ for that is now parliament language, first divided themselves into two factions or juntos, Presbyterians and Independents ; seeming to look only upon the Church, but,—religion having the strongest operation upon the spirit of man,—involved the interests of the Commonwealth.

“The common people of the two Houses, following—with an implicit faith and blind obedience—the example of their leaders, divided themselves also into the said dichotomy ; . . . studied the upholding of their parties with earnestness ; whilst the ‘Grandeets’ of each party, in private close together for their own advancement ; serving one another’s turn . . . And for the better contentment of such their confidants as looking too intently after their own gain, the ‘Grandeets’ of each junto confer something of advantage upon those that are subservient unto them ; as five pounds a week, or some petty employment . . . Though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet, when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that a powerful Independent especially moves for a Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent ; and seldom doth one oppose or speak against another in such cases, unless something of particular spleen or competition comes between : . . . by this artifice the ‘Grandeets’ of each side share the Commonwealth between them ; and are now become proud domineering Rehoboams,—even over the rest of their fellow-members ; contrary to the liberty of Parliament, which consists in an equality,—that were formerly fawning ambitious Absaloms !”^a

The key to the tone of all that in this sounds so like Rodomontade, is contained in these *mysterious* allusions, which follow almost immediately : ‘Others that have ventured their persons abroad, laboured in the public work like Israelites under these Egyptian taskmasters, and

^a P. 3—5.

lost their estates, are left to starve until they can find relief in that empty bag called by fools 'fides publica,' by wise men 'fides Punica;' and are now looked upon in the House superciliously, like unwelcome guests,—for it is known how malignantly and how juggingly writs for new elections were granted and executed,—and called 'younger brothers.' And like younger brothers they are used, their elder brothers having stepped into the world before them and anticipated the inheritance!"^a Though whatever occasioned the soreness might not be revealed, one point is clear, that there was a party to which the writer of these words ensuing could not then have been attached, "What is become of our National Covenant,^b and the Parliament's many Declarations for defence of laws and liberty?"^c As a wind-up here, he makes this extraordinary disclosure as a ground of complaint, "Nay, it is further whispered, 'That at last, the junto-men will quit the parliament-privilege of not being sued; purposely to leave these 'younger brothers' to the mercy of their creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.'"^d

From page 6 to 13, all sorts of allegations are charged upon the envied "Grandees" and their partisans: unbounded extravagance and rapacity; and even the show of decency and public honour disregarded; without any redeeming plea urged for all, whether the greatness of the occasion and the violence of the contention, would have admitted of less extravagance and incontestable evil! But upon these matters we are not called to remark, beyond the extent of the limits we assign them. This denouncer of "Juntos," falls into the strange inconsistency of himself projecting another, "to moderate the excesses of the other two." "Twenty or thirty men," he says, "holding together and observing the cross debates and different sway of each party, may easily make themselves moderators of their differences, and turn the scales for the best advantage, . . . since it is very rare to have any question carried by more than eight or ten voices."^e

"Let us now consider where their several strength lies. The Independent groundeth his strength upon the Army; which if he can keep up, he hopes to give the law to all, and to produce that great chimera, Liberty of Conscience; not considering that the confusion and licentiousness of such a liberty will destroy itself; *libertas libertate perit*. The Presbyterians have three pillars to support them: first, the City is their chief foundation; . . . inland garrisons; and supernumerary forces new-modelled; are like to prove the three-stringed whip wherewith the Presbyterian Phaetons will drive the triumphant chariot, if they prevail. To which may be added, the Presbyters themselves, who, by overawing men's consciences with their doctrine, will subdue and work men's minds like wax to receive any impression of bondage that tyranny and oppression can set upon them, as they do in Scotland. The clergy in all times and places have ever held with the mighty; as the jackal hunts still with the lion to partake of his prey.

"[The clergy have ever had an itch to be meddling with state-affairs; which shows how contemptible an opinion they have of their own coat,

^a P. 5.

^b In p. 7, he calls it "Our Solemn League and Covenant."

^c P. 6.

^d *Ib.*

^e P. 13.

that they can find no contentment in it: yet they would have the laity to have a reverend opinion of it! The Popish clergy draw all civil affairs, public and private, under their jurisdiction and cognizance, quatenus there is peccatum in all human actions; the Presbyterians, quatenus there is scandalum in all human actions. What is the odds? Peccatum is the mother, Scandalum the daughter; and both pretend they do this ‘in ordine ad Deum.’ But universal experience teacheth us, how miserable the Commonwealth is where the corruption of a Churchman proves the generation of a Statesman!]^a

We cannot withhold the remarks, “That as frequent Parliaments are good physic, so continual Parliaments are bad food; and the people may complain that, Qui medicè vivit, miserè vivit. Parliaments are bona peritura; they cannot keep long without corruption. Their perpetuity emboldens the members by taking from them all fear of being called to account; especially if they get their sons into the Houses as well as themselves, . . . whereby they have an estate in their places for two or three lives. Moreover by long sitting, they become so familiar with one another’s persons and designs as to serve one another’s turns, to join interests and to draw out factions: hodie mihi, cras tibi; If you and your party will help me to-day, I and my friends will help you to-morrow.”^b

“Thus far,” says this unaccountable writer, “I adventured to vindicate our religion, laws, and liberties, with my pen; in discharge of my conscience, and pursuance of our National Covenant which obligeth us to defend them against whomsoever, to our power.”^c

The next in order of Clement Walker’s anonymous pieces is that of which Bishop Warburton remarks, “It is written in a rambling way, and with a vindictive Presbyterian spirit, full of bitterness; but it gives an admirable idea of the character of the times, parties, and persons.” And elsewhere, he describes it as “A civil history; or rather of the nature of a political pamphlet against the Independents. It is full of curious anecdotes; though written with much fury, by a wrathful

^a P. 14—16, The addition between the brackets, is made in the reprint, 1648. p. 14.

^b P. 18.

^c P. 19.—We append what had not come before us when our 69th chapter was at the press; to p. 183 of which, the reader is referred: while he will find here another specimen of that spirit of bigotry with which its subject was irrepressively possessed:—“The Casting-down of the last and strongest hold of Satan: Or, A Treatise against Toleration and pretended Liberty of Conscience. Wherein, by Scripture, sound Reason, Fathers, Schoolmen, Casuists, Protestant Divines of all Nations, Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches, Ecclesiastical Histories, and constant Practice of the most pious and wisest Emperors, Princes, States, the best Writers of Politics, the experience of all ages; yea, by divers Principles, Testimonies and Proceedings of Sectaries themselves, as Donatists, Anabaptists, Brownists, Independents, the Unlawfulness and Mischief in Christian Commonwealths and Kingdoms both of a Universal Toleration of all Religions and Conscience; and of a limited and bounded, of some Sects only; are clearly proved and demonstrated, with all the material Grounds and Reasons brought for such Tolerations fully answered. By Thomas Edwards, Minister of the Gospel.—The First Part.—1647.” 4to. pp. 218. “Published by Authority,” it is stated at the end of “The Table of Contents;” the whole of this Part being comprised in twenty Theses. “The rest, for a second Part,” was reserved, “the storm coming on so fast.” p. i.

Presbyterian Member who was cast out of the saddle with the rest by the Independents. Milton was even with him, in the fine and severe character he draws of the Presbyterian administration.”^a The title runs thus :—

“The History of Independency, With the Rise, Growth, and Practices of that Powerful and Restless Faction—London : Printed in the Year 1648.” 4to. pp. 174. There were two impressions in the same year, each of the same number of pages, but of different types. We cite that which we judge to be the earlier of the two.

Reader ; . . I write in a mixed style, in which, I dare say, there are some things fit to hold the judgments of the gravest, some things fit to catch the fancies of the lightest ; and some things of a middle nature : applying myself to all capacities—as far as truth will permit,—because I foresee the catastrophe of this tragedy is more likely to be consummated by multitudes of hands than wisdom of heads. . . It is good to avoid mistakes, and therefore I advise thee not to apply what I say to the Parliament or Army in general, if any phrase that hath dropped from my pen in haste,—for this is a work of haste,—seem to look asquint upon them. No ; it is the ‘Grandeess,’ the junto-men ; the *hocus-pocusses*, the State-mountebanks, with their zanies and jack-puddings, committee-men, sequestrators, treasurers, and agitators, under them ; that are here historified ! . . Whosoever will not join with the ‘Grandeess,’ . . is termed a ‘malignant ;’ as heretofore, he that would not adhere to the Parliament in supporting them, was accounted : so that the definition of a ‘malignant’ is turned the wrong side outward. . . Reader, having spoken my sense to thee, I leave thee to thy own sense, submitting myself to as much charity as God hath endowed thee withal.”

“The History.—You have in ‘The Mystery of the Two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independent,’ presented to your view these two factions, as it were in a cockpit pecking at one another ; which rising originally from the two Houses and Synod, have so much disturbed and dislocated in every joint both Church and Commonwealth. I must now set before you INDEPENDENCY triumphant ; rousing itself upon its legs, clapping its wings, and crowing in the midst of the pit with its enemy under its feet ; though not yet well resolved what use it can or may make of its victory.”^b

“But before I go any further, it is fit I tell you what Independency is. It is genus generalissimum of all errors, heresies, blasphemies, and schisms. . . As Mahomet’s Al-Choran was the gallimaufry of Jew and Christian ; so are they a composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk. With the Jew, they arrogate to be the peculiar people of God ; the godly ; the saints, who only have right unto the creatures, and should possess the good things of this world ; all others being usurpers. . . With the Christians, . . mere enthusiasts ; of a speculative and high-flying religion, too high for earth and too low for heaven. . . With the

^a “Letters from a late eminent Prelate [Dr. Warburton] to one of his Friends [Dr. Hurd]—Kidderminster,” [1808.] 4to. p. 107, 109. The passage in Milton is that long one prefixed to the Third Book of his Hist. of England ; but expunged from some editions before the collection of his Works in 1738, fol.

^b P. 29.

Turk; they subject all things, even religion, laws, and liberties,—so much cried up by them heretofore,—to the power of the sword ever since by undermining practices and lies they have juggled the State's sword into the 'Independent' scabbard."^a

From hence is a tissue of parliamentary, military, and municipal affairs, such as from their brevity and number serve at best but as "imperfect scrambling relations,"^b any one of which would perhaps require the whole number of pages they all occupy to make it intelligible. At length "an elderly gentleman of low stature, in a gray suit, with a little stick in his hand, . . . a lean meagre man;"^c the very personification of Master Clement Walker, appears on the tapis to answer to the close Committee of Examinations for an alleged parliamentary misdemeanour, and out comes, in his defence, this memorable passage, confirming our assertion of the cause of all his bitter resentment:^d—the time relates to Sept. 4th, 1647,—“ Give me leave to tell you, that I have served you faithfully from the beginning, and have taken as much pains and run as many hazards as most men in your service, wherein I have lost my health and above seven thousand pounds of my estate; without one penny compensation as other men have had; nor have I laid my hands upon any man's money or goods, or had any gainful employment from you. I contented myself to serve my country gratis; and with some little honour I had gotten thereby; whereof you have now robbed me, by a roving accusation shot at random at me. Had I cheated the State of forty or fifty thousand pounds, peradventure, I might have been thought a godly, confiding man, of right principles, and have had ten thousand pounds given me for my pains. Sir, you have heard the voice of a free man, not of a slave, that dares keep his first principles, religion, laws, and just liberties, whosoever lays them aside; and protest against tyranny and oppression where-soever he finds it, whether in the government of one or many. You may murder me by the sword of justice, but you cannot hurt me, but deliver me from the evils to come. Nor shall I be unwilling to suffer a gaol-delivery of any sort from the prison of my body, when I am called to it.”^e

It will be recollected that all this is narrated anonymously, which accounts for such modes of expression as the following: “I was the more curious in gathering the circumstances of this business out of the reports of many several men, in regard of the rareness of the case, and the exquisiteness of the malice with which it was prosecuted. And it seemed to me the more admirable, because I hear generally that Mr. Walker hath always been opposite to all parties and factions, both Presbyterian and Independent, upon whom he looks as the common disturbers both of Church and Commonwealth, and enemies of peace. Nor could he ever be persuaded to be at any of their Juntos, or secret meetings; and therefore it is not probable he should suddenly, and in the open view of the House, go forth and engage with a company of silly, unarmed, apprentice boys.^f But I hear they cannot endure his severity, nor he their knavery.”^g

We must proceed as we can, being restricted to such particulars as

^a P. 29, 30.
P. 57.

^b P. 139.

^c P. 55, 56.

^d See back, p. 320.

^f July 26th, 1647.

^g P. 58.

consort with our means and opportunities; premising that such is Walker's "scambling" style that in no instance does he make a clear statement of the rise and progress of the manifold affairs upon which he descants in his history; and which it would be impossible to penetrate at large, without much contemporaneous assistance. As a specimen of his rhetoric and spite, see his description of Miles Corbet, "This inquisitor-general, this prologue to the hangman, that looks more like a hangman than the hangman himself!"^a

Much importance indeed attaches to the paragraph concerning the Committee of Safety, arising out of the question "That the two Houses should make no more addresses nor applications to the King?" one of four votes, this being carried, in the Commons, by one hundred and forty-one yeas, against ninety-one noes. "The Members had been locked into the House of Commons from before nine of the clock in the morning to seven at night, and then the doors were unlocked and what Members would [were] suffered to go forth; whereby many Presbyterians, thinking the House had been upon rising, departed, when presently—the House being grown thin—the vote to revive the committee of both kingdoms, called 'The Committee of Safety at Derbyhouse,'^b passed by Ordinance dated 3rd Jan. 1647[-8] in these words, 'Resolved, etc., That the powers formerly granted by both Houses to the Committee of both Kingdoms—namely, England and Scotland—in relation to the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, be now granted, and vested in the Members of both Houses only that are of that Committee, with power to them alone to put the same in execution.' The original Ordinance that first erected this Committee . . . beareth date 7th Feb. 1643[-4], in which the English Committees were appointed from time to time, to propound to the Scottish Commissioners whatsoever they should receive in charge from both Houses, and to make report to both Houses; to direct the managing of the war, and to keep good correspondency with foreign states; and to receive directions from time to time from both Houses, and to continue for three months and no longer. But this Ordinance, 3rd Jan., vests the said powers in the Members thereof, only, and alone: words excluding the two Houses; and for a time indefinite.—The Members of this Committee are now, the Earl of Northumberland, Robert Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Kent, Edward Earl of Manchester, William Lord Say and Sele, Philip Lord Wharton, John Lord Robartes; William Pierrepont, Sir Henry Vane, Sen., Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Armine, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir Henry Vane, Jun., John Crewe, Robert Wallope, Oliver St. John *Solicitor*, Oliver Cromwell,^c Samuel Browne, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir John Evelyn, Jun.—22nd Jan. following, the Lords sent down a Message for a further power to this Committee; which was granted, in these words, 'Power to suppress tumults and insurrections in England, etc., and at Berwick; and for that purpose, the Committee to have power to give orders and directions to all the militia and forces of the Kingdom.'^d

^a P. 65. ^b Now the Heralds' College, Bennett's Hill, near St. Paul's Cathedral.

^c The only one of these, who sat as a Judge at the trial of the King.

^d P. 73. "There were then added to this Committee N. Fiennes in place

To the above, must be added that "Saturday, 15th Jan. the Army sent a 'Declaration' to the House of Commons, 'Thanking them for their four votes against the King,' promising them 'to live and die with the Commons in defence of them against all opponents.' Many of the Lords had argued very hotly against the said four votes, insomuch that it was ten Lords to ten; but this Engagement of the Army, and the unexpected garrisoning of Whitehall and the Mews turned the scale, so that they passed the said four votes, only adding a short preamble, little to the purpose, holding forth some reasons for passing them, to which the Commons, when they came down, assented. When presently; about twelve of the clock, the House being thin; Dennis Bond moved 'That whosoever should act against those four votes, or incite others to act against them, should be imprisoned and sequestered.' Three or four days after the Lords had passed the said four votes, the Army vouchsafed to spit thanks in their mouths, and make much of them. These four votes were generally *sinisterly* taken, and filled men's minds with suspicion what form of Government the 'Grande'es' would set up now they had laid by the King."^a

Another passage in close connexion with those which precede, will complete an elementary insight into all that being converged wrought the actual crisis of the deeply rooted and long-growing disease in the Body-Politic. "These desperate courses—to dishonour the King and make him incapable of government,—to ruin his person, crown, and dignity, and extirpate monarchy root and branch,—were taken in order to the usurping the kingly power into the 'Grande'es' of the Parliament and Army; and in case they could not purge the two Houses and make them wholly Independent, which they now despair of [!], then into the hands of the Committee or Council of State at Derby-house, and 'Grande'es' of the Army. In order to which, they are now contriving to strengthen the said Committee with more power and more members,^b and to adjourn the Parliament and send down the Presbyterian Members into the country upon pretence of service where, if any tumults happen—for which their extortions will give sufficient provocation—the said dissenting Members shall bear the blame, and have blank Impeachments^c given them, to purge them out of the Houses if not out of the world; or at least be sequestered. For now they have squeezed what they can out of the King's party by Sequestrations, the next fuel to their covetousness is to sequester the Presbyterians, and then to sequester one another;—for they are already divided into 'Pure Independents' and 'Mixed Independents,' and have feuds amongst themselves: for this faction, insatiate with money and blood, are all beasts of prey; and when they want prey, will prey upon one another;—nor shall the Houses meet above one month or two in a year to ratify and approve what Derby-house and the Junto of the Army shall dictate to them: and, to give an account to the

of Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir J. Evelyn, Jun. in place of Mr. Recorder [Glyn]; and the Earl of Kent instead of the Earl of Essex." p. 74.

^a P. 75. These four votes were recalled, Aug. 16th. p. 136.

^b "But denied," p. 74.

^c "Nothing wanted but to fill up the blanks; they might put in what names they pleased." P. 65.

domineering party how each Member hath carried himself in the country. Thus, instead of one King, we shall have twenty or thirty tyrants in chief, and as many subordinate tyrants as they please to employ under them, with the iron-yoke of an army to hold us in subjection to their arbitrary government."^a

Now for a retrospective glance over the several passages to which has been invited a more than ordinary attention.

How can the repeated instances of supineness and short-sightedness of the Presbyterians at this time, be accounted for; when it is considered especially that they were by far the larger body? Of what sects or parties was this Committee of Safety composed; and which of those predominated: that is, who among them were Presbyterians, Independents, Episcopalians, or Erastians? We make no question but that this Committee became the "steersmen"^b of the State, by taking upon themselves the chief management of affairs. Whence proceeded the unanimity of the Army? Is there not a confusion in the use of the term "Independent;" such as that sometimes the religious community, of that name, may be understood; and that, at another time, the term is epithetical only, signifying a particular party, in a civil sense? Was it possible, that a community such as the term designates in the religious sense, and comparatively insignificant for its extent, could have borne themselves paramount over all the rest of the combined power of the three kingdoms; in two of which, their distinctive peculiarities were scarcely known? If it be replied here, that the aggregate of those who were neither Episcopalians nor Presbyterians,—Papists being set aside,—went under the general appellation of "Independents;"^c the ready answer is, that as well might all the Puritans be ranked under the term "Malignants;" or all Malignants, so called, be denominated "Episcopalians," because Papists are such! Where would be the historical fitness and equity of such an application of those epithets? True it is, that true Independents were mixed up with the political as well as religious agitations of that period; and as true, that some of their confraternity were not exempted from excesses, which, even in those times of unparalleled excitement, dishonoured the best of Causes; and they are, therefore, righteously obnoxious to the recompense with which their memories are loaded for their demerits: but again; others of the confraternity were, collectively, as the cynosure of a just liberty—"equal and impartial liberty;"^d—and these, considered, that to produce so glorious a result

"Whate'er is best administer'd, is best."^e

That the majority of those of this denomination who mounted upon "the saddle"^f vacated by the Presbyterians, failed, under the impression that the public mind was the enlightened spring of what appeared to be the public will and weal, must be acknowledged; yet could they but learn how much their principles, then impregnated, have since meliorated both governors and governed throughout an empire of

^a P. 77.

^b Walker, Pt. II. p. 19.

^c "The Independents, that is, the Schismatics." Walker, Pt. II. p. 200.

^d Locke.

^e Pope.

^f Warburton, *supra*.

whose vastness they could have had no conception, their spirits would exult with those of their successors in having been instrumental towards the promoting of such an unprecedented amount of intelligence, civilization, and freedom!

To return to our "scambling" author;^a we find him, in the page following our latest citation of him, denouncing a "rebellious Army, that neither obeys King nor Parliament;"^b and yet, almost in the next page, he tells us that "four Independents, and four Presbyterian divines, conjoining their interests, were sent to season the Army and new tune them according to the more modern design."^c This effected, as we are left to imagine, with a miscellany of incidents intervening, the next resting place is where it is stated that the counties were "compelled to give thanks to the Houses for their votes against the King;" and here we meet with a prayer of a petition, that the county of Somerset "might be freed from Malignants, Neuters, and Apostates," which, "in their interpretation signifies Presbyteries and moderate men, who will not dance about the flame when the Independents make a bonfire of the Commonwealth."^d At the close of this paragraph, words occur which either foretell what was to happen, or which appear to constitute a prophecy after its accomplishment; the writer's "scambling" method, being the only explanation which may reduce the dilemma to a single consideration: "But," he exclaims, "whither doth my zeal carry me? I shall anon stumble upon a new-fangled Treason, to be declared against me without, nay against, law."^e "Anon," it will appear that this was not said in jest. His indignation is indeed wrought to a high pitch against the Ordinance of April 21st, 1648, "For suppressing all tumults and insurrections" and conferring power on any three of the Committee at Derby-house, to "imprison and sequester all such as . . . shall speak or publish anything reproachful to the Parliament or their proceedings." Hereupon, however, he falls into the same kind of inexplicable inconsistency which helps to make our conceptions of the state of affairs at that time so confused and obscure: "Thus," he remarks, "the same whip shall hang over the shoulders of the Presbyterian party, . . . as it did formerly over the King's party; and the Prebyterians shall be squeezed into the Independents' coffers as formerly the King's party were so long as they had any thing to lose: for the whole earth is little enough for these saints, who are never satisfied with money and blood, although they never look towards heaven but through the spectacles of this world! The old eulogium and character of the English nation was that they were '*hilaris gens, cui libera mens, et libera lingua;*' but now, countrymen, your tongues are in the stocks, your bodies in every gaol, your souls in the dark, and estates in the mercy of those that have no mercy, and at the discretion of those that have no discretion: farewell, English liberty!"^f

His next paragraph presents an account of affairs in Kent, where, to reduce the city of Canterbury, "The committee of the county

^a His "lanthorn" being at one time "in his prow;" at another, "in his poop." Part II. p. 229.

^b P. 78.

^c P. 81.

^d P. 91.

^e P. 92.

^f P. 92—94.

presently assemble forces with which, together with their *chaplains* and *other* instruments of war, they march . . . in triumph."^a

Speaking of commissions sent into Devonshire, for recruiting the army there, he says, they "gave authority and encouragement to the well-affected"—that is, to Independents, Sectaries, Antimonarchists, and the more desperate, forlorn sort of people,—to enter into and subscribe 'Engagements' to live and die with the army,—an imitation of the Members' Engagement;—in defence of the Parliament; that is, of the engaged faction of Independents, schismatics and corrupt persons whom only the Army looks upon as the Parliament"^b and in this loose kind of phraseology he deals familiarly; as did all who, like Walker and Edwards, strove to bring the Independents into unmerited disrepute by mixing them up with the rabble.

Under the date, July 20th, in the Commons, he says, "The question was put 'That all such English as have invited the Scots under Duke Hamilton to come in hostile manner into England, should be declared traitors;' and carried in the affirmative. . . Who doubts," he adds, "but the Prince invited in the Scots to the relief of his father and himself, oppressed and imprisoned contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant: . . . and that the Scots are come in according to the Covenant only?"^c On this occasion it was that Cromwell with eight thousand men defeated twenty thousand, and marched into Scotland.^d

We are now arrived at the moment when Walker discontinues attendance in the House, and thus his "good *genius*" deserts him, under whose clandestine cover he affected to hold intercourse with all the other *genii loci*: "The next week begins with Monday, 21st August, of whose proceedings I can give you only an imperfect scrambling relation; and so shall surcease all further endeavours in this kind. . . My good *Genius* that furnished me with intelligence, hath now retired himself from acting without hope, to praying with faith, for his country; being tired out with hearing and seeing so much sin and folly as now reigns at Westminster; and I love not, much, to take news upon trust from the vulgar peripatetics of the Hall."^e

After this, his labours take another turn, and the work is cast into another form. It begins with "Prolegomena: Promises, Protestations, and Covenants, made by this Parliament in behalf of the King and People;" belonging principally to the year 1642. Out of these "premises," he makes of nineteen particulars, one "general conclusion;" beginning thus, "The *engaged* party, have laid the axe to the very root of monarchy and parliaments. They have cast all the mysteries and secrets of government, both by kings and parliaments, before the vulgar—like pearls before swine,—and have taught both the soldiery and people to look so far into them as to ravel back all governments to the first principles of nature. . . Amongst the ancient Romans, tentare arcana Imperii—to profane the mysteries of State—was treason: because there can be no form of government without its proper mysteries; which are no longer mysteries than while they are concealed. Ignorance, and admiration arising from ignorance, are the

^a P. 94.^b P. 108.^c P. 121, 122.^d Hume's Hist. of England chap. lix. Aug. 17th. 1648.^e P. 139.

parents of civil devotion and obedience, though not of theological. Nor have these ‘Grandeess’ and their party in the Synod, dealt more kindly with the church than with the Commonwealth, whose reverend mysteries, their pulpits and holy sacraments, and all the functions of the ministry, are, by their connivance, profaned by the clouted shoe; the basest and lowest of the people making themselves priests, and with a blind distempered zeal preaching such doctrine as their private spirits—spirits of illusions—dictate to them. But let them know, that their burning zeal without knowledge, is like hell fire, without light.”^a

As it is of the nature of malice, to defeat itself, it requires but to be seen in its own nakedness, as here; “All the cheating, covetous, ambitious persons in the land are united together under the name and title of ‘The Godly; The Saints; etc.’ and share the fat of the land between [among] them: few of them pay any taxes, but all the land pays tribute to them.”^b

Considering all the marvellous imputations and charges against the “Independents,” that have impeded our path, we are sometimes puzzled to account for particular statements, how they comport with the ordinary allegations; and herein our design approves itself, to exculpate the innocent by producing the evidence of their traducers. What, then, is the inference gathered from these words? “Nor shall the vulgar sort of Independents either in Parliament, Army, or City, fare better than the rest of the kingdom. The ‘Grandeess’ both of Parliament and Army, endeavouring to adjourn the Parliament and draw all the power of both Houses into the Committee of Derby-house, consisting but of thirty or forty, the rest of the Independent Members will find their power dissolved in the adjournment and swallowed up by that Committee, and their services forgotten. Nor shall they have any power in the Militia, which is the only quarrel between them and the King: the ‘Grandeess’ disdaining to have so many partners in that which they have got by their own wits. For know that the ‘Grandeess’ have always been here winnowing the Parliament: first, they winnowed out the moderate men under the notion of the King’s party; then the Presbyterians; and now they will winnow forth the lighter and more chaffy sort of Independents, who stand for ‘the liberty of the people,’ a thing which Cromwell now calleth ‘A fancy not to be engaged for;’ and so they will bring all power into their own hands.”^c Now for a contrast: “The ‘Grandeess’ of the Houses . . . had so often purged the Houses, that they left few honest moderate men in them to oppose their projects; still bringing in schismatics and men of their own interests, by enforced and undue elections, into their rooms, and so by insensible degrees new-modelled the House [of Commons] suitable to their own corrupt desires; and new-modelled the Army accordingly.”^d

Passing to the “Epilogue,” it is here that Walker throws down the gauntlet and vauntingly courts the consequences; he denounces in set terms the Parliament, as neither free nor legal, and the Army for a horrid and mutinous force.^e An Appendix concerning “Argyle’s

^a P. [139].
^d P. 145.

^b P. [142].
^e P. 155.

^c P. 143.

proceedings in Scotland, contributes nothing which demands attention from us.

All Walker's foregoing pieces noticed by us, were reprinted conjointly, under the title of "Relations and Observations, Historical and Politic, upon the Parliament begun Anno Dom. 1640 : Divided into Two Books, I. The Mystery of the two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independent ;^a II. The History of Independency, etc. Together with an Appendix touching the Proceedings of the Independent Faction in Scotland.—Printed in the Year 1648." 4to. pp. Pt. i. 18 ; 174 ; 18 : Pt. ii. 262 : = 472.^b

Subscribed, on this occasion, "Theoph. Verax," not "Theod. Verax" as before, this volume opens thus, "To my Dread Sovereign;" and as the tenour of this Dedication struck us with amazement after what we had been led to expect, we give it entirely.

"Royal Sir,—You have drunk deep in the cup of affliction, and we have all pledged you : it is wholesome, though bitter ; but let us so pray to God to remove this cup in time, for the dregs and lees are poison. You have learned, by overwinding the strings of Authority, how to tune the People of this Monarchy without breaking their patience hereafter. Most Princes desire unlimited power ; which is a sail too great for any vessel of mortality to bear : though it be never so well ballasted with justice, wisdom, moderation, and piety, yet one *flarb* or other will endanger the oversetting it. Those Commonwealths are most stable and pleasing where the State is so mixed that every man, according to his degree and capacity, hath some interest therein to content him : the King, sovereign command and power ; the Nobility and Gentry, a derivative authority and magistracy ; and All, enjoy their laws, liberties, and properties. God hath cursed him that removeth the bound-marks of his neighbour : this is a comprehensive curse ; Kings enlarging their prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it. You may be pleased to take heed, therefore, of two sorts of men most likely to mislead you in this point ; ambitious Lawyers, who teach the law to speak not what the legislators meant, but what you shall seem to desire. To avoid this snare, suffer your Parliament to nominate three men for every judge's place, out of which you may please to choose one, as in pricking of sheriffs : for it is the People that are obnoxious to their wickedness ; you are above the reach of their malice. The second sort, is parasitical Divines. These earwigs are always hovering in Princes' courts ; hanging in their ears. They take upon them to make Princes beholden to their violent wresting of the text, to bestow upon them whatever prerogative the kings of Judah or Israel used or usurped : as if the judicials of Moses were appointed by God for all commonwealths ; all Kings : as a good bishopric or living is fit for every Priest that can catch it. These men, having their best hopes of preferment from Princes, make Divinity to

^a "With some Additions," *sic*, p. 1.

^b This same paper and letter-press were again accommodated with new title-pages, and this general one ; "The Complete History of Independency : Upon the Parliament begun 1640. By Clem. Walker, Esq.—Continued till this present year, 1660 : which Fourth Part, [by T. M. Esq.] was never before published. 1661." The Third Part, had been printed in 1660 : pp. 72.

be but organon politicum, an instrument of Government; and harden the hearts of Princes, Pharaoh-like. Kings delight to be tickled by such venerable, warrantable flattery. Sir, You have more means to prefer them, than other men; therefore they apply themselves more to you than other men do. Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ille deum: the King makes the poor priest a lord; and rather than he will be behind with the King in courtesy, he will flatter him above the condition of a mortal and make him a god-royal. Sir, permit me to give You this antidote against this poison: let an Act be passed, That all such Divines as, either by preaching, writing or discoursing, shall advance Your Prerogative and Power above the known Laws and Liberties of the Land, forfeit all his ecclesiastical preferments ipso facto, and be incapable ever after, and for ever banished your Court. But, above all, learn to trust in your Judgment. Plus aliis de te quàm tu tibi credere noli. God hath enabled You to remember things past, to observe things present, and by comparing them together to conjecture things to come; which are the three parts of wisdom that will much honour and advantage You. God keep your Majesty; so prays—Your humble Subject.”

From the aspect of this truly remarkable dedication, a reader would look in vain for the author's verification of it afterwards. A second dedication; “To his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Army under his command;” tells “My Lord and Gentlemen[!], I have here, by way of preparation, laid open to your view, those ulcers which you have undertaken to cure; namely, the two factions in Parliament. . . You have already begun to sift and winnow the House of Commons, by charging eleven Presbyterian grandees, who, if they be proved guilty, must needs have their counterpanes [*sic*] equally faulty, even to a syllable, in the opposite junto of Independents; for when two factions shall conspire to toss and keep up the golden ball of Government, profit and preferment, between them, neither can be innocent. . . Would it not much ease the People of burdens, and go far in the payment of soldiers, and public debts, to have both the King's and the Parliament's sponges—of what party and profession soever—squeezed into the common Treasury whensoever the Commonwealth settles?” This, Reader, is ‘*Theophilus Verax*,’ here changed back into “*Theodorus Verax*,” *alias* “Clement Walker.” Whether all that is yet seen of him wear more or less “the air of” truth than “satire,” Reader, judge thou!^a

August 31st, 1647, The General Assembly in Scotland made in their wisdom an “Act discharging the importing, venting or spreading of erroneous Books or Papers!

“The General Assembly considering how the errors of Indepen-

^a We attribute to Walker “The Independents' Loyalty: Or, The most barbarous Plot to Murder his Sacred Majesty, very fully discovered. With a clear and perfect Answer to Lord Wharton's Evasions.—*Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*.—1648.” 4to. pp. 22. “Truth drawn out of a *saw-pit*,” is the head line of p. 1. The tract contains nothing specially allusive to the charge in its title, but that “The Lord Wharton” was “one of the prime leaders of the Independent Juncto.” The whole is a collection of *pros* and *cons* relating to his Majesty's perils, and to his extraordinary qualities. We shall show, in due course, what was more than meditated against the life of Cromwell.

dency and Separation have, in our neighbour-kingdom of England, spread as a Gangræne, and do daily eat as a canker, inasmuch as that exceeding many errors, heresies, schisms, and blasphemies, have issued therefrom, and are sheltered thereby; and how possible it is for the same evils to invade and overspread this Kirk and Kingdom lying within the same Island, by the spreading of their erroneous Books, Pamphlets, Libels, and Letters, and by conversing with them that are infected with these errors, except the same be timely prevented;—Do, therefore, in the Name of God, inhibit and discharge all Members of this Kirk and Kingdom to converse with persons tainted with such errors; Or to import, sell, spread, vent, or disperse such erroneous Books or Papers: But that they beware of and abstain from Books maintaining Independency or Separation, and from all Antinomian, Anabaptistical, and other erroneous Books and Papers. Requiring all Ministers, to warn their Flocks against such Books in general, and particularly such as are most plausible, insinuating, and dangerous. And to try carefully, from time to time, if any such Books be brought into this country from England, or from beyond Seas,—which is especially recommended to Ministers on Sea-coasts, or Towns where any Stationers are;—and if any shall be found, to present the same to the Presbytery, that some course may be taken to hinder the disposing thereof. And hereby, all Presbyteries and Synods are ordained to try and process such as shall transgress against the Premises or any part of the same. And the Assembly also doth seriously recommend the Civil Magistrates that they may be pleased to be assisting to Ministers and Presbyteries in execution of this Act, and to concur with their authority in every thing to that effect.”^a

Strong provocations having incited them, “In the beginning of 1648,^b the Parliament gave commission to Philip Earl of Pembroke, then made Chancellor of Oxford, together with some of the Doctors there as good divines as he, to purge the University; by virtue whereof they turned out all such as were not of their faction, and all such as had approved the use of the Common Prayer Book; as also divers scandalous ministers and scholars—that is, such as customarily and without need took the Name of God in their mouths, or used to speak wantonly, or use the company of lewd women:—and for this last, I cannot but commend them. . . I have often heard the complaints of parents, that their children were debauched there to drunkenness, wantonness, gaming and other vices consequent to these: nor is it a wonder amongst so many youths if they did not corrupt one another in despite of their tutors who oftentimes were little older than themselves. And therefore I think the Parliament did not much reverence that institution of Universities, as to the bringing up of young men to virtue, though many of them learned there to preach, and became thereby capable of preferment and maintenance; and some others were sent thither by their parents to save themselves the trouble of governing them at home during that time wherein children are least governable. Nor do I think the Parliament cared more for the clergy than other men did: but certainly a

^a “Acts of the Gen. Assemblies of Scotland,” p. 355.

^b Jan. 22nd 1647-8, according to Whitelock.

University is an excellent servant to the clergy; and the clergy, if it be not carefully looked to—by their dissensions in doctrines, and by the advantage to publish their dissensions—is an excellent means to divide a kingdom into factions. But seeing there is no place in this part of the world, where philosophy and other humane sciences are not highly valued, where can they be learned better than in the Universities? What other sciences? Do not divines comprehend all civil and moral philosophy within their divinity? And as for natural philosophy, is it not removed from Oxford and Cambridge to Gresham College in London, and to be learned out of their gazettes?^a

We cannot refrain from placing in connexion with that just given, another passage of the same bold, and in general speculative writer. “The rules of just and unjust,” he remarks, “sufficiently demonstrated, and from principles evident to the meanest capacity, have not been wanting, and notwithstanding the obscurity of their Author have shined not only in this but also in foreign countries, to men of good education; but they are few in respect of the rest of men, whereof many cannot read, many though they can, have no leisure, and of them that have leisure the greater part have their minds wholly employed and taken up by their private businesses or pleasures: so that it is impossible that the multitude should ever learn their duty but from the pulpit, and upon holy days. But then, and from thence it is that they have learned their disobedience. And therefore the light of that doctrine has been hitherto covered and kept under here by a cloud of adversaries, which no private man’s reformation can break through without the authority of the Universities; but out of the Universities came all those Preachers that taught the contrary. The Universities have been to this Nation, as the wooden horse was to the Trojans.”^b

March 27th, 1648, Baillie writes from Edinburgh to Spang, “At the Isle of Wight, his Majesty did live with them [the Scots Commissioners] very lovingly, and upon great hopes on all hands. . . . But when I found all bound up, by oath, not to reveal any of the particular concessions till the Commissioners returned, I feared the satisfaction should not be found so agreeable as was spoken. . . . And when we heard the report from the Chancellor and Lauderdale at their return, our suspicions were turned into grief: for we found the concessions no ways satisfactory, and the engagements of some to the King, upon them, so great as did much blemish their reputation with many of their intimate friends. . . . We were malcontent, with our Commissioners: their scurvy usage by the Parliament of England, their compassion of the King’s condition, . . . made them to accept of less, and promise more to the King, than we would stand to. They were content we should declare our dissatisfaction with the King’s offers as we thought fit, both by the church and the state, on condition we would consent to a levy against the faction of Sectaries. To this we were not unwill-

^a “Behemoth: The History of the Cause of the Civil Wars of England; and of the Counsels and Artifices by which they were carried on, from the year 1640 to the year 1660.” 12mo. 1680. Posthumous: Charles II. having forbidden the author to print it; Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury. See his *Moral and Political Works*. 1750. Fo. p. 559, 560.

^b *Ibid.* p. 507

ing.^a . . . If we be kept from a present civil war, it is God, and not the wisdom of our most wise and best men, which will save us. I am more and more in the mind that it were for the good of the world, that churches did meddle with ecclesiastic affairs only; that, were they ever so able otherwise, they are unhappy statesmen; that as Erastianism is hurtful to the church, so an Episcopal papacy is unfortunate for the state. If no man were wiser than I am, we should not make many scruples to settle the throne and pull down the Sectaries."^b

A month after, June 26th, Spang is informed that "A spirit of bitterness, jealousy, and mutual contempt, grows on all hands; and the stronger party is begun to persecute the weaker. . . The Sectaries and Malignants may shortly divide the whole isle to the great danger and hurt of the King and the honest Presbyterians [!] in both kingdoms. Our storm is yet but waxing; we can make but small judgment of its end. . . At this time a message went to the Parliament of England with five demands, craving an answer peremptorily in fifteen days. . . The rumour of our war [with them] made a great stir in many parts both of England and Ireland. . . Had not our unhappy discords marred our expedition; had we with a small army, with any unanimity, but appeared on the border [of the two kingdoms] in time; apparently, without stroke, we might have got for the King, for our friends, for ourselves, what we pleased; but our fatal discords were as well known at London as at Edinburgh: . . . and great pains are taken to join the Presbyterians and Independents against all the risers in the shires, and our army, as against Malignants. If this conjunction go on, the king and our nation are in a hard taking. . . We who resolve neither to join the Malignants nor Sectaries, may fall into great inconveniences, but the Lord's will be done."^c

After nearly the like interval, August 23rd, another communication to Spang assures him that "Our State has now found what scarcely would have been believed, that—contrary to the utmost endeavours of the Church and all their friends—they can raise and maintain an army, and do what they will at home and abroad. The wisdom of some of us has made that practice to pass and the mystery of our weakness to be divulged much sooner than needed! . . . It seems the Houses, City, and Committee of Shires, have of purpose withdrawn assistance, that Fairfax at Colchester, and Cromwell at Pembroke, should lie till their forces melt away and become contemptible. . . That the cursed army of Sectaries should vanish in smoke, and their friends in the Houses, City, and country, be brought to their well-deserved ruin; that the King and his family should be at last in some nearness to be restored to their dignity and former condition; I am very glad; but

^a "The Independents, who began to prevail, took all occasions of mortifying the Scots, whom the Presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scottish Commissioners . . . were ready to depart, it was proposed in Parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The Independents insisted that the words 'good offices' should be struck out; and thus the whole brotherly friendship and intimate alliance with the Scots resolved itself into an acknowledgment of their being well-bred gentlemen." Hume's Hist. of Eng. Chap. lix. an. 1648: Second Civil War.

^b Let. 178. p. 280, 281, 286.

^c Let. 179. p. 290, 292, 293, 296.

my fear is great that his restitution shall come by these hands, and he so ill prepared, that the glorious Reformation we have suffered so much for shall be much endangered, and the most that shall be obtained be but an Erastian weak Presbytery, with a toleration of popery and episcopacy at Court, and of divers sects elsewhere. . . Lauderdale continues very kind to me, and regrets much the difference betwixt [amongst] us; fears it [will] become a fountain of great evils,—either the overthrow of the design for the King against the sectaries, or the putting up of the malignant party so high that they will hardly be got ruled; at best, the making of the government of the Church, as we exercise it, to be abhorred by all in England and abroad, and intolerable to our own State, at home[!] . . . I find divers in the mind, that if once an army in England had got any sensible success, our State are resolved totally to suppress the commission of the Church, as a judicatory not yet established by law; and it is feared they will trouble the persons of some of us. . . I think indeed the carriage of some is too high and peremptory; but if the State begin to trouble any of us with imprisonment, it will be a great ill of long and dangerous consequence. . . The matter of this unhappy ‘Engagement’ I hope will not last, and so the ground of our difference . . . be removed. . . Our intercourse with London is stopt.” A postscript, perhaps the editor’s, adds, “The consequences of the ‘Engagement’ were fatal. The army was totally routed, in Lancashire, by Cromwell [Aug. 17th]; the Duke [Hamilton] taken prisoner, carried to London, and there executed [Mar. 9th 1648-9].”^a

In what month the following tract was published, does not appear, but whether earlier or later, its position at this place detracts nothing from “An Endeavour after the Reconcilement of that long debated and much lamented Difference between the Godly Presbyterians and Independents, about Church-Government: In a Discourse touching the Jews’ Synagogues: Proving, I. That the Jews’ Synagogue-Assemblies were true Visible Churches of Jesus Christ: 2. That their Government was ordained by Christ to be Dependent, when they lived

^a Let. 180. P. 297, 298, 311, 312.—Upon the turn of affairs which now took place, it has been powerfully remarked that, “It was worthy of noting, that that English army which were by the religious party of Scotland, called ‘a bundle of Sectaries,’ and reviled by opprobrious names, should now be acknowledged by the same Scots to be the ‘instruments of God, and vindicators both of the church and of the kingdom of Scotland!’ The greatest peers of Scotland also, did ingenuously confess their rashness and error the year before, for accusing this army as ‘rebellious’ for acting the very same things in England, which now themselves were enforced to act in Scotland for preservation of that kingdom! This great change in the council of Scotland would have been much to be wondered at, if the change that then happened in the English Parliament had not been a still greater miracle. Who would not be amazed at this, That Cromwell, for vanquishing a Scottish army—by which he delivered England from the worst of miseries—should be acknowledged there to have been the preserver of Scotland, and yet should not here be allowed to have been the preserver of England? And, that the same victory of his against the Scots should please the Presbyterian Scots for religion’s sake; and yet for religion’s sake, should displease the Presbyterians of England? *Cædipus* himself cannot unriddle this; especially if he judge according to reason, and not according to what envy, hatred, and embittered faction can produce!” May’s “*Breviary*,” 1655. 12mo; in “*Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars, etc.*” 1815. 8vo. vol. i. p. 125.

together in the Land of Canaan; Independent, when they inhabited in Heathen Countries: 3. That Schools of Learning were, at the first, erected by Jesus Christ for the Breeding of a Succession of able men for Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Judges, etc., to the World's end: With many other Miscellaneous Observations, about their Synagogue-Discipline.—Job xxxii. 10, 'I also will show mine Opinion.'—Lond. 1648." 4to. pp. 90.

"To the Christian Readers of *great Britany*," such are the first words which follow the title page, and under them the anonymous writer remarks that all the authors which he had read "about the Discipline of the Jews' Synagogues, have mixed . . . late superstitious practices among some of their ancient approved practices: . . . nay, many Learned, have concluded that they never were ordained for any true churches of Christ; and therefore they have slighted all their discipline-practices as nothing exemplary to the government of the Particular Churches of Jesus Christ at this day. But my apprehensions are otherwise: . . . therefore I thought it necessary to search out . . . their Synagogue-Worship, etc.; and herein I have endeavoured to avoid their late superstitious observations, which they have added . . . in the time of their apostacy."

It could only be in the way of proceeding like what is used, that any measure of insight into the scheme and object of this, perhaps, Erastian production is afforded at this place. Having laid it down that "the Angel-Jehovah," Exod. iii. 2; "the God of Abraham," ver. 6; and "the God of Glory," Acts vii. 2, Josh. xxiv; are identifications of "Jesus Christ," supported by I Cor. x. 4; we are told, "it must needs be 'Jesus Christ' that did not only unite the twelve tribes into one national church, but also that did distribute them into several particular church-assemblies: and therefore it was 'Christ' that appointed all the ordinances of his worship, by Moses."^a Upon this basis the work proceeds: Christ is "the beginning and the end, the first and the last."^b

Adducing Levit. xxiii. 3, as a "plain and pregnant" proof of his main position, That the twelve tribes were distributed into so many "particular church-assemblies," and affirming that "this phrase, 'in all your dwellings,' cannot be understood of their family-assemblies, nor yet of their national church-assemblies," the writer argues that "It is a gross conceit, for any man to think that Christ did, by this phrase, command every family to stay at home to keep a 'convocation' in every private family;" and also, that the twelve tribes could keep a "general convocation" before the Sanctuary every "seventh-day," especially "after they were settled in the land of Canaan in their several inheritances;" his conclusion is, that the "holy convocation" in the text, must be of such "as were made of several families in a convenient distance of place for every one's dwelling:^c 'the dwellings of Jacob,' Psal. lxxxvii. 2."^d

The next step in the argument is to prove the identity of synagogues with christian churches: Jas. ii. 2, "assembly," συναγωγή, compared with chap. i. ver. 1; "the Jews had synagogues in every heathen country, and they had many godly Christians that still lived with them, though some were separated into particular churches:" David, Psal. xxvi. 12; lxxviii. 26; congregations,— "churches, as Mr. Ainsworth noteth."^e The Septuagint version reads δέκακλισηία "seventy times," and συναγωγή "thirty-seven times," for קהל — "kahal,"^f which we translate,

^a P. 2.

^b Rev. xxii. 13.

^c P. 2, 3.

^d P. 4.

^e P. 5.

^f "Lex. Kircheri."

‘church.’” Psal. lxxiv. 4, 8, shows reason for the prophet’s lamentation in the destitution of places of public worship.^a

The inference which the author considered he had already established, is “That if any of the Jewish synagogues in the days of the apostles did embrace the Gospel, they might well be called a christian-church, without any alteration of their discipline.”^b He imagined that he had found such a one in Antioch; and that there must have been a synagogue, because it is certain from Acts xi. 19, a number of Jews were there, to whom “only” their brethren of the dispersion had preached the Word. Now, says he, “Why should it be thought a thing incredible, that a whole synagogue might . . . be converted, . . . as well as whole families; seeing the Jews of this [place] did not oppose the believing Grecians, as the malignant Jews of other synagogues did?” Opposition, here, none but Acts xv. 1, is recorded; neither do we read of a separation: therefore “this synagogue, was [the] first called a church of ‘Christians;’ Acts xi. 26:” though there were “churches” anterior to this; chap. ix. 31; “but no separated Christian church, was established as yet, except the church at Jerusalem, chap. i. 15, and except this synagogue [perhaps] of Antioch.”^c “In one place, Paul saith that he persecuted ‘the church of God,’ Gal. i. 13; but in Acts xxii. 19, he saith he imprisoned and beat ‘in every synagogue’ them that believed on Christ: therefore,”—and this is our author’s climax,—“the Jews’ Synagogues may well be called Particular Churches of Jesus Christ!”^d

An objection of some considerable force, he tries to obviate thus: “If there can be no true church of Jesus Christ without the administration [in it] of the ordinary sacraments; then, those christian-assemblies were no true churches of Jesus Christ which were often congregated at Amersham and in other parts in England, in the days of Henry VIII. to hear the Word of God read and expounded by the ablest christians they would choose out [from] among themselves; for I conceive they did many years meet together . . . without the use of the sacraments, and any settled discipline except . . . private reproofs: . . . and yet I conceive there were many true Particular Churches of Jesus Christ in those days; . . . or else we shall find hardly any true Church of Christ in the world for many years together, in the height of Popery.” The Jews’ synagogues however, so long as the Word was preached in them, and though they wanted the ordinary sacraments, yet had the seal of the covenant administered in a public manner, as learned divines think, Luke i. 59; he concludes were still “true churches of Jesus Christ.”^e

The next form of the argument runs thus; “Their national church-worship was not sufficient, of itself, to preserve the truth of religion among them: but their synagogue-worship was sufficient without national-worship, both when they lived in the Wilderness and when they lived in heathen countries.”^f And further, “The provident care of Christ for [the] speedy spreading of particular christian-churches into all parts of the world, doth mightily appear by His dispersing the Jews into sundry heathen countries, to have synagogues and to get assemblies beforehand for the apostles and disciples of Christ to preach the Gospel to.”^g “Paul himself was so industrious, that he did quickly make the Word of God to abound from Jerusalem to Illyricum,^h and also to Rome; for he found ready to his hand many synagogues in all places where he came: Acts ix. 2, 20; xiii. 5; ver. 14; xiv. 1; xvii. 10; ver. 17; xviii. 4; ver. 19; xvi. 13, at Philippi, there was a place for public worship [*προσευχή*];” so that “Paul had a ready entrance to preach the Gospel everywhere, to the conversion of many ten-thousand [*μυριάδες*] Jews; Acts xxi. 20.”ⁱ

At this place, the reasoning takes an unexpected turn, involving punctum irritaminis: “Those christians who were first converted by the apostles in the Jews’ synagogues, did not presently separate themselves from the Jews’ synagogues to make particular churches by themselves, until the synagogues did first persecute them for their faith in Christ crucified.” The apostles “were forced to separate the believing christians from the malignant of the synagogue, and they appointed them to meet together in some convenient place as a christian-church upon every Lord’s day. As for example; when the malignant synagogue of Corinth did persecute the believing christians that were converted among them, . . . then they kept

^a P. 6.^b P. 6.^c P. 6, 7.^d P. 7.^e P. 8.^f P. 9.^g P. 12.^h Rom. xv. 19.ⁱ P. 11.

church-meetings in the 'house' of one Justus, Acts xviii. 7: but the greater part of these converts were the proselytes of that synagogue, 1 Cor. xiii. 2 [qy? ix. 2], Acts xviii. 4: and many of them were Jews also: 1 Cor. v. i. . . The believing christians of Ephesus did separate themselves from the malignant synagogue; and they kept their church-meetings 'in the school of one Tyrannus,' and these converts were part Jews and part Gentiles, Acts xix. 9, 10. The believing christians in Thessalonica did separate themselves from the persecuting synagogue, and joined themselves in company with Paul; they kept their church-meeting in 'the house of Jason,' Acts xvii. 4, 5; and part of this church were Jews, but the greater part were heathen, 1 Thess. ii. 14. . . Persecution caused the believing part of the [any] synagogue to separate from the unbelieving and malignant part: this Separation was not made because the believing part held the unbelieving part no true church."^a

"In case no good preaching be to be had near to every one's dwelling, or in case there be far more excellent means to be had further off, what then is to be done? Then, I conceive the point of convenience must give way to the point of necessity; as in the days of Christ they flocked to his ministry from their own synagogue, and yet he did not rebuke them for it as a sin." "The Hebrew doctors . . . decreed that where ten men of Israel did live above a mile from any synagogue, they should prepare them another house . . . wherein they might assemble at all times of prayer. . . The Jews had of old four hundred schools and synagogues within the city of Jerusalem . . . See Ainsworth, in Levit. xxvi. 31."^b

By means of a bounding leap we alight at a passage which serves to display the temper and turn of the times: "When the church's 'sin-offering' was to be offered, Aaron, the high-priest, as he was an elder of the sanhedrin must speak to the sons of Israel to bring it; namely, he must speak to the chief sons of Israel, which were the elders of the high sanhedrin court, to bring it; vide Ains. Levit. ix. 3: for these elders were the highest officers that the church had. And, therefore, the term 'Elder' is a superior title to the term 'Bishop;' for the term 'bishop' is given to those inferior officers that attended upon the elders of the sanhedrin court, Num. xxxi. 14; vide also Ains. in Deut. xvi. 18. Yet an apostate priest might be a bishop after his repentance, but he might not be an elder of the sanhedrin; neither might he be restored to be a full priest any more, but he might serve as a bishop in a place of inferiority in the Temple: Ains. Levit. xxi. 20—24. And I grant that the term 'bishop' is sometimes given to the highest degree of men, for it is sometimes given to the emperors of Asia as a title of honour to their office; and Eleazar, the prince of princes over the Levites, did exercise the bishop's office over them; Ains. in Num. iii. 32: that is, he did oversee them. And in that sense, every inferior officer that takes the charge to oversee others, is a bishop; and so the term 'bishop' may properly be given to all officers both high and low that take upon them the charge to oversee others, as well in civil as in religious matters: but the term 'elder' is never given to inferior officers as the term bishop is. This distinction, I bring in for the honour of the term 'Elder;' by way of parenthesis only."^c

Another interpretation meets us now, for it is certain that on this point neither "the priests' lips" nor their pens agree to "keep knowledge" regarding it, but that they have on the contrary "caused many to stumble at this "law."^d Here we read, "It is evident that Christ did not now first ordain Excommunication as a new ordinance for the use of all christian churches, in Matt. xviii. 17; because Luke relates a part of this exhortation, touching private brotherly dealing, and makes no mention of proceeding on to excommunication;^e which, doubtless, he would not have omitted, if Christ had now first ordained it for the use of christian churches. . . If this sentence, 'If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and publican,' had implied his excommunication by the *church* then Christ would have said thus, 'Let him be to *it* . . . or to *them*, etc.; but Christ doth not say so, but 'Let him be to *thee*, etc.,' though he never were excommunicated by them: for it is a point of good justice and of christian wisdom, to account an obstinate sinner that will not 'hear the church,' no better than a heathen, or publican! . . . I take this eighteenth verse to speak of another matter distinct from the former; for it is evident that Christ doth use many miscellaneous exhor-

^a P. 15, 16.^b P. 17, 18.^c P. 52.^d Mal. ii. 7, 8.^e Luke xvii. 3.

tations in this [eighteenth] chapter, which have no dependence on each other. This sentence in this verse, doth not agree to the church's excommunication; for then Christ would have said thus, 'Whatsoever *they* bind on earth:' they; the whole church, both officers and members do bind, etc.: but Christ doth not say so; but, 'Whatsoever *ye* shall bind,' . . . 'ye' that are my apostles and disciples: or else Christ would have said thus, 'Whatsoever *thou* bindest on earth' in relation to the phrase in verse 17, 'Let him be to *thee*.' This is a Talmud phrase, which Christ had formerly used to his apostles when he gave them authority to preach the Gospel, in Matt. vi. 19: . . . and he begins his memento to them with an asseveration, 'Αμήν' 'Amen, I say unto you, Whatsoever; etc.' That is to say, Whatsoever person he or she be that lives in sin without change of mind, ye shall by the preaching of the Gospel 'bind' him or them over to eternal condemnation; but whatsoever person he or she be that hath the truth of change of mind according to the rules of the Gospel, you shall 'loose' that person from his sins by preaching to him his pardon; reconciliation and atonement; by resting on Christ for his pardon and atonement. And in this sense, every faithful preacher doth 'bind' on earth, and 'loose' too; though he never do excommunicate, nor release any from their excommunication. If any man doubt . . . this exposition; . . . in John xx. 21, Christ saith thus to his apostles, 'As my Father sent me, so send I you,' namely, to preach the Gospel; and in verse 23, 'Whosoever sins ye remit; etc.' . . . You must tell all unrepentant sinners, that without good change of mind they shall all perish eternally. These are the limits of that commission. . . . And thus by comparing these Scriptures together, the true interpretation of Matt. xxiii. 18, may be found out."^a

"I acknowledge that the Greek word [ἀμαρτήσῃ] used in this text, Matt. xviii. 15. is often put as well for 'sin' against God as for 'sin' against man; but most usually it is put for sin or 'trespass' against man; and methinks that the circumstances of this text do carry it plainly; . . . 'If thy brother *sin*,' . . . by hurting or injuring thy person, goods, or good-name, then *thou* shalt 'tell him his fault, etc.' This kind of sin . . . a 'brother' may forgive; and so Luke doth explain our Saviour to mean; xvii. 3. But a 'brother' cannot forgive a sin against God; and so Eli saith, 1 Sam. ii. 25."^b "It is plain that Christ speaks in this text, of such a kind of 'sin' as a 'brother' may forgive, Matt. xviii. 21—35."^c

"This duty of rebuking sin against God, must be grounded on some other command of Christ that is more large than this, in Matt. xviii. 15; namely, the second or third Commandment, or upon Levit. xix. 17."^d

"I apprehend that the word 'church' in Matt. xviii 17, must be taken for a court of magistrates—the Sanhedrin. . . . It is evident that Christ spake of such a church as was in present being among the Jews; because he applies his speeches to the present Jews' capacity, 'Let him be,' etc.: . . . Christians might company with 'heathen and publicans;' but the Jews might not hold communion with any unclean and uncircumcised heathen, as Peter's refusing to go to Cornelius doth testify, Acts x; neither did Christians hate 'publicans,' but the Jews generally did because they raised them up in the point of tribute to Cæsar."^e

From maintaining that the word "church" used at large in Scripture includes all sorts of heterogeneous varieties, but aiming especially to appropriate the term emphatically to a court of Elders; f this would-be Reconciler takes up the laborious task of making partes disjunctæ et invisibiles, to be totum integrale et visibile; "all the outward professors of the faith through the world, do make a universal visible church of Christ."^g Hoc opus, hic labor est! The conclusion from such premises could not but be inevitable: "It seems to me that every Tribe made such a kind of church by itself, as a christian Nation is; for I apprehend that a christian Nation may be called a church as well as a Tribe by itself may!"^h

Upon the chapter on "Schools of Learning," we shall not make any exception, other than merely to notice, that the phrase "for the breeding a Succession of able men, for pastors," etc., carries within something insidious. On the whole, however, this is a valuable and peaceful tract, though it be not the production of an eminent scholar.

^a P. 62—65.^b P. 66.^c P. 68.^d P. 68.^e P. 69.^f P. 69—77.^g P. 78.^h P. 79.

CHAP. LXXV.

SYMMONS, THE BLASPHEMER—THE INDEPENDENTS' ARMY DECLARATION—CHARLES, AND HIS END—MILTON—A POETICAL ENTHYMEME.

Behold! "A Vindication of King Charles : Or, A Loyal Subject's Duty. Manifested in Vindicating his Sovereign from those Aspersions cast upon Him by certain Persons, in a scandalous Libel, intituled, 'The King's Cabinet Opened;' and Published, as they say, by authority of Parliament. Whereunto is added, A true Parallel betwixt the Sufferings of our Saviour and our Sovereign, in divers Particulars, etc. By Edw. Symmons, a Minister, not of the late confused New, but of the Ancient, Orderly, and True Church of England. 1648." 4to. pp. 312.^a

The appendage to this author's name,—who had been rector of Rayne, in Essex, and sequestered by Parliament, Mar. 3rd, 1642-3,—is happily added by himself, for truly no other individual of any other religious community could have paralleled his blasphemy; to have exceeded it, were impossible. Were history nothing more than the *dicta* of old almanacs, it must ever be interpreted agreeably to the intentions of him who invented the conundrums which disgrace the worst of those ephemerides. The greatest injury which the unfortunate king's memory is loaded with, is the fruit of the vanity and extreme folly of some who would have persuaded themselves they were his most sincere friends; they, who had neither wit to discern nor wisdom enough to regard, that

"Praise undeserv'd, is scandal in disguise!"

"Assuredly,"—says this purblind "loyal subject,"—"the King and his Cause both, have received the greatest wounds from the hands of friends."^b

This intrepid vindicator sets out with a probable act of defamation, insomuch as he appears to insinuate that "S. M. E. C."^c are "the first letters of their names"^d who were the animadvertisers, or annotators, upon the King's Letters and Papers. And he quickly plunges into the abyss of stolidity by asking, "Supposing the faults here charged upon him, were real and inherent, . . . yet where is there any Scripture authorizing this their publication?"^e Can such a man, "a minister" forsooth, be heeded, or suffered to open his mouth "in the gate,"^f who immediately upon concluding an address to the Deity, "that by these my endeavours thy true Religion may be illustrated," inserts in his next paragraph a malicious imputation of the very foulest description? "It is evident, that the end why these papers were divulged after their

^a Dated, May 30th, 1646. Reprinted by R. Hollingworth, D. D. 1693. 8vo.

^b P. 163. ^c Smectymnuus. ^d P. 2. ^e P. 3. ^f Prov. xxiv. 7.

surprisal, together with that bitter Preface, and perverse notes upon them, was to weaken the King's reputation among his people; to take from him the affections of those that still remain constant and loyal; and to stir up some already poisoned to act Ravailac's part^a upon him[!] And yet these men would have us believe that it would have been a sin in them—forsooth—yea, 'a great sin,' a sin 'against the mercies of God,' if they had concealed them: nay further, they would have us think that God himself did 'graciously' and even 'miraculously,'^b put them into their hands on purpose, yea on set purpose that they might do with them as they have done."^c

The only passage which contains as yet anything of real importance, ad rem, is the ensuing; but even this, is so clogged and beclouded, and laboured to be guarded at all points, while so much care excites the suspicions it was designed to repress, that the sterling value of the advice itself is materially injured by its accompaniments: "Indeed, I believe that these Papers might have been 'evidences of truth' and of loyalty too, had the surprisers of them been guilty of these virtues, and so pleased, if, after their surprisal, finding that by sinister construction they might prove blemishes to the King's reputation—should weak minds but chance to see them—they had presently locked them up in the Cabinet again, and sent them secretly to the King; then indeed they might more properly have said, in a private letter, to their Sovereign, 'God hath graciously and in mercy to us, put into our hands an occasion to evidence our truth, our honest hearts, and loyal affections to your Majesty.'"^d

As he makes his progress by means of recrimination for "vindication," and declaims for want of proofs, we have not found whereon to remark, before arriving at his slur against the "religion" of those whom he denominates, absurdly, "new religion makers,"^e and gives as an instance of "their suppression and demolition of all monuments of Christianity" that "that *miraculous* Thorn^f at Glastonbury which was wont to celebrate the festival of Christ's nativity, by putting forth its leaves and flowers, was cut in pieces by these Militia-men, that it might no longer preach unto men the birthday of their Saviour."^g But what do we find anon? Even that there are "those of the Prelatical, or Court Faction, that hold intelligence with 'those at Westminster,' and are men of like complexion with them; dissemblers, disobedient, unthankful, treacherous, heady, and highminded, however they carry themselves to outward appearance!"^h

We stop willingly, in passing, to applaud while we transplant one sentiment whose price is above rubies: "It is the Word of God, that is ordained to suppress false religions, and not the sword of man: fire, sword, and pistols, are the weapons of Antichrist and not of Christ!"ⁱ

A longer passage interrupts our progress for a reason far different from the former; but it shall express its own worth, derived from the quarter whence it comes: "Concerning those 'some of the Prelatical

^a He assassinated Henry IV. of France, May 14th, 1610.

^b "Almost miraculously," are their own words.

^c P. 43.

^d P. 15.

^e P. 72.

^f *Crotægus Oxyacantha*.

^g P. 76.

^h P. 78.

ⁱ P. 79.

and Court Faction in England,' which these men cry out also upon to be of the 'Combination' we do confess that there hath been, and perhaps still are, some about the Court, or that have too near a relation to it, whom we do dislike as much and more too than these men do; and we have reason for it, they are such as neither serve God nor the King so faithfully as they ought to do, but are either *secret* pensioners unto his enemies, pursuing their ends notwithstanding their pretendings and engagements to his Majesty,—or else they are slaves to their own proper lusts, making provisions only for their own flesh and belly, notwithstanding God's wrath upon the kingdom.—And from these, is the special cause that the King's affairs go on so badly as they do: these be the men who, by their power and authority, have countenanced and advanced the vile, even to abuse, spoil, and dishearten the good; lest the lustre of inferiors' merits should discover the worthlessness of those that are in place above them, and give too happy a progress to his Majesty's business. Of which sort, are they who, when, by their treacheries, indiscretions, negligences, or ill-governed behaviours, towns and countries are lost, good undertakings nulled or made frustrate; can very unreverently and undutifully lay the fault upon the King's 'ill fortune;' yea, and tax his Majesty, of this or that; so making his candour the napkin—as it were—to wipe the filth from their own noses." ^a

The next passage, intended by its author for more than an equipoise to the confession he had just delivered, is produced here on the ground of equity, though we must protest against the profaneness with which it is garnished. "But," he says, "we do believe and know that, besides these, the King hath a company belonging to him both of the nobility and of the gentry, and of the clergy—our subtle Brethren may call them a 'faction' if they will, or even what else they please,—that are both truly religious and truly loyal; that have sacrificed their fortunes, and are every one ready to sacrifice their lives too, in defence of their holy Protestant religion, and of their King and country:" how martyr-like, the next immediate words declare: "that do truly mourn for the miseries of this Church and State; yea, many of them stand like Mary and John—as being able, perhaps, to do little else—looking with watery eyes upon their innocent and righteous Sovereign, whom they behold in their Saviour's condition, crucified between 'thieves' on both sides. And of this flock, we do profess ourselves to be." ^b

Well; now for the standard of *his* loyalty! "But considering him withal to be our King, our Sovereign, we are confident—if we did see anything 'unbeseeming'—that we are not bound to say we saw it, or to tell others of it; nor do we indeed hold it lawful, but rather to hide it, or to make the best of it. Apelles was not bound openly to paint Alexander's scar; it was allowable for him, to lay his finger on it: nor was that other painter obliged plainly to paint Alphonsus wry-necked; it was lawful for him to make it so as if he were looking up to heaven: for Alexander and Alphonsus were both Kings, and so is Charles." ^c Such, Reader, is a description of that "duty" which this

^a P. 81.

^b P. 82.

^c P. 111.

man proclaims as “manifested,” in the title page of his volume. Whatever his “duty” constrained him to do, it is certain he separates it from his “conscience and charity.”^a Whether such “duty” be not emphatically “generosum scelus,” let any but they who practise this author’s ethics, consider.

Come we to his remarks upon the phrase in the “Libel,” as he persists in calling the “annotations” upon the “Letters and Papers,” which speaks of “our late extraordinary success in the Field.” He records that “some say” of the victory at Naseby, “they had not prevailed then neither, but that they “plowed” with the King’s “heifer,” as they also did, in their taking those towns and castles which since they entered upon:—had not some whom the King trusted been perfidious, these great conquerors had not been so prosperous. Wherefore the case being rightly stated, it was not altogether ‘Victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax,’ but partly also victorious treachery, and victorious money, which was the procurer of such their late ‘extraordinary’ great, success. And yet, perhaps, Sir Thomas Fairfax may be a right valiant man in his way, as many other commanders on that side are; worthy all to be engaged in a more noble and righteous quarrel. . . . But that none may think that the ‘extraordinary success’ which these perverters of order, these underminers of government, have had, . . . is to be attributed to any goodness in their cause, or to any celestial or divine benediction upon it; I shall desire them to consider of the true grounds and reasons of it.’^c This gives us such an insight into the state of affairs on the King’s side as would not be believed for true, had it not been afforded by “a minister, not of the late confused New, but of the Ancient, Orderly, and True Church of England.” There have been “Libellers” who would lead us to believe the very contrary of all that we are about to exhibit was the truth; and some there are who would, even in our days, fain persuade themselves to believe so; but under what implication they bring this said “Minister,” they must settle!

“I shall name only those” true grounds and reasons, “that are most visible; amongst which I might mention private divisions between our chieftains: . . . but this hath been too sufficiently, yea, too shamefully visible, without further notice. I might mention also, the indiscretion or inability of those who have undertaken to manage the King’s affairs: . . . I might also mention men’s dishonesty, in falsifying the trust imposed in them when they have by their oppression and violence, beggared the people committed to their care; by their excess and harshness, weakened their hearts, and loosened the joints of loyalty in them; and made the places strong and fencible—as if they had been there set only to enrich themselves and to make preparation for the enemy; and this being done, their work were done,—they have delivered up all into the adversary’s hand, and so departed. But to omit these, and many more, particulars which might be named, which have occasioned that great ‘success’ so gloried in; I shall mention only three, namely, Remissness, in the best of ours; Profaneness, in the worst; and, Popular fury.”^d

^a P. 112.^b Judges xiv. 18.^c P. 162.^d P 162, 163.

“Indeed never any good undertaking had so many unworthy attendants; such horrid blasphemies and wicked wretches as ours hath had: I quake to think, much more to speak, what my ears have heard from some of their lips. But to discover them, is not my present business. A day may come when the world may see that we who adhere to the King for conscience’ sake—whatever is said of us to the contrary—have as truly hated the profaneness and vileness of our own men, as we have done the disloyalty and rebellion of the enemy. For indeed, the truth is, betwixt them both—as between two millstones—the King, his cause, and ourselves too, are ground in pieces: and were the matter well opened, it would appear that both those and these have had but one and the same end, even to satisfy their own lusts, and enrich themselves with the ruins of their king and country. But without all question, neglect of religion and want of discipline, hath weakened and undone the King’s armies. O had his Sacred Majesty’s commands and orders for the exercise of both, been put in execution, the enemy had never been able to have stood before us.”^a Further on, he says, “We have those that seem to hate religion as much as the rebels do loyalty; yea, that make religion a mark of rebellion, even as they on the other side do make rebellion a mark of religion: nay, I would they did not hate both loyalty and religion too; sure[ly] they use those worst that are to both these best affected.”^b

^a P. 165.

^b P. 167.—We are indebted for these annexed particulars to a most distinguished Churchman whose judgment his own side will not, or dare not, question; but whose partiality we are disposed to overlook in consideration of his excellencies. “They that maintain the King’s righteous Cause with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, but, by their oaths and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and profaneness, fight more powerfully against their party than by all other means they do or can fight for it; are not, I fear, very well acquainted with any part of the Bible; but that strict caution which properly concerns themselves in the book of Leviticus [Deut. xxiii. 9], I much doubt they have scarce ever heard of it, ‘When thou goest to war with thine enemies, then take heed there be no wicked thing in thee;’ not only no wickedness in the cause thou maintainest, nor wickedness in the means by which thou maintainest it, but no personal impieties in the persons that maintain it! Beloved, for the former two we have reason to be full of comfort and confidence; for, what is our Cause? what is that which you fight, and we pray, for? but to deliver the King and all his good subjects out of the power of their enemies who will have no peace but with their slaves and vassals. And for the means by which it is maintained; it is not by lying, it is not by calumnies, it is not by running first ourselves and then forcing the people to universal perjury; but by a just war, because necessary; and, by as fair and merciful a war as if they were not rebels and traitors you fight against, but competitors in a doubtful title. But now for the third part of the caution, that, to deal ingenuously with you and to deliver my own soul if I cannot other men’s, that, I cannot think of with half so much comfort as the former; but, seeing so many Jonases embarked in the same ship, the same Cause with us, and so many Achans entering into battle with us against the Canaanites; seeing ‘publicans and sinners’ on the one side, against ‘scribes and pharisees’ on the other; on the one side, hypocrisy, on the other, profaneness; no honesty or justice, on the one side, and very little piety on the other: on the one side, horrible oaths, curses, and blasphemies; on the other, pestilent lies, calumnies, and perjury: when I see among them, the pretence of Reformation, if not the desire, pursued by antichristian, Mahometan, devilish means; and, amongst us, little or no zeal for reformation of what is indeed amiss, little or no care to remove the cause of God’s anger towards us by just, lawful, and christian means; I profess plainly, I

We desist from following this author over the remaining ground of his self-sufficient "Vindication," and pass also his "digression" concerning "Her Majesty's wronged innocence;"^a but what is our uneasy lot to have to do with actual blasphemy, for nothing short of that sin is his who dared to affirm that he had made "a true parallel" between the "sufferings" of any merely mortal man, who, were such an analogy to be suffered even in thought, did but vicariously agonize with

cannot, without trembling, consider what is likely to be the event of these Distractions; I cannot but fear that the goodness of our cause may sink under the burden of our sins, and that God, in his justice, because we will not suffer His judgments to achieve their prime scope and intention, which is our amendment and reformation, may either deliver us up to the blind zeal and fury of our enemies, or else, which I rather fear, make us instruments of His justice each against other and of our own just and deserved confusion. This, I profess plainly is my fear; and I would to God, it were the fear of every soldier of his Majesty's army! But that which increaseth my fear is, that I see every man of them have very little or none at all; I mean, not that they are fearless towards their enemies—that, is our joy and triumph,—but that they show their courage even against God, and fear not him whom it is madness not to fear. Now, from whence can their not fearing Him proceed, but from their not knowing him; their not knowing His will and their own duty? not knowing, how highly it concerns soldiers, above other professions, to be religious? and then, if ever, when they are engaged in dangerous adventures and, every moment, have their lives in their hands, when they go to war with their enemies, then to 'take heed there be no wicked thing' in them!" "Nine Sermons: The First [2 Tim. iii. 1—5,] preached [Oct. 1643] before His Majesty King Charles I.; etc. By Will. Chillingworth, M.A." Edit. fol. 1704. p. 331.—We shall now show, no better opportunity occurring, what became in the end, of the remains of that army which espoused the Parliament side, and was the only one left at the turn of events which produced the Restoration of Charles II. Thus, then, spake no other than the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, in his speech Sept. 13th 1660, on "the disbanding" of the army: "If God had not restored His Majesty to that rare felicity as to be without any ambition of taking from his neighbours what they are possessed of, himself would never disband this army: an army whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success, hath made it famous and terrible over the world: an army, of which the King and his royal Brothers may say, as the noble Grecian said of Æneas [lib. xi. l. 282],

Stetimus tela aspera contra,
Contulimusque manus; experto credite, quantus
In clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.

They have, all three, in several countries, found themselves engaged in the midst of these troops, in the heat and rage of battle; and if any common soldier, as no doubt many may, will demand the old Roman privilege for having encountered princes single, upon my conscience he will find both favour and preferment. They have, all three, observed the discipline, and felt and admired and loved the courage of this army when they were the worse for it. And I have seen them in a season when there was little of comfort in their view, refresh themselves with joy that the ENGLISH had done the great work; the English had got the day; and then please themselves with the imagination what wonders they should perform in the head of such an army! And, therefore, when his Majesty is so entirely possessed of the affection and obedience of his army; and, when it hath merited so much from him; can it be believed, or imagined, that he can, without some regret, part with them? No, my Lords and Gentlemen, he will never part with them: and the only sure way never to part with them is to disband them. Should it be otherwise, he must be exposed to the daily importunity of his great neighbours and allies! and, how could he refuse to lend them his troops, of which he hath no use himself?" "The Lives of all the Lords Chancellors; etc." 1708. 8vo. vol. i. p. 126.

^a P. 201.

the sins of some ten or eleven millions of subjects, while the ever-adorable Redeemer, "his own self, bare our sins in his own body on the tree,"^a not those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, only, but even of "the whole world."^b Shame be, then, upon the memory of any man, much more one professing to be "a Minister" of the "True Church of England;" and shame be upon the "True Church of England," for having ordained such "a Minister." "I will set him forth," says this unparalleled, this unaccountably presumptuous, flatterer,—"in Christ's robes, as clothed with 'sorrows';"^c and show what a perfect similitude there hath been, and is, between our Saviour and our Sovereign, in the four last years of both their sufferings. Such 'entertainment as Christ had, such usage as he met withal from such conditioned enemies, and such friends; such temptations as he was assaulted with, such wrongs and for such things, such causes of sorrow, and of complaint in all particulars, even *in specie* [*sic*]; hath our King had in the like manner. Observe I pray you, and mark it well, O all you loyal English, Scottish, and Irish, and you will say, that never prince had a more perfect fellowship with the Son of God in this world's miseries than yours hath: never was Christ's yoke better fitted for any; never did any bear a greater measure of his burden: and if nearness in condition here, foreshews a nearness of conformity in the life to come—as the apostle teacheth,^d—then think with yourselves from what you observe, How superlatively glorious above other kings will yours be at Christ's appearing."^e

Enough! till we see the consummation of this "true parallel!" Namely, "when he is dead, we shall in this one thing imitate Pilate, and publish to all the world his accusation and cause of his death: this shall be his title, 'Carolus Gratosus, Rex Angliæ: Charles the Gracious, King of England, was put to death by the Pharasaical *Puritans* of his Kingdom, only because he was their King and in many respects so like unto Jesus Christ the World's Saviour."^f

But some may inquire, what had Symmons to do with *Independents*? See: "You are divided in religion, the very best among you," thus he addressed the Parliament, "I shall mind you to this purpose of some passages in print, between your two so much extolled Confessors—nay Martyrs so intituled, so honoured—William Prynne and Henry Burton, whom, at the beginning of your meeting, you sent for and received with more affectionate and general applause than ever since was shown unto your Sovereign; these two, however, conjoined in that ridiculous and admired triumph which yourselves, with the City of London, were pleased to make them; even these very two, have been at daggers-drawing almost ever since about their religion; and each of them has—even amongst your very selves—followers and dis-

^a 1 Pet. ii. 24.
to Isa. liiii. 4.

^b 1 John ii. 2.

^c Alluding, it is presumed,

^d Query, Rom. viii. 22? ^e P. 241.

^f P. 250—The like taint of blasphemy, runs riot in many a Thirtieth of January sermon since the Restoration in 1660, when the "True Church of England" shone again in her "True" colours. Our perception of moral fitness alone impels us, even though we had no higher sense of obligation, to condemn also what recent times have beheld in "Socrates and Jesus compared." 1803. 8vo.

ciples, great plenty. They are, indeed, the two grandest champions of the two grandest factions of those fifty-two which—as report goes—do swarm among you. Prynne is, as appears, for the Presbyterians, and Burton for the Independents; and their controversy is about no less than a ‘main part of the Gospel,’ for of that nature is church-government in Burton’s present judgment; and Prynne was apprehended of the very same opinion all the while he held up Satan’s banner against the Bishops, though now it seems, as many others of his sect are, he is fallen from it.” Here he picks out the personalities between those two, from Burton’s “Vindication.”^a “Now,” proceeds Symmons, “the reason of this large repetition of the passages betwixt these men is, to show a proof of that little agreement that is amongst the best of you; and, truly, till you have brought these ‘Brethren’ with their followers to a better unity, we shall never think you guilty of any great piety, whatever your pretences be. Besides, by the way, you may observe and see that Henry Burton himself doth not very well approve of your Parliamentary proceedings, and less cause have we to like well of them. I wonder how the best of you all will answer this. You all take Henry Burton for a very honest man; one he is that hath suffered much for the Cause, and was up to the *ears* in the business, as well as Prynne; and, in your grave judgments, as worthy as he of the greatest triumph that ever was permitted by a Court of Parliament to fellows of such demerit since the world began.”^b

We end with another proof of the purblind, one-sided, instances of self-delusion which writers of this bent imagine their readers likewise to be as unwilling, if not so little able to reflect upon and search out the root of the mischief, wherefore “the whole land” became “defiled with blood,” and “the whole blood of the land with treason: for scarce a family throughout the whole nation, but some one or other of it has been drawn by you”—“O you men of Westminster”^c—“into this conspiracy insomuch that Norfolk I fear can no longer boast of her hundred houses of gentlemen never yet attained: Cheshire, I am sure by your means, has lost for ever her ancient glory; which was that it was never stained with the blot of rebellion, but always stood true to their King and to his crown; whose loyalty Richard the Second so far found and esteemed that he held his person most safe amongst them, and by authority of Parliament made that county, for this cause, a Principality, styling himself Prince thereof; doubtless when these things come to be considered upon in after ages, most odious will your names be to succeeding generations.”^d Posterity is more just. The ignominy is theirs who advocated doctrines exploded altogether, save from the heads of those who happen to have been born two centuries too late. Passive obedience and non-resistance, are not now broached publicly in our streets, and but rarely contaminate pulpits; so resolved are Englishmen not to be slaves, and so unable are their Rulers to be tyrants.

We introduce at this place “The Independents’ Declaration and Remonstrance to the Parliament of England, declaring their full Resolution and Intention touching the King’s Majesty and the Treaty;

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 385.

^b P. 283—288.

^c P. 274.

^d P. 293.

and their Protestation to both Houses concerning their Proceedings in the said Treaty, and concluding of a Peace with the King. Also, Their Proposals to the House of Commons touching the Trust reposed in them by the People of England; showing, that if they act against the Trust reposed in them, the People are bound in Conscience and Duty to act against them. Whereunto is [are] annexed, His Majesty's New Propositions read in both Houses yesterday;^a and, a Joyful Message, sent to the Citizens of London: with His Majesty's Proposals touching the Army, and the Independent Party.—Imprinted at London, for Nathaniel Gibson.—1648." 4to. pp. 6.

What is called here "A joyful Message from the Army," is addressed thus, to the Citizens: "Gentlemen and Fellow-Commoners,—Whereas there are divers false suggestions and charges laid upon the Army, by the adverse party in and about the city of London; merely to blast their candid intentions, and to make them odious in the sight of all men, by branding them with the badge of 'Disloyalty:' saying, 'They would trample down Government, and reign themselves, as Kings.' But I assure you, their hearts are of known integrity and faithfulness both towards King, City and Country; and are resolved to see the King invested, the kingdom settled, and the liberties and franchises of the city of London, firmly preserved and maintained, without any violation whatsoever. And as a testimony of their fidelity, have declared, 'That they will use their utmost endeavours for the composing of all differences, and enthroning of the King on his royal throne at Westminster, and unite him with his Great Council of England.' Which God grant may speedily be effected. This is the sense of many in the Army, although divers object against the same; especially the Northern Party and their adherents, who have presented their Remonstrance and Desires to both Houses, as followeth—

" 'Humbly desiring, That Justice may be impartially and speedily executed upon the grand Delinquents of the kingdoms; especially such as have been the only promoters of this last rebellion, who are traitors by the law of the land, and ought to be made exemplary without partiality; there being no exception therein, to excuse any particular person—though the highest and greatest Incendiary and Delinquent—from Justice; who have confessed themselves guilty of all the blood, rapine, murder, and almost utter ruin of these three poor dying and last-gasping kingdoms; with whom a treaty must be had when they are twice conquered, and when God hath delivered them up into the hands of his people to the end Justice may be executed on them, and their lives sacrificed as traitors, to all future generations!' Further remonstrating and declaring, 'That with inexpressible grief of heart, they find the affections of Parliament alienated from them, in slighting their just and lawful Addresses, thinking them not worth an answer thereunto; whereby they conceive themselves in the capacity of enemies or not free men, which will justly challenge the same from them, as being their Deputies and Trustees, or else petitioning for things unjust, though they know they are according to the Solemn

^a The Copy in the British Museum has written upon the title-page, "8 ber. ye. 18th."

League and Covenant, and their own proceedings and printed Declarations, upon which they engaged with them and for them ; and without which we should never have drawn a sword the second time in their quarrel.' And declare, ' That if their intentions further appear—as they have too much of late—to side with and act for their enemies, and against the interest of them and all the free Commons of England, in making their enemies and conquered slaves to be their masters and commanders, they must look to and depend upon the law of nature for their preservation against those devilish and malignant principles, to which they declare themselves open enemies, and resolve to the uttermost of their abilities to oppose, with the loss of lives and fortunes. Protesting still to keep their first integrity without spot or blemish and not bow their knee to Baal at the King's command, neither at the Parliament's ; and that if they act against the truth [trust] reposed in them by the People, the People are bound in conscience and duty to act against them, ' *salus populi* ' being ' *suprema lex* ! ' " P. 1—3.

Advanced in regular course to that astounding tragic incident, the shock of which has never yet subsided into equanimity in British bosoms, and is moreover perpetuated in traditional strains of unjust obloquy and unmerited reproach in a Church since grown old in resentments ;^a we shrink not, nevertheless, from expressing our judgment that it is made, throughout these historical memorials, too clear to be honestly gainsaid that the revolting consummation resulted only from a succession of wretched acts of misgovernment on the parts of the ill-fated sovereign and his alike infatuated but more incompetent ministers. Never, truly, was so talented a master worse advised, or more unfaithfully served !^b Even his consort was a main instrument, as we have shown,^c of his ruin ; and which was predicted very early in their, to our nation, connubial infelicity.

“ WHERE only one doth rule and guide the Ship,
Who^d neither card^e nor compass knew before,
The Master, pilot, and the rest, asleep,
The stately Ship is split upon the shore :

^a Witness, among other authorities, her annual occasional offices.

^b “ In all his defects, we may more reasonably fix the occasions rather upon others who had their influence from him, than upon his own defect ; for the mischoice of fit and able persons to be his best and dearest friends, proved fatal to him, to them, and to us all ! ” Sanderson's Complete Hist. ; 1658. p. 1140.

“ So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth and the stars designed it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good ; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another, till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master.” Clarendon : Hist. Rebel. bk. xi. edit. 1839. p. 743.

^c Vol. I. p. 464.—“ There was one that thrust him on, whose advices were more loving than lucky.” Bishop Hacket : Life of Archbishop Williams, 1693. Fol. pt. ii. p. 162.

^d “ That,” *in orig.*

^e Chart.

But being awake, they start up, stare, and cry
 'Who is in fault?—Not I—nor I—nor I:'
 So fares it with the rich and royal State
 Not guided by the Master, but his MATE!"^a

Did LAUD, then, libel Charles where he styles him "a mild and gracious prince, who knew not how to be, or be made, great?"^b

A shrewd observer of men and manners, and a practiser upon their weaknesses too; not claiming therefore any particular respect, but who was, notwithstanding, personally known to his Majesty; shall supply our pages with further matter, the general tenor of which can be confirmed from various sources. And that being so, we shall here as elsewhere be less likely to be accused of being beholden to any whose religious principles, assimilating to our own, might on that account command our sympathy and prejudice our judgment.

"The Queen," writes William Lilly,^c "more than once twitted him [her husband] in the teeth with dissembling; a quality which indeed, he was as sufficiently master of as any man living."^d

"He was a great lover, if not too much, of the Clergy, and highly advanced them; insomuch, as under him they grew first insolent and then saucy; and indeed, his indulgence unto them did, in part, procure unto himself the people's hate."^e

"He loved not greatly, the ancient nobility or gentry of this nation; but did rather prefer creatures of his own or father's making."^f

"The Commonalty of England, he neither cared for, took much notice of, nor much disrespected; holding this opinion only, [that] because he was their King, they ought in duty to serve him."^g "In all or most of his Letters unto the Queen, he terms the Parliament 'rebels,' though they were lawfully convened, and not dissolved, or to be dissolved without their own consent; but time, and their victories, acquainted him with more civil language, and taught him to style them a 'Parliament.' In another Letter of his unto her, he calls the Lord General Fairfax who was then the Parliament's General, their 'brutish' General; a most uncivil term and epithet, to bestow upon so brave a man. . . Assuredly, the progenitors of the Lord Fairfax were gentlemen, and of good estates then; and at what time the ancestors of the Stuarts were but poor stewards unto a family in Scotland . . . though since, by marriage, they came to be kings of Scotland, as their own Chronicles relate."^h

^a Joseph Mede's Historical Papers; Jan. 1626-7: Harleian MSS. no. 390, p. 181.—Treating of the King at Oxford, in Nov. 1646, Neal remarks, Vol. iii, ch. vii., that "being deprived of his oracle, the Queen, he was like a ship in a storm without sails or rudder."

^b "Troubles and Trial" of Laud, Fol. 1695. Chap. ix. p. 178.

^c See back, Vol. I. p. 464, note ^b ^d P. 179.

^e P. 180.—"In the hands of James and Charles, the abuses real and imaginary, which existed in the Church, contributed greatly to overthrow the Monarchy." Bishop Short, in his "Sketch of the Hist. of the Church of England." 1838: sec. 449. p. 289. ^f P. 180.

^g P. 182. Charles reversed the constitutional maxim of his Father's "righteous King," who, he said, must "know himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him." Speech of James I. 1603.

^h P. 184.

“He had much of self-ends in all that he did; and a most difficult thing it was to hold him to his promise or word: he was apt to recede, unless something therein appeared compliable either unto his own will, profit, or judgment; so that some foreign princes bestowed on him the character of a most false prince, and one that never kept his word unless for his own advantage.^a

“He was seldom, in the times of war, seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or soldiers, or indeed anything else. . .^b

“There is no pen, how able soever, can take off the blemish that will ever hang on him, for falling out with his Parliament because they questioned how and by what means his father came to his death.^c

“The destruction of Rochelle is wholly laid upon our king’s score, as well and justly it may be, to his eternal dishonour and blemish. . . This action of his, lost him the love of the Protestant princes in all parts of the world; and his own subjects could, after that action, never well brook him, but daily were alienated in their affection from him, supposing him either not well grounded in the Protestant faith, or else a mere state-juggler and no other.^d

“All men generally, except a few court-parasites, were glad of Buckingham’s death; yet nothing was bettered in the court or commonwealth after his death; which moved many to affirm that all the acts of misgovernment in the realm proceeded not from Buckingham’s ill advice, but most from the corrupt and depraved nature of the King’s own heart.^e

“All men knew this war [with the Scots] was promoted by the Clergy, whom the nobility began to disdain and scorn, and the gentry and yeomanry of England extremely to hate; for, at this present time, the High Commission and other bawdy courts, did most horrible injustice against the persons and estates of any gentleman who by misfortune came thither.^f

“When the King saw he could no way engage the English against the Scots, . . he sent for the Earl of Strafford, . . a man of the rarest parts and deepest judgment of any Englishman living; I say, he sent for this Strafford to consult with him about composing these emergent differences. Strafford advises with Canterbury, all to little purpose; for the Bishop was a very ass in anything but Church matters.^g

“It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busy citizen must needs cry ‘No Bishops;’ some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauci-

^a P. 185.

^b P. 187.

^c P. 195.

^d P. 201.

^e P. 202.

^f P. 218.—“Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Independency, were made the watchwords of parties; but the real question, throughout, was a Political one, and took its religious aspect rather from its connection with Scotland, than because the parties in England were contending about the government of the Church. The Political Reformers attacked the Church, partly because a Churchman was governing the country; partly, because the feelings of the people were irritated against the power of the Church as an engine of oppression; and partly, because the votes of the Bishops gave a preponderance, in the House of Lords, to the friends of the Court. The mass of the country wished, perhaps, that the episcopal authority should be curtailed, but there was, probably, no general objection to episcopacy itself.” Bishop Short; *supra*: sec. 571, p. 407.

^g P. 222.

ness of the fool in words, . . . else, it seems, with blows; the citizen, being more tongue than soldier, was wounded, and, I have heard, died of his wounds. . . . It hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt . . . the late King's head was cut off, the scaffold standing just over that place. . . .^a To speak freely and ingenuously, what I then observed of the city tumults was this: first, the sufferings of the citizens who were anything well-devoted, had, during all this King's reign, been such and so great, being harrowed or abused continually, either with the High Commission Court or the Star Chamber, that as men in whose breasts the spirit of liberty had some place, they were even glad to vent out their sighs and sufferings in this rather tumultuous than civil manner; being assured that if ever this Parliament had been dissolved, they must have been racked, whipped, and stripped, by the . . . Clergy, and other extravagant courses. And [next] for any amendment which they might expect from the King, they too well knew his temper; that though, in a time of Parliament, he often promised to redress any grievances, yet the best friend he hath cannot produce any one act of good for his subjects done by him in the vacancy of a Parliament!"^b

Whosoever shall read attentively the various discussions on Episcopacy, for which Charles was so adroit a fencer as to astonish those who professed he was the "breath of their nostrils,"^c will not fail to discover in his "cleric elocution," as Milton calls it,^d gross perversions of some of the plainest texts of Scripture, and his amplification of offices and duties to the puffed up sufficiency of hierarchical magnificence. The controversies between himself and the Presbyterians have their special and relative merits distinctly from what concerns the Independents, who, as lookers on, see how skilfully fallacies are made by either side to assume the appearance of sacred truths. The "martyrdom of the blessed King Charles I,"^e may seem to be a grateful "yearly" observance on the part of those whom nothing will sustain short of a State prop, notwithstanding all their boasted apostolical foundation; but his palterings in England respecting the Bishops, would alone fix a blot on his imperial escutcheon, and how much the larger and deeper is it from the knowledge that "The King had [in 1641] signed an Act in Scotland, That the Church government by Archbishops and Bishops was against the Word of God!"^f No infirmity is more clearly evinced

^a P. 230.

^b P. 231, 232.

^c Sir Heneage Finch, on the trial of the "Regicides."

^d "Eikonoclastes," *apud fn.*

^e Common Prayer Book.

^f Jeremy Collier, *M. A. Ecclesiastical History*, ed. fol. vol. ii. p. 806; ed. 1841, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 225. The editor, Francis Barham, Esq., has appended a note here, that "King Charles I, will probably seem to some of the readers of Collier an illustration of a common proverb, 'Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementit.'" What "rebel" ever said anything more severe for the defilement of that "sacred and innocent blood?" In connexion with this place, the following extract may possibly be part of what Bishop Warburton,—*Works*, 1788, 4to, vol. vii. p. 895,—calls "the quaint trash of a fantastical life-writer," meaning Izaak Walton, who in his *Life of Bishop Sanderson*, edit. Zouch, 1796, 4to, p. 449, says, "He [Charles] told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them, that then waited with him [at the Isle of Wight], that 'The remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolish-

than his insincerity: his word, his friend, his conscience, all were prostrated before, or as part of, his political chicanery. Some of his majesty's quiddities are amassed on the fifth page of one of his latest productions: "I would know, what it is that is desired: is it Peace? I have showed the way, being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it, which is, a just [!] compliance with all chief interests: is it Plenty and Happiness? They are the inseparable effect of Peace! Is it Security? I who wish that all men would forgive and forget like me, have offered the Militia for my time. Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it! Is it the right administration of Justice? Officers of Trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament. Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith. Is it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a Settlement, they will certainly be paid with much ease; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it."^a

"There be many," says one of the Royal Vindicators, "and they not only Presbyterians and Independents, but Cavaliers also, who think that the King had taken the guilt of this blood upon himself, in regard of that concession he passed in the preamble of the late treaty at the Isle of Wight, . . . in that he acknowledged therein, that the two

ing Episcopacy in Scotland; and, that if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and voluntary penance—I think, barefoot,—from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to Saint Paul's Church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon.' I am sure one of them, that told it me, lives still, and will witness it." Meaning, Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester.

^a "The King's Declaration: To all his Subjects of whatsoever Nation, Quality, or Condition. Published by His Majesty's Special Command. 1648. 4to. pp. 6. —We copy from "The Lives and Characters, Deaths, etc., of all the Protestant Bishops of the Church of England, etc. By John Le Neve, Gent. 1720." Svo. p. 178, as follows: "In April 1646, I find him [Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Abp. of Canterbury in 1663] attending His Majesty at Oxford, and witness to a remarkable Vow of his; which being but newly come to light, I cannot forbear inserting it as it is just published in the Appendix to Mr. Archdeacon Echard's History of England, [1718] p. 5. "In the midst of these uncommon difficulties, the pious King, as it were reflecting upon his concessions relating to the Churches of Scotland and England, and being extremely tender in case of sacrilegious encroachments, wrote and signed this extraordinary Vow, which was never yet published: 'I do here promise and solemnly Vow, in the presence and for the service of Almighty God, that if it shall please the Divine Majesty, of His infinite goodness to restore me to my just [!] Kingly Rights, and to re-establish me in my Throne, I will wholly give back to His Church all those Impropropriations which are now held by the Crown; and what Lands soever I do now, or should enjoy, which have been taken away either from any Episcopal See, or any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, from any Abbey or other Religious House. I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the Church, under such reasonable Fines and Rents as shall be set down by some conscientious persons, whom I propose to choose with all uprightness of heart, to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to bless me in the Design I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. CHARLES R. Oxford, April 13th 1646.'—'This is a true Copy of the King's Vow, which was preserved thirteen years under ground, by me Gilb. Sheldon. 1660. Aug. 21st.'" All Charles's proceedings subsequently respecting the Church and Churchmen, should be most attentively considered in relation to this remarkable document, upon whose character and importance we dare not trust ourselves to expatiate. Well may the Prayer-Book style him "The Blessed King!"

Houses of Parliament were ‘necessitated to undertake a war’ in their own ‘just and lawful defence,’ etc.; and that therefore, ‘all oaths, declarations,’ or other public instruments against the Houses of Parliament, or any for adhering to them, etc., ‘be declared null,’ suppressed, and forbidden. It is true,” the *Vindicator* continues, “his Majesty passed this grant; but with this weighty consideration, as it had reference to two ends: first, to smoothen and facilitate things, thereby to open a passage and pave the way to a happy peace: . . . secondly, that it might conduce to the further security and the indemnifying of the two Houses of Parliament, with all their instruments, assistants, and adherents; and so rid them of all jealousies and fear of future dangers which still lodged within them. . . . His Majesty passed this concession with these two provisos and reservations, first, That it should be of no virtue or validity at all till the whole treaty were entirely consummated; secondly, That he might, when he pleased, enlarge and clear the truth with the *reservedness* of his meaning herein, by public declaration.”^a

^a “Divers Historical Discourses of the late Popular Insurrections in Great Britain, etc. By James Howell, Esq. 1666.” 16mo. p. 374—376.—And compare Sanderson’s *Hist.* p. 1090, 1093; and, Clarendon, bk. xi. As nothing can be more important than for posterity to know what advice his Majesty courted and received, so we copy one of those most singular documents which, from their peculiar character, would seem to have been for ever screened from public gaze; we are indebted for it to “*Memorials of the Great Civil War in England from 1646 to 1652.* Edited from the Original Letters in the Bodleian Library. By Henry Cary, M. A. 1842.” Svo. vol. i. p. 169.

“The Bishops of London and Salisbury to the King.

“MAY it please Your Majesty:—In obedience to your Majesty’s commands, we have advised upon that Proposition, and your Majesty’s doubt arising thereon; and according to our duty and your Majesty’s strict charge laid upon us, we shall deliver our opinions, and the sense we have of it, plainly and freely, to the best of our understandings; nor shall we fail in point of fidelity, however we may in judgment.

“The doubt is, ‘Touching the lawfulness of a temporary compliance in matters of Religion, in the state they now here stand;’ that is, as we apprehend it, Whether your Majesty may, without breach of your oath and with a safe conscience, permit for some time the exercise of the ‘Directory for Worship,’ and practice of Discipline, as they are now used, and stand enjoined by Ordinance? For resolution whereof, we shall take the boldness to make use of those grounds which we find laid to our hands in your Majesty’s directions. For your Majesty’s constancy and fixedness of resolution, not to recede from what you have, by oath, undertaken in that matter; as it gives us a great latitude to walk in, with safety of conscience, in your endeavours to that end,—the rectitude of intention, abating much of the obliquity in all actions,—so the full expression you have been now pleased to make of it, and that what your purpose at present is in order thereunto, doth much facilitate the work, and fit us for the resolution.

“Taking therefore, your Majesty’s settled determination touching the Church for a foundation immoveable, and this proposition—in your Majesty’s design—as a means subservient thereunto; considering also, the condition your Majesty’s affairs now stand in, being destitute of all means compulsory, or of regaining what is lost by force; we cannot conceive in this your Majesty’s condescension any violation of that oath, whereof your Majesty is so justly tender, but that your Majesty doth thereby still continue to preserve and protect the Church by the best ways and means you have left you,—which is all [that] the oath can be supposed to require;—and that the permission intended,—whereby, in some men’s apprehension, your Majesty may seem to throw down what you desire to build up,—is not only by your Majesty allowed to that end, but, as your Majesty stands persuaded, probably fitted for the effecting it in some measure.

Let us take a view of the particular positions of the two prominent religious bodies as closely upon this juncture, before and after, as is afforded to us. Under the year 1647, Clarendon states that "It is very true, that the City, upon whose influence the Parliament wholly depended, appeared now entirely Presbyterian; the court of aldermen and common-council, consisted only of men of that spirit; the militia of the City was committed to commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that party, all those of another temper having been put out of those trusts at or about the time the King was delivered up to the Scots, when the officers of the army were content that the Presbyterians should believe that the whole power of the kingdom was in them, and that they might settle what government they pleased; if there remained any persons in any of those employments [query, aldermen and common-council men, for he says, in the next paragraph, that the 'commissioners were all of the Presbyterian party'], it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to other affections. All who were of any other faction in religion, had been put out, and lived as neglected and discountenanced men, who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the State for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government." Of less than a year after this, the same authority states, "In the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in anything relating to the public; but in all those transactions which concerned particular persons with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were considered according to the party they were of; every day those received benefits who had appeared most to adhere to the army; the

"And as your Majesty will stand clear—in our judgments, at least—in respect of your oath, which is principally to be regarded, so neither do we think your Majesty will herein trespass in point of conscience; because your Majesty, finding them already settled, and—as it were—in possession, do only—what in other cases is usual—not disturb that possession while the differences are in bearing; or—which is more justifiable—permit that which you cannot hinder if you would: not commanding it,—for that may vary the case,—but, which possibly may be better liked, leaving it upon that footing it now stands, enjoined by authority of the Houses, which is found strong enough to enforce obedience: which intendment of your Majesty would stand more clear, if this point of 'a temporary' toleration, were not laid as the principal of the proposition,—as now it must seem to be standing in the front,—but as an accessory and necessary concession for the more peaceable proceeding in the business.

"The first part therefore, in the proposition, might be for the accommodation of differences by a debate between parties,—as it lies in the proposition;—and then, that during the debate, all things remain *statu quo nunc*, without any interruption or disturbance from your Majesty, provided that the debate determine and a settlement be made within such a time, etc.; and that your Majesty and your household in the interim be not hindered, etc.; which notwithstanding we humbly submit to your Majesty's better judgment to alter or not.

"We cannot but have a lively sense of the great troubles your Majesty undergoes; and doubt not but that God, who hath hitherto given you patience in them, will bless you with a deliverance out of them in due time, and make the event of your constant endeavours answerable to the integrity of your Majesty's heart; which is the prayer of—Your Majesty's most obedient humble servants,

"GUIL. LONDON [William Juxon]
"BR. SARUM [Brian Duppa].

notorious Presbyterians were removed from all places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit skirmishes were higher than ever, the Presbyterians in those fields losing nothing of their courage, having a notorious power in the City notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were learned and rational; who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet infected and were followed by the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition. To these men, Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterness against the other.”^a

But we are not required to give an account of the whole civil affairs connected with these times. Our chief object at present is to exhibit proofs of a kind and tendency which our enemies would countervail by relations of enormities either of exaggeration or of imagination. Unquestionably the Presbyterians ruled in the City at and after the King’s death: what are we to say, therefore, to this further piece of history: “[Jan. 9th, 1648-9] The mayor, aldermen, and common-council petitioned the House of Commons ‘for justice against the King; to settle the votes, that the supreme power is in them; and the City resolving to stand by them to the utmost.’ And this petition was ordered to be recorded in the books, amongst the acts of the common-council.” Well, see next what this authority relates presently: “The Presbyterian ministers, now too late, declaim against it [the trial of the King]; and many more of the Sects by their sermons, conference, protestations and remonstrances, publish and beseech ‘That against the dreadful ties of so many oaths; against the public and private faith backed by declarations and promises; against the law of the land; against the more sacred dictates of divine Scripture and religion; nay, against the good of the Commonwealth; they would not distain their own hands and the kingdom with the King’s blood.’”^b Another, but earlier, authority wrote thus, “In the mean time all the Presbyterian ministers of London, in a manner, and more out of several counties; yea, and some out of the Independents also [imò, ex Independentium partibus nonnulli], declare against the thing in their sermons for the pulpit, in conferences, monitory letters, petitions, protestations, and public remonstrances.”^c

Now, what plight soever the Presbyterians were in, it is clear that “the Sects” were on an equal footing as regards the awful extremity. It is true, they did not overrule it; neither do we read of any wide, extended concert of the episcopal body, making an effort to avert the catastrophe on its immediate approach. The clear truth of all, is, that the King had made himself generally unpopular, but that the nation was awe-struck at the novelty and greatness, not to say sublimity, of the final result!

^a Hist. of the Rebellion, bk. x.; p. 657, 681, of edit. 1839.

^b Sanderson’s Hist. p. 1120, 1121.

^c “Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia: Or, A Short Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England. In two Parts: written in Latin [Pt. i. Lut. Par. 1649, 12mo.] by Dr. George Bates [Bate], Principal Physician to King Charles the First, Oliver Cromwell, and King Charles the Second, etc, 1685.” 12mo. p. 142.

After the sentence of death was passed on him, Ludlow informs us that, “the King having refused such ministers as the Court appointed to attend him, desired that Dr. Juxon, *late* bishop of London, might be permitted to come to him ; which being granted, and adjutant-general Allen sent to acquaint the doctor with the King’s condition and desires, he, being altogether unprepared for such a work, broke out into these expressions, ‘ God save me, what a trick is this, that I should have no more warning, and I have nothing ready.’ But recollecting himself a little, he put on his scarf and his other furniture and went with him to the King, where having read the Common-Prayer, and one of his old sermons, he administered the sacrament to him ; not forgetting to use the words of Confession set down in the Liturgy, inviting all those that truly repent to make their confession before the congregation then gathered together ; though there was none present but the King and himself.”^a

The mournful period being come, “Through the garden, the king passed into the park, where making a stand, he asked Mr. Herbert the hour of the day, and taking the clock into his hand, gave it him, and bade him keep it in memory of him, which Mr. Herbert keeps accordingly. The park had several companies of foot drawn up who made a guard on either side as the king passed ; and a guard of halberdiers in company, went, some before, and some other followed ; the drums beat, and the noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke. Upon the king’s right hand, went the bishop, and Colonel Tomlinson on his left, with whom his majesty had some discourse by the way. Mr. Herbert was next the king ; after him, the guards. In this manner went the king through the park ; and coming to the stairs, the king passed along the galleries into his bedchamber, where, after a little repose, the bishop went to prayer ; which being done, his majesty bid Mr. Herbert bring him some bread and wine, which being brought the king broke the manchet and did [eat] a mouthful of it, and drank a small glassful of claret wine, and then was sometime in private with the bishop,^b expecting when Hacket would, the third and last time, give warning. Meantime his majesty told Mr. Herbert which satin nightcap he would use. . . Colonel Hacket came, soon

^a “Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq. Lieut. Gen.” 1751. Fol. p. 109.

^b “When he was come to Whitehall, . . there they permitted him and the bishop to be alone for some time ; and the bishop had prepared all things in order to his receiving the Sacrament. And whilst he was at his private devotions, Nye and some other boldfaced ministers knocked at the door, and the bishop going to open it, they told him they came to offer their service to pray with the king ; he told them the king was at his own private devotions ; however, he would acquaint him. But the king resolving not to send out to them, they, after some time, had the modesty to knock again. The bishop suspecting who they were, told the king it would be necessary to give them some answer. The king replied ‘ Then,’ says he, ‘ thank them from me for the tender of themselves ; but tell them plainly, that they that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony : they may, if they please,—and I’ll thank them for it—pray for me.’ When he had received the Eucharist, he rose up from his knees with a cheerful and steady countenance : ‘ Now,’ says he, ‘ let the ROGUES [sic] come ; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo.’” *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I., etc.* By Sir Philip Warwick, Knt. edit. 3, 1703. 12mo. p. 312.

after, to the bedchamber door and gave his last signal; the bishop and Mr. Herbert weeping, fell upon their knees, and the king gave them his hand to kiss, and helped the bishop up, for he was aged. Colonel Hacket attending still at the door, the king took notice of it and said, 'Open the door,' and bade Hacket go, he would follow. A guard was made all along the galleries, and the banqueting-house; but behind the soldiers abundance of men and women crowded in, though with some peril to their persons, to behold the saddest sight England ever saw. And as his majesty passed by with a cheerful look, heard them pray for him, the soldiers not rebuking any of them; [but] by their silence and dejected faces, seeming afflicted rather than insulting. There was a passage broken through the wall, by which the king passed unto the scaffold, where, after his majesty had spoken a little, the fatal stroke was given by a disguised person. Mr. Herbert during this, was at the door, lamenting."^a

We insert Charles's set speech upon the scaffold, for upon all that is implied in it rests most of the equity, if none of the legality, of the long course of proceedings which were consummated when the axe had performed its office upon the last of that Triumvirate who certainly helped to give the character to those evil days in which it was their misfortune to flourish. "His Majesty held in his hand, a small piece of paper some four inches square, containing heads whereon, in his

^a "Threnodia Carolina;" 1678: Reprinted, 1702, under the title of "Memoirs of the two last years of the reign of the unparalleled Prince of ever-blessed memory King Charles. By Sir Tho. Herbert; etc. 12mo. p. 132, 135. This Herbert, tells Dr. Sanways, in a letter, August 28th, 1682; alluding to the night preceding the execution, that "For some hours his majesty slept very soundly. For my part," adds Herbert, "I was so full of anguish and grief, that I took little rest. The king, sometime before day, drew his bed-curtains to awaken me, and could by the light of a wax lamp perceive me troubled in my sleep. The king rose forthwith, and as I was making him ready, 'Herbert,' said the king, 'I would know why you were disquieted in your sleep. . . Said I, 'I dreamed, that as you were making ready one knocked at the bed-chamber door; which your majesty took no notice of, nor was I willing to acquaint you with it, apprehending it might be Colonel Hacket. But, knocking the second time, your majesty asked me if I heard it not. I said I did; but did not use to go without orders. Why then go, know who it is, and his business. Whereupon I opened the door, and perceived that it was the lord archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, in his pontifical habits, as worn at court; I knew him, having seen him often. The archbishop desired he might enter, having something to say to the king. I acquainted your majesty with his desire; so you bade me let him in. Being in, he made his obeisance to your majesty in the middle of the room, doing the like also when he came near your person; and, falling on his knees, your majesty gave him your hand to kiss, and took him aside to the window, where some discourse passed between your majesty and him; and I kept a becoming distance, not hearing anything that was said, yet could perceive your majesty pensive by your looks, and that the archbishop gave a *sigh*; who, after a short stay, again kissing your hand, returned, but with his face towards your majesty, and making his usual reverences, the third being so submiss as [that] he fell prostrate on his face on the ground, and I immediately stepped to him to help him up; which I was then acting, when your majesty saw me troubled in my sleep. The impression was so lively, that I looked about, verily thinking it was no dream!' The king said my dream was remarkable, but he is dead; yet, had we conferred together [as] during life, it is very likely—albeit I loved him well—I should have *said* something to him might have occasioned his *sigh*!" Memoirs of Sir T. Herbert, p. 219, quoted in "Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reigns of the Stuarts, etc. By J. H. Jesse, 1840, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 181, 182.

speech, he intended to dilate ; and a tall soldier, looking over the king's shoulders, read it as the king held it in his hand. As for the speech which passeth in print for the king's, though taken in short-hand by one eminent therein, it was done so defectively it deserved not to be accounted his speech by the testimony of such as heard it. His speech ended, he gave that small paper to the bishop of London."^a We transcribe the speech, however, from Sanderson, affirmed to be a writer of "knowledge and probity," in Howell's preliminary epistle. Clement Walker has recorded, in the same year in which it purports to be spoken, "His majesty's speech upon the scaffold," but it differs materially though not essentially from the copy preserved by Sanderson, and the style of Walker's is every way inferior: upon his copy, it is true, Walker makes no other reflection than that it "was the effect of his Majesty's speech," and that it "could only be heard by some few soldiers and schismatics of the faction who were suffered to possess the scaffold and all parts near it, and from their pens only we have our informations."^b

"Turning to the officers and actors, but rather to Colonel Tomlinson, he said, 'I would now speak nothing unto you in this place, were it not that some men would interpret my silence as an argument of guilt, and think that I took on me the crimes objected, with the same conscience as I submit to the punishment with patience. I call God to witness of my innocency, before whose tribunal I must shortly appear, it never entered into my thoughts to retrench the just [!] privileges of Parliament ;^c and that I raised not any army before such time as they had raised hostile forces against me, which, from the order of proceedings on both sides and dates of commissions and proclamations, will be clearly manifested to the inquirer. Meanwhile, I acknowledge and submissively own God's justice [in] which, this day, by an unjust sentence of mine, He hath inflicted a just judgment on me, forasmuch as heretofore I would not acquit an innocent man [Strafford] when oppressed by a most unjust decree. With what charity I embrace my enraged enemies, this good man [the bishop of London] is my witness. I pardon them all from my very heart ; and I earnestly beseech the God of all mercies, that he would vouchsafe to grant them serious repentance, and remit this great sin. Yet I cannot, to my last gasp, but be solicitous of the peace of my kingdom which I am not able, at present, better to consult for than by chalking out the way from which you of the soldiery have exceedingly deviated, and by which you must return to sobriety and peace. Herein I perceive you are most miserably out of the way, in that by the title of the sword, without all, even a shadow, of right, you think good to wrest the government to yourselves,

^a Fuller's Church Hist. bk. xi., sec. 40.

^b Hist. of Independents, pt. ii. p. 111, 112.

^c "If he suffered for attempting to govern by an arbitrary authority, in defiance of the rights of parliaments, those who inflicted the punishment showed what they thought of the guilt by imitating the crime." History of Dissenters, by David Bogue and James Bennet. 1808. 8vo. vol i. p. 84. Did we not feel unqualified veneration for the authors, and believe them to have written with perfect sincerity, we should be disposed to characterise this passage by the word *Asteismos*—more witty than accurate.

and endeavour to establish the kingdom not by authority of the laws, but upon the score of conquest; which can never have any accruit of right unless ushered in by a just cause and triumph of war; namely, either for the repulsing of wrongs or [the] recovering of rights unjustly detained. But if more prosperous success shall advance the victor beyond the modest bounds of just and lawful, nought hinders but that the kingdoms that are erected both be and be accounted great robberies; which we read heretofore a pirate objected to Alexander.^a But being out of the way, as you are, can you, by no other expedient, return into the right path of peace? By no other counsel believe me, can you hope to divert God's wrath, than by restoring to God, the king, the people respectively, such things as are their dues. You shall give God his due, by restoring his pure worship and church rightly regulated according to the prescript of his Word, which hath, long since, been miserably convulsed and disjointed; and this, a national synod, duly called and freely debating, will best effectuate. To the King, namely, my successor, you will render full right if you restore those things, which by the clear letter of the law stands expressed. Lastly; you will put the people in their rights and due liberties, not by listing them in the consort of the throne and sway of the sceptre, but by recovering unto the laws their authority and the people's observance; to the abrogating of which, by the enormous power of the sword, whenas by no means I could be induced, I was brought hither to undergo a martyrdom for my people."^b

Wherefore, we ask now, gravely, was this speech addressed to the soldiery but from the conviction that the speaker was about to suffer under a military^c rather than a civil process of decollation? The fact, that thirty-four colonels, at least, with three of higher rank, are among the seventy-eight names of those who are styled his "judges,"^d should seem to decide that question. Hence, beside other reasons, it was not this or that religious body which, as such, gave countenance and support to the fatal deed. But "wherefore," again we ask, is it, that Lord Clarendon, in particular, has not recorded this alleged speech in his History? Surely, the colloquy, too, between the Bishop of London and Charles,^e preserved in Sanderson and copied by Hume, was worthy

^a "That he [Alexander] was the great robber; he [the pirate] was but a petty robber."

^b [Sir] William Sanderson's "Complete Hist. of the Life and Reign of King Charles, 1658." Fol. p. 1136. "Nor, indeed, was theré any man more capable to pen this story than yourself:" Epistle, "to the very worthy and well-weighed author," by James Howell.

^c "This High Court of Justice, in nature of a Court-Martial." Walker's Hist. of Independency. Pt. iii. p. 19. I. D'Israeli says, indeed, "The fact is, that the martyrdom of Charles was a civil and political one." Commentaries on the Life and Death of Charles I. 1831. 8vo. vol. v. p. 443.

^d Sanderson, p. 1129.

^e Without presenting all that Milton penned, severe in the extreme, we select, "Who would have imagined so little fear in him [the King] of the true all-seeing Deity, so little reverence of the Holy Ghost whose office is to dictate and present our prayers; so little care of truth in his last words, or honour to himself, or to his friends, or sense of his afflictions, or of that sad hour which was upon him; as, immediately before his death, to pop into the hand of that grave bishop who attended him, for a special relic of his saintly exercises, a prayer stolen word for

the notice of the noble author, though it be omitted in Walker! One circumstance must still be adverted to, because later authorities, if such they be, contradict the earlier and therefore so far more authentic. Walker affirms, "He had his head severed from his body at one stroke; the soldiers and schismatics giving a great shout presently."^a Is that the explanation of the word "dismal," in Philip Henry's testimony, "that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, as it were with one consent, as he never heard before?"^b Sanderson has not made any mention of either "shout" or "groan."^c Thus, the several indignities which the king is reported to have undergone, at and after his trial, require all to be searched into before implicit credence be reposed in any of them.^d

word [almost] out of the mouth of a heathen woman [or fiction] praying to a heathen god? And that, in no serious book, but the vain, anatorious, poem of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia;' a book, in that kind, full of worth and wit, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named; nor to be read, at any time, without good caution, much less in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christian's prayer-book! They who are yet incredulous of what I tell them for a truth, That this philippic prayer is no part of the King's goods; may satisfy their own eyes at leisure in the third book of Sir Philip's 'Arcadia' [ed 1647, fol.] p. 248, comparing Pamela's prayer with the first prayer of his Majesty delivered to Dr. Juxon, immediately before his death, and entitled 'A Prayer in time of Captivity,' printed in all the best editions of his book." Eiconoclastes, chap. i.—"After the first edition of his Majesty's book, the printers finding 'the great vent of them, in the following editions printed prayers and other things, in the King's name, not belonging to the book. Among these prayers there is a prayer taken out of the 'Arcadia.' . . Here is no evidence of the fact, that his Majesty made use of that prayer, or 'popt' [it] into the Bishop's hands, as a relic of his exercise, though he might warrantably have used it and professed it." *Εικων Ακλαστος* 'The Image Unbroken: A Perspective of the Impudence, Falsehood, Vanity, and Profaneness, published in a Libel intituled 'Εικονοκλαστης,' against 'Εικων Βασιλική; or, The Portraiture, etc. 1651." 4to. p. 82.—The King's copy and the original, are printed side by side, in p. lxxix of vol. ii. of Milton's Prose Works, 1738. Fol. Oldmixon, in his "Critical History of England, Ecclesiastical and Civil," 2nd edit. 1726, vol. i. 8vo. pt. i. chap. iii. p. 216; and also, in his "History of England during the Reign of the House of Stuart, etc. 1730," fol. p. 346; styles this "the most pious prayer in the book." And it is evident that there is no comparison between the superiority in the composition of the prayer assigned to Pamela, over all those others alleged to be the King's. Milton made this grave charge openly, in 1649, and no confutation of it is given on the authority of Juxon; nor does any appear to have been attempted till many years after his death, in 1663, and none have we met with but what is open to obvious objections; but it is pretended that Milton and Bradshaw were both so vile as to conspire to bring hatred upon the King's memory, and total discredit on his alleged book, as to cause surreptitious editions to be printed with three additional prayers, this being one of them! Could such a fact be established indisputably, we should be among the loudest to decry the impostors. But we have no misgiving that Milton would have dared to set down boldly so many particulars as his chapter contains, when the simple question could have been answered by Juxon alone, had he been disposed, and so Milton's reputation demolished.

^a P. 112.

^b Life, by his son Matthew Henry; edit, 8vo. 1825. p. 18.

^c How Hume has painted this part of his picture, may be seen in his 59th chap.

^d To make a perfect "Saint" of this king, miracles are affirmed to have been performed by his relics. "To this day," so writes Sanderson in 1658, "there are devotees that affirm the effects of cure by application of those things distained with

“It has been almost positively proved,” says a late account of these transactions, “that the worst insults reported by the royalist writers, such as spitting in the king’s face, throwing pipes at him, and the like, were nothing but inventions. And if Bradshaw was harsh and unrelenting,—if nearly every man that sat on that unprecedented trial had strung his nerves to do what he considered essential to his own safety and the salvation of his country,—it must still be confessed by every impartial examiner into the circumstances that there was no want of decency in the proceedings of the Court. In fact, in spite of the representations of his partisans and the sympathy for the fate of Charles, that High Court of Justice appeared in the eyes of all Europe a solemn and imposing scene; and from that day down to the savage and brutal retaliation which followed the Restoration, the King’s judges, and the commonwealth-men generally, made it their proudest boast, That they had neither acted with a timid hand nor with a mean spirit; That what they had done was not done in a corner, but openly in the eyes of all England!”^a

Upon the death of the King that diatribe was published, almost immediately, which it was designed should pass for his majesty’s own. “Almighty God, in his providence,” so writes Sanderson,^b “hath preserved a volume of the King’s *own*; a posthume-work, of which if any man shall impartially weigh the matter, the elegancy of the style, the nerves of reason, the ardour of piety, even envy itself will confess had deserved the kingdom amongst writers!” Volume after volume has been written to prove what the title-page itself belies, where it is only affirmed to be an “image” of a king, “the portraicture” of his “Sacred Majesty;” it purports accordingly not to be a composure of original matter in “his solitudes,” nor to be so impassioned a description of his “sufferings” as the near approach of his last moments might be expected to have occasioned. The stoic contexture throughout, condemns it upon the ordinary principles of humanity; unless not “to be sorrowful,” were, according to Lilly,^c one of Charles’s singularities. That so matchless an artifice should, then, be in the end covered with infamy unmatched, and that there should be found in more enlightened days maintainers of the deception, is marvellous beyond expression, since the very man whose sole authority would have swayed more than all beside, because he had made it his especial business to justify and extol his master, and that too after Milton had handled the question with a force of argument we may hence conclude irresistible, even Clarendon has nowhere made the slightest allusion to the epic threnody. As it will come under notice two chapters hence, we will produce, here, but one passage; which shall be considered to

his blood. We need not go far to find out the truth hereof, if we take the narrative of the woman-patient at Deptford, near the City of London, being thereby cured of her blindness; and many others, of like infirmities.” P. 1138. Against this passage, in the printed copy, from which we have taken it, is written, “This cure I can aver to be true, for I saw the maid which had been blind. F. L.”

^a “The Pictorial History of England: being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom. 1837. Imp. 8vo. bk. vii. ch. i. p. 395.

^b P. 1139.

^c See back, p. 353.

be the king's, let the true parentage be whose else soever it may, bishop's, or no bishop's.

“Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists which were my subjects, any way fight against my religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they employed or what they said and did, so they might prevail. It is strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of persuasion in matters of religion, may easily fall out where there is the sameness of duty, allegiance and subjection. The first they owe, as men and christians, to God; the second, they owe to me in common, as their king. Different professions in point of religion cannot, any more than in civil trades, take away the community of relations either to parents or to princes.”^a

To this passage Milton replies thus—assuming it to be the king's, —“His ‘using the assistance of some Papists,’ as the cause might be, could not hurt his ‘religion;’ but, in the settling of Protestantism, their aid was both unseemly and suspicious, and inferred that the greatest part of Protestants were against him and his obtruded settlement. But this is strange indeed, that he should appear now teaching the Parliament what no man, till this was read, thought ever he had learned, ‘That difference of persuasion in religious matters, may fall out where there is the sameness of allegiance and subjection.’ If he thought so from the beginning, wherefore was there such compulsion used to the Puritans of England, and the whole realm of Scotland, about conforming to a liturgy? wherefore ‘no bishop no king?’ wherefore ‘episcopacy more agreeable to monarchy,’ if different persuasions in religion may agree in one duty and allegiance? Thus do Court maxims, like Court minions, rise and fall as the king pleases!”^b

In a similar manner, Milton handled the entire contents; and since something more from him, will be looked for in this connexion, his characteristic peroration in fine, shall follow: “He glories much in the forgiveness of his enemies; so did his grandmother at her death. Wise men would sooner have believed him, had he not so often told us so. But he hopes to erect ‘the trophies of his charity over us.’ And ‘trophies of charity,’ no doubt, will be as glorious as trumpets before the alms of hypocrites;^c and more especially ‘the trophies’ of such an aspiring ‘charity,’ as offers in his prayer to share victory with God’s

^a “Ἐικὼν Βασιλική. The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty, in his Solitudes and Sufferings.—Rom. viii. 37.—Bona agere, et mala pati, Regium est.—Printed Anno Dom. 1648[9.]” 24mo. pp. 187. Chap. xv. p. 89. Concerning the alleged authenticity of this production, we refer most especially, to “Additional Reasons in Confirmation of the Opinion that Dr. Gauden, and NOT King Charles the First, was the Author of Ἐικὼν Βασιλική. In a Letter to the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. By the Rev. William Grant Broughton, M. A. Archdeacon of New South Wales. Lond. 1829.” Svo. pp. 71. “That book, . . . for which his admirers ‘Saint’ him, begins with his spontaneous calling of the Parliament in 1640: that chapter made one of his own party . . . throw the book away; saying, if it [be] begun with so known a lie, nothing less could be expected in it!” The Providences of God observed; etc. 1694.” 16mo. p. 18.

^b “Ἐικονοκλαστῆς; In answer to Ἐικὼν Βασιλική. Works, ed. 1833, ch. xv. p. 313.

^c Matt. vi. 2.

compassion, which is over all his works.”^a Such prayers as these may, haply catch the people as was intended; but how they please God, is to be much doubted, though prayed in secret, much less written to be divulged! Which, perhaps, may gain him after death, a short, contemptible, and soon fading reward; not what he aims at, to stir the constancy and solid firmness of any wise man, or to unsettle the conscience of any knowing Christian,—if he could ever aim at a thing so hopeless, and above the genius of his cleric elocution,—but to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and *image*-doting rabble; that like a credulous and hapless herd, begotten to servility, and enchanted with these Popular Institutes of Tyranny, subscribed with a new device of the King’s picture at his prayers, hold out both their ears with such delight and ravishment, to be stigmatized and bored through, in witness of their own voluntary and beloved baseness. The rest, whom, perhaps, ignorance without malice, or some error less than fatal, hath for the time misled, on this side sorcery or obduration, may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themselves, and recover.”^b

Whether it appeared before or after the King’s book, so called, we know not, but the month of February had not passed by when Milton sent forth “The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: Proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any, who have the power, to call to Account a Tyrant, or Wicked King; and, after due Conviction, to depose, and put Him to death, if the Ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it. And, That they who, of late, so much blame Depositing, are the Men that did it themselves—The Author, J. M. 1649.” [1648-9.] 4to. pp. 42.^c

This work is directed principally against the Presbyterians, and we shall therefore use such portions of it only as bear against that body; leaving the argument for “deposing,” to the researches of any who may be inquisitive regarding it.^d Milton begins by drawing a parallel between “bad men” and men “in whom virtue and true worth” are “eminent,” the latter, he says, are they whom tyrants “fear in earnest.” Because of that “licence, which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants,” he infers, “consequently, neither do bad men hate tyrants, but have been always readiest with the falsified names of ‘loyalty’ and ‘obedience,’ to colour over their base compliances. And,” now he begins his application, “although sometimes for shame, and when it comes to their own grievances, of purse especially, they would seem good patriots and side with the better cause, yet when others—for the deliverance of their country, endued with fortitude and heroic virtue to fear nothing but the curse written against those ‘that do the work of the Lord negligently’—^ewould go on to

^a Psal. clxv. 9.

^b P. 337.

^c “Published now, the second time [1650], with some additions, and many testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among Protestant Divines, asserting the position of this book.”

^d Charles’s criminality being admitted, the method and the legality, or competency, of his punishment, remained to be debated and decided. The tyrant’s own plea, “necessity,” is liable to be retorted upon him, according to the imminence of his crimes.

^e Jer. xviii. 10.

remove not only the calamities and thraldoms of a people, but the roots and causes whence they spring; straight, these men and sure helpers at need! as if they hated only the miseries but not the mischiefs, after they had juggled and paltered with the world, bandied and borne arms against their King, divested him, disannointed him, nay, cursed him all over in their pulpits and their pamphlets, to the engaging of sincere and real men beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from; not only turn revolvers from those principles which only could, at first, move them, but lay the stain of disloyalty and worse on those proceedings which are the necessary consequences of their own former actions! nor disliked by themselves, were they managed to the entire advantages of their own faction; not considering the while that He toward whom they boasted their new fidelity counted them accessory, and by those statutes and laws which they so impotently brandish against others, would have doomed them to a traitor's death, for what they had done already!"^a Again, Milton writes, "Others, who have been fiercest against their Prince under the notion of a tyrant, and no mean incendiaries of the war against him, when God out of his providence and high disposal hath delivered him into the hand of their Brethren, in a sudden, and in a new garb of allegiance which their doings have long since cancelled, they plead for him, pity him, extol him, protest against those that talk of bringing him to the trial of Justice, which is the sword of God, superior to all mortal things, in whose hand soever, by apparent signs, his testified will is to put it."^b But certainly, if we consider who and what they are on a sudden grown so pitiful, we may conclude their pity can be no true and christian commiseration, but either levity and shallowness of mind, or else a carnal admiring of that worldly pomp and greatness from whence they see him fallen; or rather lastly, a dissembled and seditious pity, feigned of industry to beget new commotions! As for 'mercy,' if it be to a tyrant, under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of angels, and the holy church assembled,

^a P. 1, 2.

^b The Presbyterians had published "The Dissenting Ministers' Vindication of themselves from the horrid and detestable Murder of King Charles the First of glorious memory. With their [57] Names subscribed, about the Twentieth of January, 1648[-9]." 4to. pp. 6. Reprinted under the title of "The Presbyterians not guilty," etc., 1710. Svo. Their original tract is also called A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to capital punishment. With a short Exhortation to their People, to keep close to their Covenant Engagement. 1648[-9]. 4to. pp. 11. This "Vindication" contains the same names as before with the addition of one.— Those proceedings gave birth to what was condemned to be burned after the Restoration, Aug. 27th, 1660, intituled, "Υβριστοδίκαι. The Obstructors of Justice: Or, A Defence of the Honourable Sentence passed upon the late King, by the High Court of Justice. Opposed chiefly to 'The Serious and Faithful Representation and Vindication of some of the Ministers of London:'. As also to 'The Humble Address of Dr. Hammond, to his Excellency and Council of War: Wherein the Justice and Equity of the said Sentence is demonstratively asserted, etc.: Together with a Brief Reply to Mr. John Gere's Book, intituled, 'Might overcoming Right;': wherein the act of the Army in garbling the Parliament, is further cleared etc. By John Goodwin. 1649. 4to. pp. 146, and a Postscript.

and there charged him with the spilling of more innocent blood by far than ever Nero did, undoubtedly the ‘mercy’ which they pretend is the mercy of wicked men, and their ‘mercies,’ we read, are cruelties;^a hazarding the welfare of a whole nation, to have saved one whom so oft they have termed ‘Agag,’ and vilifying the blood of many Jonathans that have saved Israel; insisting with much niceness on the unnecessariest clause of their Covenant wrested, wherein, the fear of change and the absurd contradiction of a flattering hostility had hampered them, but not scrupling to give away for compliments, to an implacable revenge, the heads of many thousand Christians more.”^b

Addressing “another sort,” whose late firmness appeared to be giving way to present relenting, he would not have these “discouraged or deterred by any new apostate scarecrows who, under show of giving counsel, send out their barking monitories and ‘mementoes,’ empty of ought else but the spleen of a frustrated faction.” And further, “Neither let mild and tender dispositions be foolishly softened . . . with the unmasculine rhetoric of any puling Priest or Chaplain, sent as a friendly letter of advice, for fashion’s sake in private, and forthwith published by the sender himself that we may know how much of friend there was in it, to cast an odious envy upon them to whom it was pretended to be sent in charity!” In like manner he proceeds; “Nor let any man be deluded by either the ignorance, hypocrisy, and self-repugance of our dancing Divines who have the conscience and the boldness to come with Scripture in their mouths, glossed and fitted for their turns with a double, contradictory, sense; transforming the sacred verity of God to an idol with two faces, . . . and with the same quotations to charge others, which in the same case they made serve to justify themselves. For, while the hope to be made Classic and Provincial Lords led them on, while pluralities greased them thick and deep, to the shame and scandal of religion [itself], more than [to] all the sects and heresies they exclaim against; then to fight against the King’s person, and no less a party of his lords and commons—or to put force upon both the Houses—was good! was lawful! was no resisting of superior powers! . . . He who but erewhile in the pulpits was a cursed tyrant, an enemy to God and saints, laden with all the innocent blood spilt in three kingdoms, and so to be fought against; is now, . . . a lawful magistrate! a sovereign lord! the Lord’s anointed! not to be touched! though by themselves imprisoned. As if this only were obedience, to preserve the mere useless bulk of his person, and that only in prison, not in the field; and to disobey his commands; deny him his dignity and office; every where to resist his power but where they think it only surviving in their own faction!”^c

“This I dare own,” says the intrepid Milton, “as part of my faith, That if such a one there be by whose commission whole massacres have been committed on his faithful subjects; his provinces offered to pawn or alienation as the hire of those whom he had solicited to come in and destroy whole cities and countries; be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of justice is above him. . . .”^d

We pass on to where we meet with this striking remark,^e “Sir

^a Prov. xii. 10.

^b P. 3.

^c P. 4, 6.

^d P. 7.

^e P. 24.

Thomas Smith also a protestant and a statesman, in his 'Commonwealth of England,' putting the question 'Whether it be lawful to rise against a tyrant?' answers, that 'the vulgar judge of it according to the events, and the learned according to the purpose of them that do it.'

Still he goes on to affirm "that the Presbyterians who now so much condemn deposing, were the men themselves that deposed the King; and cannot, with all their shifting and relapsing, wash off the guiltiness from their own hands: for, they themselves, by these their late doings, have made it guiltiness, and turned their own warrantable actions into rebellion!^a . . . Have they not levied all these wars against him, whether offensive or defensive—for defence in war equally offends—and most prudently beforehand;—and, given commission to slay, where they knew his person could not be exempt from danger? . . . Have they not converted his revenue to other uses? . . . Have they not hunted and pursued him round about the kingdom with sword and fire? Have they not formerly denied to treat with him; and, their now recanting ministers preached against him as a reprobate incurable, an enemy to God and his church; marked for destruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not besieged him, and to their power forbid him water and fire; save what they shot against him, to the hazard of his life? Yet while they thus assembled and endangered it with hostile deeds, they swore in words to defend it, with his crown and dignity; not in order, as it seems now, to a firm and lasting peace, or to his repentance after all this blood, but simply without regard, without remorse, or any comparable value of all the miseries and calamities suffered, by the poor people, or to suffer hereafter, through his obstinancy or impenitence!"^b

Having warned the people under them, Milton comes to say, "I have something also to the Divines, though brief to what were needful: not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging, to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good pastors, knowing that he whose flock is least among them, hath a dreadful charge, not performed by mounting twice into a chair with a formal preachment huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching, 'in season and out of season,' 'from house to house,' over the souls of whom they have to feed. Which, if they ever well considered, how little leisure would they find to be the most pragmatistical sidesmen of every popular tumult and sedition! and, all this while, are to learn what the true end and reason is of the Gospel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over conscience! It would be good also they lived, so as they might persuade the people they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; hated pluralities, and all kind of simony; left rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest: of which, if some, well and warmly seated from the beginning, be not guilty, it were good they held not conversation with such as are. Let them be sorry that, being called to *assemble* about reforming the Church, they fell to propping and soliciting the Parliament, though

^a P. 29.^b P. 32.

they had renounced the name of 'priests,' for a new settling of their tithes and oblations, and double-lined themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible discharge of their duty. Let them assemble themselves in consistory with their elders and deacons according to ancient ecclesiastical rule, to the preserving of church-discipline, each in his several charge; and not a pack of clergymen by themselves, to belly-cheer in their presumptuous 'Sion,'^a or to promote designs, abuse and gull the simple laity, and stir up tumult as the Prelates did, for the maintenance of their pride and avarice! These things, if they observe, and wait with patience, no doubt but all things will go well, without their importunities or exclamations; and the printed Letters which they send subscribed with the ostentation of great characters and little moment, would be more considerable than now they are. But if they be ministers of mammon instead of Christ, and scandalize his church with the filthy love of gain; aspiring also to sit the closest and heaviest of all tyrants upon the conscience; and fall notoriously into the same sins whereof, so lately and so loud, they accused the Prelates; as God rooted out those immediately before, so will he root out them their imitators: and, to vindicate his own glory and religion, will uncover their hypocrisy to the open world; and visit upon their own heads that 'curse ye Meroz,' the very motto of their pulpits wherewith so frequently, not as Meroz, but more like atheists, they have mocked the vengeance of God and the zeal of his people."^b

In his second edition of this piece, Milton falls upon the Prebyterians after this manner: "Of this faction, divers reverend and learned Divines, as they are styled in the phylactery of their own title-page, pleading the lawfulness of defensive arms against the King in a treatise called 'Scripture and Reason,' seem in words to disclaim utterly the deposing of a king; but both the Scripture, and the reasons which they use, draw consequences after them which, without their bidding, conclude it lawful." After dilating on these consequences, he adds, "Thus while they, in a cautious line or two here and there stuffed in, are only verbal against the pulling down or punishing of tyrants; all the Scripture and the reason which they bring, is, in every leaf, direct and rational to infer it altogether as lawful, as to resist them. And yet in all their sermons, as hath by others been well noted, they went much further." Upon which, follows this characteristic passage, "For Divines, if we observe them, have their postures and their motions no less expertly and with no less variety, than they that practise feats in the Artillery-ground. Sometimes they seem furiously to march on, and presently march counter; by and by, they stand, and then retreat, or if need be, can face about, or wheel in a whole body, with that cunning and dexterity as is almost unperceivable, to wind themselves, by shifting ground, into places of more advantage. And 'providence' only must be the drum, 'providence' the word of command, that calls them from above, but always to some larger benefice, or acts them into such or such figures and promotions. At their turns and doublings, no men readier, to the right or to the left; for it is their turns which they serve chiefly:

^aAlluding to Sion College, London Wall, where at this time, 1843, the City Clergy have sumptuous "cheer;" and their Curates by themselves there, once in six months.

^bP. 40—42.

herein only singular, that with them there is no certain hand right or left, but as their own commodity thinks best to call it! But, if there come a truth to be defended, which to them and their interest of this world seems not so profitable, straight these nimble motionists can find no even legs to stand upon; and are no more of use to Reformation, thoroughly performed and not superficially, or to the advancement of Truth, which among mortal men is always in her progress, than if on a sudden they were struck maim and crippled. Which, the better to conceal or the more to countenance by a general conformity to their own limping, they would have Scripture, they would have reason also, made to halt with them for company; and would put us off with impotent conclusions, lame and shorter than the premises. In this posture they seem to stand with great zeal and confidence on the Wall of 'Sion;' but like Jebusites, not like Israelites, or Levites. Blind also as well as lame, they discern not David from Adonibezek; but cry *him* up for 'the Lord's anointed,' whose thumbs and great toes, not long before, they had cut off upon their pulpit cushions!"

Two chief corollaries Milton draws from the whole. "Therefore," he says, "He who is our only KING, the root of David, and whose kingdom is eternal righteousness; with all those that war under Him, whose happiness and final hopes are laid up in that only just and rightful 'kingdom' which we pray incessantly may come soon, and in so praying wish hasty ruin and destruction to all tyrants; even He, our immortal King, and all that love Him, must of necessity have in abomination these blind and lame defenders of Jerusalem; as the soul of David hated them, and forbid them entrance into God's house, and his own." Again: "If any one," he says next, "shall go about by bringing other testimonies [than those adduced, but which are omitted here] to disable these, or by bringing these against themselves, in other cited passages of their books; he will not only fail to make good that false and impudent assertion of those mutinous ministers, That the deposing and punishing of a king or tyrant 'is against the constant judgment of all Protestant Divines,' it being quite the contrary; but will prove rather, what perhaps he intended not, that the judgment of Divines, if it be so various and inconstant to itself, is not considerable, or to be esteemed at all! Ere which he yielded, as I hope it never will, these ignorant assertors in their own art will have proved themselves more and more, not to be Protestant Divines, whose constant judgment in this point they have so audaciously belied; but rather, to be a pack of hungry Church-wolves, who, in the steps of Simon Magus their father, following the hot scent of double livings and pluralities, advowsons, donatives, inductions, and augmentations, though uncalled to the flock of Christ but by the mere suggestion of their bellies, like those priests of Bel whose pranks Daniel found out, have got possession, or rather seized upon, the pulpit, as the stronghold and fortress of their sedition and rebellion against the civil magistrate; whose friendly and victorious hand having rescued them from the Bishops their insulting lords, fed them plenteously both in public and in private, raised them to be high and rich of poor and base; only

^a See back, note, p. 370.

suffered not their covetousness and fierce ambition—which as the pit that sent out their fellow locusts, hath been ever bottomless and boundless—to interpose, in all things, and over all persons, their impetuous ignorance and importunity.”^a

While this immortal name is before us, and in consideration of the special object of our labours; we cannot overlook what he has recorded, miscellaneously, concerning the Independents by name. The matter is everywhere brought in but incidentally; yet we ask where, in all but when the sternness of his republicanism^b carries him away, and setting aside also his “*Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*,” etc., have we a more arduous, sincere, and just advocate of our distinguishing principles, than what is found nearly throughout the Works of JOHN MILTON?

Taking his pieces, then, in order, we find him telling Salmasius, “As for the Independents, we never had any such amongst us as you describe; they that we call Independents, are only such as hold that no classis or synods have a superiority over any particular church, and that therefore they ought all to be plucked up by the roots, as branches, or rather as the very trunk, of Hierarchy itself. . . And from hence it was, that the name of Independents prevailed amongst the vulgar.”^c Salmasius having cast a slur on “the English army,” his cauterizer replies, “If it has been always counted praiseworthy in private men, to assist the State and promote the public good, whether by advice or action; our Army sure was in no fault, who, being ordered by the Parliament . . . quelled with ease the faction and uproars of the King’s party, who sometimes threatened the House itself: for things were brought to that pass, that of necessity either we must be run down by them or they by us. They had on their side, most of the shopkeepers and handicraftsmen of London, and generally those of the ministers that were most factious. On our side, was the army, whose fidelity, moderation, and courage, were sufficiently known.” And he continues thus, “It being in our power, by their means, to retain our liberty, our state, our common safety, do you think we had not been fools to have lost all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of command in the king’s army, after their party were subdued, had laid down their arms, indeed against their wills, but continued enemies to us in their hearts; and they flocked to town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the war. With these men, though they were the greatest enemies they had in the world and thirsted after their blood, did the Presbyterians, because they were not permitted to exercise a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all others, hold secret correspondence, and took measures very unworthy of what they had formerly both said and done; and they came to that spleen at last, that they would rather enthral themselves to the king again than

^a Add to all this, Milton’s flagellation “of these who swayed most in the late troubles,” interpolated in the third book of some editions of his *History of England*, and previously, in his tract on “*Hirelings*,” and elsewhere in his works; and the reader will see proof enough of that “terrible sagacity” for which the author is peculiarly famed.

^b With what grace or propriety soever, Dr. Samuel Johnson, forsooth, styled Milton “surly,” he but evinced the more his own natural propensity.

^c Pref. to First “*Defence*.”

admit their own Brethren to share in their liberty, which they, likewise, had purchased at the price of their own blood; they chose rather to be lorded over once more by a tyrant, polluted with the blood of so many of his own subjects, and who was enraged and breathed out nothing but revenge against those of them that were left, than endure their brethren and friends to be upon the square with them." Now comes the sequence: "The Independents as they are called, were the only men that, from first to last, kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their victory. They refused, and wisely in my opinion, to make him king again being then an enemy; who, when he was their king, had made himself their enemy: nor were they ever the less averse from a peace; but they very prudently dreaded a new war, or a perpetual slavery under the name of a peace."^a

"The Christian Church," he writes, "is universal; not tied to nation, diocese, or parish, but consisting of many Particular Churches complete in themselves, gathered not by compulsion, or the accident of dwelling nigh together, but by free consent choosing both their particular church and their church officers; whereas if tithes be set up, all these Christian privileges will be disturbed and soon lost; and with them, Christian liberty."^b

On the subject of Hirelings, he professes his hate, that Presbyterians, "they who have preached out bishops, prelates and canonists, should, in what serves their own ends, retain their false opinions, their pharisaical leaven, their avarice, and closely their ambition, their pluralities, their non-residences, their odious fees, and use their legal and popish arguments for tithes; that Independents, should take that name, as they may justly from the true freedom of christian doctrine, and church-discipline subject to no superior Judge but God only, and [yet] seek to be dependents on the magistrates for the maintenance: which two things, independence and state-hire, .. can never consist, long or certainly, together. For magistrates at one time or other, not like these at present our patrons of Christian liberty, will pay none but such whom, by their Committees of Examination, they find conformable to their interests and opinions: and hirelings will soon frame themselves to that interest and those opinions which they see best pleasing to their paymasters; and, to seem right themselves, will force others as to the truth."^c

Relating the progress of his labours in the common cause, Milton remarks. "When, at length, some Presbyterian ministers who had formerly been the most bitter enemies to Charles, became [become] jealous of the growth of the Independents and of their ascendancy in the Parliament, most tumultuously clamoured against the sentence, and did all in their power to prevent the execution, though they were not angry so much on account of the act itself, as because it was not the act of their party; and when they dared to affirm, that the doctrine of the Protestants and of all the Reformed Churches, was abhorrent to such an atrocious proceeding against kings; I thought that it became me to oppose such a glaring falsehood."^d

^a First Def. ch. x.

^b "Hirelings," 1659, p. 429.

^c P. 437.

^d "Second Defence," 1654. p. 935.

“ You everywhere concede,” he tells his antagonist, More, that ‘ the Independents were superior, not in numbers, but in discipline and in courage.’ Hence I contend, that they well deserved the superiority which they acquired ; for nothing is more agreeable to the order of nature, or more for the interest of mankind, than that the less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and virtue !”^a

Much of the matter preceding, is brought together out of the exact order of time, but the bearing of the whole, besides being strictly appropriate to a just perception of the state of affairs, upon the actual crisis, is also premonitory of that state or condition of affairs which was consequent upon the change in the civil government. Having thus anticipated so much of futurity, the retrospective glance we are about to make will assist in enabling the mind to take a comprehensive survey of perhaps the most warning, instructive, and influential period, in all its circumstances, of secular and ecclesiastical history combined, which the civilized world will ever present. Of course, our adoption of the following versified narrative, which we observe constitutes in rhetoric an enthymeme, is no way intended to imply our approbation of the wicked errors and animosities displayed throughout the work from which these extracts are derived. What is remarkable in them, for our purpose, arises from their being the strictures of an antagonist of the Reformation ; and thus showing its incompleteness.

“ AND now that Forty-eight^b is run,
Let us turn back, and then go on
With altars, sacrifice, and prayer,
And things call'd Priests, who, many 'a year
Had help'd the BISHOPS in the *brewing*
This bloody cup, to all their ruin.

Perhaps the railing-in their Table,
Came from Queen Bess's private chapel ;
But that's no matter : for my rhyme
The story tells—sometimes the time.

The Bishops, as they style themselves,
A sort of busy, luckless elves,
That, in Reforming, never yet
Knew where or what they would be at,
Brought on, at first, this bloody work
By painting outside of their Kirk
To make it seem like that of Rome ;
At least, as nigh as it could come
And not in substance be the same,
Nor have, from thence, its faith and name.

Now, Sacrifice they'l have, and Priest,
And Table like an Altar drest,
And a strange sort of Real Presence
Without reality or essence.
For LAUD, that ape, would imitate
The high-priest's faith in Peter's seat,

But bungled it, as monkies do,
 And took a false faith for a true :
 And this ambitious fool had hope
 To make himself the Western Pope,
 And, from the Belgic ocean, rule
 Beyond Hibernia and Thule !
 God's Board is what they first reform,
 Which never mov'd but brought a storm.

And Altar-wise, they needs must set it
 Close to the wall as they could get it ;
 Where they presum'd to rail it in
 As if a real Altar it had been :
 Nor would they call it now ' God's Board,'
 But, ' Holy Altar of the Lord !'
 But oh ! the Parson was to stand
 At this new Altar's northern *end*.

But prithee, why so merry, friend ?
 Their new-shap'd Altar has no *end*,
 But only *sides* : 'tis ' side ' all o'er,
 Two long, two short, in number four.

By calling thus its *end* its ' side,'
 They got their rubric satisfied ;
 Unlucky rubric, that bids stand
 At ' north side,' not at its north *end*.

The Minister—another jest—
 Must now, forsooth, be call'd a ' Priest.'
 And so a sacrifice they must
 Procure, or all their labour's lost,
 For, wanting this, they saw 'twas plain
 That Priest and Altar were in vain !

But what this Holocaust must be,
 They never yet could all agree :
 ' Commemorative-Sacrifice,'
 One holds ; another, this denies.
 The Bishops and their Doctors grave,
 Will needs a '*Real-Presence*' have ;
 But this must neither be by Con—
 Nor Tran-substantiation ;
 But by some other sort of way,
 Yet what, or how, they could not say.

The Presbyterian-party, pleaded
 That ' Sacrifice ' no other needed
 Than offering up themselves, and praise
 And prayers, and thanks, in Gospel days ;
 And, that there needed not for such
 Material altars, in the church ;

For hearts were 'altars:' every man
 Bore one about to offer on,
 And to himself could serve for 'priest'!
 This doctrine pleased not the rest;
 For, ere they would an Altar want,
 And Sacrifice to offer on't,
 Their bread and wine, they did, at last
 Conclude to be the Holocaust,
 And must be call'd—for they were wise—
 'Commemorative-Sacrifice!'^a
 The Presbyterians answer this:
 Hold, Sirs, you take the thing amiss;
 Your Homily, itself, denies
 'Commemorative-Sacrifice!'

The 'memory' of sacrifice,
 Most certainly can never rise
 To be the sacrifice itself.
 This, run them on another shelf,
 And made them think their Sacrament
 Must needs retain Christ's presence in't
 To make the same a fit oblation,
 And this must be from Consecration!
 Yet will not have it understood
 As if Christ's body and his blood
 Were *really* there: for this will be,
 Say they, no less than Popery;
 From which it's fit we keep as far
 As rigid Presbyterians are:
 And therefore, brethren, let us be all
 For *presence*, but not 'Presence-real.'
 Thus, off and on, their senses vary
 From *real* to imaginary;

Till their non-real real fiction
 Ended in real contradiction:
 Which, subtle Presbyterians heeding
 Thus ridicule their mad proceeding,
 'Ye've got a Priest and Altar, but
 The Sacrifice appeareth not:
 A *Holocaust*, complete and full,
 You have, it seems, but it's a *Bull!*'

Scarce was a pen but what was tried,
 And books flew out on every side;
 Till every fop set up for wit,
 And Laud, and Hall, and Heylyn, writ;

^a "The Church allows of a Commemorative-Sacrifice for a perpetual memory of Christ's precious death, of that his full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice:" says 'The Coal from the Altar,' p. 8."

And so did White, and Mountagu,
 And Shelford, Cosin, Watts, and Dow,
 Lawrence and Forbis, and a crew
 Whose names would surfeit me and you.

Nor was the Presbyterian side
 Less learn'd, less fierce, less occupied,
 That is, in pulling down from top
 To bottom, what the rest set up ;
 Spoiling the image of a Kirk
 That cost Prelatics so much work :
 For out comes ' Autokatakrisis ' ^a
 And dings their Altar all to pieces ;
 Puts out their ' Coal,' and quite destroys
 Their shadow of a Sacrifice ;
 Expos'd the Prelates and their Prayers,
 And rais'd the mob about their ears.
 This book was writ about the year
 That Laud impos'd his Common-Prayer
 Upon the Scots : it helped on
 The war Jane Gaddis had begun,
 And put an end to goose-quill fight,
 But not to malice, rage, and spite.

Old Laud who, by this war, had hope
 Of setting up himself for Pope,
 Was, by the hatchet, shorter made
 By half the neck, and the whole head.
 His fellow Prelates, three times four, ^b
 The Parliament [had] sent to Tower.

Thus to Presbyterian rage and zeal,
 A sacrifice, those busy Bishops fell ;
 And their Reform'd Church, overthrown
 By its own prop, the Reformation ! " ^c

CHAP. LXXVI.

SPANG—COMMONWEALTH—CANNE—C. WALKER'S "ANARCHIA"—
 MILTON—T. M.

INTRIGUE being still carried on between Baillie and Spang, the latter wrote in his turn, March 19th, 1648-9, and subscribed "Anderson ;"

^a "Laudensium Autokatakrisis ; the Cantaburians' Self-Conviction : Or, An evident Demonstration of the avowed Arminianism, Popery, and Tyranny of that Faction, by their own Confessions. 1640." 4to. pp. 128, 28, 70,—226. The author, Robert Baillie.

^b "Ten : " see back, vol. ii. p. 148.

^c "England's Reformation from the Time of King Henry VIII. to the End of Oates's Plot ; a Poem in Four Cantos. By Thomas Ward. 1716." 8vo. 1719. 24mo. Cant. iv.

in which Letter, "Tibi soli," he remarks, "Generally the great power which the Commission of the Kirk exercises, displeaseth all: it is but an extraordinary meeting, and yet sits constantly and more ordinarily than any synod; yea, and without the knowledge of provincial synods and presbyteries, deposes ministers; enjoins, pro auctoritate, what writs they please to be read; inflicts censures upon those who will not read them [!] If the Kirk of Scotland look not to this in time, we will [shall] lament it when we cannot mend it. They say four or five rule that meeting; and is not the liberty of the Kirk come to a fair market thereby? . . . For God's sake, look this course in time be stopped, else the Commission of the Kirk will swallow up all other ecclesiastic judicatories, and such ministers who reside in and about Edinburgh shall, at last, engross all church-power in their hands. I know there is a piece of prudence hereby used, to get the power in the hands of those who are *good*; but what assurance have we but what they may change? or others, following this course, creep into their places? . . . Scottish ministers are generally looked upon, by the English, to be so rigid in discipline that there are no hopes for any of our nation to have a place among them, besides the dissension of the nation. What a fearful judgment of God is this upon us, that what we thought should have joined the nations inseparably [Presbyterian uniformity,^a] is like to be the greatest separator of them! It fears me, many of our hearts, in the pursuit of it, have not been upright [!] I know not how this my freeness may be taken by some; but it comforts me that I am assured

^aSo intent and pertinacious were they on this point, that in the Letter of the Commissioners of the General Assembly to Charles II., dated Edinburgh, Feb. 7th, 1648-9, Baillie being one, they earnestly desire "That your majesty would establish Presbyterial government, and allow or enjoin the Solemn League and Covenant, and employ your royal power [!] for promoting and advancing the work of uniformity in religion in all your majesty's dominions." Let. 185. p. 330. The Scots had previously proclaimed their new king, but, says Clarendon, "upon condition of 'his good behaviour, and strict observance of the Covenant; and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation.' A Proclamation so strangely worded that though it called him their 'king,' manifested enough to him that he was to be subject to their determinations, in all the parts of his government. And the Commissioners [at the Hague] both laity and clergy, spoke no other language; and saving that they bowed their bodies, and made low reverences, they appeared more like ambassadors from a Free State to an equal ally, than like subjects sent to their own sovereign!" Hist. Rebel. bk. xii. Poor Baillie writes simply enough, "So far as we could learn, what was spoken was taken in good part by all who heard." Let. 186, p. 331. Baillie's speech to the King, March 27th, is preserved, Let. 187, p. 333. In the next Letter, he writes April 3rd, "There is no Scotsman that is of the King's Council. The five or six English that are, Cottington, Culpepper, Hyde [afterward, Clarendon,] Long, and some more, are divided. The most part are of prince Rupert's faction, who caress Montrose, and press mightily to have the King to Ireland; Culpepper, and some bed-chamber men, as Wilmot, Biron, Gerard, and the master of the horse, Piercy, are of the Queen's faction, and these are for the King's joining with us; but all of them are much averse from the League and Covenant. . . He is one of the most gentle, innocent, well-inclined Princes, so far as yet appears, that lives in the world; a trim person, and of a manly carriage; understands pretty well; speaks not much; would God he were amongst us!" P. 334. While these things were passing, Clarendon informs us *ubi supra*, that "The Kirk at the same time declared, 'That, before the King should be received, albeit they had declared his right by succession, he should first sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk's censure, renounce the sins of his Father's house, and the iniquity of his Mother; with other things of the like nature.'"

ye know it comes from a heart addicted to the welfare of our Kirk ; noways discontented when the godly party have such a sway, only I wish we used prudence, lest we open a door to tyranny, while we think to shut tyrants out of the Kirk. The devil has many wiles to mislead men ! . . You will not do well to refuse coming hither when our commissioners come : . . if you think I can be useful for you, let me be informed at your first arrival in Holand . . You will do well to consider of the Letter which *an.* 1646,^a the Assembly wrote to our late king ; for the Independents make it a part of the rule they walked by. And they say that, in your last Assembly, you have declared that these words of the Covenant where ye speak of ‘defending the king’s person and authority, in defence of religion and liberties,’ are explained to be a limitation and excluding your obedience to him ‘except in such acts :’ and what say these bloody Independents ? ‘Their pursuing the King to a violent death is not against the Covenant ; for they have put him to death not for his defending religion, and the Parliament’s liberties, but for going about the overthrow of both !’ Think of this.”^b

While proceedings were thus going on underhand in Holland whither Charles II. that was to be, had retired surrounded by his satellites, the Parliament at home had abolished the kingly office, March 17th, 1648-9, and put forth March 22d, a Declaration constituting England “a Free State.” Its insertion, entire, amidst these pages, did our limits allow of it, seems demanded not only because of extreme rarity, but because it should be seen what they—whatever they were in religious profession,—who had as they thought brought the monarchy to an end, had substituted, and for what reasons. That some of the individuals concerned were Independents, it were in vain to deny : that the majority were such, cannot be proved ; nor that Independency leads necessarily to Republicanism.^c One thing is morally certain, most if not all had been born of Episcopacy ; even Cromwell had adhered to it, till he was far advanced in life. The title in full is “A Declaration of the Parliament of England, expressing the Grounds of Their late Proceedings, and of Settling the present Government in the Way of a Free State.—London : Printed for Edmund Husband, Printer to the House of Commons, Mar. 22.—1648[-9.] 4to. pp. 27.

Thus, a “Commonwealth” was instituted, not to be overturned at once without another series of convulsions and bloodshed ; “the massacre by form of law, or otherwise, of those whose talents now” directed “the helm of public affairs.” Still, upon what “rock” the “vessel of the State” would “split,” and what would be “the issue of the adventure,” no “human sagacity” could foresee.^d It might never have split, if it had struck no harder species of rock than that of “Traitors Deciphered, in an Answer to a Shameless Pamphlet intituled ‘A Declaration of the Parliament of England, expressing the Grounds, etc.’ Anno 1650.” 4to. pp. 87. The basis on which the

^aThe Humble Remonstrance, Feb. 13th. 1645-6.

^bLet. 184. P. 326—328.

^c“Neal seems to have proved that the Independents, as a body, were not systematically adverse to monarchy.” The Constitutional History of England, etc. By Henry Hallam, 1827, 4to. vol. ii. chap. x. p. 51.

^dConsult Godwin’s “Hist. of the Commonwealth, etc.,” 1824. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 117.

reasoning is founded, will sufficiently indicate its substantiality; for upon the passage in the "Declaration," which begins "They suppose it will not be denied, that, the first institution of the office of King in this Nation was by Agreement of the People, who chose one to that office for the protection and good of them who chose him, and for their better government, according to such Laws as they did consent unto!" these Decipherers say, "Though they are thus confident, their assertions 'will not be denied,' yet they know there is no certainty that it was so. . . . But as the Scripture, 'the ground of Truth,' delivered unto us the first plantations of the world, and beginning of Kings from *paternal* governours, so we may not exclude our own Kingdom from such a rise."^a *Risum teneatis!*

One change was consequent upon another, and in the multitude of them that singular man who has been animadverted upon formerly,^b now started forth with the announcement that "The Snare is Broken: Wherein is proved by Scripture, Law, and Reason, that the National Covenant and Oath was Unlawfully given and taken; and, Whatsoever may be probably pretended or objected for it, is fully answered and refuted. Here also is vindicated the Parliament's later Proceedings: Showing the Grounds and Principles of the 'London Ministers' to be weak and unsound; and so their Accusations and Charges against the State, false and scandalous. Moreover, something is said against Violence in Religion, and the Duty of the Civil Magistrate about Worship and Church-Government. By John Canne.—Published by Authority.—1649." 4to. pp. 48.^c

His epistle to "The Rt. Hon. the Commons of England assembled in Parliament," dated, "Bowe, April 21st, 1649," informs them that "For the National Covenant, which is the subject of this discourse, I have only one request to move unto you about it. How you are traduced and vilely abused by some men's loose tongues and pens, for not advancing it more, and more pressing the keeping, in their sense, I need not speak of it; you know it too well. And, therefore, I humbly conceive, seeing it is here manifestly proved that the oath was unlawfully given and taken; and so not binding the conscience, neither to be kept; there is great cause and reason that the whole kingdom, from your House should publicly understand so much. . . . You know well enough, and are very sensible what a stir is kept, what a controversy and ado there is made between party and party, kingdom and kingdom, about this Nothing; every side justifies itself, and chargeth the other with a breach. And without doubt the contention about this Covenant will continue, yea I fear rise higher and break out into a greater flame, if the right way be not wisely taken; for so long as the lawfulness of the oath is not questioned, but rather a pleading for the keeping of it, the differences can never be reconciled or taken up."

Having opened the subject with the general definition of an oath, part of which is that it is said to be "a religious attestation" because it is part of God's worship; Canne remarks "That the Covenant-oath was not so, is apparent; for first, it is an enemy to God's worship and

^a P. 6, 7.

^b See back, Vol i. p. 515.

^c He published also, this year, "Justice Advanced." 4to.

true religion, under the name of ‘heresy and schism;’ a mere design to stop the passage of many precious truths, and to hinder the saints from church-fellowship and walking in the faith and order of the Gospel! Secondly; it cannot be ‘religious,’ because it contains a contradiction, and so enforceth the taker necessarily to be a covenant-breaker one way or other: in the Third Article, he swears to preserve ‘the King’s Majesty’s person and authority,’ etc.; here, as it is generally interpreted, the covenanter promiseth not to touch the ‘person’ of the King, as to have him corporally punished should he be the greatest tyrant, traitor, murderer, upon the face of the earth: yet a little after, he swears he will endeavour that ‘all such as shall be incendiaries, malignants, and evil instruments, may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, etc.?’ here, neither king, queen, prince, etc. are exempted, but whosoever shall show himself an incendiary to the public peace and safety of the two kingdoms, he will endeavour to have him punished as the degree of their [the] offence shall require or deserve. That rule is well known, *Impossibile est duo contradictoria vere reddi de eodem*:^a thus he ‘is snared by the transgression of his lips;’^b and while he shuns one rock, he makes shipwreck upon another. Thirdly; it cannot be a ‘religious’ action to ‘put a stumbling-block before the blind,’^c and to cause ‘the righteous to go astray in an evil way;’^d but this Covenant doth so, and thus I prove it:—

“1. When the Covenant was commanded to be taken through the kingdom, the people generally held—and for the most part do so still—that the government by archbishops and bishops was lawful. And therefore to be required, yea forced, to swear, with their hands lift up to heaven, that they will ‘endeavour the extirpation of prelacy,’ howbeit at the same time it was well known they thought it a lawful and good government, it was a hard case, and showed little pity. The law saith, ‘*Pactum si tolletur jus publicum, etc.*,’^e a covenant if it take away public right cannot stand, yea though it be confirmed with an oath.’ For my part, I know not in what particular a Free People may more groundedly and properly challenge ‘public right’ than in matters of religion! And therefore *quo jure*, by what power, may their Representatives require them and that by oath, to change one form of government for another until they be informed touching the lawfulness of such a change.

2. “No less was it a snare to many poor souls who must swear that they will ‘really, and constantly, endeavour the preservation of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government in the Church of Scotland!’ But what these things were; poor wretches, they knew not. . . Observe the late King’s speech, if that book be his,^f ‘I am prone,’ saith he, ‘to believe and hope, that many who took the Covenant are yet firm to this judgment, That such later vows, oaths and [or] leagues, can never blot out those former gravings and characters which by just and lawful oaths were made upon their souls.’ He takes it as granted, that many when

^a Aristot. *De Interp.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

^b Prov. xii. 13.

^c Levit. xix. 14.

^d Prov. xxviii. 10.

^e Digest. lib. ii. tit. iv. *De Pactis*: Cicero, lib. iii.

^f *Ἐκὼν Βασιλική*. The Pourtraicture, etc. Chap. xiv.

they swore against Prelacy and for Presbytery, it was against their conscience, and so not binding.

“3. To what use are these words in the Covenant, namely ‘schism’ and heresy,’ but another snare to deceive the simple and suppress the godly? . . . Not that it is determined what is heresy or schism, or that the Covenanter shall know beforehand what is meant by it; but being blindly brought into the pit, then came our Brethren of Scotland with a cathedral infallibility in defining causes of faith, and then tell him that Brownists, Anabaptists, Independents, with others, such and such are intended: and howsoever he be not able to apprehend either heresy or schism in them, yet he must judge them heretics and schismatics, for that he hath taken the Covenant, and our Brethren say they are so!^a

“We shall, in the second place, consider the ends of an oath. . . ‘Whatsoever is not of faith is sin:’^b . . . so there was cause enough to believe that when this nation swore against the government by archbishops and bishops, they forswore themselves, I mean the greatest number both priests and people; as doing a thing against their conscience; and never meant to keep the oath if they could otherwise choose! And to make this good, mark a passage in Mr. Henderson’s sermon before the House of Commons—Dec. 27th, 1643.—‘It feareth me,’ saith he ‘that a great part of the people of this land are still fond of a formal service and a proud prelacy.’ . . . ‘What the composers and imposers of the Covenant at first intended I shall not here touch upon; but this I affirm, and will stand to it, the same had never any Scripture bottom: policy, perhaps, it had; but piety not! . . . ‘Quod juste fit, scienter fit, etc: that is justly done which is done knowingly; but what ignorantly, that is done unjustly.’^d And to say the truth, I hardly know the thing wherein the people of England, especially this present generation, have showed themselves more irrational and stupid than in this particular, for they have taken even the oath ‘Ex officio,’ sworn to do that thing which they know not to this day what it is, nor how or which way to act in reference to the oath which they have taken. This Covenant must needs be against public safety, because it occasioned a general commotion, and set the people of the land causelessly to destroy one another. The Presbyterian party think themselves bound to engage against the Church and people of God, and to seek their utter ruin, under the name of ‘schism and heresy:’ The Independents taking the way of the other to be superstitious, conceive they have as much reason by the Covenant to oppose them: And the Cavaliers swearing ‘to preserve and defend the King’s Majesty’s person,’ conclude they may lawfully destroy them both. I mention not here, our Brethren of Scotland, who challenge by the Covenant a power to settle our Church and State, and to spoil us in our persons, estates, consciences, if we refuse to conform to their rules and orders! Thus is the Covenant become as an Achan, a troubler, a firebrand, in the nation; and serves for no other use but to make division, keep open the breach of differences, and to strengthen the opposing parties one against another till in the end they are quite undone on all sides! The law saith, ‘Contractus vel pacta contra, etc; contracts or covenants

^a P. 1—4.

^b Rom. xiv. 23.

^c Serm. p. 18.

^d Aristot. Topic. lib. ii. cap. 23.

against a prohibited law are void by right.’^a It is not possible that ever this Commonwealth shall be settled according to what the Parliament hath lately declared, and the Covenant duly observed; so incompatible is the one with the other. There is in the Covenant, as little honesty. The late King, ‘I see the imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like manna—not that it came from heaven as this did—agreeable to every men’s palate and relish who will [but] swallow it. They admit any men’s senses of it, [the] diverse or contrary, with any salvos, cautions, and reservations, etc.’^b And as it admits of equivocation and mental reservation, so corrupt men and hypocrites have liberty enough there granted to carry forth their designs and private interests. . . ‘The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,’ was the cry of the hypocritical Jews in the prophet’s time: and when Hamilton brought the Scots into this kingdom, to steal, murder, and commit adultery,^c did they not then trust in lying words, saying, ‘The Covenant; The Covenant?’ . . . And if our Brethren shall once more attempt to oppress the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed more blood in this land; I make no question but they will pretend to do all this by virtue of the Covenant! Who is ignorant of rebellion and treason frequently taught in city and country, and the people provoked to a new war . . . and no other text for all this, but the Covenant? . . . If it be according to justice, that men shall shed innocent blood, rob their neighbours, and for subjects to despise dominion and speak evil of dignities; make insurrections and mutinies in the commonwealth; press the magistrates to persecute the saints and suppress the truth; then hath the Covenant honesty in it: otherwise, it is a most dishonest thing, if it be understood as the Presbyterian—Scots—and English give their sense and interpretation of it.^d

“From the definition of an oath, and [the] ends, we come next to the properties; which are three, laid down by the prophet, ‘Thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness.’^e First, ‘in truth;’ which is, that the speech agree with the thing, and the mind with the speech. . . It was a false thing when the Covenanter swore to ‘endeavour the extirpation of schism and heresy;’ for howsoever not expressed in words, yet this he vowed to do, that he would persecute the godly, and not suffer them peaceably to worship the Lord. . . There is not one word in it [the Covenant] of confuting ‘heresy and schism’ by Scripture; the Covenant binds no man to do this! . . . But be it granted the Covenanter is no way mistaken about ‘heresy and schism,’ the question then is, by what Gospel precept or example he is obliged to swear that he will pluck up ‘the tares,’ and not suffer them to grow in the world until the harvest?^f Where hath Christ or his apostles taught him ‘to judge them that are without?’^g The Italians have a proverb that ‘Whosoever runs beyond his commission, must run the hazard of it upon his own account.’ Calvin howsoever he wrote a whole tract about punishing of heretics, yet he could not choose but acknowledge so much truth in a few lines as confutes the whole treatise; for having showed how ‘the holy bishops’ of

^a L. Non dubium C. de LL. lib. Jubemus nulli. ^b Ut supra. ^c Jer. vii. 4, 9

^d P. 4—8.

^e Jer. iv. 2.

^f Matt. xiii. 29, 30.

^g 1 Cor. v. 12.

ancient time ‘did not exercise any authority in fining, imprisoning, and [other] civil punishments,’ gives his own opinion thus, ‘that as the church hath no power of forcing her own, neque expetere debeat, de civili coercitione loquor, neither may she require it, I speak of the civil magistrate, to employ his authority in a civil way.’^a And this was Bernard’s opinion before him, *Fides suadenda est, non imperanda*; faith is to be persuaded, not forced!^b So Augustine, etc. . . So another, *Purpuræ tuæ cultores aliquos efficies, non Dei*; thou mayest cause them to be worshippers of thy purple robe, not of God!^c Mr. John Owen, in a book lately come forth, saith, ‘Cain seems to me to have laid the foundation of that cruelty which was afterwards inserted into the church’s orthodoxies by name of Hereticidium. We find the four famous empires of the world to have drunk in this persuasion to the utmost, of suppressing all by force and violence that consented not to them in their way of worship.’^d And this he proves afterwards, in that learned discourse. . . In relation to Scotland, could it sensibly be thought when this nation took the Covenant, they regarded that ‘Kirk,’ or really meant as they swore, to endeavour ‘the preservation’ of the discipline and worship of that church? ‘Many, first yielded unto it,’ saith the late King, ‘more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it or devotion to it.’^e He speaks, doubtless, the truth; it was taken to shun the odious name of being reputed otherwise Malignants, enemies to the great work of Reformation; or to escape some outward danger; not religiously, and in the fear of God, for the oath abounds with such ambiguous expressions, impossibilities, contradictions, and things so contrary to the opinion of men in all places, that conscientiously in some particulars it could not be admitted by any person whatsoever. And therefore, no marvel that Dr. Burges, howsoever the first man who openly desired and urged a Covenant to be entered into;^f yet when he saw this Covenant, was the first—as I have heard—that opposed it in the Assembly, and for refusal he and Mr. Price were both suspended! Besides, many godly men perceiving what a snare it was, withdrew and obscured themselves for a time. It was so bestuffed with selfish interest; so disagreeing for matter, with those covenants which we read of in Scripture; and to those qualifications which according to God’s Word ought to be in every oath, that I have stood in admiration it hath not been more opposed by judicious and pious men.^g

“The second property of a lawful oath is to swear in judgment; that is, considerately. . . A blind papist, I confess, walks by some rule when, not knowing the thing to be lawful [he] yet receives it in regard he believes ‘the Church’ cannot err. But what hath a poor blind Protestant to help himself in point of conscience, when he shall be compelled to swear to such things as he knows not what they are, whether good or bad, and is taught that the framers and imposers for aught he knows may err and be deceived therein? That the Covenanters knew

^a *Institut. lib. iv. cap. xi. sect. 5, 15.*

^b *In Cant.*

^c *Ex Themistii dicto apud Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 21.*

^d *Discourse about Toleration, 1649 4to. p. 53, 54.*

^e *Ubi sup.*

^f *Serm. before the House of Commons, Nov. 17th, 1640: upon Jer. l. 5.*

^g *P. 8—12.*

not the things to be true and most certain, to which they swore, and therefore took an unlawful oath, it is as clear as the sun that shines ; for many particulars in the Covenant are still riddles and dark sentences, and as it is not known whereunto they have relation, . . . I do not regard what Mr. Taylor,^a or Mr. Jenkyn, say of it ; for as one speaks very well, ‘ a private interpretation of a public act can give no satisfaction, unless it be expressly or virtually allowed by the highest Authority, etc.’^b . . . The third property or qualification of a lawful oath, is ‘ righteousness ;’ that it be a just and lawful thing which he sweareth . . . When the Covenanter swore ‘ to preserve and defend the King’s Majesty’s person,’ he being then a tyrant and traitor, and having before shed much innocent blood ; was not this an oath taken—at such a time—against his [the Covenanter’s] office and duty ? Let the action since, and swearing then, be compared together. . . That army under Hamilton pretended cause and ground to conquer us : and to this day our ‘ dear Brethren ’ talk of coming in again, to suppress the sectaries ! Thus the Covenant is become a snare to the nation ; and of a free state and people, would make us subjects and vassals to another kingdom. . . If foreigners shall judge them to be ‘ sectaries ’ whom the State knows to be godly and sound christians, where is that law to bind up the hands of our parliament and army whilst those of another country shall cut the throats of honest men ! You will say, The Covenant will justify all this : then I say, The Covenant is a pernicious and wicked thing ! Some say, ‘ By this Covenant-oath, all Independents ought to be expelled from the House of Parliament ; yea, not to sit in any court of judicatory : . . . but as offensive rubs and remoras, to be removed ; and only sound Presbyters, Lords and Commons, to rule !’^c . . . How doth such an oath agree with the holy Scripture 1 Thess. iv. 6. ? . . . If this Covenant comprehend such things as some say it doth, yea and publicly avouch to be the main and principal of it, surely it wants justice ; unless it be justice to oppose the chiefest good, even Christ in his church, ministry, worship, government, and to countenance preposterous, rash and heady men, in violence and persecution.^d

“ Next, let us consider the use of an oath . . . So the apostle, ‘ An oath . . . is an end of all strife.’^e . . . The difference between party and party, though brethren in the faith, is referred there [in the Covenant] to the sword ; and no reconciliation, but extirpation of one or both ! . . . And howsoever the Presbyterians challenge a proper interest in the oath, . . . nevertheless, the truth is, others may claim as much as they ; and though they make not the like noise, crying, ‘ The Covenant, The Covenant,’ yet from the Covenant have as much to say for themselves, and against them : and . . . from the oath may as fairly claim the approbation of the State, and the extirpation of them ; as they can gather any thing out of it against the other. It cannot with truth be

^a Francis Taylor, A. M. : “ The danger of Vows Neglected, etc. A Sermon before the House of Lords, May 27th, 1646.”

^b “ Mr. Ley, Defensive Doubts, p. 99, 100.” John Ley, A. M., Defensive Doubts, Hopes, and Reasons, for refusal of the Oath imposed by the sixth Canon of the Synod, 1641.

^c “ The impiety of Impunity.”

^d P. 12—17.

^e Heb. vi. 16.

denied but this Covenant hath been a principal cause to hinder union and peace between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches; . . . but by this means they have been more divided, and contention increased on both sides. Add hereunto, in the last place, the many rebellions, and treacherous designs, carried forth from time to time under the Covenant: as the rising in Surrey, Kent, Essex, Wales; and no marvel, for the oath having in it so many things and so ambiguous, etc., it must needs own almost any thing; especially seeing the sense of it hath never been plainly demonstrated, but left to men's own interpretation in several particulars.^a . . .

“That this oath was imposed upon many men who wanted reason and understanding to discern what they did, and so consequently the conscience not bound; thus I prove it: It was not long before this National Covenant came forth, that the oath of the Sixth Canon [with an ‘et cætera’] was enjoined. . . A little after this, is published a book intituled ‘Episcopacy by Divine Right’ [1640] wherein it is affirmed that there is not ‘the tenth part’ of the plea for ‘the Lord’s-day’ from the writings of the apostles, which [Anglican] bishops have for their ‘Episcopacy;’^b and, that there be divers points of faith—‘weighty points’—‘which have not so strong evidence in Scripture:’^c so strong evidence, that heaven may as soon fall as that fail the bishops! Neither was this his opinion alone, but the people generally thought so too; and for any other government—I speak of the greatest number—they knew none. So far did they want reason and understanding to discern what they did when they swore down episcopacy, and covenanted to maintain and preserve another kind of church-government when it shall be found out, and set up by the States. . . I could take out divers other things from the Covenant, to show that he who swears to it wants understanding to discern what he doth: but this shall suffice for the present; and I desire it may be noted that the oath is quidlibet ex quolibet, all things and nothing. It makes every man popish, superstitious, heretical, schismatical, malignant, and yet makes nobody so. He that speaks disgracefully and scandalously, against the Parliament and the proceedings thereof, is a ‘malignant’ by the Covenant, and yet not a malignant; for the Covenant admits of a diverse and contrary sense in one and the same thing.^d

“To suppress sectaries and heretics, and to prove that it is their [the magistrates’] duty so to do, these Scriptures are commonly cited, Deut. xiii. 6—9; Exod. xxii. 20; xxxi. 14; Lev. xxiv. 16; Deut. xvii. 2—5; which is punishing with death: but perceiving that to urge the execution of the law in such a way would not relish nor well take with them, here they are silent; but in the mean time show the more hypocrisy, for if the Parliament be to act, according to these Scriptures, against Brownists, Anabaptists, Seekers, Arminians, why do they speak only of silencing them? and [that they] would rest if they were restrained of liberty? Certainly, either these Scriptures, taken from the Law, give the magistrate no power to punish such men at all for their consciences, or if they do, it

^a P. 17—19.^b Pt. ii. sec. 22.^c Ibid. Sec. 7.^d Pt. 21—24.

is to put them to death! And therefore the Papists—being truer to their grounds—upon these Scriptures hold it not only to be no sin, but good service to God to extirpate by fire and sword all that are adversaries, etc.^a

“For the last Article in the Covenant, which is indeed the plainest and clearest of them all, and concerns personal reformation; howsoever I grant every wicked man should repent, and ‘amend’ his life, yet I deny that the civil magistrate hath any authority to make him swear that he shall become a spiritual and religious man. There are many things, both civil and divine, which men ought to do, yet there is no warrant for the magistrate that he shall by oath compel them thereunto. Newness of life, is a supernatural thing, and only by the Spirit of God wrought in us; and therefore the less reason to put a poor ignorant soul to his oath that he shall do it. ‘What hast thou to do,’ saith the Psalmist, ‘that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth; and hatest to be reformed?’^b . . . It is one thing for the magistrate to put down a public worship and national church-government, finding it unsafe or unwarrantable; and another thing to compel the whole nation by oath to consent to it, and approve the same.^c

“This Covenant, by many godly and learned divines, is much pleaded for; many places of Scripture cited in their sermons, pressing the careful keeping thereof; a great deal of mourning in their prayer at fasts and other times, because it is neglected; and God’s judgments terribly threatened against the whole nation for it! In brief, as for themselves they say, ‘Though some may esteem it no more than ‘an almanac out of date,’ yet we look upon it as the oath of God, religious, sacred, and inviolable, in whose Name we have sworn, and who will certainly require it at our own hand.’^d My desire and prayer to God is, that all people in all places may take warning, that under a sad countenance, long prayer, great crying, deep sighing, and some tears, they be not beguiled, and like the simple, who believes everything, brought in to say ‘Amen’ to a lie, and so offer the ‘sacrifice of fools!’^e

^a P. 32.

^b Psal. l. 16, 17.

^c P. 37, 38.

^d The Ministers of London, in their Letter to His Excellency, p. 6.

^e P. 40, 44.—Peculiar interest will be felt in connection with the following argument from the pen of a lawyer as we suppose, when his fate, so to speak, shall be learned at the end of this note. “Extinction of an Oath is when the things promised, of their own nature—or, as the civil law saith, *per majores casus θεῶν τε βίαν*, by extraordinary accidents and the power of heaven—receive not so much change in their relations, as extinction, consumption, or, as I may say, annihilation, contrary to the prayers, wishes, and sincere wills, of the promisers. In this we see that the deficiency or corruption of possible things without us excuses, when there is no defect or corruption of our wills within us: so that such an Oath cannot be kept from expiring; though it may be from violation; and I may say, that it goes out like fire, by extinction rather than by corruption. The act of swearing, adds nothing so much to the duration of obligation as the consistency of the thing sworn doth.

“Two examples for this extinction may be given. But first, of that which happens in Leagues or Covenants made betwixt supreme powers of several nations, and so as the people of each are likewise sworn to co-operate conjointly, but yet respectively by the interposition of their several magistrates, by virtue of whose authority they pass, for so much as is expressed, into union one with another, and into action against others. This, I confess, is a rare case, and such as perhaps

We have next to deal with “Anarchia Anglicana: Or The History of Independency. The Second Part. Being a Continuation of Relations and Observations, Historical and Politic, upon this Present Par-history can hardly parallel with that which was lately thus compacted betwixt the nations of England and Scotland. Their parliaments have had great disputes about the interpretation and extent of this League. All which controversies might compendiously be reduced into this single one, of Supremacy, ‘Who had the right of judging the other; or of sentencing the bare neglecters of the League, nationally with the penalty of war?’ seeing, no such things were in terminis authorized in the League, and that the breakers of it were left where they were found, namely, in the presence of God, to whose judgment-day they remitted the sentence all of after-fraud, and supposed the cases of war the same, in and after the League, as were before it, and as are defined for all the world in the laws of nations.

“How dubious soever the dispute may be betwixt such public parties; yet four gross contradictions were very evident to most men, out of which, private men who swore it may now conclude themselves innocently freed from it. First, that whilst the Scots argued the breach of Covenant here, they really broke it themselves according to the sense of their own principles, by dividing the King from agreement here, and the People one from another, and by invading the whole nation itself afterwards. This was a breach so far from being dubious, that all the ministers of Scotland oblige the engagers to confess it publicly in their churches. Secondly; the same Covenanters say, That a violation of the King’s person or rights was indispensably against covenant; yet they grounded their war, and all the accidents of it, on covenant. And if by any of them, the King had been killed either in field or city before the satisfaction they called for, his death had been violent, yet no covenant had been broken; neither should they who had slain him have answered for his blood! Thirdly; they say, that change of government is a breach of league; and yet with them the Covenant is the supremest sanction that ever was made in a State, yet made without a King; and is to be offered even to their Kings and others, as the first thing which determines all other rights grounded on former laws: it changes the relation and station of persons, grounds of policy, and oaths of supremacy and allegiance; and calls for lives and estates, to preserve the Covenanters in any form, and in any opposition against any persons. As it was made, so it is established, without Kings and against Kings. The Kirk, by their declaration of July 27th, 1649, state the supremacy of England in Scotland; requiring, p. 11, 12, That their King, after his coronation, assure them under his hand and seal, That he will establish Presbytery, the Directory, Confession, and Catechism, as approved by their Kirk, ‘in all his dominions;’ and, that he will never endeavour any change thereof. The fourth and last contradiction is, that seeing the Covenant hath been more than fraudulently broken by that nation, so that the obligation to the Covenant—*qua* Covenant or national pact—is dissolved; and that we all grant that national League ought to be observed in all points conjunctively; otherwise the violation of one part puts an end to the whole, as he who in God’s covenant breaks one commandment breaks all: yet either through passion or policy, they would have those who took it in private places and callings, understand that they are eternally tied to it.

“Out of these contradictions one truth comes clearly, That this Oath or League of the nations is at an end; and the magistracy of which nation soever it was that guiltily broke it, and put an end to it by corruption, I am sure the people of private callings who took it, are thereby innocently discharged from it as a thing dead to them by the way of extinction; and which they could not hinder, by reason of their private capacities.” Chap. ix. p. 88—91, “Of the Confusions and Revolutions of Governments: Wherein is examined, How far a man may lawfully conform to the Powers and Commands of those who, with various successes, hold Kingdoms divided by Civil or Foreign Wars: whether it be, 1. in paying Taxes; 2. in personal Service; 3. in taking opposite Oaths; 4. in a Man’s giving himself up to a final Allegiance, in case the War end to the advantage of that Power or Party which is supposed unjust. Likewise, Whether the Nature of War be inconsistent with the Precepts of the Christian Religion?—Three Parts, with several

liament begun Anno 16 Caroli Primi. By Theodorus Verax. Printed in the Year 1649." 4to. pp. 262. With a Plate purporting to be emblematical of the "High Court of Justice."

"Reader, having spoken to thee in the First Part,^a I might have forborne thee in this Second, did I not fear to seem guilty of the sullenness and malignity of these times. The subject matter of my book is a combination or faction of pseudo-politicians and pseudo-theologians; heretics and schismatics, both in divinity and policy. . . For the manner of my writing, I confess as to the style it is not æquabile scribendi genus; all of one weaving and contexture. It is a history writ with a satiric style and vein,

Nam quis iniqui,
Tam patiens orbis, tam ferreus ut teneat se?

It is a virtue to hate and prosecute vice. The Scripture tells us there is a 'perfect hatred,'^b a holy anger. And our Chaucer tells us

The words must be of kin unto the deeds,

Otherwise, how can they be expressive enough? . . . A huge gallimaufry,

Additions.—By Ant. Ascham, Gent.—Lond. 1649." 12mo, pp. 200. This author, of whom little is known, was unquestionably "a scholar," and must have possessed accomplishments to qualify him for the high office of ambassador to Spain from the new Commonwealth; notwithstanding that Clarendon had the folly—in bk. xiii. of his Hist. to style him, "This man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in language;" and shortly afterward, "this fellow!" It would seem now that by preconcert he was fated to fall by the stroke of revenge, as was the case with Dr. Dorislaus in his mission to Holland, where he was assassinated May 3rd 1649, and Ascham met his fate from the hands of "banished royalists"—Hume's Hist. of Eng. chap. lxi.—on May 27th old style, 1650; the particulars of which, are contained in Thurloe's "Collection of State Papers," fol. 1742, vol. i. p. 148, etc.; and see Milton's "Letters of State." The most offensive chapter in Ascham's book we judge to be the tenth of Part 2, of this edition of 1649, whose title Clarendon gives only from memory, the true one being "Whether upon the issue of a War and the expulsion of a Just Party, a man may lawfully give himself up to the final allegiance of the Unjust Party, or not?" and the most offensive paragraph, we take to be the third; the last sentence of which, concludes that "We are bound to own princes so long as it pleases God to give them the power to command us; and when we see others possessed of their powers, we may then say, That the King of kings hath changed our viceroys." p. 99. But if a due consideration be given to all the circumstances of the late times, and what the subsequent reign of Charles II. and his minister, Clarendon, unmasked; it might be that the fifth paragraph was the most pointed, where it is written, "There is one kind of usurpation which, by no possession or prescription, can ever become lawful; and a christian can never submit himself to it, without wounding his conscience and faith: for it is that which is founded in impiety and blasphemy, and yet would be forced upon us as by God's order and by title of true religion! Such invaders as these, though they may succeed one another, yet their succession and possession cannot legitimate any, because no prescription can run against God. As this authority is grounded in the depth of all impiety, it pretending a jurisdiction both in heaven and hell, body and soul, spiritual and temporal rights; so to assist to introduce it into any place, can be no less than the height of treason both against God in heaven and his viceregerents on earth: for thereby it is endeavoured indirectly and by just consequence to alienate and transfer all sovereignty to an idolatrous Priest, and an assisting to the massacreing of those who are not of his idolatry!" p. 100.

In 1649, was published, "A Resolution of Conscience—by a Learned Divine,—in Answer to a Letter sent with Mr. Ascham's Book!" 4to.

^a See back, chap. lxxiv.

^b Psal. cxxxix. 22.

an olio of all villainies, I here set before thee: it cannot be all of one dressing and seasoning, it must be a mixture, a hogo [*haut gout*] of all relishes; like manna in the Wilderness, it must be applicable to all palates. . . I assimilate my affections and humours to every man's humour, as well as to the present theme; that I may take every man by the right hand, and lead him out of this Ur of the Chaldeans." Enough, doubtless, to satisfy every "Reader" that he cannot rely upon a writer of history whose ingredients are avowedly misrepresentations! And yet a historian of modern times is found—a *sidesman*, it is true—who challenges for his predecessor, that "his authority is very considerable!"^a And a writer of another order, who should indeed have possessed "graver wit and reason," fails in both, where he asserts that Walker's History "gives an admirable idea of the character of the times, parties, and persons!"^b Unless, perhaps, he equivocates on the word "admirable!"

From the "Proem" we take these words, "In my aforesaid History of Independency, you have that faction conquering; in this continuation, or supplement, I represent them to you triumphing."^c The resumption of the historical proceeding begins, at the ninth page, with an attempt to extenuate Hamilton's disgrace; who, he remarks in the next page, "knew the Presbyterian party had rendered themselves contemptible; and he as much contemned the Independents;" but, "he was too much a statesman, and too little a soldier!" We are pressed forward to where the Treaty with the King, in the Isle of Wight, is animadverted upon, and are told that "The first proemial Proposition, for justifying the Parliament's cause and quarrel, and condemning his own cause and party, was a bitter pill: but an earnest desire of peace sweetened it, and gilded it over, and invited him to swallow it without chewing or ruminating upon it. But how devilish, unchristian, and illegal a use the faction hath made of this extorted confession, let God judge."^d

"Their insisting upon it, that the King should take the Covenant, was an error in policy whereof the rigid Presbyterians are guilty. They, supposing the King would take it at last, stood upon it; and intended thereby to join the King to their interest and party. The more subtle Independent knew the King would not, nor could take it, and therefore complied with the Presbyterians in obtruding it upon him, to break off the treaty."^e Authority for this assumption, Walker gives none. He was evidently not a man of integrity, and therefore we pay no regard to his narrative of the proceedings connected with the trial of the unhappy King; not because what he relates of it may not be true, but because he has undermined his own credibility, and left us no alternative but to be certain that he has suppressed what is material and even essential to a correct view of these proceedings. And here we are led to notice, that Hume takes Walker for authority when he remarks on his sole testimony, that "The King lay in Whitehall" on "Sunday-night so near the place appointed for the separation of his soul and body, that he might hear every stroke the workmen gave upon the scaffold—where they wrought all night;—

^a See back, p. 320. ^b See back, p. 323. ^c P. 2. ^d P. 17. ^e *Ibid.*

this is a new device to mortify him, but it would not do ;”^a and yet Hume, because, perhaps it would have spoiled his tragico-rhetorical wind-up of the sad event, suppresses what this same Walker says ; “ The soldiers and schismatics giving a great shout presently.”^b For our parts, we are quite as much disposed to believe that Walker is as malicious here, as elsewhere.^c

The Kingly office, and the House of Lords, being both set aside, the Derby-House Committee was superseded, or resolved into what Walker calls a “ Committee of State ” in one place, and “ The Council of State ” in another.^d In their oath, resolved upon Feb. 22nd, they swear to “ adhere to this present Parliament . . . in the maintenance and defence of their resolutions concerning the settling of the Government of this nation for the future, in way of a Republic, without King or House of Peers.”^e Cromwell he installs “ Chairman and Ring-leader.”^f

“ About this time,” he says, “ arose a phoenix out of his Majesty’s ashes, that most excellent issue of his brains, intituled, [Ἐικόων Βασιλική:] The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty, in his solitudes and Sufferings.—Rom. viii. [37].” “ Herod and his Jews never persecuted Christ . . . with more industrious malice than the antimonarchical Independent faction this book, in the presses and shops.”^g This induces us to bring forward again that vindicator, against whose name his opponents have never ventured to enroll its equal. “ After the subversion of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic,” says Milton, “ I was surprised by an invitation from the Council of State, who desired my services in the office for foreign affairs. A book appeared soon after, which was ascribed to the King : . . . I was ordered to answer it. . . . I did not insult over fallen majesty ; . . . I only preferred Queen Truth to King Charles.”^h Thus Milton treated the book ; while he knew well that it was but a paper pellet shot from an Episcopal masked battery : a species of deception ; or impious fraud, which meets with never-ceasing castigation in the studied silence, or mute reserve, of the vigilant royal historian, Cla-

^a P. 110.

^b See back, p. 363.

^c He is, strange to say, brought under the category of a “ fellow rebel,” in part 3, p. 29, and part 4, p. 16, of “ The History of King-Killers : Or, The 30th of January Commemorated ; etc.” 1719. 8vo.

^d P. 118, 129. The Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Denbigh, and Mulgrave, the Lord Grey of Werke, Viscount Lisle, the Lord Grey of Groby, Whitelocke, St. John, Chief Baron Wilde, Fairfax, Cromwell, Skippon, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Harry Vane, Jun., Harry Marten, Bradshaw, Ludlow ; the Lords Lisle and Rolle, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir William Masham, Sir William Armine, and Sir William Constable, Baronets ; Sir John Danvers, and Sir James Harrington, Knights ; Valentine Walton, William Purefoy, Robert Wallop, John Hutchinson, Anthony Stapeley, William Heveningham, Dennis Bond, Alexander Popham, John Jones, Alderman Rowland Wilson, Ald. Isaac Pennington, Thomas Scot, Cornelius Holland, Luke Robinson. Milton was their Latin Secretary.

^e P. 130.

^f P. 129.

^g P. 138.

^h “ Second Defence of the People of England.” Works, ed. 1833. imp. 8vo. p. 935. His “Εικόνοκλασής, in answer to the “ Pourtraicture,” appeared the same year : “ Published by Authority.”

rendon.^a Before Milton laid bare the "cozenage," the populace were caught by the prelatial bait, and inflamed to the highest degree of commiseration. A contemporary, who could boast of being only less hated by the prelatists than was Milton, namely John Goodwin, wrote thus: "As for the book, . . . which strains so many men's wits to invent, so many consciences to exhibit; . . . whether he were the positive or only putative author of it, though some make it their great interest, yet to me it is a mere impertinency to determine.^b . . . By that hour's discourse, or more, with him, whereunto both he, I conceive, as well as myself, were rather importuned by others than led by either of our respective desires, a few days before his death, I found an experiment of truth in that common saying,

—— "minuit præsentia famam:

'What fame makes great, presence finds less to be!'

Now, we produce from Walker what we had reserved^d for this connexion, that Jan. 27th, "Upon motion, the House ordered, 'That Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, should be permitted to be private with the King in his chamber, to preach, and administer the sacrament and other spiritual comforts to him;' but notwithstanding, their masters, of the council of war, appointed that weathercock, John Goodwin of Coleman-street,—the Balaam of the army, that curseth and blesseth for hire,—to be superintendent both over King and Bishop; so that they could hardly speak a word together without being overheard by the long schismatical ears of blackmouthed John."^e

This "John," was the zealous Arminian, and therefore was not connected with the orthodox Independents; for diversity in other material particulars, mark his own words: "It is well known, not only to my familiar friends and acquaintance, but, I presume, to thousands more, how small and faint correspondence I have or hold with that 'faction'—as Mr. Geree counts 'faction'—which dogmatizeth with me about matters of church-government, and which he looketh upon as 'prevailing.' My interest in these men, though it was never much considerable, yet was it much more whilst they were the tail and the high Presbyterian faction the head, than it hath been since the turning of the wheel—if yet it be turned—or than now it is."^f

^a See back, p. 364.

^b We trust the question will sometime or other be satisfactorily resolved, Whether king or bishop were the author of these passages? "Not that I am against the managing of this precedency and authority in one man by the joint counsel and consent of many presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities, which are incident to any one man: also to avoid tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Churchmen: besides, it will be a means to take away that burden and odium of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one man's shoulders, as indeed, I think, it formerly did on the Bishops here."—"Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the [Episcopal] Function as antichristian—which some men boldly, but weakly, calumniate—I could soon, with judgment, break that oath which erroneously was taken by me."—*Εικὼν Βασιλ.* chap. xvii. p. 107, 112.

^c The Obstructors of Justice; etc., 1649. 4to. p. 96.

^d See back, p. 359.

^e P. 109.

^f A Brief Reply to Geree, appended to *The Obstructors of Justice*, p. 102. In this Reply, Goodwin records a ground of civil history which we do not recollect to have been remarked upon by any of our statist and historians. "It was the

Reverting to Walker; he writes, "March 28th, 1649, The Commons, in pursuit of the advice given them by Monsieur Paw, and according to the example cited by him of the Low Countries, 'Ordered, That no minister, in his pulpit, should meddle with any state-affairs.'" And forgetting what he had thus recorded, he writes, under the date of "April 12th, It was referred to a committee 'to consider of a way how to raise pensions and allowances out of Deans' and Chapter lands, to maintain supernumerary Itinerant Ministers.'" But he would not stop there, before venting every conceivable figment that his "*good* Genius" had infused into him.^a After the word "Ministers" here, he adds, "who should be authorized to go up and down compassing the earth, and adulterate other men's pulpits and congregations; and put affronts, and raise factions and scandals upon such orthodox and conscientious ministers—in order to their sequestrations—as cannot frame their doctrine to the damnable practices and anarchical principles of the times. These wandering apostles are to preach anti-monarchical, seditious doctrine, to the people,—suitable to that they call 'The present Government,'—to raise the rascal multitude and schismatical rabble against all men of best quality in the kingdom; to draw them into Associations and Combinations with one another in every county; and with the army, against all lords, gentry, ministers, lawyers, rich and peaceable men, and all that are lovers of the old laws and government; for the better rooting of them out, that themselves alone may inhabit the earth, and establish their new tyranny, or kingdom of the saints, upon the ruins of our ancient monarchy. These men, like Balaam, shall bless and curse for hire, and vent state-news, state-doctrine, and poison the people with such changeable and various principles as, from time to time, shall be dictated to them by those pseudo-politicians as now sit at the helm; they shall cozen the people with pretended illuminations, revelations, and inspirations, and pour out all the vials of God's wrath amongst them."^b

Under "May 30th," he gives the names of "[newly intruded] Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, that personally proclaimed the Act for abolishing Kingly Government: Andrews, Lord Mayor; Aldermen Pennington, Wollaston, Foulkes, Kenrick, Byde, Edmonds, Pack, Bateman, Atkins, Viner, Avery, Wilson, Dethick, and Foot."^c

"The pharisaical House of Commons voted an Act, June 1st, for a day of thanksgiving, to set off King Oliver's victory over the confident sense of some very intelligent and sober men, many years since,—from whom I received it, upon a very good account for the truth of it,—that upon the execution of justice upon the Scottish Queen in this kingdom, there entered a foul spirit of revengeful intentions against this nation into the line-royal of that; which, as they suggested, hath wrought accordingly ever since as well in the father as in the son, though not with a uniformity of open vigour or violence; the natural temper of the one being more timorous, and inclining to politic, clandestine, and underhand actings, than of the other. But that the mischief, ruin and destruction, of the English nation was become the hereditary engagement of that crown, unto which it was subject till of late, is conjecturable if not demonstrable, by the footsteps of so many state actings from time to time of a uniform tendency that way, that a man must shut the eyes of his understanding very close not to see, or at least not to be strongly suspicious of it." p. 125.

^a See back p. 330.

^b P. 152, 156.

^c P. 184, 185.

Levellers with the more lustre. . . The wise Lord Mayor and his brethren—in imitation—invited the Parliament, Council of State, the General, and his officers, to a thanksgiving dinner. . . The 7th of June, the thanksgiving was solemnized in the City. The Lord Mayor meeting the Speaker, resigned to him—as formerly was used to the King—the sword of state—as had been ordered by the House the day before;—and received it again from him. And then the Mayor conducted them all to Christ Church, where the Commons, Council of State, General, and his officers, together with the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, etc., mocked God with their devotions; where Mr. Thomas Goodwin and Mr. Owen preached out of the politics to them. From thence they were conducted to a great dinner at Grocers'-hall, and entertained in the quality of a 'Free State.' . . They were all strongly guarded with soldiers, and every cook had an oath given to be true to them, which showed they had more of fear and guilt than of confidence and innocency within them. Great presents of plate given to his Excellency Fairfax, and to his Super-Excellency Cromwell, and to others; fit to be chronicled in Stowe's and Hollingshead's volumes, amongst other solemn fooleries. Let it not be omitted, that Hugh Peters, and many other saints, were too full of the *creature*, anglicè, *drunk*."a

"June 8—15th. . . Four hundred pounds more given to the poor of the City—to stop their mouths from cursing upon the thanksgiving day—out of the two thousand pounds fine set upon the Lord Mayor Reynoldson, for not proclaiming the Act for abolishing Kingly Government. . . A committee is appointed, to consider how to prefer Mr. Thomas Goodwin and Mr. Owen to be heads of colleges in Oxford, as a reward for asserting the late proceedings of Parliament upon the aforesaid thanksgiving day. It is not fit such men should serve God for nothing: in the times of St. Peter and St. Paul, 'godliness' was great gain,' but in the days of the modern saints, Gain is great godliness."b

"There is lately come forth a book of John Milton's—a libertine, that thinketh his wife a manacle, and his very garters to be a shackle and fetters to him; one that, after the Independent fashion, will be tied to no obligation to God or man; 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.' Wherein he undertaketh to prove, 'That it is lawful, [and hath been held so through all ages] for any, who have the power, to call to account [a Tyrant or wicked king; and, after due conviction, to] depose, and put [him] to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected [or denied to do] it. . . And, That they who of late so much blame deposing, are the men that did it themselves.'c—Meaning the Presbyterians. I shall invite some man of more leisure and abilities than myself to answer these two paradoxes; but shall first give him these cautions: 1. That for the Polemic part, he turn all his arguments into syllogisms; and then he will find them to be all fallacies, the froth of wit and fancy, not the dictates of true and solid reason. 2. That for the historical or narrative parts, he would thoroughly examine them, and he will find few of them consonant to the plumb-

a P. 185, 187.

b P. 196, 197.

c See back, p. 366.

line of truth. 3. That he would consider, that from the beginning of this Parliament there were three parties or factions in it; the Royalists, the Presbyterians, the Independents; for though they were not then notorious by their name, yet the persons confederated were then extant and active, being a complication of all antimonarchical, anarchical heresies and schisms; Anabaptists, Brownists, Barrowists, Adamites, Familists, libertines of all sorts; the true heirs and successors of John of Leyden, and Knipperdolling, in all their principles and practices united under the general title of 'Independent.' And these were originally the men that by their close insinuations, solicitations, and actings began and carried on the war against the King; with an intent from the beginning, to pull down monarchy and set up anarchy, notwithstanding the many Declarations, Remonstrances, abortive treaties, Protestations, and Covenants, to the contrary; which were obligations—from time to time—extorted from them by the Presbyterians, although not strong enough to hold such subtle Samsons, whose strength to break such withes lay not in their bushes of hair, but in the ambushes of their hearts wherein there always lay hid some evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation, which, like a backdoor, gave them leave to make an escape."^a

In the paragraph just closed, the title of Milton's "Tenure" is correctly given; not as it stands in Walker. From the edition of 1650, we copy a passage on the "polemic part," and leave it to be tested, in the syllogistic style, by "some man of more . . . abilities" than Walker's modesty, at this time, allowed himself to possess.

"But who in particular is a Tyrant," says Milton, "cannot be determined in a general discourse, otherwise than by supposition; his particular charge, and the sufficient proof of it, must determine that: which I leave to magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them, and of the people, though in number less by many, in whom faction least hath prevailed above the law of nature and right reason; to judge as they find cause. . . For if all human power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil-doers without exception, be of God; then, that power, whether ordinary, or, if that fail, extraordinary, so executing that intent of God, is lawful, and not to be resisted!"^b

We shut up this second part of Walker's "History" with a portion of his Postscript, where he says, "When our old laws run again into their ancient channel, and the sword of murder is sheathed, and the sword of justice drawn; the author engageth to publish his name and apology, and show what he hath done and suffered for the Parliament and Kingdom."^c The latest date he records is Sept. 9th, where he chose not to distinguish rightly between the exercise of liberty of conscience and a case of sedition, if not rebellion, against "the powers that be." What the precise offence was is not before us, though our readers have been prepared to expect a developement; but that Walker had provoked the authorities beyond the limits of forbearance, appears in the Journals of the House of Commons, where is recorded, "Anno 1649, 13 Nov. Resolved, That Clement Walker, Esq. be

^a P. 199, 200.^b Works, ed. 1833, p. 232.^c P. 262.

committed prisoner to the Tower in order for his trial for high treason.”^a The real object of those whom he had offended might have been to keep him under personal restraint; that he enjoyed a degree of freedom is certain, since while in durance he wrote what was made public some nine years after his decease there, in October 1651;^b “The High Court of Justice: Or, Cromwell’s New Slaughter House in England, With the Authority that constituted and ordained it. Arraigned, convicted, and condemned, for usurpation, treason, tyranny, theft and murder.—Being the Third Part of the History of Independency: written by the same Author. Printed A. D. 1660. In the second year of the State’s Liberty, and the People’s Slavery.” 4to. pp. 72.

This third part is drawn up more in the form of a commentary on the past, with a continuation in the same spirit, of present alleged grievances. Its principal aim, as the title explains, was to denounce the constitution of the said “High Court” of twenty-five Commissioners sitting by virtue of an Act of March 26th, 1650; and whose incontestable powers were undoubtedly far beyond the equitable limits of a wholesome authority: if it must be so, the old tyrant’s plea, necessity, not indeed sought for, was the justification,—*Necessitas cogit ad turpia*. We profess to be guided by too much honesty of purpose—honestum—than to endeavour to vindicate injustice; or to shrink from defending against the supremacy of any legitimated evil, and the free exposure of any designed misrepresentation.

We submit it, then, to calm consideration, whether or not, one who writes in the following, “his mildest style,” be a party on whom posterity can rely for a dispassionate, unperturbed, record of the current transactions: “He that will see more of the Independent tenets, let him read Cl. Salmasius, cap. x., *Defensionis Regiæ*; *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum*, in Anglia; and ‘The History of Independency,’ first and second parts . . . The builders of this new Commonwealth, or Babel, hold forth to the people Justice and Liberty, as their motto. As if those excellent gifts had never received their birth, nor been so much as shown to the people, until they murdered the King and stepped into his throne! But how righteous a ‘Free State,’ or Commonwealth, is this like to be? And, how well are the people therein likely to be instructed in the ways of righteousness, justice, and charity, and improve in good life and conversation, by men so principled as aforesaid, let the world judge? Especially when they observe, that our new Statists have enacted, in the said pretended Act, 2nd Jan. 1649 [-50], enjoining the ‘Engagement,’ That whosoever will promise truth and fidelity to them, by subscribing the Engagement, may deal falsely and fraudulently with all the world besides [!] And break all bonds, assurances, and contracts, made with Non-Engagers, concerning their estates: and pay their debts, by pleading,

^a Vol. vi. p. 322.

^b Wood’s Ath. Oxon.

^c “*Defensio Regiæ, Pro Carolo I. Ad Serenissimum Magnæ Britannæ Regem Carolum II. Filium natu majorem, Heredem et Successorem legitimum.—Sumptibus Regis. Anno 1649.*” 24mo. pp. 444.

in bar of all actions, That the complainant hath not taken the Engagement."^a

We have done with Clement Walker, save that in answer to the reference to Salmasius, we shall be expected to adduce his contemporary and victor. In the tenth chapter accordingly of Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*,^a are these remarks:^b "'Now,' you say, 'you are come to inquire who they chiefly were, that gave sentence against the King.' Whereas it ought first to be inquired into, how you, a foreigner . . . came to have anything to do, to raise a question about our affairs, to which you are so much a stranger? And, what reward induced you to it? But we know enough of that, and who satisfied your curiosity in these matters of ours; even those fugitives, and traitors to their country, that could easily hire such a vain fellow as you, to speak ill of us. Then an account, in writing, of the state of our affairs was put into your hands by some hair-brained, half-protestant, half-papist Chaplain, or other, or by some sneaking Courtier, and you were put to translate it into Latin. Out of that, you took these narrations which, if you please, we will examine a little. 'Not the hundred thousandth part of the people consented to the sentence of condemnation.' What were the rest of the people, then, that suffered so great a thing to be transacted against their will? Were they stocks and stones; were they mere trunks of men only; or such images of Britons, as Virgil describes to have been wrought in tapestry?"

Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni.

'And Britons, interwoven, hold up the purple hangings.'

For you describe no true Britons, but painted ones; or rather, needle-wrought men, instead of them! Since, therefore, it is a thing so incredible, that a warlike nation should be subdued by so few, and those of the dregs of the people, which is the first thing that occurs in your narrative; that appears, in the very nature of the thing itself, to be most false. 'The Bishops were turned out of the House of Lords by the Parliament itself.' The more deplorable is your madness,—for are you not yet sensible that you rave?—to complain of their being turned out of the Parliament, whom you yourself, in a large book, endeavour to prove that they ought to be turned out of the Church! 'One of the States of Parliament, to wit, the House of Lords, consisting of Dukes, Earls, and Viscounts, was removed.' And deservedly were they removed; for they were not deputed to sit there by any town or county, but represented themselves only: they had no right over the people, but—as if they had been ordained for that very purpose!—used, frequently, to oppose their rights and liberties. They were created by the King, they were his companions, his servants, and, as it were, shadows of him. He being removed, it was necessary they should be reduced to the same level with the body of

^a P. 30.

^b "Joannis Miltoni Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, Contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam.—Lond. Anno Dom. 1651." 24mo. pp. 283.

^c Translated by Mr. Washington, 1692.

the people, from amongst whom they took their rise. ‘One part of the Parliament, and that the worst of all, ought not to have assumed that power of judging and condemning the King.’ But I have told you already, that the House of Commons was not only the chief part of our Parliament, while we had kings, but was a perfect and entire Parliament of itself, without the temporal lords, much more without the bishops. But, ‘The whole House of Commons themselves, were not admitted to have to do with the trial of the King.’ To wit, that part of them was not admitted, that openly revolted to him in their minds and counsels; whom though they stiled him their King, yet they had so often acted against as an enemy.”^a

“But, who secluded those ill-affected members? ‘The English army,’ you say: so that it was not an army of foreigners, but of most valiant, and faithful, honest natives, whose officers, for the most part, were Members of Parliament; and whom those good secluded Members, would have secluded their country and banished into Ireland! While, in the mean time, the Scots, whose alliance began to be doubtful, . . . had the King himself in custody; whilst they likewise encouraged the tumultuating of those of their own faction, who did more than threaten the Parliament.”^b

“You say, ‘The English and Scotch promised by a Solemn Covenant, to preserve the Majesty of the King.’ But you omit upon what terms they promised it; to wit, If it might consist with the safety of their religion and their liberty! To [from] both which, religion and liberty, that King was so averse, to his last breath, and watched all opportunities of gaining advantages upon them, that it was evident that his life was dangerous to their religion and the certain ruin of their liberty. But then you fall upon the King’s judges again: ‘If we consider the thing aright, the conclusion of this abominable action must be imputed to the Independents, yet so as the Presbyterians may justly challenge the glory of its beginning and progress.’ Hark, ye Presbyterians! what good has it done you? How are your innocence and loyalty the more cleared, by your seeming so much to abhor the putting the King to death? . . . But this vain fellow changes his mind all of a sudden, and what but of late when he considered it ‘aright,’ he thought was to be imputed wholly to the Presbyterians, now that he considers the same thing ‘from first to last,’ he thinks the ‘Independents’ were the sole actors of it. But even now, he told us, ‘The Presbyterians took up arms against the King;’ that ‘by them, he was beaten, taken captive, and put in prison:’ now he says, ‘This whole doctrine, of rebellion, is the Independents’ principle.’ Oh, the faithfulness of this man’s narrative! How consistent is he with himself! What need is there of a counter-narrative to this of his, that cuts its own throat? But if any man should question, whether you are an honest man or a knave, let him read these following lines of yours: ‘It is time to explain whence and at what time this sect of enemies to kingship first began: Why truly, these rare *Puritans* began in Queen Elizabeth’s time to crawl out of hell, and disturb not only the church but the state likewise; for they were no less plagues to the latter than to the former.’

^a Works, ed. 1833. p. 402, 403.

^b *Ib.* p. 403.

“ Now your very speech bewrays you to be a right Balaam ; for where you designed to spit out your most bitter poison you could, there unwittingly, and against your will, you have pronounced a blessing. For it is notoriously known all over England, that if any endeavoured to follow the example of those churches, whether in France or Germany, which they accounted best Reformed ; and to exercise the public worship of God in a more pure manner, which our Bishops had almost universally corrupted with their ceremonies and superstitions ; or if any seemed either in point of religion or morality to be better than others, such persons were, by the favourers of Episcopacy, termed ‘ Puritans.’ These are they whose principles you say are so opposite to ‘ kingship !’ Nor are they the only persons ; ‘ most of the Reformed religion, that have not sucked in the rest of their principles, yet seem to have approved of those that strike at kingly government.’ So that while you inveigh bitterly against the Independents, and endeavour to separate them from Christ’s flock, with the same breath you praise them ! and those ‘ principles’ which almost every where you affirm to be peculiar to the ‘ Independents,’ here you confess they have been approved of by most of the Reformed religion ! . . . Whereas you tax us with giving a ‘ toleration of all sects and heresies,’ you ought not to find fault with us for that, since the Church bears with such a profligate wretch as you yourself, . . . one who has the impudence to affirm, That the best and most pious of christians, and even most of those who profess the Reformed religion, are crept ‘ out of hell,’ because they differ in opinion from you !

“ I had best [better] pass by the calunnies that fill up the rest of this chapter, and those prodigious tenets that you ascribe to the Independents, to render them odious ; for neither do they at all concern the cause you have in hand, and they are such for the most part as deserve to be laughed at and despised rather than receive a serious answer.”^a

For the benefit of connexion, since we purpose to make use of the contents distributively only, and to refer for the full title to this place, it is accordingly given, thus : “ The History of Independency. The Fourth and last Part. Continued from the Death of his late Majesty, King Charles the First of happy Memory, till the Deaths of the chief of that Juncto.—By T. M. Esq., a Lover of his King and Country.—1660.” 4to. pp. 124.

^a *Ib.* p. 404, 405.

[While the previous matter was in the printer’s hands, we discovered that “ the number of the members in the House of Commons who adopted this way of thinking—Independency—was but small ; and, our authority conjectures, “ did not amount to more than thirty out of the whole number of members who attended the House in the month of December, 1648, or a little before the trial of King Charles, which appears by the Parliamentary History of England, vol. xviii. p. 447, to have been above three hundred and forty.” Baron Masere’s “ Select Tracts relating to the Civil War.” 1815. 8vo. vol. i. p. xvii. The population of England and Wales, about the above time, is computed at about seven millions, and of London with the environs at about half a million. See “ Natural and Political Observations, etc. upon the Bills of Mortality. By Cap. J. Graunt, F.R.S. 1665.” edit. 3d. 12mo. chap. vii. p. 84.]

CHAP. LXXVII.

COTTON — HUDSON — CAWDREY — PHILALETHIRENEUS — TREATY OF BREDÁ — SCOTLAND CONQUERED — CHARLES II. CROWNED THERE — OWEN — ACT OF AMNESTY — PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT — BAILLIE'S VINDICATION — PRINCIPLES OF FAITH — NORTON.

A PIECE for consideration, in due course, is "The Holiness of Church-Members. By John Cotton, Teacher of the Church of Christ in Boston in New England.—Psal. xciii. 5. xv. 1, 2.—1650." 4to. pp.95. [103.]

The dedication is "To my honoured, worshipful, and worthy friends the Mayor and Justices, the Aldermen and Common Council, together with the whole Congregation and Church at Boston [England], mercy, peace, and truth, be multiplied in Christ Jesus." Cotton reminds them of the "twenty years' service, or thereabouts," which he had enjoyed among them who had showed some first-fruits of Reformation unto many neighbour congregations; but from whom, "in that hour and power of darkness, when the late High Commissioners began to stretch forth their malignant arm," he was "forced to depart secretly," with "sundry" of his flock, into "this, late, howling wilderness." He reminds them also, that "even since that time," they still claimed an interest in him, and "yearly ministered some real testimony" of their love; and that at last, when the Lord had dispelled "the storm of malignant Church-Government," they invited him, "again and again, to return," but his obligations to those who had accompanied him into exile, his "relation to the church" there, and his "age, now stricken in years," made his acceptance of the invitation impracticable. "Besides," he adds, "the estate of our church, admitting more than *professed* saints to the fellowship of the Seals; and the government of your Church, subjected to an extrinsical ecclesiastical power; would have been a perpetual scruple and torment to my conscience. . . Nevertheless, touching the former of these, the true estate of church-members, and what is the 'holiness' required of them; that you may see I am not pinched with groundless scruples about it, I have, for the satisfaction of yourselves and of sundry others who have written to me about the same, penned this ensuing Treatise; wherein if the Lord should be pleased to reach forth any satisfaction to yourselves, I hope it would tend much, if not towards union, yet towards a mutual concurrence between your own church and the other congregational church which I hear the Lord Jesus hath planted amongst you. For if both of you could consent in that qualification of your church-members which this treatise pleadeth for, the other scruple, which concerneth the subjection of your church to an extrinsical church-power, might haply be well eased if not wholly removed in such a way as this. The Elders of your neighbour churches; who were wont to be favourable to the church at Boston,—as they would accept your Elders into fellowship of public consultation with them about church-affairs, so they might give your

Elders counsel in matters that concern your own church, and the members thereof, but leave the transaction and execution thereof to your own Elders, in the presence and with the consent of your own church. And who can tell, how much and how far the Lord will stretch forth the blessing of such a peaceable condescendency, to more general acceptance and accommodation?"

The substance of this piece of Cotton's consists of a course of objections and replies, to which the pieces of Rutherford and Baillie had respectively given occasion. The statements or propositions are so numerous, and the distinctions in many cases so refined, and the whole texture of Cotton's treatise is indeed so wrought, that no competent analysis of it can be furnished for our purpose. We select only the following passages. Having laid down an argument "tending to clear what manner of persons are to be received members of the church," derived from John's Baptism; and having premised that John baptized all that came to him, confessing their sins and professing repentance, whether Publicans, soldiers, or others; but that he rebuked "many of the Pharisees and Sadducees," Matt. iii. 7; to obviate an objection, That John did baptize these, Cotton remarks "It seemeth to me incredible: contradictory to the very style of John's Baptism; that he should administer the baptism of repentance, and yet baptize impenitent persons, a 'generation of vipers.' Unless baptism were given not to seal up our initiation into Christ, but to beget it,—which orthodox divinity doth reject,—it is not credible that John would cast holy things to 'dogs,' or pearls to 'swine;'^a or that he would make 'the temple of God'^b a den not only of thieves, but, which is worse, of 'vipers'! It is far more credible, that the speech of the Evangelist, Luke vii. 29, 30, reached to these Pharisees as well as others." He represents Augustine—"holy Augustine"—as clear on this point, "That neither John Baptist admitted any open scandalous persons to his baptism, nor that in the Church of Christ any should be received unto baptism who live in any sinful course, till they profess repentance and reformation."^c

"Mr. Rutherford," he says, "is very wrongfully informed, that we refuse communion, or admission of any 'sound believer,' or 'member of Christ,' or any of 'approved piety,' into our churches; especially upon any such ground, Because they will not 'swear' to our church-government! For we require no man to 'swear' to our church-government at all; nor ever did, that I know. Neither do we so much as require that they should profess their approbation of our government; but only that they profess their subjection to Christ's government in his Church, according to the order of the Gospel. We refuse to admit no man of approved piety into the fellowship of our churches, if he be willing to accept it; yea, we rather encourage him and persuade him to it: only it is true, we do not compel any man to join with us against his will, as knowing Christ accepted a 'willing' people.^d It is not we therefore that separate from such, but they from us. Whether or not we can make good our church-government, from God's Word; though he be pleased to deny it, and ourselves see no cause of

^a Matt. vii. 6.

^b 1 Cor. iii. 16.

^c De Fide et Operibus, Cap ii. Sect. ii.

^d Psal. cx. 3.

presuming on our own strength; yet we believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, he is the Head and King of true church-government, that Himself will bear witness from heaven to that government which his Gospel hath taught us; and will also, in due time, give us strength and opportunity to make good from his Word what we practise according to it, or else we live not ‘by faith,’ in church-order, but by fancy. Meanwhile, as we believe we speak, we never yet read or heard any such exceptions against our church-government as might give us just grounds to scruple it.”^a

“The objector,” Baillie, “is too credulous if he believe every such fabulous report, That we ‘exclude’ any from our churches whom we ‘grant to be truly gracious and elect:’ we exclude none such, and much less ‘upon this ground alone,’ because ‘they cannot approve’ of our ‘Independency and Covenant.’ We have received some members in our churches who are not only Presbyterian in judgment, but Episcopal also. Nor do I know that ever we refused any approved godly person upon point of difference in judgment about church-government. Nor do we pinch upon any man’s conscience, in point of Covenant, in case he be willing to profess his subjection to Christ in his Church according to the order of the Gospel; nor do we limit him to our own way of the order of the Gospel, but as it shall be cleared and approved to his own conscience. *Facessant fabulæ, καὶ φλυαρίαι*; a citizen of Zion should not take up an evil report—much less, a false report against his neighbours!”^b

“Mr. Baillie,” having said, “‘We may not admit, that the Church founded upon the Rock, is every particular visible church. The privileges of the catholic and visible church!’—he meaneth, haply, the ‘invisible’ church,—‘which the Jesuits by all their wrestlings have never been able to extort from us for their idol of Rome; shall we throw them away upon every Independent Congregation? How unstable rocks these congregations are, and how easily by small temptations shaken in pieces, themselves may remember!’” Cotton replies, “We do not say that ‘every particular visible church’ is ‘founded upon the Rock;’ too, too frequent experience demonstrateth the contrary. Many are built upon the authority and laws of the State; and many upon the hypocrisy of professors; but this is it I say—as the text saith.—That every church which the Lord Jesus buildeth, is built ‘upon this Rock,’ to wit upon Himself believed on by the revelation of the Father, and professed before the Lord and his people. Many *Plantations* there be—and so, many churches—which the ‘heavenly Father hath not planted,’ and they ‘shall be rooted out,’^c whether churches, or church-members, or church-traditions. That the privilege of stability against ‘the gates of hell,’^d belongeth not only to the catholic invisible church, but to every particular visible church built upon Christ, by such a holy profession as Peter made, hath been declared: the argument alleged to the contrary, taken from the topics of indignation against ‘the Jesuits,’ and the indignity [unworthiness] of a particular church of Christ to enjoy the privilege which the Jesuits

^a Sect. 3. p. 29.^b Sect. 5. p. 60.^c Matt. xv. 13.^d Matt. xvi. 18.

cannot get for Rome; might as justly be applied against any faithful member of a particular church. Bucer and others of our judicious Protestant writers do from this very promise of Christ, argue the stability of every true believer and his impossibility of apostacy. What if an Arminian should take up the objector's argument, and say, 'The privileges of the catholic and invisible church, which the Jesuits by all their wrestlings have never been able to extort from us for their idol of Rome; shall we throw them away upon every *particular believer?*' But if a particular believer, or saint, may claim the privileges or promises made to the catholic church, I see no reason why a church of saints and faithful brethren may not claim as much! The church estate of saints doth not weaken, but rather confirm and increase the promises and privileges given to saints and believers: and so Paul applieth a promise and privilege peculiar to saints and faithful brethren unto the whole visible church of Philippi, chap. i, 6, 7.^a

"If any of them—Independent churches—have been shaken, and easily shaken, in pieces, as he—Baillie—saith; either they were not built by Christ upon such a foundation as Peter made, or else their shaking hath been but a scattering of seed out of a garner into the open field, where every grain hath multiplied to a handful; as the church at Jerusalem being scattered asunder, multiplied into many churches in Samaria and Antioch, and elsewhere . . . If all the members of the—a—church should make but a verbal and ignorant, and hypocritical confession of Christ and of faith in Him; yet I will not deny that such a society may have the name of a church; and thus far, the nature of it, that the actions thereof are not nullities, though neither themselves nor their actions are acceptable in the sight of God, nor will stand in the hour of temptation.^b

"Of all others, this inference doth least of all follow from our tenet, That it is necessary we must be, like a stone, 'perfectly hewn' before we be laid in the church-building! As he—Baillie—saith, 'This kind of ratiocination, solid divinity will not admit.' So I may say likewise, this kind of ratiocination,—from any tenet of ours, to infer such a consequence as this,—no solid logic will admit; nor any christian ingenuity, without too much prejudice and partiality, will extort. To be 'perfectly hewn' we do not expect in this life till all church-administrations have finished their course, and we our course together, and so come to be dismissed into the fellowship of that Church which reigneth above human frailty, in heavenly glory."^c

^a Sect. 7. p. 60, 62.

^b Sect. 7. p. 62.

^c Sect. 12, p. 88.—This sentiment, which closes the above paragraph, is, alas! too faithfully exemplified in what occurred subsequently, in 1651, concerning some exceedingly intolerant proceedings in Massachusetts, against certain "anabaptists." Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the magistrates in that country, but being at the time in England, addressed Cotton and his colleague John Wilson, thus; "Rev. and Dear Friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect,—It doth not a little grieve my spirit, to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England; as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences! First, you compel such to come into your assemblies, as you know will not join you in your worship; and, when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such, as you conceive, their public affronts. Truly, friends, this your

Another piece which demands its share of attention is "A Vindication of 'The Essence and Unity of the Church Catholic Visible:' And, the Priority thereof in regard of Particular Churches. In Answer to the Objections made against it, both by Mr. John Ellis Jun., and by that Rev. and Worthy Divine Mr. Hooker in his 'Survey of Church Discipline.' By Samuel Hudson, Minister of the Gospel at Capell, in Suffolk. 1650." 4to pp. 265.

In the epistle dedicatory "To the Reverend Assembly of Divines" at Westminster, the author writes, "My first thesis on this subject was composed for the private use of myself and some few neighbour ministers, in a monthly private meeting according to our custom. But being made public at the desires of others, it met with opposition from two reverend brethren; first by Mr. John Ellis, Jun., who undertook to confute it, with other tractates of divers of my betters that were written of the same subject; and secondly, by reverend Mr. Hooker, who is since departed out of the visible militant church into the invisible triumphant; the loss of which burning and shining light the church of God cannot sufficiently lament. Now, because some things, therein set down, were by them mistaken, and other things not so fully cleared as I desired, I thought good to set it out again, more enlarged . . . My principal scope, in this and the former thesis, is to prove that there is one church-catholic visible on earth; and that God's intention and donation of the ordinances of worship and discipline was [were] first to the whole church, and secondly to the particular churches as parts thereof.^a And yet I acknowledge the

practice of compelling any, in matters of worship, to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for so the apostle tells us, Rom. xiv. 23; and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperity every way, hoping the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practise those courses in a Wilderness which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints." Benedict, vol. i. p. 377. We are truly ashamed to add, that Cotton, whose spirit was chafed by the rebuke, and who died in the year following, aged 67, returned a weak and cavilling reply to this painfully just remonstrance. Oh, that "the Recording Angel" could drop upon the whole affair his biggest tear, and blot it all out for ever!

^a This passage with its context is the germ of what Robert Robinson—Life of Claude, vol. i. p. lvi., of that Divine's "Essay on the Composition of a Sermon," 1779,—calls, "an oily book with a nasty title," by that first-rate dissembler Edward Stillingfleet, made bishop of Worcester in 1689; it is intitled "Irenicum; A Weapon-Salve for the Church's Wounds; or, The Divine Right of particular forms of Church-Government discussed, etc. 1659." 2nd edit. 1662. 4to. Of this piece the author acknowledged subsequently that there are things in it in which he "yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the dissenting parties to the Church of England:" see Orme's Life and Times of R. Baxter, 1830. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 271. Hudson is named in the margin of the Irenicum, pt. ii. ch. i. sec. 6. Are these among the things which Stillingfleet says of himself, "show his youth, and want of due consideration?" namely, "The apostles valued not 'indifferencies' at all: and those things, it is evident, they accounted such which whether men did them or not, was not of concernment to salvation. And, what reason is there, why men should be so strictly tied up to such things which they may do or let alone, and yet be very good christians still?" Pref. "The least peg screwed up too high in the Church, soon causeth a great deal of discord in the State: . . . whereas many irregularities may happen in the State, and men live in quietness and peace.

ordinary and consistent exercise of those ordinances is primarily in the particular churches, and a secondary and only occasional exercise of them in greater parts thereof; and a very rare exercise of them in the whole conjunction, upon some general extraordinary occasion, and that can be no otherwise than by delegated Commissioners from the several parts of the whole, when convenient . . . Since the transcribing of it, for the press, there came to my hands two other tractates about the same subject, written from New England; the one in Latin by that reverend and worthy Mr. Norton, minister at Ipswich there, in answer to Apollonius; the other by two reverend ministers, namely, Mr. Allin and Mr. Shepard, in answer to Mr. Ball . . . I have only inserted a few annotations upon those tractates . . . I have now showed my opinion on this question, and submit it to your sage and mature judgments. . . . Sept. 8th 1649."

An Epistle to the reader informs us that "The reverend author of this learned tractate, some few years ago did put forth a book about 'The Essence and Unity of the Church-Catholic Visible; and, the Priority thereof in regard of Particular Churches.'^a . . . To this book, by him [Mr. Hooker] so much commended,^b he returns an answer: and before him, one Mr. John Ellis Jun. And it seems there are two

But if Phaetons drive the chariot of the sun, the world will be soon on fire: I mean such in the Church whose brains, like the unicorn's, run out into the length of the horn! Pt. i. ch. ii. sec. 7. "I am sure it is contrary to the primitive practice and the moderation then used, to suspend or deprive men of their ministerial function, for not conforming in habits, gestures, or the like!" Ibid, sec. 11. "Let men turn and wind themselves which way they will, by the very same arguments that any will prove Separation from the Church of Rome lawful, because she required unlawful things as conditions of her communion; it will be proved lawful, not to conform to any suspected or unlawful practice required by any Church-Governors upon the same terms, if the thing so required be, after sober and serious inquiry, judged unwarrantable by a man's own conscience! Pt. i. ch. vi. sec. 6. "Were we so happy but to take off things granted unnecessary by all, and suspected by many, and judged unlawful by some; and to make nothing the bonds of our communion but what Christ hath done, namely, 'one faith, one baptism, ect.;' allowing a liberty for matters of indifference, and bearing with the weakness of those who cannot bear things which others account lawful; we might indeed be restored to a true primitive lustre far sooner than by furbishing up some antiquated ceremonies which can derive their pedigree no higher than from some ancient custom and tradition. God will, one day, convince men that the union of the Church lies more in the unity of faith and affection, than in uniformity of doubtful rites and ceremonies!" Ibid. One particular we specially notice for comment: he comes to say, pt. i. ch. ii. sec. 7," Now as to these things clearly revealed in the Word of God . . . the sanction of them by the Civil Magistrate may cause a further obligation upon conscience than was before, and may add punishments and rewards not expressed before . . . So when the faith of the Gospel becomes the law of a nation, men are bound by a *double cord* of duty to entertain and profess that faith." We remark, that the Gospel is the world's privilege; therefore the Magistrate in giving it his "sanction" cannot make it more obligatory than it is: hence, no "double cord." Unless indeed a Church be merely a politic convention; upon the plan of Warburton's "Alliance"—which is the dilatation of this passage with another in p. 430 of Stillfleet's second edition;—not if it be a spiritual body, "a holy people," Jas. ii. 5. We close this note, by taking occasion to inform students, that in pt. i. ch. ii. sec. 8, they will find some strictures on Lord Brooke's chapter, "What is Indifferent?" see back, vol. ii. p. 121.

^a 1645. 4to.

^b See back, p. 287.

other tractates about the same subject, written from New England; the one by Mr Norton in answer to Apollonius, the other by Mr. Allin and Mr. Shepard in answer to Mr. Ball: for the truth is, the position there held forth, if granted, would utterly overthrow the grounds and pillars of the Congregational government . . . The truth is, the question is full of difficulty and intricacy; the path in which he walks is an untrodden path; and the pains which he hath taken in the compiling of this work, and the learning which he hath discovered herein, is [are] so great as I am very confident that whosoever reads the book will commend the author and his abilities, though he should not in every thing resent his opinion. The scope of the book is to contend for the extents and rights of Christ's Political Kingdom in his Church upon earth; and to demonstrate the unity of it, and thereby to lay a foundation of unity between particular churches, which is as necessary for the preservation of them as purity and verity: for a Church 'divided against itself, cannot stand.' . . . [Signed] Edmund Calamy."

It is inexpedient to traverse the argument as managed by Hudson: it would, by the advocates of either side, have been immensely narrowed, were a precise definition and a correct apprehension of the several terms possible; the various metaphorical distinctions served however only to perplex the discussion, and the propensities of the parties engaged must have been unconsciously more or less imaginative, and therefore necessarily diverse. One testimony by this author is notwithstanding important to be recorded, since it adds another instance in proof of that source of the animosity which is, unhappily, traced in too many of the remains of men distinguished for mental endowment and strength of religious principle, but yet so blinded by partiality as not to have perceived the inferences against themselves, deducible from their intended heavy accusations against successful rivals in the best of causes: "There be," he writes, "of our honoured and beloved Brethren whom I forbear to name, . . . who though they acknowledge us true churches yet deny us to be one church . . . Not endeavouring with us to reform our churches, but to gather churches out of our churches by gathering our best members out of our churches, and uniting them into several bodies by a particular covenant, though distant far in habitation. But if the cream of our congregations be floated off, our wheat transplanted by itself into other men's fields who sowed it not, our fattest sheep gathered into [other] men's folds; it will be very sad for God's Ministers to have none but the tares, and goats, and lees and dregs of men, left them to look after!"^a

The combatant who starts next upon the arena here, will in another place be found in sharp conflict with an opponent, whose superior qualities alone give more importance to this writer's name than it merits from connexion with "The Inconsistency of the Independent-Way with Scripture and Itself: Manifested in a Threefold Discourse, I. Vindicix Vindiciarum; with Mr. Cotton. II. A Review of Mr. Hooker's 'Survey of Church Discipline'; the First Part. III. A Diatribe with the same Mr. Hooker, Concerning Baptism of Infants

^a P. 259.

of Non-Confederate Parents; chap. ii. of his Third Part. By Daniel Cawdrey, a Member of the Assembly, and late Preacher at Martin's in the Fields, 1651!" 4to pp. 219.

What consideration this opponent is really intitled to, will be seen in his own declaration of his judgment "concerning this Way so much adored and magnified by many." The laborious efforts of this writer and his party to disparage their competitors in the promotion of a further Reformation, is a testimony of no trifling weight against themselves; but their want of foresight and sound policy, with the proofs they have left of their implacable chagrin, are seldom more apparent than in that item among their oft-repeated allegation—the *crambe sæpe cocta*,—the "gathering churches out of ours!"^a With so much arrogance of superiority over the "Dissenting Brethren," whence did it proceed that "as soon as ever any begin to decline from us—though they were the entirest bosom friends before, such as 'took sweet counsel together; walking to the house of God together'^b as friends;—fasting and praying together often, in public and private; communicating at the same table of the Lord, etc.; after all this, they first withdraw and estrange themselves, then come to slight both our ordinances and ministry as well as our persons: and in some, it ends in an open or secret opposition; and it is to be feared at last it will end in hottest persecution?"^c The cogency of such reasoning as the following is not calculated to induce regret that more is not selected for edification: "This, to me, is a very probable argument of the goodness of the Presbyterian-Way, that all sorts of men; atheists, papists, episcopalians, anabaptists, all sectaries and profane men; do so much oppose it. 'That way must needs be good, that Nero persecutes.' Whereas most of these, the latter especially, like well of and comply with the Independent-Way, as granting more liberty than the Presbyterian will!"^d

They who choose to see Cawdrey's side of the controversy, must have recourse to his own pages. That he has succeeded in detecting some real and more seeming *inconsistencies*, may be granted; that he has always represented his opposites fairly, cannot be righteously affirmed. His method and style are on this occasion no way attractive.

In some way kindred to the above is "A Peace-making Jury: or Twelve Moderate Propositions, tending to the Reconciling of the Present Differences about Church-Combinations, betwixt the Presbyterian and Independent.—Jer. xxxii. 39.—By Philalethireæus, Jun. 1650. Norwich." 4to. pp. 8. We say no more of this tract, than that its bias is discernible in these words, "Upon these concessions, how fairly may this unhappy difference be compromised, . . . those of the Congregational Way, their just privilege of Church-Independency; and those of the Classical Way, their useful and *necessary* support of a Presbyterian polity."^e

^a Epist. Ded. p. (vi.) ^b Psal. lv. 14. ^c Ep. Ded. p. (xii.) ^d Ibid. p. (xiii.)

^e We know no more than this title of "The English Presbyterian and Independent Reconciled. 1651." 4to.

We turn to matter of another sort, and apprise the reader that, March 19th, 1649-50, the Treaty of Breda had commenced between Charles II. and the Scots' Commissioners; the third article agreed upon was, "That they would assist to bring the murderers of his father of blessed memory, to condign punishment; and, to restore him to his native kingdom of England." . . . "His majesty [having,] with much ado, gotten into Scotland, . . . which the Junto at 'Westminster having perfect intelligence of, and weighing with themselves that promise of the Scots, to bring the murderers of the King's father 'to condign punishment,' they begin to think it high time to provide for their own safety; in consulting whereof, after much time spent, it is resolved the safest, wisest, and to them least chargeable course, to wait on the enemy in his own country! . . . As a strong motive to this, just at the instant, they discover that many of the Presbyterians of England had, by their agents, agreed with the Scots at Breda, to re-establish his majesty in all his dominions; whereupon many eminent persons were seized on, and among them Mr. Case, Mr. Jenkyn, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Love. Which Mr. Love, together with one Mr. Gibbons, suffered death together on Tower-hill,^a at the earnest suit of Cromwell, protesting he would not march into Scotland unless they were cut off."^b

Cromwell had quickly invaded Scotland, and was opposed by the generals Leven and Lesly within six miles of the capital "though to little purpose, for he immediately after became master of the field, and took garrisons as fast as he came to them; defeating them at Musselburgh, and pursuing them to Pentland-hills, where the Scots had him in a strait and might have destroyed him, but the certainty, as they thought, of the victory, caused them to delay: by which, and the fatal necessity of sickness, hunger, and cold, pressing upon Cromwell's army, made them choose rather to fight desperately, to hazard all, than timorously to become the scorn of an insulting foe which they knew they should find. Following this resolve with diligence, they whisper about the [watch-] word to each other; in the midst of a dark and rainy night, [Sep. 3rd, 1650, at Dunbar] they

^a Aug. 22nd, 1651.

^b Hist. of Independency. Pt. IV. by T. M. p. 15—17.—The conduct of Christopher Love, A.M., had been as inconsistent formerly, as it was now traitorous against "the powers that be." Had he survived the restoration, he would in all probability have been cut off by the very party, by one of which he was betrayed for plotting. The weight of his character as a divine, is represented to have added a corresponding weight to the urgency of execution; and so far, the crest-fallen Presbyterians were awe-struck. What dependence should be placed on the assertion above, respecting Cromwell, let these authorities contribute to show: Whitelocke states that, "The general and the officers declined meddling in the affair." Memorials, p. 474. In Kennet's Complete History, vol. iii. p. 185, and Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 689, it is related that "The general sent word in a private letter, to one of his confidants, 'that he was content that Mr. Love should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behaviour pardoned;' but that the post-boy being stopped upon the road by some cavaliers belonging to the late King's army, they searched his pocket, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. Love they tore it with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live who had been such a firebrand at the treaty of Uxbridge."

crept up the hill and fell on the Scots so suddenly and beyond expectation, that they were disordered by the first attempt; yet by reason of their multitudes and little courage, they held up awhile, till surrounded on the back by Cromwell's horse, the Scots' horse affrighted begin to retreat and soon after to flee in good earnest, leaving their foot to mercy, who were taken in greater numbers than the English army consisted of! The Independent power by this victory being absolute conquerors, and the Presbyterian pride laid grovelling in the dust." . . . "Such was the fortune of that ambitious wretch Cromwell, that . . . he overran the whole country and conquered with less difficulty than he marched!"^a

Jan. 1st. 1650-1, Baillie, then at Perth, wrote thus to Spang, "This day we have done that which I earnestly desired and long expected, crowned our noble King with all the solemnities, at Scone, so peaceably and magnificently as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God: for it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought easily he might have performed, to have marred by arms that action; at least, the solemnity of it. The Remonstrants, with all their power would have opposed it; others prolonged it so long as they were able. Always,^b blessed be God, it is this day celebrated with great joy and contentment to all honest-hearted men here. Mr. Douglas, from 2 Kings xi.—Joash's coronation,—had a very pertinent, wise, and good sermon. The King swore the Covenant, the League and Covenant, the Coronation-oath. When Argyle put on the crown, Mr. Douglas prayed well; when the Chancellor set him on the throne, he exhorted well; when all were ended, he, with great earnestness pressed sincerity and constancy in the Covenant on the King, dilating at length King James's breach of the Covenant, pursued yet against the family, from Neh. v. 13,—God's casting the King out of his lap,—and the 34th of Jeremiah—many plagues on him, if he did not sincerely keep the oaths now taken. He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th Psalm."^c

The Scots having, "in a fit of desperation, made a sudden incursion into England," Cromwell came up to them at Worcester, by forced marches, "and captured almost the whole of their nobility," September 3rd. 1651.^d Thus too, as one says, were their hopes laid "low in the dust!" This signal event, which Cromwell called "a crowning mercy,"^e gave occasion to "The Advantage of the Kingdom

^a T. M., sup. p. 17, 18, 21.—"You proceeded with unwearied diligence against the Scots, who were on the point of making an irruption into England with the King in their train: and in about the space of one year you entirely subdued, and added to the English dominion, that Kingdom which all our monarchs during a period of eight hundred years, had in vain struggled to subject." Milton's "Second Defence of the People of England, Against an Anonymous Libel entitled 'The Royal Blood crying to Heaven for Vengeance on the English Parricides.' 1654." Translated from the Latin, by Rob. Fellowes, A.M. Works, ed. 1833. p. 945.

^b "However," Gloss. ^c Let 192. p. 367. ^d Milton's Second Defence, p. 945.

^e Hume's Hist of Eng. ch. lx., makes Cromwell use the phrase "his crowning mercy;" but his own words in his Despatch to the Parliament, Sept. 4th, are, "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts, it is for aught I know, a crowning mercy; surely if it be not, such a one we shall have if this provoke

of Christ in the Shaking of the World: Or, Providential Alterations in their Subserviency to Christ's Exaltation: Opened in a Sermon preached to the Parliament Oct. 24th 1651. A solemn day of Thanksgiving for the Destruction of the Scots' Army at Worcester, with sundry other Mercies. By John Owen, Minister of the Gospel. Oxford, 1651." 4to. pp. 34. Four days after it was preached, "Thanks" were ordered by the Parliament to "be given to Mr. Owen, Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford, for his great pains taken in his Sermon . . . And that he be desired to print his Sermon . . . And, That the Lord General [Cromwell] do give him the Thanks of this House." The dedication "To the Supreme Authority of the Nation, The Commons Assembled in Parliament," is dated Nov. 7th.

He remarks therein, "With what deceivableness of unrighteousness, and lies in hypocrisy, the late *grand attempt* of those in Scotland, with their adherents, which also was of the former, and is gone into destruction, was carried on, is, in some measure, now made naked to the loathing of its abominations. In digging deep to lay a foundation for blood and revenge; in covering private and sordid ends with a pretence of things public and glorious; in limning a face of religion upon a worldly stock; in concealing distant aims, and bloody animosities, to compass one common end, that a theatre might be provided to act several parts upon; in pleading a necessity from an oath of God, unto more desperate undertakings against God; and such like things as these; perhaps *it* gives not place to any which former ages have been acquainted withal! . . . The dreadful vengeance which the Lord hath executed against the men of His enmity and warfare, hath been most righteously procured by their clothing cursed designs of revenge, persecution, bondage in soul and body, spoil and rapine, with the most glorious pretences of zeal, Covenant, reformation, and such like things which never came into their hearts. Therefore, that the God of all our mercies and deliverances would for ever keep alive in your hearts a faithful acknowledgment of his grace, and a practical detestation of those ways which are such a provocation to the eyes of his glory, shall be the constant prayer of—Your most humble Servant, in our dearest Lord, J. OWEN."

The discourse is founded on Ezekiel xvii. 24. "There are," he says, "great and mighty works in hand in this nation: tyrants are punished; the jaws of oppressors are broken; bloody, revengeful persecutors disappointed; and we hope, governors set up that may be 'just, ruling in the fear of the Lord,' that they may be 'as the light of the morning, etc.'^a The hand of the Lord hath been wonderfully

those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the Parliament to do the Will of Him who hath done his Will for it and for the nation; whose good pleasure it is, to establish the nation and the change of the government by making the People so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work." The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England, Ed. 1763. Svo. vol. xx., p. 47. This whole passage dissipates the insinuation of personality; so that foundation for this one of Hume's intended slurs upon the object of it, there is none.

^a Sam. xxiii. 3, 4.

exalted in all these things . . . The carrying on of the interest of Christ, is his peculiar aim ; He, of his goodness, makes it ours also.”^a

“ This, I dare say, will in the issue, be the ruin of all, or most of all, the *tall trees* of Europe ;^b they have grasped much of the power of Christ, and endeavour to impose on the consciences of His in the worship of God, or otherwise oppress them in what He hath purchased for them : and, by a dreadful mistake, they suppose their own interest lies therein, which makes them hold fast, until Christ hath shaken them all to pieces, and taken away even that also which was their own. The late King had a learned saying from his predecessor, ‘ No bishop, no king : ’ hence he supposes his main interest to lie in holding fast Prelacy ; whatever he seems to part withal, that he will not let go, *that is his* main interest ! And, what is this Prelacy ? A mere anti-christian encroachment upon the inheritance of Christ. Christ coming to take his own, shakes the other to pieces : those, who would have been our oppressors in Scotland, but that God hath crushed the cockatrice in the shell, and filled the pit with their dead bodies which they had digged for us ; they, also, had prepared a Procrustes’ bed, a heavy yoke, a ‘ beast ’ that, had it grown to perfection, would have had horns and hoofs, and in maintaining *this*, they think *their* great interest to lie ! ”^c

“ Such things have been brought to pass as have filled the world with amazement. A monarchy of some hundred years’ continuance, always affecting, and at length wholly degenerated into, tyranny ; destroyed, pulled down, swallowed up ; a great and mighty potentate, that had caused ‘ terror in the land of the living, and laid his sword under his head,’^d brought to punishment for blood ; hypocrites and selfish men abundantly discovered ; wise men made fools, and the strong as water ; a nation^e engaging for and against the same Cause, backward and forward, twice or thrice, always seeking where to find their own gain and interest in it, at length totally broken in opposition to that Cause wherewith they at first had closed ; multitudes of professors, one year praying, fasting, mightily rejoicing upon the least success, bearing it out as a sign of the presence of God, another year whilst the same work is carried on, cursing, repining, slighting the marvellous appearance of God in answer unto prayers and most solemn appeals, being very angry at the deliverances of Sion. On the other side, all the mighty successes that God hath followed poor despised ones withal, being with them as with those in the days of old, Heb. xi. 33. He, I say, that shall consider all this, may well inquire after that principle which being regularly carried on, yet meeting with the corruption and lusts of men, should so wheel them about, and work so many mighty alterations. Now, what is this, but the most

^a P. 5, 6.

^b “ The consequences of that one sad sacrifice in Whitehall may be traced in many mutations through distant regions of the globe, and we apprehend that its effects will be felt to the end of time.” Strictures on “ Memorials of the Great Civil War in England, from 1646 to 1652. By Henry Cary, M.A. 1842.” 2 Vols. 8vo. See the “Times,” Mar. 26th 1842, fo. 3, col. 1.

^c P. 12.

^d Ezek. xxxii. 27.

^e Scotland.

effectual design of the Lord to carry on the interest of Christ and the Gospel, whatever stands in the way?"^a

"In that great work for the Lord Christ which is to be accomplished in the ruin and destruction of *Babel*, when it must be done with might, power, and strength; with armies and blood; will not now the Lord use the 'high and green tree?' Many kings and potentates having, in profession, embraced the doctrine of the gospel; nobles and great ones having given up their names, in appearance, unto Christ; who but they shall now be used in this work of the Lord? But yet plainly the Lord tells them the contrary, Rev. xviii. 9: all these persons 'bewail' the judgments of God that are executed on *Babel*, which shall be done, by 'low, dry trees.' To give one instance in the mighty works which God hath lately wrought in these nations. A work of Reformation and carrying on the interest of Christ is here undertaken: what, upon this, are the thoughts of the most of men? whither were their eyes turned? 'Tall trees,' 'green trees,' are pitched on: this and that great lord, popular with the multitude, Eliabs in their eyes, they must do it; the Scots shall certainly effect it! The King shall be taken from his evil council, he shall be active in it! A Church Government shall be set up, and no man suffered to live in the nation that will not submit unto it! Some, like the sons of *Zebedee*, shall sit on the right and left hand of Christ, in the kingdom they were setting up for him; these, and those 'sound, good men' shall be next the King, then all will be great and glorious indeed! What, now I pray? Do all things indeed suit and answer these expectations and reasonings of men? Doth God accomplish the thoughts of their hearts? Alas, the 'high trees' rested on, proved for the most part 'broken reeds' that run into our hands^b and let out our blood in abundance to no purpose; the 'top' bough^c hoped for, fallen as an abominable branch; the Scots shaken and broken with unparalleled destruction, in the maintenance of the interest and cause which, at first, they prosperously opposed! The iron yoke, pretended to be that of Christ, . . . cast off and thrown away. 'Low trees,' 'dry trees,' despised ones, contemned ones, without form or comeliness, exalted, used, employed; and the hand of the Lord evidently lifted up, in all these transactions!"^d

"What was the corrupt design of many in Scotland? That they might set up a 'son of *Tabeal*'^e in England, and make themselves be great under him; that they and their partakers might impose on the residue of the nation, especially in the things of God: their great desire that things should be thus, corrupts their minds to think that it ought to be so, and shall be so! Hence, ambition to rule, and to have all under their power, even in conscience, is quickly mistaken for zeal to 'the kingdom of Christ;' re-enthroning of Tyranny, is loyalty, and all according to the Covenant! As if men had sworn to be good to themselves, and to be true to their own interest, all their days; which, surely, few need to be sworn to! Thus men's minds

^a P. 15.^b Isai. xxxvi. 6.^c Ezek. xvii. 22.^d P 19, 20^e Isai. vii. 6.

and judgments are distempered by their lusts and interests; which makes them frame a way for God to proceed in, which when he doth not, how are they surprised!"^a

"God fulfilleth many mighty works that could not otherwise be brought about, by hardening the hearts of men. The hardening of the late King's heart, was an engine whereby he wrought mighty things and alterations. Had not God laid obduracy and stubbornness upon his spirit, we had long since, in all probability, been ruined. To accomplish this end, then, God will so order the works of his providence, that men shall reason themselves into unreasonable and brutish hardness and stupidity. Thus God hath done in the days wherein we live."^b

This Sermon it was, no doubt, that fixed Baxter's very strong party resentment against the preacher: "Mr. Burroughes being dead,^c Dr. John Owen arose, not of the same spirit, to fill up his place; by whom, and Mr. Philip Nye's policy, the flames were increased, our wounds kept open, and [they] carried on all as if there had been none but they considerable in the world! . . . It must be acknowledged also, impartially, that some of the Presbyterian ministers frightened the *sectaries* into this fury, by the unpeaceableness and impatience of their minds: . . . they would not have those tolerated who were not only tolerable, but worthy, instruments and members in the churches."^d

On February 24th, 1651-2, an Act was passed, cap 27, called "A General Pardon and Amnesty."^e The preamble runs in these words; "The Parliament of England having had good experience of the affections of the people to this present Government, by their ready assistance in the defence thereof against Charles Stuart son of the late Tyrant, and the forces lately invading this Nation under his command; and being much afflicted with the sense of the miserable and sad effects which the late unnatural War hath produced; and resolving,

^a P. 21.^b P. 23^c See back, p. 125.

^d "Life and Times," pt. i. p. 103, written not later than "1664," according to the Breviate of the Contents; but not published in print before 1696.—By what divination did Butler penetrate so precisely as appears into Baxter's judgment? Baxter and Butler! See "Hudibras," pt. iii. can. ii. l. 633. published first in 1678:

"For who first bred them up to pray,
And teach the House of Commons' way?
Where had they all their gifted phrases,
But from our Calamies and Cases?
Without whose sprinkling and sowing,
Who e'er had heard of NYE or OWEN?"

^e Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, etc. 1658. Fo. Pt. II. p. 172. What had been contemplated previously to the Amnesty, and something foretold of the state of affairs, is gathered from a Letter of Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, dated, Antwerp, May 11th, 1651. "Truly I do believe that Cromwell might as easily procure himself to be chosen king, as the Duke of Gloucester; for as none of the King's party would assist the last, so I am persuaded both Presbyterians and Independents would have much sooner, the former, than any of the race of him whom they have murdered. Whatever they intend to do, there is no question they are in a most distracted condition, and before a year pass we shall see rare examples of God's judgments amongst and upon them, for they are a besotted, ridiculous, people." State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon. 1786. fol. vol. iii. 38.

next to the glory of God and the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, to make no other use of the many Victories the Lord in mercy vouchsafed unto them, than a just settling of the peace and freedom of this Commonwealth; and being most desirous that the minds, persons, and estates of all the People of this Nation might be composed, settled, and secured, and all the rancour and evil-will occasioned by the late differences may be buried in perpetual oblivion, that so the government now established in the way of 'a Free State' might be complied with, and all the members of it enjoy their just and ancient rights and liberties, and the former commotions and troubles end in a quiet calm and comfortable Peace,—have resolved to do what in them lies for the obtaining and effecting thereof, leaving the success and their endeavours unto the blessing of God and his working upon the spirits of those that are concerned herein: be it therefore enacted, etc.”

The Provisions are many and miscellaneous: one of them is, “And it is lastly Provided and Declared, That this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not extend to the admitting or restoring of any person or persons to the exercise, having, or enjoying of any Profession, Office, or Place of Trust, Power, Authority, or Government within this Commonwealth, who on the eight-and-twentieth day of January, 1651[-2] did stand or are disabled or made incapable, or restrained under a penalty, of or for the execution, exercise, having, or enjoying of such Profession, Office or Place of Trust, etc., by any Act, Ordinance or Order of Parliament, until by experience of their Conformity and Submission to the present Established Government, and of their readiness and endeavour to further the Peace and Settlement of this Commonwealth, the Parliament shall receive such satisfaction whereby to be induced to extend further favour unto them.”^a And another, shortly after, is, “Provided always, and be it Enacted, That no person whatsoever above the age of sixteen years, have any benefit or advantage by this Act, or anything therein contained, but such only who have taken or shall take the ‘Engagement’ appointed by Act of this present Parliament,^b before the first day of February, 1652 [-3.]”^c

“April 20th, 1653, we are told that the Lord General,” Cromwell, “having interrupted the Parliament by an act of military violence, . . . proceeded to dispute the Council of State, unmoved by the just-rebuke of their president, Bradshaw. He next convened a Council of Officers, with whose professed concurrence he nominated a legislative assembly who might afford to his sovereignty in possession, at least the semblance of a parliamentary authority . . . Wednesday, July 6th, resolved—yeas 65, noes 46—That the title of Parliament be given to this assembly. Thursday, 7th, resolved, That no person shall be employed or admitted into the service of this House, but such as the House shall be first satisfied of his real godliness . . . Tuesday, 12th, ordered, That a Bible be procured for the service of the House . .

^a P. 184.

^b “I A. B. do promise and declare that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established, without a King and House of Lords.”

^c P. 184.

Thursday, 21st, resolved, That it be referred to a committee, to consider of the removing all laws and ordinances which are hinderances to the progress of the Gospel, and to report the same . . . Saturday, Aug. 6th, ordered, That it be referred to the committee for the Poor, and justices of the peace, to consider and examine the breach of the privilege of Parliament in new books or pamphlets; and also, to consider of the abuse in printing of scurrilous ballads and pamphlets, and seditious books and papers; and to examine who were the writers, printers and publishers thereof; and, wherein the former laws are defective, to offer some further remedy for the redress of that abuse . . . Friday, 26th, resolved That a committee be appointed to consider of some way to be propounded to the House, how ignorant, profane, and scandalous Ministers may be rejected: and for the encouragement of such godly and able persons as shall preach the Gospel . . . Friday, Sept. 9th, Colonel Matthews reported from the committee for Petitions, the humble petition of divers inhabitants of the parish of Barking in the forest of Waltham, in Essex; together with the humble opinion of the committee: Ordered, That one acre of ground, in some convenient place near the petitioners' dwellings, be assigned within the same forest whereon to build a house for a Meeting-place; and that twenty timber trees be also set out of the said forest, toward the building thereof; and that Colonel Matthews and Mr. Brewster do see the said ground and trees assigned and set out accordingly; and, that a Bill be brought in to this purpose . . . Monday, Dec. 12th, it being moved in the House this day, That the sitting of this Parliament any longer as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General Cromwell, the powers which they received from him; and that motion being seconded by several other members, the House rose . . . and Mr. Speaker, attended with the greater number of the members, did present the same unto his Excellency, accordingly."^a

A reference to our 67th and 70th chapters, p. 126, and 222, will supply a portion of interest to the tract which we introduce at this place, though it did not become public until a subsequent year. "The 'Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time,' vindicated from the Exceptions of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes, By Robert *Baily*,^b Minister at Glasgow.—Lond. 1655." 4to. pp. 88. Subscribed, p. *ult.* "Sept. 19th, 1653;" and published, Jan. 1654-5.

The Preface, in which the author apologizes for long silence, informs us that "When Mr. Cotton's judicious and grave, but sad and sharp enough opposition to the first part of my 'Dissuasive' had fallen in [to] my hand, my purpose of silence was not thereby broken off; for . . . I had a particular unwillingness to enter the lists of strife with that reverend, famous, most able, and tight writer . . . I was patient enough to let Mr. Cotton say to me whatever he thought fit; . . . but when Mr.

^a Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq. Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1659. Edited by J. T. Rutt. 1828. Svo. vol. i. Introd. p. i.—xiv. "Oliver's second Parliament began Sept. 3rd. 1654, dissolved Jan. 2nd, 1654-5." *Ibid.* p. xvii.

^b See back, p. 126, note b.

Tombes did press me so sore[ly] as to commence against me a printed process of false accusations before the provincial synod of Glasgow, and the general assembly of Scotland, . . . I could no longer be dumb. . . . And being again in the course of speaking [writing], I will endeavour also to do Mr. Cotton some reason, and that by Mr. Tombes' permission, in the first place; hoping he will not make it his twenty-second challenge against me, that I postpone him to Mr. Cotton: for I do not deny that Mr. Cotton hath and ever had, since first I heard of his way, so high an estimation in my mind, that I do prefer him to all my opponents, and heartily wish all differences betwixt me and him were so fairly composed that with him I might stand no more in terms of any considerable opposition."

Under Chap. i., Baillie writes, "I meddle not with Dr. Holmes' Preface; . . . such Thrasonic testimonies and Thersitic censures were put before Mr. Cotton's book without his knowledge, at some thousand miles distance. . . . As for Mr. Cotton's first chapter, which examines my title; not only he approves that title, but proves my work to be blessed: only he disallows that I reckon up Independency among the 'Errors of the Time.' . . . I take it for too hard a censure, that supposing my mistake of the nature of Independency, yet [that] this my error . . . should not only be accounted a cursed opinion in itself, but such as doth bring a curse upon all who believe it; . . . this is too heavy a sentence to drop from Mr. Cotton's pen in his very first paragraphs; yet let it stand, if any solid reason can be brought for it. . . . That I make Independency the most dangerous error of the time, because the most of my book is spent upon it, there is no weight in his inference! I esteem indeed Independency an error dangerous enough; yet that the first part of my 'Dissuasive' ran most upon it, as the second did upon Antipædobaptism, was because they were the most prevalent errors of the time and place I then lived in."

Chap. ii, we find him saying, "If they will be 'Congregational', because they give the whole power of jurisdiction and censures to every particular congregation, and that to the whole congregation in a supreme independency, without all appeals; though this was the way of old Brownism, defended most by Ainsworth and Robinson, yet the Brownists at last have revoked all this, and of Congregational have made their way Presbyterial, putting in the hands of the presbytery and eldership the whole jurisdiction. In this the Independents have followed Johnson, and the late Brownists most, upon Mr. Cotton's motion, translating from the hands of the congregation and fraternity into the hands of the eldership all the power of authority and acts of jurisdiction; wherefore the style of 'Congregationals' seems not to be rightly appropriated to them now who have, indeed, destroyed the Congregational Way, and turned it from congregational into presbyterial. . . . The second section, speaks to the number and quality of the Independents: quarrels upon this, are little worth. If, since the time of my writing, the seed of Independency have much overgrown the land, this fruitfulness is no argument of its goodness. Albeit, I doubt much if pure and mere Independents in Old England, since that day, have much increased their number; for of these who then

were known for Independents only, I doubt if the tenth person do stand this day in that very posture. . . . Much of the Separatists' history is yet in the dark and in prison; it were good that all were brought to the light and the free air! . . . As I take it, Mr. Cotton's Church at Old Boston was one of the best ordered congregations of Old England; yet Mr. Cotton thought it fit, as here he professes, to separate some score of godly persons in it from the rest, and to join them in a covenant among themselves: this, no mere unconformist had ever done. . . . What good the pagans in America have gotten from their English neighbours, either in body or soul, I will not essay to diminish; and whatever blessing God hath bestowed on the labours of Mr. Eliot and others^a for converting of poor pagans, my heart rejoices for it: but these fruits are ill placed on the back of Independency. . . . That the ruin of Episcopacy was performed by the Independents, even by the turning of their backs and flying away some thousand miles from that adversary; being never visible in that combat till after the Presbyterians, by the loss of much blood, had given the dead stroke; the next generation may believe it, but these which have seen with their eyes matters as they passed, will not be in great danger of such an error! . . . That Edwards's 'Antapology,' four whole years after its printing in London, should not come into New England and to Mr. Cotton's hand, to me is a marvel, the intercourse being so frequent, and the matter of that work concerning them and their ways, so nearly. Mr. Edwards's next testimony so circumstantial as I said, will not with many men go so *apocrypha*! . . . To this day, we see no other in our Brethren, but that their principles and practice do require the real dissolution of all, even the best, reformed churches of the Presbyterian frame, and a new gathering of churches made up of persons not only of the fairest profession, void of ignorance and all scandal, but also so visibly saints that they be able to give not only to the officers but the body of the people whom they are to live with in church-fellowship, satisfactory marks of their true grace and actual regeneration. Will Mr. Cotton say that Cartwright, or any of the old non-conformists, did ever lay so fundamental a stone of Brownism? . . . What I said of the darkness of the way of Independents, related to that time of my writing, . . . now, indeed, the Independents' way is not so obscure as then it was. I spoke it also much in relation to the Congregational divines of the Assembly, who, for some years, by no entreaty could be moved to speak out their way they would pitch upon, but chose rather to let books against them lie unanswered, etc.: all this was spoken in comparison with the Brownists whose contrary *scriptitations* had divulged all their divisions which the writings of Independents had not done in any such degree:—this piece of Independent policy, makes their story to this day lie much in the dark. . . . Williams does not deny, more than Mr. Cotton, that thousands of persons in national churches are to be counted precious saints; only he says, that every national church is of a vicious constitution, and that the body of the people in national churches are irregenerate. . . . That Mr.

^a Vide Postscript.

Cotton brings from Rev. xv. 8, to persuade that no considerable number of pagans or others can be converted to Christ till the time that Antichrist be ruined and the Jews converted, I do much mistake, as both a groundless and exceeding unseasonable fancy; too apt, if not guarded against, to discourage and curb the most laudable fit of zeal that God has lately wakened in the breasts of many gracious brethren towards that most pious work. Certainly, Mr. Williams, in his last piece, catches it greedily. . . I have often pitied that poor man's spirit. . . Mr. Cotton, in his 90th page, has one passage which makes me glad, if I understand it right[ly]; for there, and in his 72nd page also, he seems to say, 'That it is his mind and practice, both of himself and the rest in New England, to admit to their communion men of Presbyterian, yea of Episcopal principles, who are otherwise blameless, if so they desire to live peaceably, etc.' I love not Episcopal principles, neither Independentism, but I am sure if these of the Independents' way in real sincerity agree to this, . . . it might have been a fair foundation of much love and peace. . . But what shall I say, or what hopes shall I conceive of peace, notwithstanding of all the fair appearances which sometimes do drop from the pens and tongues of eminent men? Yea, such appearances as—in any rash unconsideration—has offer than ever put me to the very gates of a fool's paradise, when I remember the Apologetic Narration of the Dissenting Brethren in the Synod of Westminster; where they profess liberally enough their readiness to comply and accommodate with all gracious brethren, etc.: notwithstanding all these fair words, . . . I did never see, nor as I remember ever heard, that any of them would be induced either to be officer or member in any of our best ruled congregations, etc."

Passing over intermediate chapters, in the fifth we read thus, "For the good fruits that Old England hath yet tasted of the plant of Independency, I shall say no more but that posterity, a more impartial judge of what passes among us than this present age, and the world abroad, less interested than we the agents and patients upon the place, will give out the sentence."

A "Postscript," concerning Mr. Cotton's late treatise of "The Holiness of Church-Members," meets us next, but here we limit ourselves to the marginal breviaries: "I count Mr. Cotton's writing against me as an honour and favour: Why I do not reply to Mr. C.: Mr. C.'s stating of the question agrees the controversy: Mr. C. for all his seeming agreeance, yet really differeth from us: Mr. C. still highly for separation from all Presbyterian churches: Mr. C. does say, but not prove, that I mistake the question: Mr. C. is more ready and eager than successful in catching my contradictions: Mr. C.'s new paradoxes. But I break off this Postscript, having insisted beyond my intention upon that which I conceive to be the work of another man much my better."^a

^a P. [1—55.]—To Spang, Dec. 31st. 1655, Baillie wrote from Scotland, "When Quakers fall a-railling on all the ministry, in the face of our congregations, on the Sabbath-day, they are not punished at all; nor, for aught I know, is there any church-discipline at all to this day anywhere in England. The [Presbyterian]

We now introduce what, having no preface or other introduction, we have no direct means of understanding the occasion for it, but that furnished by the title, namely, "The Principles of Faith, presented by Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sidrach Simpson, and other Ministers,^a to the Committee of Parliament for Religion, by way of Explanation to the Proposals for Propagating the Gospel." 4to. pp. 8, with the date, 1654, and Henry Scobell's "Imprimatur," on the last page.^b

"i. THAT the Holy Scripture, is that rule of knowing GOD and living unto Him, which whoso doth not believe, but betakes himself to any other way of discovering truth and the mind of God instead thereof, cannot be saved.^c ii. That there is a God who is the creator, governor, and judge of the world; which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of Him is insufficient.^d iii. That this God, who is the creator, is eternally distinct from all the creatures in his being and blessedness.^e iv. That this God is one, in three persons or subsistences.^f v. That Jesus Christ is the only mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there is no salvation.^g vi. That this Jesus Christ is the true God.^h vii. That this Jesus Christ is also truly man.ⁱ viii. That this Jesus Christ is God and man in one person.^j ix. That this Jesus Christ is our Redeemer, who by paying a ransom and bearing our sins, hath made satisfaction for them.^k x. That this same Lord Jesus Christ, is He that was crucified at Jerusalem, and rose again, and ascended into heaven.^l xi. That this same Jesus Christ being the only God and man in one person, remains for ever a distinct person from all saints

ministers there are herein so heartless and discouraged, that they dare speak nothing which may be interpreted to give the least offence, I marvelled that when I sent my answer to Cotton and Tombes, to Mr. Calamy for his 'Imprimatur,' yea, a dedicatory epistle, he was so feeble-minded as to refuse both my dedication and his own 'Imprimatur!'" Let. 195. p. 393.

^a Baxter, it is true, says "the great doer" was Dr. Owen, and Dr. Cheynell, his "scribe." Life, pt. ii. p. 198, but consult him hereupon, from p. 197 to p. 205; or sects. 50—56. See, however, especially, Orme's Memoirs of Owen, 1820, 8vo. chap. vi.

^b "The Sword of the Lord drawn and furbished against the 'man of sin:' Or, Something in answer to a paper set forth by three of the Chief Priests of London, whose names are T. Goodwin, and one Nye, and S. Simpson; etc. Lond. [Nov. 28,] 1654," 4to. The author, Christopher Atkinson, a Quaker.

^c 2 Thes. ii. 10—15; 1 Cor. xv. 1—3; 2 Cor. i. 13, comp. with Acts, xxvi. 22, etc.; John, v. 39, comp. with Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20, and with John, iv. 22; 2 Pet. iii. 1, 2.

^d Heb. xi. 3, 6; Rom. i. 19—22; 1 Cor. i. 21; 2 Thess. i. 8.

^e Rom. i. 18, 25; 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

^f 1 John, v. 5—9, comp. with John, viii. 17; 1 John, v. 18, 19, 21; Matt. xxviii. 19, comp. with Eph. iv. 4—6; 1 John, ii. 22, 23; 2 John, 9, 10.

^g 1 Tim. ii. 4—6; 2 Tim. iii. 15; 1 John, ii. 22; Acts, iv. 10, 12; 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

^h 1 John, v. 29; Isai. xlv. 21—25, with Rom. xiv. 11, 12, and Phil. ii. 6—12.

ⁱ 1 John, iv. 2, 3; 2 John, 7.

^j 1 Tim. iii. 16; Matt. xvi. 13—18.

^k Isai. liii. 11; 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25; 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3; 1 Tim. ii. 4—6; 1 Cor. vi. 20.

^l John, viii. 24; Acts, iv. 10—12; x. 38—43; 1 Cor. xv. 2—8; Acts, xxii. 8; ii. 36—38.

and angels, notwithstanding their union and communion with Him.^a xii. That all men, by nature, are dead in trespasses and sins; and no man can be saved unless he be born again, repent, and believe.^b xiii. That we are justified and saved by grace, and faith in Jesus Christ; and not by works.^c xiv. That to continue in any known sin, upon what pretence or principle soever, is damnable.^d xv. That God is to be worshipped according to his own will; and whosoever shall forsake and despise all the duties of his worship, cannot be saved.^e xvi. That the dead shall rise, and that there is a day of judgment wherein all shall appear, some to go into everlasting life, and some into everlasting condemnation.^f

The encomium which appears in our 56th chapter, p. 427, note, justifies this brief notice of "The Orthodox Evangelist: Or, A Treatise wherein many great Evangelical Truths—not a few whereof are much opposed and eclipsed in this perilous hour of the Passion of the Gospel—are briefly discussed, cleared, and confirmed; as a further Help for the begetting and establishing of the Faith which is in Jesus: As also, The State of the Blessed, Where; of the condition of their Souls from the instant of their Dissolution; and, of their Persons after their Resurrection. By John Norton, Teacher of the Church at Ipswich in New England.—1 Cor. ii. 2; 2 Pet. i. 15.—London. 1657." 4to. pp. 355.

Two years or nearly intervened before this treatise saw the light in print, the first impression being dated, "London, 1654." The Epistle Dedicatory, "To the Church and Inhabitants of Ipswich," while it shows attachment to them, touches tenderly on his earlier connexion in the old country, that through "these poor sheets . . . I may not be as one altogether dead to those whom I should have been glad to have lived and died with; yea, whom I should have been glad to have lived and died for. My absence from them hath named this wilderness 'Gershom;' their acceptance hereof, so far, names it 'Ephraim.' It is with God, that knoweth the heart of exiles, to comfort exiles. . . . By way of apology for this treatise, I shall only say the wise man's admonition, 'I have been conscionably awful of, and have aimed at edification' . . . Oct. 7th, 1652." This is followed by an address from him whom Norton ultimately succeeded, "To the Reader," "John Cotton. Boston, 20th Sept. 1652." Here we are told that "What was unsound and corrupt in the Schoolmen, our Brother, by the guidance of Christ, hath faithfully and religiously avoided; what was commendable and desirable, he hath, through grace, not so much imitated as exceeded; opening the principal heads of

^a Col. ii. 8—10, 19; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

^b John, iii. 3, 5—7, 10; Acts, xvii. 30, 31; xxvi. 17—20; Luke, xxiv. 47; Acts, xx. 20, 21; John, v. 24, 25.

^c Acts, xv. 24, comp. with Gal. i. 6—9; v. [4]; i. 2, 4, 5; Rom. ix. 31—33; x. 3, 4; i. 16, 17, comp. with Gal. iii. 11; Eph. ii. 8—10.

^d Rom. i. 32; vi. 1, 2, comp. with ver. 15, 16; 1 John, i. 6, 8; iii. 3—8; 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20; Rom. viii. 13.

^e Jer. x. 15; Psal. xiv. 4; Jude, 18—21; Rom. x. 13.

^f 1 Tim. i. 19, 20, comp. with 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18; Acts, xvii. 30, 31; John, v. 28, 29, comp. with 1 Cor. xv. 19.

divinity with more than rational evidence, even with Scripture light : and all, with such distinct solidity as may both clear the understanding and satisfy the judgment ; yea, and by grace, establish the faith of the diligent reader. . . Amongst other disputes which have much exercised the Schoolmen of old, and do still busy the Dominicans and Jesuits ; concerning the concurrence of Grace, and Free-will therein ; the Lord hath led this our Brother, with a strong hand, to search out and declare the abstruse mysteries thereof with such holy dexterity as that if the dissenting parties were as willing to hearken to the oracles of God speaking in the Scriptures and opened in this book, as the Romanists have often appealed to the Pope, and all in vain, for the compounding of this controversy, the doctrines of Grace would be much more clearly delivered, and generally accepted with more peace and truth, not only amongst them, but amongst Protestants also ; yea, and even such Protestants as excel in holiness and knowledge, and yet seem—and but seem—to vary, though logically, yet not theologically in some doctrines of Grace, may, through Grace, either judge and speak all one thing, or at least condescend placide ferre contraccientes, mildly to bear with difference of judgment in such a case.”

The several chapters are intituled, “ 1. Of the Divine Essence : 2. Of the Trinity : 3. Of Christ : 4. Of the Decree : 5. Of the Efficiency of God : 6. There are certain Preparatory Works coming between the carnal Rest of the Soul in the state of sin [nature, *sic* in the Table] and effectual Vocation : Or, Christ in his ordinary dispensation of the Gospel, calleth not Sinners as Sinners, but such Sinners ; that is, qualified Sinners, immediately to believe : 7. What are the principal Heads whereunto the Substance of Preparatory Work in the full extent thereof, may be referred : 8. Whether there be any saving Qualification before the Grace of Faith ; namely, any such Qualification whereupon Salvation may be certainly promised unto the person so qualified : 9. Of the First Object of Saving Faith : 10. Saving Faith is the Effect of true Special Grace ; that is, of Grace flowing from God, according to Election ; and from Christ, according to Redemption, namely, as the Redeemer, and Designed Head of his Elect : 11. What is the first Saving Gift actually applied unto an Elect Soul : 12. The Soul is passive in Vocation : 13. Of the Union of the Believer with Christ : 14. Of Justification by Faith : 15. Of the State of the Blessed, Where ; etc.”

CHAP. LXXVIII.

CONCERNING THE TRIERS.

AMONG the legislative measures of the period at which we are arrived, none concerning religion has been more strongly denounced by the adverse party, than the last of those whose genealogy^a is thus described :

“ SYNODS are whelps o’ th’ Inquisition,
 A mungrel breed of like *pernicion*,
 And, growing up, became the sires
 Of Scribes, Commissioners, and TRIERS ;
 Whose business is, by cunning sleight,
 To cast a figure for men’s light ;
 To find in lines of beard and face,
 The physiognomy of Grace :
 And, by the sound and twang of nose,
 If all be sound within, disclose,
 Free from a crack or flaw of sinning,
 As men try pipkins by the ringing ;
 By black caps underlaid with white,
 Give certain guess at inward light,
 Which Serjeants-at-the-Gospel wear,
 To make the Spiritual-Calling clear.”^b

Such is our prelude to the Ordinance, cap. 16, passed March 20th, 1653-4, intituled “ Commissioners appointed for Approbation of Public Preachers :” Its historical importance induces us to insert it at length, the orthography of some of the names being changed to that which we have adopted, with the addition of their University degrees, so far as they could be ascertained.

“ WHEREAS for some time past hitherto there hath not been any certain course established for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to preach the Gospel, by reason whereof not only the rights and titles of Patrons are prejudiced, but many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons have intruded themselves or been brought in, to the great grief and trouble of the good people of this Nation ; for remedy and prevention whereof BE it, Ordained by His Highness the Lord Protector, by and with the consent of his Council, That every person who shall from and after the five-and-twentieth day of March instant, be presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed to any Benefice—formerly called ‘ Benefice with Cure of Souls’—or to preach any public settled Lecture in England or Wales, shall, before he be admitted into any such Benefice or Lecture, be judged and approved by the persons hereafter named, to be a person—for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance—able and fit to preach the Gospel : And that after the said five-and-twentieth day of March, no person but such as shall upon such approbation be admitted by the said persons, shall take any public Lecture having a constant stipend legally annexed and belonging thereunto, or take or receive any such Benefice as aforesaid, or the profits thereof : And, be it further Ordained, That Francis Rous, Esq. Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. John Owen, Mr. Thankful Owen, [M. A.], Dr. [John] Arrowsmith, Dr. [Anthony] Tuckney, Dr. [Thomas] Horton, Mr. Joseph Caryl [M. A.], Mr. Philip Nye, [M. A.], Mr. William Carter [M. A.], Mr. Sidrach Simpson [B. D.], Mr. William Greenhill [M. A.], Mr. William

^a For the real paternity, see back, p. 215, in two places.

^b Hudibras, Pt. I. Canto iii.

Strong [A. M.] Mr. [since Dr.] Thomas Manton [B. A.], Mr. Samuel Slater [Sen.], Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Stephen Marshall [B. D.], Mr. John Tombes, [B. D.], Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. Samuel Faircloth [Sen.], Mr. Hugh Peters [M. A.], Mr. Peter Sterry, [B. D.], Mr. Samuel Bamford, Mr. Thomas Valentine [B. D.] of Chaford, Mr. Henry Jessey [M. A.], Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick [B. D.], Mr. Nicholas Lockyer [M. A.], Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. James Russel, Mr. Nathanael Campfield; Robert Titchborn, Alderman of London; Mark Hildesley, Thomas Wood, John Sadler, William Goff, Thomas St. Nicholas, William Packer, and Edward Cresset, Esquires;^a shall be and are hereby nominated, constituted, and appointed Commissioners for such Approbation and Admission as is abovesaid; and upon death or removal of any of them, others shall from time to time be nominated in their places by the Lord Protector and his Successors, by advice of his Council in the interval of Parliaments, and sitting the Parliament by the Protector and Parliament: And the said Commissioners, or any five or more of them, met together in some certain place in the City of London or Westminster, as His Highness shall approve, are hereby authorized to judge and take knowledge of the ability and fitness of any person so presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed, according to the qualifications above mentioned, and upon their approbation of such his ability and fitness, to grant unto such person admission to such Benefice or Lecture by an Instrument in writing under a Common-Seal to be appointed by His Highness, and under the hand of the Register or Registers for the time being to be also nominated by the Lord Protector and his Successors; which Instrument the said Register or Registers shall cause to be entered in a Book for that purpose, and kept upon record:

“And it is hereby declared, That the said person so admitted into any such Benefice shall be Possessor or Incumbent of the same, and intitled thereby to the profits, purquisites, and all rights and dues incident and belonging thereunto, as fully and effectually as if he had been instituted and inducted according to the Laws of this Realm; as also the person that shall be so admitted to any Lecture as aforesaid shall be thereby enabled, according to the establishment and constitution of such Lecture, to preach therein and to have and receive the stipend or profits to such Lecture belonging: Provided always, That no person who shall tender himself or be tendered for approbation as aforesaid, shall be concluded by any vote of the said Commissioners which shall pass in the negative as to his approbation, unless nine or more of the said Commissioners be present at such vote:

“And it is further Ordained, That all Patrons of any Benefices that are now void, shall within six months next after the five-and-twentieth of this instant March, and of any Benefice that shall hereafter be void within six months next after the avoidance of the same, present unto the said Commissioners, or any five of them, some fit person to be admitted, and for default of such presentation within that time the presentation of that turn shall devolve by lapse unto the Lord Protector and his Successors: Provided always, That in case the Patron be disturbed to present unto such Benefice, and thereupon within six months after the avoidance of such Benefice a suit be commenced for the recovery of such presentation, and notice thereof in writing left with the said Commissioners, or any five of them, or the Register, that then such notice shall be as effectual to prevent the lapse as where the suit was heretofore commenced against the Bishop or Ordinary.—And it is further Ordained, That during the vacancy of such place by reason of such suit, the said Commissioners, or any five or more of them, have hereby authority to sequester the fruits and profits thereof for supplying of the place with an able Preacher, by the said Commissioners, or any five or more of them, to be nominated and approved of as aforesaid: .

“And for as much as many persons since the first day of April last past have been placed in such Benefices and Public Lectures; It is hereby Ordained, That in case such person shall not before the four-and-twentieth day of June next obtain approbation and admittance in the manner before expressed, then such person or persons as have right thereunto shall or may present or nominate some

^a The Independent Divines were Goodwin, John Owen, Caryl, Nye, Carter, Simpson, Greenhill, Strong, Slater, Cradock, Peters, and Lockyer: the Antipædo Baptists were Tombes, Jessey, and Dyke.

other fit and able person to such place : And in default of such presentation within two months after the said four-and-twentieth day of June, or within six months after the place became void, the presentation for that turn shall likewise devolve by lapse unto the Lord Protector and his Successors :

“ And for the better satisfaction of the said Commissioners touching the godly and unblameable conversation of such persons as are to be admitted into any place as aforesaid ; It is further Declared and Ordained, That before any admittance of any person as aforesaid, there shall be brought to the said Commissioners, or any five of them, a Testimonial or Certificate in writing, subscribed with the hands of three persons of known godliness and integrity ; whereof one at least to be a Preacher of the Gospel in some constant settled place, testifying upon their personal knowledge the holy and good conversation of the person so to be admitted ; which said Certificate shall be duly registered and filed : And it is also Declared, That all penalty [*sic*] for or in respect of the not subscribing or reading the Articles mentioned in the Act of the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth intituled ‘ Reformation of Disorders in the Ministers of the Church,’ or for not producing such Testimonial as in the said Act is required, shall from henceforth cease and be void :

“ And whereas for the better maintenance of Preaching Ministers, several augmentations by Authority of Parliament have been heretofore granted ; Be it further Ordained, That all person or persons who claim or shall hereafter claim the benefit of such augmentation, shall before he or they receive the same, obtain the approbation of the said Commissioners, or five of them, as a person qualified as is before mentioned : And in case of approbation, such approbation shall be entered by the Register, who under his hand shall also signify the same to such person or persons as are or shall be authorized to pay such augmentation, who are hereby required and authorized from time to time to pay the person or persons so approved such augmentation as hath been or shall be granted unto him or the place where he preacheth, taking his or their acquittance for the same : Provided, and it is hereby Declared, That this Ordinance or anything therein contained shall not be construed to extend unto or revive any dignities, offices, or benefices Ecclesiastical, suppressed by Authority of Parliament ; nor to any benefices Ecclesiastical that were not presentative before the Ordinance for Suppression of Bishops ; nor to any Lectures preached or read in any of the Universities :

“ And it is hereby lastly Declared and Ordained, That the approbation or admittance aforesaid, in such manner as is before prescribed, is not intended nor shall be construed to be any solemn or sacred setting-apart of a person to any particular office in the Ministry ; but only by such *trial* and approbation to take care that places destitute may be supplied with able and faithful Preachers throughout this Nation ; and that such fit and approved persons faithfully labouring in the work of the Gospel, may be in a capacity to receive such public stipend and maintenance as is or shall be allotted to such places.”^a

For the quality, if not the sobriety or humility of the annexed strictures upon this Ordinance, the world is indebted to one of those “ Fathers in God,” those *great* “ creatures-of-the-State,” whose judgments each, pro tanto, they would have to pass for absolute wisdom. Thus his Lordship of Peterborough, White Kennet, wrote,^b “ The spirit and the very face of religion were covered, and in a manner extinguished. No mean, but all enthusiasm and profaneness, and both in perfection. April 5th, it was ordered by the House, that a certain number of Ministers and others be appointed to sit in every county, to examine, judge, and approve, all such persons as shall be called to preach the Gospel. This Court of Triers was more formally established by an Ordinance of the Lord Protector, with consent of his

^a “ Confirmed, Anno 1656 : cap. 10.” Scobell’s Collection, Pt. ii. p. 279, 280.

^b That it proceeded from his Lordship’s own pen, see the account of his “ Complete History,” in Biographia Britannica, ed. 1757, vol. iv. p. 2825.

Council, March 20th, wherein the first test for Approbation was, to adjudge whether the grace of God was in the person. Hence this holy Inquisition was turned into a snare to catch the men of probity and sense, and sound divinity; and to let none escape but the ignorant, bold, canting fellows: for these Triers asked few or no questions in knowledge and learning, but only about conversion and grace in the heart; to which the readiest answers would arise from infatuation in some, and the trade of hypocrisy in others. By which means, the right of patronage was at their arbitrary pleasure, and the character and ability of Divines was whatever they pleased to make them; and churches were filled all with *little creatures-of-the-State.*"^a

We will now show on what unacknowledged, his Lordship founded in part, his charitable historical award; and we begin with the title, in full: "Inquisitio Anglicana: Or, The Disguise discovered. Showing the Proceedings of the Commissioners at Whitehall, for the Approbation of Ministers, in the Examination of Anthony Sadler, Cler. Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. the Lady Pagett, Dowager; whose delay, trial, suspense, and wrong, presents itself for Remedy to the Lord Protector and the High Court of Parliament. And for Information to the Clergy, and all the People of the Nation.—Heu pietas! heu prisca fides!—Psal. cii. 18.—1654." 4to. pp. 17. The "Petitionary Epistle to The Lord Protector," is alone a curiosity for its style; the prayer is, that the petitioner "shall be protected from the malignancy of prejudice; even the prejudice of Mr. Nye the Commissioner, against whose over-busy, partial, and injurious proceedings, your Petitioner doth humbly crave the benefit of the justice [which] the law, reason, and religion, may or shall give, etc." In the like spirit of moderation the entire body of the Commissioners is libelled: "If they dislike the Minister, and probably like the Living, then—I dare not say that they cannot approve him; oh, no! by no means, they cannot; because, forsooth, he is 'disaffected,' that is, not of their opinion. Or else, secondly, That his answers are not to their mind, and therefore he is 'insufficient.' Or else, thirdly, That there is a 'caution' against him, though he know not by whom, nor for what. Or else, fourthly, That he carries his hand by his side and his elbow up, and therefore he is 'proud.' Or else, fifthly, That his 'certificate' is not satisfactory, that is, they do not know the subscribers, or not believe them to be godly. Or else, sixthly, That he shall not have that Living—though some other may—let him do what he will. Or else, seventhly, That his voice and tone likes them not, and therefore he hath not the gift of 'utterance.' Or else, eighthly, That he speaks too quaintly, and therefore he is a mere humanist, and one that hath not the Spirit. Or else, ninthly, That if he will resign his Living quietly, he shall have a round sum of money so to do!" Who could imagine all this from one whose solemn affirmation runs in these, his

^a Complete History of England, vol. iii. 1706, p. 192; an. 1653.—See a paper by Addison, No. 494 of the Spectator, Sep. 26th, 1712. The "head of the college," is intended for Dr. Thomas Goodwin; and the substance of the paper evinces its paternity to the passage we have cited from Kennet. The moral, in Addison, we most cordially approve.

own voluntary words: "I, Anthony Sadler, a Minister of the Gospel, inwardly called thereunto by the Spirit of God; and outwardly, by the Ordination of Dr. Corbet, Bishop of Oxon, in the year 1631; was upon the death of the Incumbent, presented by the lawful Patron, to Compton-Hayway, a Living in Dorsetshire, May 25th, 1654."

Having tendered what purported to be a Certificate, it was returned for being informal. July 1st, he presented one more regular, "and upon the third day," he says, "I was called in before their Worships, and Mr. Nye having the Chair began thus"—"before five Commissioners, July 3rd, 1654"—what this candidate terms in his Petitionary Epistle to Cromwell, "his impollisht examinations:"

"**NYE.** What is regeneration?—**SADLER.** It is an incorporation into Christ by faith.

What, body into body?—**S.** No, Christ's body is mystical.

COM. What's regeneration? What's generation? said another.—**S.** Regeneration, is our new-birth in Christ.

Explain your meaning; that's but the word in the plain sense of it.—

S. 'Regeneration is distinguished from sanctification,' saith Wilson.

NYE. What? Wilson's Dictionary!^a—**S.** If you take regeneration and sanctification both as one, then regeneration is a work of God's Spirit, to bring the will of man unto the will of God.

COM. That's something indeed.—**S.** The definition is a learned author's.

You may allege Popish books.

NYE. What, is the will only, regenerated; not the understanding?—**S.** The whole man, both outward and inward.

Is regeneration a substance or an accident?—**S.** I do not well understand your meaning.

It's plain, answer.—**S.** Here I made a pause, as being much troubled in mind at so captious if not ridiculous a question; and being silent, Mr. Nye said again

In what Predicament?—**S.** In the predicament of quality.

COM. But are you regenerated?—**S.** Yes.

NYE. Make that out.—**S.** I conceive you mean the work of grace in me.

COM. Well, and when was that?—**S.** About thirty years ago.

NYE. How old were you then?—**S.** I was in my secret devotion.

He means private.^b—**S.** I was kneeling and praying that 'God would give a certain evidence of his Spirit, and show some good token upon me for good;' whereupon I heard, as it were, a voice saying, 'I have a blessing for thee; I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.'

NYE. What, was it a voice? was it audible?—**S.** No, not in a vocal way: it was a motion.

Was it not a delusion, as Eve's voice to Adam?—**S.** No, I know it was no delusion; but a good motion. I know it was, because a good motion is always in express words of Scripture, or consonant to it; a delusion may have some part of Truth, but not all; as the devil's was when he tempted our Saviour with a piece of Scripture.

COM. And you are sure that you have the grace of God in you?—**S.** Yes, I am as sure I have a life of grace in me, as I have a life of nature.

Make that out?—**S.** As I have breath, heat, sense, and action in my body, so have I in my soul.

What is the 'breath' of the soul?—**S.** My longing and thirsting after God.

What is the 'heat'?—**S.** A zeal for God's glory, and my affection to Him.^c

^a Complete Christian's Dictionary. Fol.

^b "Interrupting and deriding me. Though secret devotion be always private; yet private devotion is not always secret."

^c "Then spake two more of them; but what, I minded not, being intent upon the allegory."

What is the 'sense' of the soul?—S. An apprehension of my indisposedness, and a sense of sin.

What is the 'action' of the soul?—S. The good works I do, as works of piety and charity.

NYE. This is all one; a thing studied: What is faith?—S. It is 'a knowing, a believing, and a depending upon Christ,' saith one; or as saith another, it is 'the believing not only of God's Word to be true, but a firm persuasion that the truth and promises of that Word belong to me.'

"Here, they not hearing or not regarding what I said, nor suffering me to speak a word more, I was frowned upon, and commanded to 'Withdraw:' so I went out, and heard no more of it. In the afternoon I came again, to know their Worships' pleasures, and meeting with Mr. Nye I desired to know the issue of my examination. He told me, the Commissioners did not approve. . . Between five and six o'clock, there being a full table,^a I was called in again, and then though Mr. Tombes had the Chair, yet Mr. Nye thus said to me, 'You were not satisfied with what the Commissioners did in the morning; but you desire a further trial of your parts.' Then said Mr. Tombes,

"What is original sin?—S. It is the corruption of our nature, through Adam's fall.

COM. Is actual or original sin greater?—S. Actual.

Is pride, or murder, a greater sin than original? Is the branch—said another—greater than the root? That is well put: said a third.—

S. Yes, original sin is less than actual; for actual sin is the aggregation of original: there be degrees of sin.

Did Adam sin willingly or unwillingly?—S. Willingly; for his will was free.

Was God willing or unwilling of it?—S. It is a dark question, I conceive, with submission to your judgment, that, there was willing-unwillingness.

NYE. Where do you find that in Scripture?—S. The question is as dark as the answer. [Twenty-six questions, etc., intervene, at length said a]

COM. What do you say of the Church of Rome: is it a true church, or not? Bishop Hall says it is a true church, and the priests and Jesuits; and he that was executed the other day, said it was a true church: what say you?—S. It's no true church. I think the Church of Rome is a virgin deflowered; she was pure, but she is defiled.

"Then they bid me 'Withdraw' . . . When they rose, I followed Mr. Nye, and asked him of the issue of my examination; he told me, the Commissioners did not approve. I asked the reason why; but he seemed to slight me, and went away without speaking any further to me. I went forthwith to Mr. Peters and told him, I was sorry that I was not thought worthy of their Approbation: he answered, that the Commissioners had not yet concluded anything, and that it was upon suspense. . . Upon the 7th of August . . . having the book reviewed, there was only this recorded, That such a one 'was examined,' and no more. The 14th of August, I wrote a Letter to Mr. Nye [we extract only as follows], 'You know, Master Nye, that every one hath not the boldness, it may be the ingenuity, it may be the memory; no, the ablest scholar is sometimes indisposed and dull, and hesitates at that time which at another time he is facetious in, to

^a Nine Commissioners present.

answer quodlibets extempore, and to make out upon the sudden the gifts and the graces which are in him. . . Sir, give me any controverted theological point but that of 'freewill,' which was never yet decided by œcumenical or general council, I shall be your humble respondent in any public audience. . . If you please to approve me, as God and the world hath, by my meet gifts and lawful ordination, I shall, God willing, employ my talent to my utmost power—the best advantage: but if you are resolved to disapprove me, let it be, I pray you, upon record, and the reason why; that, saving your complement, after times may know it, as well as you.' Of this letter I had no return."

Nye is made to bear the brunt of the imputed ignominy; all the other Commissioners present at one and the other sitting are, with a single exception, not so much as named, the weight of their personal characters would therefore appear lost; still, had we no other evidence, it were too much to be believed that they had no regard whatever to their reputations, and that their rejection of Sadler was groundless, or that his own *ex parte* statement is to be relied upon. As well might it be argued that in tenderness to Sadler no specific record was made of the non-approval; and truly the commissioners acted but in conformity with their instructions. Again we say, had we no other evidence, the competence of the querists and this respondent, is so far in apposition, that no considerate reader can now be deceived by the spleen of a haughty Anti-Scriptural Lord Bishop, or the gibes of lewd starving wit-mongers.^a The former's partiality is hence demonstrated by not having given any intimation of the unanswered reply made to the original calumniator: "Mr. Anthony Sadler Examined, or his Disguise discovered: Showing the gross mistakes, and most notorious Falsehoods in his *Dealing with the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers, in his 'Inquisitio Anglicana, etc.'* 1654." 4to. Anthony à Wood has recorded, that "though no name is set to this pamphlet, yet it was generally reported that it was written by John Nye, B.A. of Magdalen College, and Clerk to the said Triers or Commissioners, assisted therein by his father."^b And Wood's continuator and editor, Dr. Bliss, from a manuscript marked "Penes me, Kennet." — has added to the particulars recorded, "Mr. Wood hath omitted the most material pamphlet of Mr. Nye, which is, 'The Case of Philip Nye, Minister, hereby tendered to the Consideration of Parliament.' One sheet in 4to., wherein he answereth these objections against himself, 'That he acted as a chief man in the Commission for Approbation of Public Preachers; therein exercised more than Episcopal authority; placed and displaced what ministers he pleased generally throughout the nation: 2. That he stopped the cause [course] of justice by his power with the Protector, so that Patrons wronged had no remedy by law: 3. That persons presented by Patrons were refused though ever so worthy, that he might get Livings for himself and friends: 4. That he had gotten a great estate by bribes taken by himself and son in the disposing of Livings.'

^a ————— "The impatient States-monger

Could now contain himself no longer." Hudibras. Pt. iii. Cant. ii.

^b Athenæ Oxonienses, Edit. 1813-20, 4to. vol. iii. col. 965.

Concluding, ‘That he has been a preacher forty years; now infirm, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age;^a a wife and three children to provide for: etc.’^b Thus far we are enabled to show the “Triers” under a different aspect from what their enemies have laboured to exhibit them.

On September 2nd, 1654, the Ordinance, cap. 59, passed, “Touching Ministers sequestered for Delinquency, seeking Approbation.” It begins with reciting the title of the Act of General Pardon, Feb. 24th, 1651-2, and the Provision therein respecting disabled persons, not to be restored to places of trust;^c and proceeds thus,

“And whereas divers persons who having for Delinquency been ejected out of several Ecclesiastical Benefices and Promotions, have by colour of the aforesaid Act of General Pardon and Oblivion, or otherwise, regained the possession of such place whence they were ejected, or have gotten and do endeavour to get admission into other places, and thereby to enjoy the Public Maintenance, without giving any satisfaction of their conformity and submission to the Government; Be it therefore Ordained, etc., That the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers shall not give admission to any person or persons who have been sequestered from any Ecclesiastical Benefice or Promotion for Delinquency, until by experience of his and their conformity and submission unto the present Government, His Highness and his Council shall receive satisfaction of his fitness to be admitted into Ecclesiastical Promotion within this Commonwealth, and the same shall be signified to the said Commissioners. And be it further Ordered by the Authority aforesaid, That Master John Row, Mr. John Bond, Mr. George Griffith of the Charter House, Master John Turner, and Godfrey Bosvile, Esq., be and are hereby added to the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers, etc.”^d

The reflections which documents like these give rise to are not of a nature entirely commendatory; our past and subsequent pages reveal some of the various strictures which the practical performances called forth. The duties imposed upon the Commissioners were certainly, how conscientiously soever attempted to be executed, unquestionably invidious; and if it could be believed that the office was sought to be procured by the parties severally from the sole love of authority, no censure would be scarcely too strong to pass upon them, all alike. But the Independents, it might be, allowed themselves to be conjoined, from motives of a praiseworthy description: it must have been their object to prevent the extent of all the possible mischief that they foresaw and deprecated, as also to co-operate with a sincere desire to further the interests of true religion under circumstances of inevitable necessity. All, it is stated, of the Presbyterians even,^e did not act; and among those of the Independents who did, Nye and Peters may still be allowed to have been officious. The whole were, however, implicated; and eventually clamour and prejudice rose high and strong against them; persevering malice and revenge distorted or

^a Born July 21st, 1615.

^b Ath. Ox. col. 966.

^c See back, p. 414.

^d Scobell, Pt. ii. p. 365.—The same day passed also, cap. 60, an Ordinance headed, “Visitors appointed for both Universities, and the Schools of Westminster, Winchester, etc.” Here the three Independents Drs. Tho. Goodwin and John Owen, and Master Simpson, are described; the first, President of Magdalen College; the second, Dean of Christ Church; and the third, Master of Pembroke Hall. *Ibid.* p. 366. This and the former were confirmed, Anno 1656: cap. 10.

^e Neal, vol. iv. chap. iii.

perverted, and also perpetuated, their actions and mistakes. In one quarter, on the contrary, the Commissioners had early received countenance and commendation sufficient to stimulate the willing among them to encounter every difficulty. In a Speech of Cromwell's, enumerating the transactions of his Government, he reminds the Parliament, "It hath endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way of every man making himself a Minister and a Preacher: It hath endeavoured to settle a way for the approbation of men of piety and ability for the discharge of that work. And I think I may say, it hath committed that work to the trust of persons both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, men of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as I believe any this Nation hath. And I believe also, that in that care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themselves to Christ, the Nation, and their own consciences. And indeed I think if there be anything of quarrel against them, it is—though I stand not here to justify the proceedings of any—I say it is, that they go upon such a character as the Scripture warranteth, to put men into that great employment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave gifts 'for the work of the ministry' and 'for the edifying of the body of Christ.'^a It hath taken care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged anyway unfit for this 'work,' and who are scandalous, and who are the common scorn and contempt of that administration."^b

While we have animadverted with some warmth, we have not shown a disposition to palliate unduly what might be wrong either in principle or action. The recurrence of exasperation as displayed by a victim of another cast from any yet noticed, may readily spring from discomfiture different indeed in the plea for it, but not less imperative. The fierce spirit and Arminian sentiments with which the present complainant indoctrinated his followers brought him into strong personal collision with the dominant parties. His "Obstructors of Justice" ensured no quietness on one side; and on the other, this piece, whose title is made up of assumptions, brought him no accession of repose:

"*Βασανιστῆς*, Or, The Triers—or Tormentors—Tried and Cast, by the Laws both of God and of Men: Or, Arguments and Grounds, as well in Reason and Religion, clearly evincing the Unlawfulness of those Ordinances or Commissions—at least as they have been from time to time declared and interpreted aloud, by the Persons acting them, and tacitly by the Authority enacting them,—with all others of like import, by which the respective Courts or Consistories of Triers and Ejectors, so called, amongst us, are established: Together with the Unwarrantableness of the Acceptation and Exercise of the Powers delegated and granted in the said Commissions, by any Man or company of Men whatsoever now in being. By John Goodwin, an aged Minister of Jesus Christ, and Pastor to that remnant of his Sheep usually assembling in Coleman-street, London. 1657." 4to. pp. 33.

^a Eph. iv. 12.

^b "His Highness The Lord Protector's Speech to the Parliament, in the Painted Chamber, on Monday the 4th of September: 1654." 4to. pp. 34. p. 22.

He tells the Reader, “From the first day that I heard of these Commissions, and understood, though but in general, the purport of them, my heart was troubled within me, and began secretly to presage the many and great evils which through the administration and execution of them they were like to bring upon the Gospel in the Ministry of it, and upon many godly, worthy, and well-deserving men. Of the truth of which presagements, myself in part, with several others who have had better and more opportunity than I to understand the occasioned productions of the said Commissioners, are sad witnesses.”^a

And in the eleventh section of his diatribe he says, “According to the best principles of christian policy, such men who are like to thrust the best of those back from working in the Lord’s harvest, which the Lord of the harvest thrusts forward^b to his work there, are not to be invested with any such authority or power by which they shall be enabled to do this great disservice both unto God and men. But such are the persons, at least the far greater part of them—and such were they before their Instrument—who by the Commissioners aforesaid,^c are made the authorized judges of the judgments of all the ministers—at least of all the public ministers—of the nation; they are, and were, by a true and solid estimate of them—in respect of their spirit, principles, and tenets—not only like to presume and undertake to prescribe unto God and Jesus Christ who and what manner of persons they should do well to authorize and employ in the public ministry in this nation; and again, who and what manner of persons it would be expedient for them to reject and put by from that employment; but further, more generally to recommend and order unto them—that I say not, obtrude upon them—for service, men far less competent than many of those whom they—God, I mean, and the Lord Jesus Christ—recommend daily, and providentially send unto them for their Approbation, and yet are disallowed and rejected by them. For certainly they who know, understand, and believe, and are excellently qualified to teach the just compass and extent of the grace—or free grace—of God in the death and Gospel of his Son,—and so are uniform and consistent in the teachings—other endowments as of meekness, humility, love, zeal, goodwill to the work, etc., concurring,—are persons more competent for the work of the ministry than those who, confining the said grace of God within the narrow sphere of their own apprehensions, are hereby inevitably entangled in the course of their ministry so as ever and anon to pull down what even now they built up; and again, presently to build up what a very little before they pulled down. And yet such is the spirit, such the principles and tenets, of the men now under censure—and the nature and property of all these accordingly might easily have been known by those who put them into Commission, before this grand and unhappy oversight was committed—that they take themselves bound in conscience to admit the latter only, with the two grand incompeten-

^a P. [ii.] ^b Ἐκβάλην Matt. ix. 38; Luke x. 2.

^c “Triers and Ejectors,” the last by “An Ordinance for the Ejecting of Scandalous, Ignorant, and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters.”

cies mentioned, into the work of the ministry, and to say unto the former, notwithstanding those dismal characters upon them—lately mentioned—with other qualifications comporting, notably marking them out for the said great work, You are not fit to serve at the altar, nor meet to have part or fellowship in this business of the ministry: You are not of our judgments in all points, wherein we are infallible; therefore we must smite you with the rod of our power, and break you in pieces like potters' vessels, that you may learn not to Remonstrate, nor take up the truth in contestation with us!"^a

If the reader shall have found his way clearly through the complicated passage just set before him, he is prepared to be but little surprised at meeting with "The Great Accuser Cast down: Or, A Public Trial of Mr. John Goodwin, of Coleman-street, London, at the Bar of Religion and Right Reason. It being a full Answer to a certain Scandalous Book of his, lately published, intituled 'The Triers Tried and Cast, etc.' Wherenpon being found Guilty of High Scandal and Malediction both against the present Authority and the Commissioners for Approbation and Ejection, he is here Sentenced and brought forth to deserved Execution of the Press. By Marchamont Nedham, Gent. 1657." 4to. pp. 131.

"This book," says its author, addressing the Lord Protector, "defends your Authority, and vindicates one of your best and most christian actions, together with the reputation of those honourable and reverend persons your Commissioners from common prejudice, and from the foulest imputations that the mouth of folly and envy could breath out into the open air."^b Next, addressing the Reader, and having brought the adversary on the tapis, Nedham says, "I must profess, in dealing with his arguments, I was possessed with an equal temperature of indignation and pity; pity to see him, an ancient minister of the Gospel, and one who a good while ago had a reputation of being conscientious, so plainly to prevaricate in point of conscience, to the reviling of Authority and abuse of his Brethren, even while he is, as it were, sounding the trumpet to his own final dissolution, or the great day of account. . . On the other side, my indignation arose to observe that a man whose writings show him to be a scholar, should yet write so unlike a scholar as he hath done, observing neither rule nor mood in matter of argument; but rambling through a wilderness of falsities, tautologies, slanders, self-contradictions, and malicious declamations, instead of reasons or instances, to make proof of what he pretends to, he loseth himself, and leads the unwary reader quite out of the road of common sense and honesty."^c He adds, presently, "It were pity such a champion should lose the glory of his achievements, and therefore, to do him right, I shall give you a short story of his duels and his other public engagements, wherein I am to enlarge a little, and yet no more than needs must. The single persons he hath been in the field with, that is, in print, as his adversaries, are these, namely, Mr. Gataker, Mr. [G.] Walker, Mr. [H.] Robrough, Dr. Williams, Bishop of Ossory, Mr. Pryune, Sir Francis Nethersole, Mr. John Gere, Mr. Herbert Palmer, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr.

^a P. 11, 12.

^b Ep. Ded. p. [iii.]

^c To the Reader, [p. ii.]

[R.] Resbury, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Burges, Dr. [T.] Hill, Mr. Jenkyn, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Barlow, Mr. A. Steuart,^a in particular books printed; besides several members of his own church that he hath written against, and divers others: that you see what a notorious duellist he hath been. But this is not all; for this Tenth Worthy hath been so adventurous as to engage also with whole troops or regiments, in the confidence of his own personal and single valour, namely, the Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, the Ministers of the Province of London, the Ministers of Sion college, those Ministers at subscribed a petition to the Lord Fairfax, part of the Company of Stationers, the Assembly of Dort; and in this treatise he challengeth forth the Commissioners for Approving and those for Ejecting of Ministers, men of the greatest eminency and worth, His Highness, with the advice of his council, could pitch upon in and about the city, and in every shire throughout the nation.”^b At the close of this address, its author displays a degree of levity which a better taste would have restrained: “A wise man he is without question, and stronger than a whole city, because having first conquered or corrupted all the world with the help of a printing-press, the completest conquest of all is this last, whereby he hath confuted himself. So I commit him to the press, in part of punishment, that he may know himself mortal, and from thence to his winding-sheet; ‘earth to earth, ashes to ashes:’ peace to all the Church: farewell, J. G.!”^c

This Nedham is described in the next piece as one of Cromwell’s “Intelligencers,” and writer of a popular diurnal; for his further efforts on behalf of the Triers, where he justifies them on civil grounds, rather than by vindicating particular actions, resort must be had to the discourse itself, from only the introductory parts to which the matter presented above is drawn. Whether from the severity of that intended castigation, or from some other motive undefined, personal intimacy with the assumed culprit being denied, so it was, that in the same year came forth “A Letter of Address to the Protector, occasioned by Mr. Nedham’s Reply to Mr. Goodwin’s Book against the Triers. By a Person of Quality.” 4to. pp. 24. “D. F.,” for such are his initials given afterward, is not a whit behind “M. N. Gent.” in lavishing abuse; he is only less dexterous in working it up. “Mr. Goodwin,” he tells Cromwell, “I presume, for my acquaintance is not much with him, is a person of greater candour and modesty than ever to touch those great names that either absent themselves conscientiously, or sit in that black chamber rather by the dread of your reverend Commission than of their proper motion and inclination: by men of conscience and worth, he certainly means some heads of the famous Universities, the City Aldermen, the renowned Baxter, and many others oppressed by the potency of a person or two, and rendered not only useless but noxious in that place. . . It happens to many goodmen in the Commission. . . what always happens to Jupiter when he is in conjunction with Saturn, though their influx be good single and alone, yet when conjoined with that ill planet, they have the same dangerous and pestilential influence upon the Nation.”^d “Mr.

^a See back, vol. ii. p. 346.^b P. [iv.]^c P. [xiii.]^d P. 4.

Goodwin's death was much in his mind, I doubt he thinks of it more than of his own; yet I wish he were one of a thousand solicitous in this subject. It is hard to say whether your Lordship or Mr. Goodwin hath more pious prayers put up for your timely dissolution, there are not two other persons in the nation I dare be bound that live a greater eyesore and burden to Kirk and State; yet very probable is it you may both live to the greater trouble and vexation of all persons travelling in this hope and expectation." ^a "By Mr. Nedham's favour, if I were a clergyman, legally presented to a living, had competent skill in the learned languages, a gift of utterance, and of an unblameable conversation, I would certainly see by a writ of *impedit*, whether the Committee's *non placet*, for the belief of 'universal redemption,' or other fallible apprehensions of not having 'a work of grace' upon my heart, would hold water before a jury of equals and the reverend Judges of the land." ^b "Forbear, I beseech you, to make any improbable conjectures concerning the Author, who for the present veils himself not out of any disrespect or fear, save that which may fall from the fierce militia of the Pulpit! And 'now the God of peace, that brought again our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead,' counsel you in all things. So prayeth in the Lord your sure vassal, D. F." ^c

The incidental mention of "the renowned Baxter," above, induces us to present a testimony in favour of the Triers which the better portion of their assailants cannot successfully impeach; coming as it does from one who was himself opposed to the instituting of any such Commission. "This assembly of 'Triers,'" he says, "examined, themselves, all that were able to come up to London; but if any were unable, or were of doubtful qualifications between worthy and unworthy, they used to refer them to some ministers in the country where they lived, and to approve them if they approved them. And because this assembly of 'Triers' is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them; and [I] suppose my word will be rather taken because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries as to their opinions, and because I was known to disown their power; insomuch that I refused to try any under them upon their reference, except very few whose importunity and necessity moved me, they being such as for their Episcopal judgment, or some such cause, the Triers were like to have rejected. The truth is, that though their authority was null, and though some few overbusy and overrigid Independents among them, were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men that favoured Antinomianism, or Anabaptism; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers; that sort of men that intended no more in the ministry than to say a sermon as Readers say their Common-prayers, and so patch up a few good words together to talk the people asleep with on Sunday, and all the rest of the week go with

^a P. 13.^b P. 17.^c P. *ult.*

them to the alehouse, and harden them in their sin; and that sort of ministers that either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that never were acquainted with it: All those who used the ministry but as a common trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a soul, all these they usually rejected; and in their stead admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were. So that though they were many of them, somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth-Monarchy men, and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the Church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterward cast them out again!"^a

We dismiss this topic with information from a source which proclaims itself unfriendly, and which we denounce unfair; where the utmost diligence had been used to accumulate cases of oppression, but where after all the apparent success, with the constant reproaches which in other sources also are transmitted, the aggregate of grievances falls exceedingly short of the combined allegations; and where too, be it remembered, it is repeatedly recorded that the Presbyterians had previously so generally accomplished the object, that little, comparatively, was left for the Independents. Speaking of the Triers in their corporate capacity, the authority before us says, "They continued their Sessions until the beginning of 1659, as appears by some of their books, which I have seen in the custody of his Grace the Archbishop's Secretary at Lambeth."^b Nor do I remember to have met with any other dissolution of them than by the Restoration of his Majesty, when all the bonds of iniquity were broken, and the whole nation set at liberty. What numbers they ejected by virtue of the power given them over those who had been admitted for the twelve months which preceded their being erected, or in what numbers they rejected such of the royalists as submitted to present themselves before them, I do not find[!]."^c

CHAP. LXXIX.

TREATISES "OF SCHISM," BY HAMMOND, OWEN, AND CAWDREY.

IN addition to the several controversies which have pressed themselves upon our notice, another must be exhibited, possessing as it does peculiar interest, but reduced, through constraint, to little more than a meagre abstract, scarcely amounting to an epitome; yet it constitutes

^a Life and Times, by Matthew Sylvester. 1696. Fo. Lib. i. Pt. i. p. 72.

^b "Where most of them, except one for the year 1656, are, if I mistake not, preserved." Margin.

^c "An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, etc., in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion. By John Walker, M.A. 1714." Fo. Pt. I. p. 173.

so essential an ingredient in the completeness or entirety of our historical design, that its omission would justly subject our information and judgment to be impugned; a liability from which, in other cases, we cannot escape but by the same irresistible plea.

In the year 1654 had appeared a tract intituled "Of Schism: A Defence of the Church of England, against the Exceptions of the Romanists. By H. Hammond, D.D." 12mo. pp. 183. It is evident herein, upon the testimony of this one among her brightest ornaments, to what sort of imputation "The Church of England," meaning the Episcopal, was obnoxious, even in the time of her humiliation. We present so much testimony as contrasts this state with that of her exaltation before and since, in which she claims to be sustained by an authority *ab extra*: "We hold," argues their Hooker, "the necessity of natural separation between this corporation, the Church, and another, the Commonwealth; but that one and the same person may in both bear principal sway."^a Treating of the "Romanists," whom he designates "brethren, if yet we may be allowed that title," Hammond writes, "It hath been a special motive and argument to gain proselytes to their party for some years, that by our confession, there is 'salvation' to be had among them, but in their judgment no possible hope of it for us[!] This weapon of theirs used so studiously against us, . . . will certainly be as useful in our hands as Goliath's sword in David's to give this wound,—I wish it may not prove as fatal,—to our vaunting enemies; for certainly, if there be any truth in that motive, then are they professedly the men that judge their *brethren*, and as confessedly we the men that do not judge them[!] . . . Our *Establishment* being thus freed from Schism, I shall not now entertain myself with any fear that the persecution which we are under will involve us in it: yet can I not but take notice of the style that some Romanists have in these last years, on this occasion chosen to make use of, calling us 'The late Church of England;' the interpretation whereof is, to my understanding, this, That the calamities under which now we suffer have made us cease to be a church! . . . As yet, blessed be God, the Church of England is not invisible: it is still preserved in bishops and presbyters rightly ordained, and multitudes rightly baptized. . . . And the only thing imaginable to be objected in this point being this, That the schism hath so far been extended by the *force*, that many, if not most churches-parochial are filled by those who have set up a new or a no-form of worship, and so that many men cannot any otherwise than in private families serve God after the Church-way; that sure, will be of little weight when the Romanists are remembered to be the objectors, who cannot but know that this is the only way that they have had of serving God in this kingdom these many years, and that the night-meetings of the primitive Christians in dens and caves, are as pertinent to the justifying of our condition as they can be of any; and when it is certain that the *ἐγκαταλείψεις τῆς ἐπισυναγωγῆς*, 'the forsaking of the assemblies,' Heb. x. 25, is not *ἐκούσιον*, our 'wilful' fault, ver. 26, but only our unhappy lot who are forced either not to frequent the assemblies, or else to encourage, and incur the scandal of seeming

^a Eccles. Polity. Bk. viii. sec. 1.

to approve, the practices of those that have departed from the church[!] . . . The same tempest having with us thrown out all order and form, bishops and liturgy, together, and to that curstness of theirs, and not to any obstinateness or unreconcilableness of ours—which alone were the guilt of non-communion;—is all that unhappiness of the constant sins of the *present*[!] English Church to be imputed.”^a Such is our preliminary to that other tract—

“Of Schism: The true Nature of it discovered and considered, with Reference to the present Differences in Religion. By John Owen, D.D. —Oxford, 1657.” 12mo. pp. 280.

Without any other preface, the author starts with remarking that “It is the manner of men of all persuasions who undertake to treat of ‘Schism,’ to make their entrance with invectives against the evils thereof; with aggravations of its heinousness. . . . Indeed whole volumes of the ancients written when *they* were actors in this cause, charging *others* with the guilt of it, and consequently with the vehemency of men contending for that wherein their own interest lay, might, if it were to our purpose, be transcribed. . . . But . . . many of them having fallen upon such a notion of the ‘Catholic Church’ and ‘Schism’ as hath given occasion to many woful mistakes and much darkness in the following ages, I cannot so easily give up the nature of this evil to their determination and judgment. About the aggravation of its sinfulness, I shall not contend.”^b

“Among ‘Christians,’ the advantage hath been extremely, hitherto, on their part who found it their interest to begin the charge; for whereas, perhaps, themselves were and are, of all men, most guilty of the crime.^c . . . To live in ‘Schism,’ is to live in sin; which, unrepented of, will ruin a man’s eternal condition. Every one charged with it must either desert his station, which gives foundation to his [the] charge, or acquit himself of the crime in that station: this latter is that which in reference to myself and others, I do propose.”^d

“It is well known how things stand with us in this world: as we are Protestants, we are accused by the Papists to be ‘schismatics;’ . . . among Protestants, as being ‘reformatists,’ or, as they call us, ‘Calvinists;’ we are condemned for ‘schismatics’ by the Lutherans,—‘Sacramentarian sectaries!’ . . . We are condemned for ‘separation,’ by them who refuse to admit us into union! But what hath not an irrational attempt of *enthroning* opinions put men upon?”^e

“The differences . . . about Episcopal government . . . have given occasion to a new charge of the guilt . . . on some. . . . Amongst them who in these late days have engaged as they profess, into ‘reformation,’ . . . some, unhappily, to the heightening of the differences, took up this charge of ‘Schism’ against their Brethren! . . . In the meantime, it is amongst other things, . . . an evidence that we are not yet arrived at that inward frame of spirit which was aimed at Phil. iii. 15, 16; whatever we have ‘attained’ [to], as to the outward administration of ordinances.”^f

“The concernment of some of *us*, lying in all the particulars mentioned; of *all* ‘Protestants,’ in some; it may be worth while to con-

^a Chap. x. sec. 2, 3: chap. xi. sec. 1, 5.

^c Sec. 4.

^d Sec. 5.

^b Chap. i. sec. 1.

^e Sec. 7, 8.

^f Sec. 9.

sider, Whether there be not general principles of irrefragable evidence, whereon, both all and some, may be acquitted; . . . and the whole guilt . . . put into ‘the ephah’^a and carried ‘to build it a house in the land of Shinar,’ to establish it!^b

“ I have considered and endeavoured to search into the bottom of the two general ways fixed on respectively by sundry persons, for the compassing of peace and union among Christians but in one nation, with the issue and success of them in several places: namely, that of enforcing Uniformity by a secular power, . . . as was the case in this nation not many years ago; and is yet liked by the *most*, being a suitable judgment for the *most*; and, that of Toleration, . . . which is our present condition. Concerning them both, . . . a little observation of events, if they are not able to consider the causes of things; with the light and posture of the minds of men in this generation; will unburden them of the trouble of their expectations: it is something else that must give peace unto Christians than what is a product of the *prudential* considerations of men! . . . Of enforcing Uniformity; as it hath lost its reputation of giving temporal tranquillity to States, etc., which, with some, is only valuable, whatever became of the souls of men forced to the profession of that which they did not believe; . . . so it continues in the possession of this advantage against the other, that it sees and openly complains of the evil . . . consequences of it: when against its own, where it prevails, it suffers no complaint to lie. . . . What it doth well while it prevails is evident; the anxiety of conscience in some, hypocrisy, formality, no better than atheism, in others, wherewith it is attended, are buried out of sight.^c

“ I have sometime since, ceased to be moved by the clamours of men concerning ‘bloody Persecution’ on the one hand, and ‘cursed, intolerable Toleration’ on the other; . . . persuaded, that a general alteration of the state of the churches of Christ in this world, must determine that controversy.^d

“ In disputations indeed, the Truth, for the most part, hath been a gainer; but in attempts for reconciliation, those that have come with the least candour, most fraud, hypocrisy, secular baits for the subverting of others, have, in appearance, for a season seemed to obtain success: and in this spirit of craft and contention, are things yet carried on in the world. . . . As to attempts, then, for Reconciliation, . . . and the removal of ‘Schism’ by that means; they are come to this issue among . . . politicians and divines, That the former, perceiving the tenaciousness in all things of the latter; . . . do judge them, at length, not to have that prudence which is requisite to advise, . . . or not able to break through their unspeakable prejudices and interests; . . . and the latter, observing the facile condescension of the former in all things, . . . do conclude that . . . they have . . . little or no regard to the Truth: whereupon, having a mutual diffidence in each other, they grow weary; . . . the one, betaking themselves wholly to keep things in as good state . . . as they can; . . . the other, to labour for success against their adversaries.^e

“ The only course, then, remaining . . . is to inquire . . . what is, and

^a Zech. v. 8–11. ^b Sec. 10. ^c Sec. 12, 13. ^d Sec. 14. ^e Sec. 15, 17.

who is guilty of the sin of ‘Schism’? . . . Something may be further added as to the satisfaction of the consciences of men unjustly accused, . . . which is my aim.^a

“The posture of that word [*σχίσμα*, schism,] . . . in its ecclesiastical use, expressing a thing moral or spiritual, . . . denotes differences of mind and judgment with troubles ensuing thereon, amongst men met in some one assembly about the compassing of a common end and design. In the sense contended about, it is used only by Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians. . . . Of ‘schism’ . . . but only to this church of Corinth, we hear nothing. . . . The arbitrary definitions of men, with their superstructures and inferences upon them, we are not concerned in.^b

“When the order, spirituality, beauty and glory of the Church of Christ shall return, and men obtain a light whereby they are able to discern a beauty and excellency in the inward, more noble, spiritual part—indeed, life and soul—of the worship of God; these disputes will have an issue. Chrysostom says, indeed, that Corinth was the metropolis of Achaia; but in what sense, he says not: the political is granted; the ecclesiastical, not proved; nor are we inquiring what was . . . in the days of Chrysostom, but of Paul.^c

“I am most certain that a separation from some churches, true, or pretended so to be, is commanded in the Scriptures: so that the withdrawing from or relinquishment of any church or society whatever upon the plea of its corruption, be it true or false, with a mind and resolution to serve God in the due observation of church institutions, according to that light which men have received, is nowhere called ‘schism,’ nor condemned as a thing of that nature; but it is a matter that must be tried out, whether it be good or evil? by virtue of such general rules and directions as are given us in the Scriptures for our orderly and blameless walking with God in all his ways.^d

“Those who say it [schism] is a rending of the ‘seamless’ coat of Christ;^e in which metaphoric expression men have wonderfully pleased themselves; seem to have mistaken their aim, and instead of an aggravation of its evil, . . . to have extenuated it; . . . I can scarce think that any ever supposed that the ‘coat’ of Christ was a type of his ‘church;’ His church being clothed with Him, not he with it: and therefore, . . . that allusion I leave in the possession of them who want better arguments to evince the evil of this sin!^f

“Some say it [schism] is a rebellion against the Church, that is, the rulers and officers of the church. . . . But that to refuse the authority of the church, is to rebel against the rulers and guides of it; will receive further light . . . when once a pregnant instance is produced, not where the church signifies the officers of it, but where it doth not signify the body of the congregation in contradistinction from them, in comprising them therein.^g

“Some learned men of latter days, in this nation, pleading in the justification of the Church of England as to her departure from Rome,

^a Sec. 18, 19.

^b Chap. ii. sec. 5, 6, 8.

^c Sec. 19.

^d Sec. 26.

^e John xix. 23.

^f Sec. 29. See Lord Bacon’s Essays, “Of Unity in Religion.”

^g Sec. 32.

did grant that the Church of Rome doth not ‘err in fundamentals,’ or [and] maintained no errors remedilessly pernicious and destructive of salvation! How far they entangled themselves by this concession, I argue not: the foundation of it lies in this clear truth, That no church whatever, universal or particular, can possibly ‘err in fundamentals;’ for by so doing it would cease to be a church.^a

“Of the Divisions that have fallen out amongst us in things of religion, since the last Revolutions of this Nation; there is no one thing that hath been so effectual a promotion,—such is the power of tradition and prejudice . . . —as the mutual charging one another with the guilt of ‘schism!’^b

“Unless men can prove that we have not the Spirit of God; that we do not savingly believe in Jesus Christ; that we do not sincerely love all the saints, His whole body, and every member of it; they cannot disprove our interest in the Catholic Church. . . I cannot think that any man in the world can convince me, that I do not love Jesus Christ in sincerity, because I do not love the Pope as he is so. Spiritual experience is a security against a more cunning sophister than any Jesuit in the world.^c

“And seeing at length it must be spoken, I shall do it with submission to the thoughts of good men, . . . and in sincerity, . . . That I do not know anything that is extant bearing clearer witness to the sad degeneracy of christian religion in the profession thereof, nor more evidently discovering the efficacy of another Spirit than what was poured out by Christ at his ascension; nor containing more ‘hay and stubble’ that is to be burned; . . . than the stories of the acts and laws of the Councils and Synods^d. . . There is nothing more ridiculous than to imagine a General Council, that should represent the whole catholic church, or so much as all the particular churches that are in the world; and let him that is otherwise minded . . . prove by instance, that such there hath been since the apostles’ times; or, by reason, that such may be in the present age, or be justly expected in those that are to succeed; and we will, as we are able, crown him for his discovery!^e

“The visible catholic church is not made up of particular churches as such; for if so, then no man can be member of it but by virtue of his being a member of some visible church, which is false: profession of the Truth . . . is the formal reason and cause of any person’s relation to the church-visible, which he hath thereby, whether he belong to any particular church or not.^f

“Our communion with the visible catholic church is in the unity of the Faith only. The breach of this union . . . is not ‘schism,’ but heresy or apostacy; or it is done by an open profligateness of life: so that indeed this charge is nothing at all to the purpose in hand. Though, through Grace in a confidence of our own innocency, we are willing to debate the guilt of the crime under any name or title whatever.^g

“If any man hath nothing to plead for his ministry, but merely that successive ordination . . . through the Church of Rome; I cannot see a stable bottom of owning him so to be [a minister of Christ]. . . Nor

^a Sec. 42.

^b Sec. 47.

^c Chap. iv. sec. 19

^d Chap. v. sec. 20.

^e Sec. 23.

^f Sec. 41.

^g Chap. vi. sec. 12.

doth it come, here, into inquiry, Whether there were not a true ministry in some, all along under the Papacy, distinct from it; etc. But the question is, Whether this be a sufficient and good basis . . . of any man's interest in the office of the ministry, That he hath received ordination in a succession, through the administration—not of 'the woman' flying 'into the wilderness' under the persecution of Antichrist; not of the 'two witnesses' prophesying all along under the Roman apostacy; not from them to whom we succeed in doctrine, as the Waldenses; but—[of] the 'beast' itself, the persecuting Church of Rome? . . . So that in doctrine, we should succeed the persecuted 'woman;' and in office, the persecuting 'beast'! . . .^a They ask us, Why not ordination from the Church of Rome, as well as the Scriptures? . . . We are so far from having the Scriptures from the Church of Rome by any *authority* of it, as such, that it is one cause of daily praising God that, by his providence, He kept them from being either corrupted or destroyed by them! It is true, the Bible was kept among the people that lived in those parts of the world where the Pope prevailed; so was the Old Testament, by the Jews; the whole, by the Eastern christians; by none, so corrupted as by those of the Papal territory. . . . So that of these things, there is not the same reason. It is also pleaded, That the granting true ordination to the Church of Rome, doth not prove that to be a true church! This, I profess I understand not. They who ordained, had no power so to do but as they were officers of that Church: as such, they did it; and if others had ordained, who were not officers of that Church, all would confess that action to be null. But they who will *not* be contented that Christ hath appointed the office of the ministry to be continued in His churches; that He continues to dispense the gifts of his Spirit for the execution of that office when men are called thereunto; that He prepares the hearts of His people to desire and submit unto them in the Lord; that, as to the manner of entrance upon the work, they may have it according to the mind of Christ to the utmost, in all circumstances, so soon as His churches are shaken out of the dust of Babylon with His glory shining on them, and the tabernacle of God is thereby once more placed with men;^b shall have leave, for me, to derive their interest in the ministry through that dark passage wherein I cannot see one step before me. If they are otherwise qualified, and accepted as above, I shall ever pay them that honour which is due to 'elders' labouring 'in the word and doctrine.'^c

"The Reverend [Presbyterian] Authors of the '*Jus Divinum Ministerii Anglicani*,' [1654, 4to.] tell us, cap. vi. p. 82, that 'in the beginning of Christianity, the number of believers, even in the greatest cities, were so few as that they might all meet ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, in one and the same place; and these are called the church of the city; and the angel of such a city, was congregational, not diocesan!' Which discourse exhibits that state of a Particular Church which is now pleaded for; . . . allowing no other, no, not in the greatest cities. In a rejoinder to that treatise, so far as the case of Episcopacy is herein concerned, by a person well known by his labours in that cause, this is acknow-

^a Sec. 55.^b Psal. lxxviii. 60.^c Sec. 56, 57.

ledged to be so: ‘Believers,’ saith he, ‘in great cities were not, at first, divided into parishes whilst the number of christians was so small that they might well assemble in the same place.’ Of the believers of one city meeting in one place, being one church, we have the like grant: in this Particular Church, he says ‘there was one bishop which had the rule of it and of the believers in the villages adjacent to that city; which as it sometimes was not so, Rom. xvi. 1, 2, so for the most part it seems to have been the case: and distinct churches, upon the growth of the number of believers, were to be erected in several places of the *voisinage* [neighbourhood].’^a And this is the state of a Particular Instituted Church, which we plead for.^b

“The tenour whereby their [the late Bishops] predecessors held this power [of jurisdiction] before the Reformation; the change of the tenour, by the laws of this land; the investiture of the whole original right thereof in another person than formerly, by the same means; the legal concession and delegation to them made; the enlarging or contracting of their jurisdiction, by the same laws; the civil process of their courts in the exercise of their authority; sufficiently evince from whence they had it! Nor was anything herein any more of the institution of Jesus Christ than the Courts are in Westminster-Hall. Sir Edward Coke^c. . . will satisfy any, in the rise and tenour of Episcopal Jurisdiction. . . Now I say, that the subjections to them due on this account, we did not cast off; but their whole authority, power, and jurisdiction, was removed, taken away, and annulled, by the people of the land assembled in Parliament.^d

“It may be thought that, living in this place, I may belong to his [the Bishop of Oxford’s] jurisdiction. But in the condition wherein I now am by the providence of God, I can plead an exemption on the same foot of account as he can his jurisdiction! So that I am not much concerned in his *exercise* of it as to my own person. If he have a Particular Flock at Oxon, which he will attend according to what before I required, he shall have no let or hinderance from me; but being he is, as I hear, a reverend and learned person, I shall be glad of his neighbourhood and acquaintance. But to suppose that the diocese of Oxon, as legally constituted and bounded, is his Particular Flock or Church; that such a church is instituted by Christ, or hath been in being ever since the apostles’ times; that in his presidency in this church he is to set up courts and exercise a jurisdiction in them, and therewith a power over all the inhabitants of this diocese or shire—excepting the exempt peculiar jurisdiction—although gathered into particular congregations and united by a participation of the same ordinances; and all this, by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ; is to suppose what will not be granted. I confess, as before, there was once such an Order in this place, and that it is now removed by laws, on which foundation alone it stood before; and this is that wherein I am not concerned. Whether we have causelessly and inexcusably departed from the Unity of the Church is the matter now in inquiry. I am sure, unless the Unity can be fixed, our departure

^a Henry Hammond’s ‘Vindication,’ p. 16, 18.

^b Chap. vii. sec. 2.

^c “De Jure Regis Eccles.”

^d Chap. viii. sec. 11, 13.

will not be proved. A law Unity, I confess; an Evangelical, I am yet in the disquisition of.^a

“Let not any one think that because we deny the constitution pleaded about, to have had the stamp of the authority of Jesus Christ; that therefore we pulled it down, and destroyed it by violence. It was set up before we were born, by them who had power to make laws to bind the people of this nation, and we found them in an orderly legal possession of that power, which, exerting itself several ways, maintained and preserved that constitution, which we had no call to eradicate. Only, whereas they took upon them to act in the Name of Christ also, and to interpose their orders and authority in the things of the worship of God; we entreated them that we might pass our pilgrimage quietly in our native country,—as Israel would have gone through the land of Edom, without the disturbance of its inhabitants,—and worship God according to the light which He had graciously imparted to us, but they would not hearken! But herein also, was it our duty to keep the word of Christ, ‘patience.’^b Their removal, and the dissolution of this National Church, arose and was carried on . . . by other hands, on other accounts! ^c

“I desire to be informed . . . Whether we had *seven* churches here in England, during the Heptarchy of the Saxons, and *one* in Wales; or but one in the whole? If seven, how they came to be one? If but one, why those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were not one also; especially since they have been under one civil magistrate? Or, Whether the difference of the civil laws of these nations, be not the only cause that these are *three* churches? And if so, Whether from thence any man may not discern whereon the Unity of the Church of England doth depend? ^d

“We owe all these disputes, with other innumerable evils, to the apostasy of the Roman Combination; from which, we are far as yet from being clearly delivered.^e

“The sum is, the business of ‘Schism’ from the Church of England, is a thing built purely and simply on Political considerations. . . The famous advice of Mæcenas to Augustus, mentioned in Dio Cassius,^f is the best authority I know against it.^g

“We have not separated from a National Church, in the Presbyterian sense; as never having seen any such thing: unless they will say, we have separated from what should be!^h As for a ‘Church of England,’ in their new sense—which yet, in some respects, is not new, but old,—for what is beyond a voluntary consociation of Particular Churches, we have not as yet had experience of it.ⁱ

“I confess this to be a case of the greatest difficulty that presents itself to my thoughts in this business [of Schism]. Suppose a man to be a member of a Particular Church, and that church to be a true church of Christ, and granted so by this person; and yet upon the account of some defect which is in—or at least, he is convinced and persuaded to be in—that church, whose reformation he cannot obtain,

^a Sec. 16.

^b Luke xxi. 19.

^c Sec. 22.

^d Sec. 24.

^e Sec. 25.

^f Lib. iv. 7.

^g Sec. 26.

^h Sec. 35.

ⁱ Sec. 39.

he cannot abide in that church to his spiritual advantage and edification: suppose the church, on the other side, cannot be induced to consent to his secession, and relinquishment of its ordinary external communion, and that person is hereby entangled, What course is to be taken? . . . In general, the rule of forbearance and condescension, in love, which should salve the difference, is, to give place to the rule of obeying God in all things, according to our light. And the determining in this case, depending on circumstances in great variety both with reference to the church offending and the person offended; he that can give one certain rule in and upon the whole, shall have much praise for his invention. However, I am sure this cannot be rationally objected by them who, esteeming all parishes as such, to be churches, do yet allow men on such occasions to change their habitations, and consequently their church-relations: Men may be relieved by 'change' of 'dwelling.'^a And, when a man's leaving the ordinary external communion of any Particular Church, for his own edification, to join with another whose administration he is persuaded, in some things—more or fewer—are carried on more according to the mind of Christ, is, as such, proved to be 'Schism, I shall acknowledge it.'^b

"What a flood of abominations doth this business of 'Schism' seem to be, as rolling down to us through the writings of Cyprian, Austin, and Optatus, of old; the Schoolmen, decrees of Popish councils; with the contrivances of some among ourselves concerned to keep up the swelled notion of it! Go to its rise, and you will find it to be, though bad enough, yet quite another thing than what, by the prejudices accruing by the addition of so many generations, it is now generally represented to be. The great maxim, 'To the law and to the testimony,'^c truly improved, would quickly cure all our distempers."^d

"To conclude. What 'vain janglings' men are endlessly engaged in: . . . hence, for instance, is that doughty dispute, . . . Whether a 'Schismatic' doth belong to the church, or not? Which, for the most part, is determined in the negative; when it is impossible a man should be so but by virtue of his being a 'church-member!' A church, is that *alienum solum* wherein that evil dwelleth. . . Every true believer, walking orderly, ordinarily is a member of the Church of Christ, in every sense insisted on: of the 'catholic church,' by a union with Christ the Head; of the 'visible general church,' by his profession of the Faith; and, of a 'particular congregation,' by his voluntary associating himself therewith according to the will and appointment of our Lord Jesus Christ."^e

A reply to the above production was speedily sent forth by a member of one of the two conflicting parties, each having arrogated the exclusive charter of "*Jus Divinum*," but neither of which parties has substantiated a title; centuries have intervened, and the contest is still pending! With what force of evidence and conviction soever this reply might, therefore, be accompanied, it can relate only to inferior points in the discussion, since its author's main assumption, that his

^a See back, p. 49, note.

^b Sec. 42.

^c Isai. viii. 20.

^d Sec. 66.

^e Sec. 68.

own is the one "true" particular church, is still *sub judice*. In five years from its date, he must have sorely felt the imputation charged attaching to himself when he came to be ejected, through his party's original antagonists obtaining again the ascendancy. The piece we are remarking on is, "Independency, a Great Schism: Proved against Dr. Owen's Apology in his Tract 'Of Schism.' As also, an Appendix to the former Discourse; showing the Inconstancy of the Doctor, and the Inconsistency of his former and present Opinions. By D. Cawdrey, Preacher of the Word at Billing-Magna, in Northamptonshire. 1657." 12mo. pp. 249.

"The title at once begs the question and forestalls the proof," is the appropriate remark of the acute biographer not only of Owen^a but of Baxter; of both whom no less a distinguished Presbyterian than Thomas Chalmers, D. D., has affirmed that "Baxter, if second to any, was only second to Dr. John Owen, among the English Non-conformists of the seventeenth century; a race of men who contributed so much to the glories of what may be termed the Augustan age of Christianity in our island."^b

As Owen's "Review" of his opponent's reply will follow, but little notice of Cawdrey's tract will be exhibited in this immediate connexion. His "Appendix" amply exposes the treatment bestowed upon Owen, besides that it gave him that just reason and occasion to touch upon so large a number of incidents and facts in the history of religious parties, and of his personal concern in them, as are not easily reducible into a consistent body, without danger of losing the peculiar interest attaching to those several particulars in their original sequence from Owen's own pen.

Cawdrey says, "Since my finishing of the former discourse, there came, happily, to my hands a book of the learned Doctor's intitled 'The Duty of Pastors and People Distinguished,'^c licensed and highly commended by the Reverend and judicious Mr. Joseph Caryl, as

^a "Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Religious Connections of John Owen, D. D. Etc. By William Orme. 1820." Svo. Chap. ix. p. 260. Our ecclesiastical literature and the diffusion of evangelical truth, sustained an irreparable loss when this lamented minister sank into the grave, in 1830. He, with him who here records his bereavement, had each been occupied in revising, "with the exception of the last sheet and a half" of the deceased's, the proof-sheets of each other's contemporaneous labours, "The Life and Times of Richard Baxter; etc." 2 vols. Svo.; and "The Ecclesiastical Polity, etc. of Richard Hooker." 3 vols. Svo.; when both were at the same time prostrated by sickness, and the survivor mingles still with his deepest regrets the want of his friend's intelligence, counsel, and caution.

^b "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. 1821." Svo. vol. i. chap. vi. p. 239.

^c "The Duty of Pastors and People Distinguished: Or, A Brief Discourse, touching the Administration of Things Commanded in Religion; especially concerning the Means to be used by the People of God—distinct from Church-officers—for the increasing of Divine Knowledge in themselves and others: Wherein Bounds are prescribed to their Performances; their Liberty is enlarged to the utmost Extent of the Dictates of Nature and Rules of Charity; their Duty laid down in Directions drawn from Scripture Precepts, and the Practice of God's People in all Ages. Together with the several Ways of Extraordinary Calling to the Office of Public Teaching; with what Assurance such Teachers may have of their Calling, and what Evidence they can give of it unto others. 1644." 4to. pp. 56.

‘written with much clearness of judgment and moderation of spirit;’ put forth in the year 1644: by comparing whereof with this of his, ‘Of Schism,’ I perceive that wise and judicious men are still but men; subject to mistakes, and therefore had need of some of the policy or prudence of the five Apologists,^a not to be too peremptory in their new opinions or ways, not too presumptuous in despising others’ proceedings; but to reserve to themselves a latitude, and to keep some casements open to take in new light! This, our Rev. Author hath exemplified to be necessary for himself to make use of, as well as others of his present, Independent, way; or else he will be concluded to contradict himself, and in many things to make good the apostle’s dictate, ἀνὴρ εἰς ψυχὸς ἀκατάστατος Jas. i. 8. And yet had he changed to the better—from error to truth—the thing had been not only justly excusable but truly commendable, and might have been salved by a tract of Retractations,—as Austin sometime did,—without any prejudice to his reputation. But to run from opinion to opinion, from way to way, from truth to error—as many have done—not only to contrariety but to contradiction also, and take no notice of the difference of judgment and inconstancy of opinions and ways, is too palpable a discovery of an unsettled spirit that knows not where to fix! All the hope is, that if their new notions and ways be really discovered, and ingenuously by them acknowledged to be, erroneous, they that can change from truth to error may, in God’s good time—which is very rare—change back again from error to truth; which, wishing that the Doctor and his party may do; I shall only present to him some few of his former thoughts, to show him how dissonant they are to [from] his later undertakings.”^b

A Reply was endeavoured to be extorted by Cawdrey;^c and here we have before us “A Review of the true Nature of Schism; with a Vindication of the Congregational Churches in England from the Imputation thereof, unjustly charged on them by Mr. D. Cawdrey, Preacher of the Word at Billing in Northamptonshire. By John Owen, D. D.—2 Tim. ii. 24. 1st clause: Tit. i. 7. Gr.—Oxford, 1657.” 12mo. pp. 181.

This interesting tract is prefaced thus, “Christian Reader: It is now about three weeks since, that there was sent unto me a book intituled ‘Independency a Great Schism;’ as the frontispiece further promiseth, undertaken to be managed against something written by me in a treatise about ‘The true Nature of Schism,’ published about a year ago; with an addition of a charge of ‘inconstancy’ in opinion upon myself: of the one and the other, the ensuing discourse will give a further and full account. . . Engaging into a cursory perusal of it, I found the Reverend Author’s design and discourse to be of that tendency and nature as did not require nor would admit of any . . . delay. His manifold mistakes in apprehending the intention of my treatise and of the severals of it: his open presumption of his own principles as the source and spring of what pretends to be argumentative in his discourse; arbitrarily inferring from them without the least attempt of proof, whatever tenders its assistance to cast reproach on them with

^a Apol. Narration, p. 11.

^b P. 217—219.

^c P. 249.

whom he hath to do : his neglect in providing a defence for himself by any principles not easily turned upon him, against the same charge which he is pleased to manage against me : his avowed laying the foundation of his whole fabric in the sand of notoriously false suppositions : quickly delivered me from the thoughts of any necessity to delay the consideration of what he tendered to make good the title of his discourse. The open and manifest injury done not only to myself, in laying things to my charge which I know not ; lading me with reproaches tending to a rendering of me odious to all the ministers and churches in the world not agreeing with me in some few things concerning Gospel administrations, but also to all other churches and persons of the same judgment with myself ; called for a speedy account of the true state of the things contended about. Thou hast, therefore, here, Christian Reader, the product—through the grace of Him who supplieth seed to the sower—of the spare hours of four or five days, in which space of time this ensuing discourse was begun and finished. Expect not therefore, anything from it but what is necessary for the refutation of the book whereunto it is opposed ; and as to that end and purpose, I leave it to thy strictest judgment. . . —Christ's Church College, Oxon. July 9, 1657."

" Chap. i. . . Indeed, I questioned whether in that friendly composure of affections which, for sundry years, hath been carrying on between sober and godly men of the Presbyterian and Congregational judgment, any person of real godliness would interest himself to blow the coal of dissension, and engage in new exasperations ? I confess I always thought the plea of Cicero for Ligarius against Tubero most unreasonable ; namely, That if he had told—as he calls it—a honest and merciful lie in his behalf, yet it was not the part of a man to refel it ; especially of one who was accused of the same crime ! But yet I must needs say, a prompt readiness to follow most questionable accusations against honest defensatives, from good men unjustly accused by others of the same crime, I did not expect. I added this, also, in my thoughts, That the facility of tendering a discourse to the purpose, on the business under consideration, was obviated, by its being led out of the common road wherein common-place supplies would be of little use to any that should undertake it ; not once suspecting that any man of learning and judgment would make a return unto it out of vulgar discourses about ' Ministers' Calling ; ' ' Church-government ; ' or the like ! How far these and the like considerations might be a relief unto my thoughts in my fears of further controversial engagements, having the pressure of more business upon me than any one man I know, of my calling, in the whole nation ; I leave it to the judgment of them who love truth and peace : but what little confidence I ought, in the present posture of the minds of men, to have placed in any or all of them ; the discourse under consideration, hath instructed me : That any one thing hath fallen out according to my expectations and conjectures, but only its being a product of the men of the persuasion owned therein, I am yet to seek. The truth is, I cannot blame my Adversary *viis et modis* to make good the opposition he is engaged in ; it concerns him and his advisers beyond

their interest in the appearing skirts of this controversy! Perhaps also, an adjudged necessity of endeavouring a disreputation to *my* person and writings was one ingredient in the undertaking; if so, the whole frame was to be carried on by correspondent mediums; but let the principles and motives to this discourse be what they will, it is now made public; there being a warmer zeal acting therein, than in carrying on some other things expected from the same hand. . .

“What am I to expect from others, when such reverend men as this Author shall, by the power of prejudice, be carried beyond all bounds of moderation and christian tenderness in offending? I noway doubt but that Satan hath his design in this whole business: he knows how apt we are to fix on such provocations, and to contribute, thereupon, to the increase of our differences. Can he [the Author], according to the course of things in the world, expect any other issue but that, in the necessary defensative I am put upon, I should not wave such reflections and retortions on him and them with whom I have to do, as present themselves with as fair pleas and pretences unto me as it is possible for me to judge that the charges before mentioned—I mean of ‘schism, heresy,’ and the like—did unto him? For as to a return of anything in its own nature false and untrue as to matter of fact, to meet with that of the like kind wherewith I am entertained, I suppose the devil himself was hopeless to obtain it! Is he not filled with envy, to take notice in what love without dissimulation I walk with many of the Presbyterian judgment? What christian intercourse and communion I have with them, in England, Scotland, Holland, France; fearing that it may tend to the furtherance of peace and union among the churches of Christ? God assisting, I shall deceive his expectations; and though I be called ‘schismatic and heretic’ a thousand times, it shall not weaken my love or esteem of or towards any of the godly ministers or people of that way and judgment with whom I am acquainted or have occasion of converse.

“And for this Reverend Author himself, I shall not fail to pray that none of the things whereby he hath I fear administered advantage unto Satan to attempt the exasperations of the spirits of brethren one against another, may ever be laid to his charge. For my own part, I profess, in all sincerity, that such was my unhappiness or rather happiness, in the constant converse which, in sundry places, I have with persons of the Presbyterian judgment both of the English and Scottish nation, utterly of another frame of spirit than that which is now showed, that, until I saw this treatise, I did not believe that there had remained in any one godly, sober, judicious person in England such thoughts of heart in reference to our present differences as are visible and legible therein:

Tantæné animis cœlestibus iræ?

“I hope the Reverend Author will not be offended if I make bold to tell him that it will be no joy of heart to him one day, that he hath taken pains to cast oil on those flames which it is every one’s duty to labour to extinguish. . .

“First then, it is strenuously supposed all along, that I deny all or any churches in England to be true churches of Christ, except only the churches gathered in the Congregational way and upon their principles: then, that I deny all the Reformed churches beyond the seas to be true churches of Christ. This supposition being laid as the foundation of the whole building, a confutation of my treatise is fixed thereon; a comparison is instituted between the Donatists and myself; arguments are produced to prove their churches to be true churches, and their ministers to be true ministers. The charge of Schism, on this bottom, is freely given out and asserted; the proof of my ‘schismatical separation’ from hence deduced, and many terms of reproach are returned as a suitable reply to the provocation of this opinion. . .

“Well, to put an end to this controversy, seeing he would not believe what I told the world of my thoughts herein in my book ‘Of Schism,’ I now inform him again that all these surmises are fond and untrue. . . Blessed be the God of my salvation and of all my deliverances, I have yet liberty to declare the whole of my judgment in and about the things of his Worship. Blessed be God, it is not yet in the power of some men [!] to bring in that their conceited happiness into England which would, in their thoughts, accrue unto it by my removal from my native soil with all others of my judgment and persuasion. We are yet at peace, and we trust that the Lord will deliver us from the hands of men whose ‘tender mercies’ are ‘cruel!’ However, be it known unto them, that if it be the will of the Lord, upon our manifold provocations, to give us up to their disposal who are pleased to compass us with the *ornaments* of reproaches before mentioned, that so we might fall as a sacrifice to rage or violence; we shall, through His assistance and presence with us, dare to profess the whole of that Truth and those ways of his which He hath been pleased to reveal unto us. . .

“A second principle, of like importance, which he is pleased to make use of as a thing granted by me, or at least which he assumes as that which ought so to be, is, That whatever the Presbyterian ministers and churches be, I have separated from them; as have done all those whom he calls ‘Independents.’ This is another fountain out of which much bitter water flows. Hence, we must needs be thought to condemn *their* ministry and churches. The ‘Brownists were *our* fathers, and the Anabaptists are our elder brothers; we make a harlot of our mother; and are schismatics and sectaries,’ from one end of the book to the other: quod erat demonstrandum! But doth not this Reverend Author know that this is wholly denied by us? Is it not disproved sufficiently, in that very treatise which he undertakes to answer? . .

“For my part who am forced to bear all this wrath and storm, what hath he to lay to my charge? I condemn not their churches in general, to be no churches; nor any one that I am acquainted withal, in particular. I never disturbed, that I know of, the peace of any one of them, nor separated from them; but having already received my punishment, I expect to hear my crime by the next return!

“Thirdly : He supposeth throughout, that I deny not only the necessity of a successive ordination ; but, as far as I can understand him, the lawfulness of it also. By ordination of ministers, many, upon a mistake, understand only the imposition of hands that is used therein. Ordination of ministers, is one thing ; and imposition of hands, another ; differing as whole and part. Ordination, in Scripture, compriseth the whole authoritative translation of a man, from among the number of his brethren, into the state of an officer in the church. I suppose, he doth not think that this is denied by me ; though he tells me, with the same christian candour and tenderness which he exerciseth in every passage, almost, of his book, of making myself a minister ! and I know not what : I am, I bless the Lord, extremely remote from returning him any of his own coin, in satisfaction for this love ! For that part of it, which consists in the imposition of hands by the presbytery,—where it may be obtained according to the mind of Christ,—I am also very remote from managing any opposition unto it. I think it necessary, by virtue of precept ; and that to be continued in a way of succession : it is, I say, according to the mind of Christ that he who is to be ordained unto office in *any* church, receive imposition of hands from the elders of that church, if there be any therein ! And this is to be done in a way of succession, that so the *churches* may be perpetuated. That alone which I oppose, is the denying of this successive ordination [but] through the authority of Antichrist. . . As to the claim of a successive ordination down from the apostles, I made bold to affirm that I could not understand the validity of that successive ordination, as successive, which was derived down unto us from and by the first ‘party’ of men in the world.

“This Reverend Author’s reply hereunto, is like the rest of his discourse. . . If it be not so, and they plead not *their* successive ordination from Rome, there is an end of this difference ! . . That those first Reformers had their ordination from the People, is acknowledged : I have formerly evinced it by undeniable testimony : so that the proper succession of a ministry amongst the churches that are their offspring, runs up no higher than that rise ! . . I shall not at present, further pursue his discourse in that place : it is almost totally composed and made up of scornful revilings, reflections, and such other ingredients.

“He frequently, and very positively, affirms without the least hesitation, that I have ‘renounced’ my own ‘ordination ;’ and adds hereunto, that ‘whatever else they pretend, unless they renounce their ordination, nothing will please me ;’ that, ‘I condemn all other churches in the world as no churches :’ but who, I pray, told him these things ? Did he inquire so far after my mind in them as, without breach of charity, to be able to make such positive and express assertions concerning them ? . . I am now necessitated to tell him, that all these things are false, and utterly in part and in whole untrue ; and that he is not able to prove any one of them. . . That whole [sixth] chapter which he entitles ‘Independentism is Donatism,’ as to his application of it unto me or any of my persuasion, is of the same

importance, as I have sufficiently already evinced. I might instance in sundry other particulars wherein he ventures, without the least check or supposition, to charge me with what he pleaseth that may serve the turn in hand. . . One thing, wherein he much rejoiceth, and fronts his book with the discovery he hath made of it; namely, concerning my change of judgment as to the difference under present debate, which is the substance and design of his ‘Appendix;’ must he considered, and shall be, God assisting, in the next chapter accordingly.

“Chap. ii.—Though, perhaps, impartial men will be willing to give me an acquitment from the charge of altering my judgment in the matters of our present difference, upon the general account of the copartnership with one of the most inquiring men in this generation, as to things of no less importance; and though I might, against this Reverend Brother and others of the same mind and persuasion with him, at present relieve myself sufficiently by a recrimination in reference to their former Episcopal engagements, and sundry practices in the Worship of God them attending; pleading, in the mean time, the general issue, of changing from error to truth,—which, that I have done as to any change I have really made, I am ready at any time to maintain to this Author,—yet it being so much insisted upon by him as it is; and the charge thereof, in the instance given, accompanied with so many evil surmisings and uncharitable reflections, looking like the fruits of another principle than that whereby we ought in the management of our differences to be ruled; I shall give a more particular account of that which hath yielded him this great advantage.

“The sole instance insisted on by him is a small treatise published long ago by me, intituled ‘The Duty of Pastors and People Distinguished;’ wherein I profess myself to be of the Presbyterian judgment. *Excerpta* out of that treatise, with animadversions and comparisons thereon, make up the ‘Appendix’ which was judged necessary to be added to the book, to help on with the proof that ‘Independency is a great schism!’ Had it not been indeed needful to cause the person to suffer, as well as the thing; some suppose this pains might have been spared: . . the best is, here is no new thing produced, but what the world hath, long since, taken notice of, and made of it the worst they can! . . That little treatise was written by me in the year 1643, and then printed; however, it received the addition of a year in the date affixed to it by the printers.^a . . I was then a young man myself; about the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven years:^b the controversy between Independency and Presbytery was young also; nor indeed by me clearly understood, especially . . on the Congregational side. The conceptions delivered in the treatise were not, as appears in the issue, suited to the opinion of the one party nor of the other; but were such as occurred to my own naked consideration of things with relation to some differences that were then upheld in the place

^a Caryl’s Licence is dated, “May 11, 1644.”

^b Born in 1616, at Stadham, Oxfordshire; died at Ealing, Middlesex, Aug. 24th, 1683.

where I lived;^a only being unacquainted with the Congregational way, I professed myself to own the other party, not knowing but that my principles were suited to their judgment and profession, having looked very little further into those affairs than I was led by an opposition to Episcopacy and Ceremonies. Upon a review of what I had then asserted, I found that my principles were FAR MORE suited to what is the judgment and practice of the Congregational men than [to] those of the Presbyterian. Only, whereas I had not received any further clear information in these ways of the Worship of God which, since, I have been engaged in; as was said, I professed myself of the Presbyterian judgment, in opposition to democratical confusion; and indeed so I do still; and so do all the Congregational men in England, that I am acquainted withal: so that when I compare what I then wrote with my present judgment, I am scarce able to find the least difference between the one and the other; only a misapplication of names and things by me, gives countenance to this charge.

“Indeed, not long after, I set myself seriously to inquire into the controversies then warmly agitated in these nations. Of the Congregational way, I was not acquainted with any one person, minister or other; nor had I, to my knowledge, seen any more than one, in my life. My acquaintance lay wholly with ministers and people of the Presbyterian way. But sundry books being published on either side, I perused, and compared them with the Scripture and one another, according as I received ability from God. After a general view of them, as was my manner in other controversies, I fixed on one to take under peculiar consideration and examination, which seemed most methodically and strongly to maintain that which was contrary, as I thought, to my [then] present persuasion: this was Mr. Cotton’s book of ‘The Keys.’^b The examination and *confutation* hereof, merely for my own particular satisfaction, with what diligence and sincerity I was able I engaged in. What progress I made in that undertaking, I can manifest unto any, by the discourses on that subject and animadversions on that book yet abiding by me. In the pursuit and management of this work, quite besides and contrary to my expectation, at a time and season wherein I could expect nothing on that account but ruin in this world; without the knowledge or advice of or conference with any one person of that judgment, I was prevailed on to receive that, and those principles which I had thought to have set myself in an opposition unto! And, indeed, this way of impartial examining all things by the Word, comparing causes with causes and things with things, laying aside all prejudicate respects unto persons, or present traditions; is a course that I would admonish all to beware of, who would avoid the danger of being made ‘Independents!’ I cannot, indeed, deny but that it is possible I was advantaged in the disquisition of the truth I had in hand, from my former embracing of the principles laid down in the treatise insisted on. Now, being, by this means, settled in the Truth; which I am ready to maintain to this Reverend and learned Author, if he, or any other, suppose they have any advantage hereby against me, as to my reputation, which alone is sought in such

^a Fordham, Essex.

^b See back, vol. ii. p. 259.

attempts as this ; or, if I am blameably liable to the charge of ‘inconstancy,’ and ‘inconsistency’ with my own principles, which he thought meet to front his book withal, hereupon, I shall not labour to divest him of his apprehension ; having abundant cause to rejoice in the rich grace of a merciful and tender Father, that men seeking occasion to speak evil of so poor a worm tossed up and down in the midst of innumerable temptations, *I* should be found to fix on that which I know will be found my rejoicing ‘in the day of the Lord Jesus.’

“I am necessitated to add somewhat also to a surmise of this Reverend man, in reference to my Episcopal compliances in former days, and strict observation of their canons. This, indeed, I should not have taken notice of, but that I find others, besides this Author, pleasing themselves with this apprehension, and endeavouring an advantage against the truth I profess thereby. How little some of my adversaries are like to gain by brandishing this as a crime, is known ; and I profess I know not the conscience that is exercised in this matter ; but to deliver them, once for all, from involving themselves in the like antichristian procedure hereafter, let them now know what they might easily have known before ; namely, that this accusation is false, a plain calumny, a lie. As I was bred up from my infancy under the care of my father, who was a Nonconformist all his days, and a painful labourer in the vineyard of the Lord ;^a so ever since I came to have any distinct knowledge of the things belonging to the Worship of God, I have been fixed in judgment against that which I am calumniated withal : which is notoriously known to all that have had any acquaintance with me. What advantage this kind of proceeding is like to bring to his own soul, or the cause which he manageth, I leave to himself to judge. . .

“But this [alteration of my judgment] he saith, is an error which he gathered out of my book of ‘Schism ;’ and somebody hath sent him word from Oxford, that I preached the same doctrine at St. Mary’s. I wish his informer had never more deceived him ; it is most true I have done so ; and since, printed at large what then I delivered, with sundry additions thereunto. And if this Reverend Author shall think good to examine what I have published on that account,—not in the way, in this treatise, proceeded in, which in due time will be abhorred of himself and all good men ; but with candour, and a spirit of christian ingenuity and meekness,—I shall acknowledge myself obliged to him : and in the meantime, I desire him to be cautious of large expressions concerning all the ‘orthodox,’ to oppose that ‘opinion ;’ seeing evidences of the contrary lie at hand in great plenty ; and let him learn from hence, how little his insulting in his book on this account, is to be valued. . . He that can glory that in fourteen years he hath not altered or improved in his conception of some things of no greater importance than that mentioned, shall not have me for his rival. And this is the sum of Mr. C’s ‘Appendix.’ . .

“Chap. iii. . . As the Donatists were not the first who in story [history] were charged with ‘schism,’ no more was their schism confined to ‘Africa.’ The agreement of multitudes, in any principles, makes it in itself not one whit better ; and, in effect, worse. For my

^a Henry Owen died Rector of Harpsden, Oxfordshire, in 1649, æt. 63.

part I acknowledge the churches in England, Scotland and France; Helvetia, the Netherlands, Germany, Greece, Muscovia, etc.; as far as I know of them, to be true churches. Such, for aught I know, may be in Italy or Spain; and what pretence or colour this Reverend person hath to fix a contrary persuasion upon me with so many odious imputations and reflections; of being one of the restorers of all lost churches! and the like; I profess I know not. These things will not be peace in the latter end. Shall the sword devour for ever? I dare not suppose that he will ask, why then do I separate from them? He hath read my book 'Of Schism,' wherein I have undeniably proved that I have separated from none of them; and I am loth to say—though I fear before the close of my discourse, I shall be compelled to it,—that this Reverend Author hath answered a matter before he understood it [Prov. xviii. 13], and confuted a book whose main and chief design he did not once apprehend!

“The rest of this chapter, is composed of reflections upon me from my own words wrested at his pleasure, and added to according to the purpose in hand. . . He is troubled that I thought the mutual chargings each other with 'Schism' between the Presbyterians and Independents was, as to its heat, abated and ready to vanish! Wherein, he hath invincibly compelled me to acknowledge my mistake; and I assure him I am heartily sorry that I was mistaken; it will not be somebody's joy, one day, that I was so. . . He tells me that a 'learned' doctor said my book was one great 'Schism:' I hope that is but one doctor's opinion; because being nonsense, it is not fit it should be entertained by many! . .

“Chap. iv. . . I supposed I had proved that it was only one congregation that used to assemble in 'one place,' that the apostle charged this crime upon; that this Reverend Author was pleased to overlook what was produced to that purpose, I am not to be blamed. Here is another discovery that this Reverend person never yet clearly understood the design of my treatise, nor the principles I proceed upon. Doth he think it is anything to my present business whether the church of Corinth were such a church as Presbyterians suppose it to be, or such a one as the Independents affirm it? Whilst all acknowledge it to be 'one' church, be that particular church of what kind it will, if the 'schism' rebuked by the apostle consisted in division in it and not in separation from it as such, I have evinced all that I intended by the observation under consideration. . . I assure you, Sir, I am more troubled with your not understanding the business and design I manage than I am with all your reviling terms you have laden me withal. Once for all: . . I shall once more tell him—that he abide not in his mistake—that if he intend to evert the principles here by me insisted on, it must be by a demonstration that the Schism charged on the Corinthians by Paul consisted in the Separation from and relinquishment of that church whereof they were members, and congregating into another not before erected or established: for this is that which the Reformed Churches are charged to do, by the Romanists in respect of their churches, and accused 'of 'Schism' thereupon. . .

It is acknowledged that there were differences amongst them, and

disorders in the administration of the Lord's supper ; that therein, they used 'respect of persons,' as the place quoted in the margin by our Author, 'Jas. ii.,' manifests that they were ready to do in other places. The disorder the apostle blames in the administration of the ordinances was, when they came together 'in the church,' ver. 18 ; when they came together 'in one place,' ver. 20 ; there they tarried not 'one for another,' as they ought, ver. 33 ; but coming unprepared, some having eaten before, some being hungry, ver. 21, all things were managed with great confusion amongst them, ver. 22 ; and if this prove not that the 'schism' they were charged withal consisted in a Separation from that church with which they came together 'in one place,' we are hopeless of any further evidence to be tendered to that purpose. . .

"I confess, the apostle dehorts the 'brethren' from Schism, even others as well as those at Corinth, so far as 'the church of God' in all places and ages are concerned in his instructions and dehortations when they fall under the case stated, parallel with that which is the ground of his dealing with them at Corinth ; but what that Schism was from which he dehorts them, he declares only in the instance of the church of [at] Corinth ; and thence is the measure of it to be taken in reference to all dehorted from it. . .

"And thus have I briefly vindicated what was proposed as the precise Scripture notion of 'Schism ;' against which indeed not any one objection hath been raised that speaks directly to the thing in hand. Our Reverend Author being full of warm affections against the Independents, and exercised greatly in disputing the common principles which either they hold or are supposed so to do ; measures every thing that is spoken, by his apprehension of those differences wherein, as he thinks their concernment doth lie. Had it not been for some such prejudice,—for I am unwilling to ascribe it to more blameable principles,—it would have been almost impossible that he should have once imagined that he had made the least attempt towards the eversion of what I had asserted ; much less, that he had made good the title of his book ; though he scarce forgets it, or anything concerning it, but its proof, in any one whole leaf of his treatise. It remains, then, that the nature and notion of 'Schism' as revealed and described in the Scripture, was rightly fixed in my former discourse. And I must assure this Reverend Author, that I am not affrighted from the embracing and maintaining of it, with those scarecrows of 'new light,' 'singularity,' and the like, which he is pleased frequently to set up to that purpose. . .

"In all that follows to the end of this chapter, I meet with nothing of importance that deserves further notice. That which is spoken is, for the most part, built upon mistakes ; as that when I speak of a member or the members of one particular church, I intend only one single congregation exclusively to any other acceptation of that expression in reference to the apprehension of others : that I deny the Reformed churches to be true churches, because I deny the Church of Rome to be so : and, deny the institution of a National Church, which yet our Author pleads not for. . .

The usual aggravations of 'Schism,' he thought good to reinforce ; whether he hoped that I would dispute with him about them, I cannot

tell : I shall now assure him that I will not ; though, if I may have his good leave to say so, I lay much more weight on those insisted on by myself, wherein I am encouraged by his approbation of them.

“Chap. v. . . What my concernment is in the ensuing observations p. 74. ‘That the Judaical church was as corrupt as ours : that if a bare plea, of true or false,’ will serve to justify men, all Separatists may be justified :— he himself will easily perceive. But, however, I cannot but tell him by the way, that he who will dogmatize in this controversy, from the Judaical church and the course of proceedings amongst them, to the direction and limitation of duty as to the churches of the Gospel ; considering the vast and important differences between the constitutions of the one and the other, with the infallible obligation to certain principles on the account of the typical institution in that primitive church, when there neither was nor could be any more in the world ; must expect to bring other arguments, to compass his design, than the analogy pretended. . .

“There is but one passage more that needs to be remarked, and so this chapter also is dismissed. He puts in a caveat, page 78, That I limit not Schism ‘to the Worship of God [only] ;’ upon these words of mine [sect. 12], ‘The consideration of what sort of union in reference to the Worship of God,’—where he inserts in the repetition [quotation] ‘mark that!’—‘is instituted by Jesus Christ ; is the foundation of what I have further to offer :’ whereto he subjoined, ‘The design of this is, that he may have a fair retreat when he is charged with breach of union in other respects, and so with Schism, to escape by this evasion, This breach of union, is not in reference to the Worship of God in one assembly, met to that end.’ I wish we had once an ‘end’ of these mistakes and false, uncharitable, surmises ! By ‘the Worship of God’ I intend the whole compass of Institutions, and their tendency thereunto. And I know that I speak properly enough in so doing. I have no such design as I am charged withal ; nor do I need it. I walk not in fear of this author’s forces, that I should be providing before hand to secure my ‘retreat.’ I have passed the bounds of the precise notion of Schism before insisted on ; and yet doubt not, but God assisting, to make good my ground. . .

“I must profess to this Reverend Author, that I like not the cause he manages one whit the better for the way whereby he manageth it. We had need ‘watch and pray’ that we be not ‘led into temptation ;’ seeing we are, in some measure, ‘not ignorant’ of ‘the devices of Satan.’

“Now, that he may see this door of ‘escape’ shut up, that so he may not need to trouble himself any more in taking care lest I ‘escape’ that way when he intends to fall upon me with those blows which, as yet, I have not felt ; I shall shut it fast, myself, beyond all possibility of my opening it again. I here, then, declare unto him, that whenever he shall prove that I have broken any union of the institution of Jesus Christ, of what sort soever, I will not in excuse of myself insist on the plea mentioned, but will submit to the discipline which shall be thought meet by him to be exercised towards any one offending in that kind. Yet, truly, on this engagement, I would wil-

lingly contract with him, that in his next reply he should not deal with me as he hath done in this, neither as to my person nor as to the differences between us.

“ Chap. vi. . . I am bold to tell this Reverend Author, that this doctrine of his, concerning Schism in the catholic invisible church by the failings in grace in any of the members of it, for a season; is a new notion, which as he cannot justify to us, because it is false, so I wonder how he will justify it to himself, because it is new! And what hath been obtained by the Author against my principles in this chapter, I cannot perceive. The nature of the church in the state considered, is not opposed; the union asserted, not disproved; the breach of that union, is denied—as I suppose—no less by him than myself. That the instances that some saints, as members of this church, may sometimes fail in grace, more or less, for some season; and that the members of this church, though not as members of this church yet on other considerations, may be guilty of Schism; concern not the business under debate, himself, I hope, is satisfied.

“ Chap. vii. . . His first attempt in this chapter is upon a short discourse of mine in my process, which I profess [chap. v. sect. 2.] not to be ‘needful to the purpose in hand;’ relating to some later disputes about the nature of this church, wherein some had affirmed it to be a genus to particular churches, which are so many distinct species of it; and others, that it was a *totum* made up of particular churches as its parts: both which, in some sense, I denied, partly out of a desire to keep off all debates about the things of God from being enwrapped and agitated in and under philosophical notions and feigned terms of art; which hath exceedingly multiplied controversies in the world and rendered them endless, and doth, more or less, straiten or oppose every truth that is so dealt withal; partly, because I evidently saw men deducing false consequents from the supposition of such notions of this church. For the first way, our Reverend Author lets it pass only with a remark, p. 88, upon my dissenting from Mr. Hooker of New England, which he could not but note by the way, although he approves what I affirm. A worthy note! As though all the brethren of the Presbyterian way were agreed among themselves, in all things of the like importance; or that I were, in my judgment, enthralled to any man or men, so that it should deserve a note when I dissent from them! Truly, I bless God, I am utterly unacquainted with any such frame of spirit or bondage of mind, as must be supposed to be in them whose dissent from other men is a matter of such observation. ‘One’ is my ‘Master,’ to whom alone my heart and judgment are in subjection. For the latter [way], I do not say absolutely [chap. v. sect 2], that ‘particular churches’ are not *the* parts of the catholic visible in any sense; but that they are not ‘so’ parts of it as such, so ‘[as] that it should be constituted and made up by them and of them, for the order and purpose of an instituted church,’ for ‘the celebration of the worship of God and institutions of Christ according to the Gospel;’ which, when our Author proves that it is, I shall acknowledge myself obliged to him. He says, indeed, p. 39, that ‘it was once possible’ that ‘all the members of the catholic church should meet together, to hear one

sermon, etc. ;' but he is to prove that they were bound to do so, as that catholic church ; and not, that it was possible for all the members of it, under any other notion or consideration, so to converse. But he says, ' They are bound to do so still ; but that the multitude make it impossible.' *Credat Apella!* that Christ hath ' bound' his church to that which Himself makes ' impossible.' Neither are they so bound : ' they are bound,' by his own acknowledgment, to be members of ' particular churches ;' and in that capacity are they bound so to convene ; those churches being, by the will of God, appointed for the seat of ' ordinances ;' and so, what he adds in the next place, of particular churches being bound, according to the ' institution of Christ,' to assemble for the celebration of ordinances, is absolutely destructive of the former figment.—But he would ' know a reason,' p. 90, ' Why forty or more' that are not members of one particular church, ' but only of the catholic,' meeting together may not join together in all ordinances, as well as they may meet to hear the Word preached, and often do ? To which, I answer, that it is because Jesus Christ hath appointed ' particular churches ;' and there is more required to them, than the occasional meeting of some, any, or all if possible, of the members of the catholic church, as such, will afford. . .

" Chap viii.—The title of our Author's book is ' Independency a Great Schism ;' of this chapter [vi.], that it may be the better known what kind of Schism it is, ' Independentism is Donatism !' Men may give what title they please to their books and chapters ; though perhaps, few books make good their titles. I am sure this doth not as yet : *nisi accusasse sufficiat!* Attempts of proof, we have not as yet met withal. What this chapter will furnish us withal, we shall now consider. He indeed that shall weigh the title, ' Independentism is Donatism,' and then, casting his eyes upon the first lines of the chapter itself, find that the Reverend Author says he ' cannot but acknowledge' that what I plead for the ' vindication of Protestants from the charge of Schism, in their separation from Rome as the catholic church,' to be [is] ' rational, solid, and judicious :' will perhaps, be at a loss in conjecturing how I am like to be dealt with in the following discourse. A little patience will let him see that our Author lays more weight upon the title than upon the preface of this chapter ; and that, with all my fine trappings, I am enrolled in the black book of the Donatists. But, *quod fors feret feramus æquo animo ;* or, as another saith, *debemus optare optima, cogitare difficillima, ferre quæcunque erunt ;* as the case is fallen out, we must deal with it as we can. . .

" Sir, I have no ' singular' notion of Schism ; but embrace that which Paul hath long since declared : nor can you manifest any difference in my ' notion' from what he hath delivered : nor is that ' notion' of Schism at all under consideration in reference to what I affirm of the Donatists,—who, in truth, were concerned in it, the most of them, to the utmost ;—but the union of that church-catholic, and the breach thereof ! Neither am I jealous or fearful ' of the charge of Schism' from any person living on the earth ; and least of all from men proceeding in church-affairs upon the principles you proceed on. Had you

not been pleased to have supposed what you please, without the least ground or colour, or reason, perhaps you would have as little satisfied yourself in the charge you have undertaken to manage against me, as you have done [against] many good men, as the case now stands, even of your own judgment in other things! . . .

“To repeat more of the like mistakes and surmises, with the wranglings that ensue, on such false suppositions, to the end of this chapter, is certainly needless. For my part, in and about this whole business, of Separation from the catholic church, I had not the least respect to Presbyterians or Independents as such; nor to the differences between them, which alone our Author, out of his zeal to truth and peace, attends unto. If he will fasten the guilt of Schism on any on the account of Separation from the catholic church; let him prove that that church is not made up of the ‘universality of professors of the Gospel throughout the world,’ under the limitations expressed: that the Union of it as such, doth not consist in the ‘profession of the truth;’ and, that the breach of that union, whereby a man ceases to be a member of that church, is Schism: otherwise, to tell me that I am a ‘sectary,’ a ‘schismatic;’ to fill up his pages with vain surmises and supposals; to talk of a difference and schism, among the members of the catholic church; or the like impertinencies; will never further his discourse among men either rational, solid, or judicious! All that ensues to the end of this chapter, is about the ordination of ministers; wherein, however he hath been pleased to deal with me in much bitterness of spirit, with many clamours and false accusations, I am glad to find him, p. 120, renouncing ‘ordination from the authority of the Church of Rome as such;’ for I am assured that by his so doing, he can claim it no way from, by, or through, Rome; for nothing came to us thence, but what came in and by the ‘authority’ of that church.

“Chap. ix. We are now gathering towards what seems of most immediate concernment as to this Reverend Author’s undertaking; namely, to treat of the nature of a ‘Particular Church’ its union, and the breach of that union. The description I give [chap. vii. sect. 1] of such a church is this, ‘It is a society of men called, by the Word, to the obedience of the Faith in Christ; and [to the] joint performance of the Worship of God in the same individual ordinances, according to the order by Him prescribed.’ This, I profess to be a ‘general description’ of its nature, waving all contests about ‘accurate’ definitions, which usually tend very little to the discovery or establishment of truth. After some canvassing of this ‘Description,’ our Author tells us, p. 124, that he grants it to be ‘the definition of a Particular Church; which is more than I intended it for: only he adds, that according to this description, their churches are as true as ours; which I presume, by this time he knows was not the thing in question.

“His ensuing discourse, p. 125, of the will of Christ, that men should join not all in ‘the same individual congregation, but in this or that;’ is by me wholly assented unto, and the matter of it contended for by me as I am able. . . His argument in the close of the Section, p. 127, for a Presbyterian church, from Acts xx. 17, because there is mention of more ‘elders’ than one in that ‘church,’ and ‘therefore

it was not one single congregation: I do not understand. I think no one single Congregation, is wholly completed according to the mind of Christ, unless there be 'more elders than one,' in it. There should be 'Elders in every church;' and for my part, so we could once agree practically in the matter of our churches, I am under some apprehension that it were no impossible thing to reconcile the whole difference as to a Presbyterian church or a single congregation! And though I be reproved anew for my pains, I may offer ere long, to the candid consideration of godly men, something that may provoke others, of better abilities and more leisure, to endeavour the carrying on of so good a work. . .

"He may be pleased to take notice that I am so far from confining Baptism subjectively to a particular congregation, that I do not believe that any member of a particular church was ever *regularly* baptized! Baptism precedes admission into church-membership, as to a particular church: the subject of it, is professing 'believers' and their 'seed;' as such, they have right unto it whether they be joined to any particular church or not. Suitable to this judgment, hath been my constant and uninterrupted practice. I desire also to know, Who told him, that I 'deny' a minister to be a minister to more than his own church; or averred, p. 128, that he may perform ministerial duty only in and towards the members of 'his own congregation!' For-so-much as men are appointed the objects of the dispensation of the Word, I grant a man, in the dispensation of it, to act ministerially towards not only the members of the catholic church, but the visible members of the world also in contradistinction thereunto.

"The third thing laid down by me whereunto also he assents, is 'That every believer is obliged to join himself to some one of those churches, that there he may abide in doctrine, and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayer.' But my reasons whereby I prove this, he says, p. 129, he likes not so well. And truly, I cannot help it; I have little hope he should 'like' anything well, which is done by me! Let him be pleased to furnish me with better, and I shall make use of them; but yet when he shall attempt so to do, it is odds but that one or other will find as many flaws in them, as he pretends to do in mine: but this, he saith, p. 128, he 'shall make use of;' and that, he 'shall make advantage of;' and I know not what, as if he were playing a prize upon a stage! The third reason, is that which *he* likes worst of all; and *I* like the business the better, that what he understands least, that he likes worst! it is, [chap. vii. sect. 10] 'That Christ hath given no direction for any duty of Worship merely and purely of sovereign institution, but only to [in] them and by them who are so joined! Hereupon, he asks, p. 130, 1. Is baptism a [no] part of Worship?' Yes, and to be so performed by them [him] that is a minister in or of them. I fear my expression in this place led him to his whole mistake in this matter. [He asks] '2. Prayer, and reading of the Word, in private families; are they no duty of Worship?' Not 'merely and purely of sovereign institution!' [Again] '3. Is preaching to convert heathen, a duty of Worship?' Not, as described, in all cases: when it is, it is to be performed by a minister!

And so he knows my answer to his next invidious inquiry, p. 130, relating to my own person.^a Against my fourth reason [sect. ii.] taken from ‘the apostles’ care to leave none out of this order who were converted, where it was possible;’ he gives in, the instance of the Eunuch and others, ‘converted’ where there were not enough to engage in such societies, That is, in them with whom it was impossible! My fifth reason, [sect. 12] is from Christ’s providing of ‘officers for these churches:’ this also, he saith, p. 131, ‘is [as] weak as the rest: for 1. Christ provided officers at first for the catholic church, that is, the apostles [etc.]: 2. All ordinary officers, are set *first* [*dele*] in the catholic church, and every minister is first a minister to the catholic church;’ and ‘if’ saith he, ‘he deny this, he knows where to find a *learned* antagonist!’

“But see what it is, to have a mind to dispute! Will he deny, that Christ appointed ‘officers’ for ‘particular churches?’ or, if he should have a mind to do it, will his arguments evince any such thing? Christ appointed ‘apostles’ catholic officers; therefore, he did not appoint officers for particular churches; though he commanded, that Elders should be ordained in every church! ‘Pastors and teachers’ are set first in the catholic church, [Eph. iv. 12] therefore, Christ hath not ordained ‘officers’ for particular churches! But this is the way with our Author; if any word offers itself whence it is possible to draw out the mention of anything that is or hath, at any time, been in difference between Presbyterians and Independents, that presently is run away withal. For my part, I had not the least thought of the controversy which, to no purpose at all, he would here lead me to; but yet I must tell him that my judgment is, that ‘ordinary officers’ are firstly to be ordained in Particular Churches. And as I know where to find ‘a learned antagonist’ as to that particular, so I do in respect of every thing that I affirm or deny in the business of religion; and yet I bless the Lord I am not in the least disquieted or shaken in my adherence to the truth I profess. . .

“What he remarks upon or adds to my next discourse, about ‘instituted Worship’ in general, I shall not need to insist on; only, by the way, I cannot but take notice of what he calls, p. 133, a ‘chief piece of Independency;’ and that is, ‘that those who are joined in church-fellowship are so confined that they cannot, or may not, worship God in the same ordinances in other churches.’ How this comes to be a ‘chief piece of Independency,’ I know not. It is contrary to the known practice of all the churches in England that I am acquainted with, which he calls Independents. For my part, I know but one man of that mind, and he is no child in these things. . .

“For the present, I do not doubt but the Spirit of God in the Scripture is furnished with sufficient authority to erect ‘new churches,’ and set up the celebration of all ordinances, on supposition that there was an ‘Intercession’ of them! To declare the way of His exerting his authority to this purpose, with the obviating of all objections to the contrary; is not a matter to be tossed up and down in this scamb-

^a “By what authority doth he himself preach and pray to and with the Parliament, or at St. Mary’s in Oxford, with a mixt, unjoined, congregation?”

ling chase : and I am not a little unhappy that this Reverend person was in the dark to my design and aim all along ; which hath entangled this dispute with so many impertinences. But however, I shall answer a question which he is pleased to put to me in particular. He asks me, then, p. 136, ‘ Whether I do not think in my conscience that, There were no true churches in England until the Brownists our fathers, the Anabaptists our elder brothers, and ourselves, arose and gathered new churches !’ With thanks for the civility of the inquiry in the manner of its expression, I answer, No, I have no such thoughts ! And his pretence of my insinuations of any such thing is most vain, as also in his insultation thereupon. Truly, if men will, in all things, take liberty to *speak* what they *please*, they have no reason but to think that they may at one time or other *hear* that which will *displease*.

“ Having investigated the Nature of a Particular Church, I proceed, in my treatise ‘ Of Schism,’ [chap. vii. sect. 20,] to inquire after the Union of it ; wherein it doth consist, and what is the breach thereof : the sum is, The joint consent of the members to walk together, in celebration of the same oecumenical ordinances, according to the mind of Jesus Christ ; is that wherein the Union of such a church doth consist. This is variously excepted against ; and I know not what disputes about an implicit and explicit covenant ; of specifying forms ; of the practice of New and old England ; of admission of church members ; of the right of the members of the Catholic church to all ordinances ; of the miscarriage of the Independents ; of church matriculations, and such like things, not once considered by me in my proposal of the matter in hand, are fallen upon, p. 143, etc. By the way, he falls upon my judgment about ‘ the Inhabitation of the Spirit ;’ calls it an ‘ error,’ p. 146 ; and says, ‘ so it hath been reputed by all that are orthodox ;’ raising terrible suspicions, and intimations of judgments on our way, from God, by my falling into that ‘ error ;’ when yet I say no more than the Scripture saith in express terms forty times ; for which, I refer him to what I have written on that subject, wherein I have also the concurrence of Polanus, Bucanus, Dorchetus, with sundry others, Lutherans and Calvinists. It may be when he hath seriously weighed what I have offered to the clearing of that glorious Truth of the Gospel, he may entertain more gentle thoughts both concerning it and me ! . . .

“ As an express consent and subjection to Christ in general, is required to constitute a man a member of the church-catholic-visible, so if the Lord Jesus hath appointed any Particular Church for the celebration of his ordinances, is not their ‘ consent’ who are to walk in them, necessary thereunto ? But the topic of an ‘ explicit covenant,’ p. 150, presenting itself with an advantage to take up some leaves, would not be waved, though nothing at all to the purpose in hand. . . .

“ He gives me a sad farewell at the close of the chapter, which must be taken notice of. ‘ Is it not,’ saith he, ‘ the design of his book to prove, if he could, and condemn us as no churches ? Let the world be judge.’ And I say, Let all the saints of God judge ! and Jesus Christ will judge whether I have not outrageous injury done me in

this imputation. ‘But,’ saith he, ‘unless this be proved, he can never justify his Separation:’ Sir, when you and your bretheren told the Bishops, ‘they thanked God, they were none of them!’ and defied the Prelatical Church, did they make a ‘Separation’ or not? were they guilty of Schism? I suppose you will not say so; nor do I: yet have I done any such thing in reference to you or your churches? I have no more separated from you than you have done from me; and as for the distance which is between us, upon our disagreement about the way of Reformation; let all the churches of God judge on which side it hath been managed with more breach of love, on yours or mine. Let me assure you, Sir, through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, I can freely forgive unto you all your reproaches, revilings, hard censurings, and endeavours to expose me to public obloquy, and yet hope that I may have before we die a place in your heart and prayers.

“Chap x. We are come now, to the chapter that must do the work intended, or else operam et oleum predidimus. ‘Independentism, a Great Schism,’ is the title of it. What this ‘Independentism’ is he doth neither here declare nor in any other part of his book; nor do I know what it is that he intends by it. I hear, indeed, from him, that it is a ‘Schism,’ a Sect, but of what peculiar import, or wherein it consists, he hath not declared. I suppose he would have it taken for ‘Separation from true churches;’ but neither doth the notion of the name, though invidiously broached, and disavowed by them to whom it is ascribed, import any such thing; nor is the thing itself owned by them with whom he pretends to have to do. I find, indeed, that he tells us that all ‘sectaries’ are ‘Independents, Anabaptists, Seekers, Ranters, Quakers!’ Doth he expect that I should undertake their defence? What, if it should appear that I have done more against them than our Reverend Author and many of his brethren joined with him! He may, perhaps, be willing to load myself and those which he is pleased to call my associates ‘my party,’ I know not what! with their evil miscarriages. But, is this done as becomes a Christian, a minister, a brother? What security hath he, that had he been the only judge and disposer of things in religion in this nation, if I and my associates had been sent to plant churches among the Indians, that he should have prevented the eruption of error and abominations which we have been exercised withal in this generation, unless he had sent for Duke d’Alva’s instruments^a to work his ends by? and, indeed, there is scarce any sect in the nation but, had they their desires, they would take that course! This may be done by any that are uppermost, if they please.

“But how shall we know what it is he intends by ‘Independentism?’ All, it may be, that are not Presbyterians are [reputed] Independents: among these, some professedly separate both from them and us,—for there are none that separate from them but withal they separate from us, that I know of,—because, as they say, neither theirs nor ours are true churches. We grant them, to be true churches, but withal deny that we separate from them. Is it possible at once, to defend both these sects of men? is it possible at once, with the same arguments, to

^a See back, vol i. p. 14.

charge them? The whole discourse, then, of our Reverend Author being uniform, it can concern but one of these sects of 'Independents;' which it is, any man may judge that takes the least view of his treatise. He deals with them that unchurch their churches, unminister their ministers, disannul their ordinances; leaving them churchless, officerless, and in the like sad condition. Is this 'Independentism a Schism?' Though that it is properly so called, he cannot prove, yet I hope he did not expect that I should plead for it! What I shall do in this case, I profess, well I know not. I here deny that I unminister their ministers, unchurch their churches: hath this Author any more to say to me or those of my persuasion? Doth not this whole discourse proceed upon a supposition that it is otherwise with them with whom he hath to do? Only, I must tell him, by the way, that if he suppose by this concession that I justify and own their way, wherein they differ from the CONGREGATIONAL Ministers in England, to be of Christ's Institution; or, that I grant all things to be done regularly among them, and according to the mind of Christ; therein I must profess he is mistaken. In brief, by 'Independentism' he intends a separation from true churches, with condemning them to be no churches, and their ministers no ministers, and their ordinances none, or antichristian. Whatever becomes of the 'Nature of Schism,' I disavow the appearing as an advocate in the behalf of this 'Independentism.' If by 'Independentism,' we understand the peaceable proceeding of any of the people of God in this nation, in the several parts of it, to join themselves, by their free consent, to walk together in the observation and celebration of all the ordinances of Christ appointed to be observed and celebrated in Particular Churches; so to reform themselves from the disorders wherein they were entangled; being not able, in some things, to join in that way of Reformation which many godly ministers, commonly called 'Presbyterians' have engaged in and seek to promote, without judging and condemning them as to the whole of their station or ordinances; if this, I say, be intended by 'Independentism,' when the Reverend Author shall undertake to prove it Schism, having not in his book spoken one word or tittle to it, his discourse will be attended unto. This whole chapter, then being spent against those who deny them to be true churches, and defend Separation; I marvel what can be said unto it by me, or how I come to be concerned in it, who grant them true churches and deny Separation! But our Reverend Author knowing that if this bottom be taken from under him, he hath no foundation for anything he asserts, thought it not sufficient to charge me over and over, with what is here denied; but, at length, attempts to make it good from my own words; which if he doth effect and make good, I confess he changes the whole nature and state of the dispute in hand. Let us see then, how he answers this undertaking.

"From those words of mine [chap. viii. sect. 54] 'the reformation of any church, or anything in it, is the reducing of it to its primitive institution,' approving the assertion as true, he labours, p. 200, to evince that I deny their churches to be true churches. How so, I pray? Why we erect 'new' churches 'out of no churches!' and

‘It had been happy for England,’ if we had all gone to do this work among the ‘Indians!’ What will prove England’s happiness or unhappiness, the day will manifest; this is but man’s day, and judgment; He is coming who will not judge by the seeing of the eye nor by the hearing of the ear [1 Cor. iv. 5.]. In the meantime, we bless God, and think all England hath cause to bless God, whatever become of us, that he and our Brethren of the same mind with him in the things of God, have *their* liberty to preach the Gospel and carry on the work of Reformation in their *native* soil, and are not sent to the ends of the earth as many of ours have been! But, how doth our gathering of churches, deny them to be true churches? Doth our granting them to be true churches, also grant that all the saints in England are members of *their* churches? It is notoriously known that it is and was otherwise; and that when they and we began to reform, thousands of the people of God in these nations had no reason to suppose themselves to belong to one particular church rather than another. They lived in one parish, heard in another, removed up and down for their advantage; and were in bondage on that account, all their days.

“But he says, p. *ib.* in some words following, I ‘discover’ my ‘very heart.’ I cannot but by the way tell him that it is a sufficient evidence of his unacquaintedness with me, that he thinks there is need of searching and racking my words to ‘discover my very heart’ in anything that belongs—though in never so remote a distance—to the Worship of God. All that know me, know how open and free I am in these things; how ready on all occasions to declare my whole heart; it is neither fear nor favour can influence me unto another frame: but what are the words that make this noble discovery? They are these that follow, [Sect. 55.], ‘When any society, or combination of men,—whatever hitherto, it hath been esteemed,—is not capable of such a reduction and renovation; that is, to its primitive institution,—I suppose I shall never provoke any wise or sober person if I profess, I cannot look on such a society as a church of Christ.’ His reply hereunto is the hinge upon which his whole discourse turneth, and must therefore be considered. Thus, then, he, ‘Is not this, Reader, at once to unchurch all the churches of England since the Reformation; for it is known, during the reign of the Prelates they were not capable of that reduction? And what capacity our churches are now in for that reduction, partly by want of power and assistance from the magistrate; without which, some dare not set upon a Reformation, for fear of a *præmunire*; partly, by our divisions amongst ourselves, fomented by he knows whom! he cannot but see, as well as we lament.’ And hereupon he proceeds with sundry complaints of my dealing with them.

“And now, Christian Reader, what shall we say to these things? A naked supposition of no strength or weight, that will not hold in any thing or case; namely, that a thing is not to be judged ‘capable’ of that which by some external force it is withheld from; is the sole bottom of all this charge! The churches of England were ‘capable of that reduction’ to their primitive institution, under ‘the

Prelates;’ though, in some things, hindered by them from actual reducement: so they are, now, in sundry places where the work is not so much as attempted: the sluggard’s field is ‘capable’ of being weeded! The present want of ‘capacity,’ from the non-assistance of ‘the magistrate,’ whilst perfect liberty for Reformation is given and the work in its several degrees encouraged; will be found to be a sad plea for some, when things come to be tried out by the rule of the Gospel. And for ‘our divisions,’ I confess I begin to discover somewhat more by ‘whom,’ they are ‘fomented,’ than I did four days ago! For the matter itself, I desire our Reverend Author to take notice, that I judge every church ‘capable’ of a reduction to its primitive Institution which, all outward hinderances being removed and all assistances granted that are necessary for Reformation according to the Gospel, may be reduced into the form and order appointed unto a Particular Church by Jesus Christ. And where any society is not so ‘capable,’ let them call themselves what they please, I shall advise those therein who have, personally, a due right to the privileges purchased for them by Jesus Christ, in the way of their administration by Him appointed, to take some other, peaceable, course to make themselves partakers of them. And for giving this advice I neither dread the anger nor indignation of any man living in the world! . . .

“I shall not digress to a recharge upon this Reverend Author and those of the same profession with him, as to their mistakes and miscarriages in the work of Reformation; nor discuss their ways and principles wherein I am not satisfied as to their procedure. I yet hope for better things than to be necessitated to carry on the defensative of the way wherein I walk, by opposing theirs. . .

“Whatever his thoughts may be of my pamphlet, I do not fear to affirm of his treatise that I have found nothing in it from the beginning to the ending, but what hath lain neglected on booksellers’ stalls for above these seven years! . . .

“The way of gathering churches upon a supposition of their antecedency to ‘officers,’ he says, p. 211, is very ‘pretty;’ and loads it with the difficulty of men’s coming to be ‘baptized,’^a in such a case. But as I can tell him of that which is neither true nor ‘pretty’ in the practice of some whom he knows, or hath reason so to do, so I can assure him that *we* are not concerned in his ‘objection’ about ‘baptism;’ and with them who may possibly be so, it is a ridiculous thing to think it an objection. And for that part of my inquiry, Whether the church be before ordinary officers, or they before it; as slight[ly] as he is pleased to make of it, it will be found to lie very near the bottom of all our differences; and the right stating of it to conduce to the composure and determination of them. . .

“He shuts up his discourse as he began it. Reciting my words, by adding, interposing, perverting, commenting, inquiring, he makes them speak what he pleases, and compasses the ends of his delight upon them: . . . it is a facile way of writing treatises, and proving whatever men have a mind unto. . .

“God forbid that I should think all the members of the ‘catholic

^a “But these Christians joining together are supposed to be baptized.”

church,' in England, to be comprised either jointly or severally in 'their' churches or 'ours,' seeing it cannot be avoided but you will keep up those notes of division! I doubt not, but there be many thousands of them, who walk neither with you nor us. He adds, p. *sup.*, that by 'gathering saints of the first magnitude' we do what lies in us 'to make the invisible church, visible:' it is confessed, we do so; yea, we know that that church which is invisible in some respect and under one formal consideration, is visible as to its profession which it makes unto salvation. This, with all that lies in us, we draw them out unto. What he adds, about the church's being 'elect,' and the 'uncomely parts' of it; which they may be, for a season, who are 'elect believers,' because it must be spoken, are useless cavils. . .

"My next profession [Sect. 6] of our relation to 'The Church of England,' [is] in respect of that denomination given to the body of professors in this nation cleaving to the doctrine of the Gospel here preached, and established by law as the public profession of this nation. But he tells me, p. 160, 1. That 'many Independent churches' in this nation are 'grossly apostatized' from that 'doctrine,' and so are 'heretical:' 2. That 'the Worship' was 'professed' and 'protested' and established, as well as the 'doctrine;' and that we are all departed from it, and so are 'schismatical:' for we hold communion with them, he says, p. 161, in the same doctrine, but not in 'the same worship.' 1. His first exception ariseth from the advantage he makes use of from his large use of the word 'Independent,' which will serve him, in his sense, for what end he pleaseth. In the sense before declared, his charge is denied: let him prove it by instance, if he be able. Surely, God hath not given *orthodox* men leave to speak what they please, without due regard to love and truth! 2. As to the 'worship' established in this nation by law,—he means, the way of worship; for the substantial of it, we are all agreed in,—I suppose he will not say, a relinquishment of the practice of it is Schism: if he do, I know what use some men will make of his affirmation; though I know not how he will free himself from being 'schismatical.' For his renewed charge of Schism, I cannot, I confess, be moved at it, proceeding from him who neither doth nor will know what it is! His next endeavour is to make use of another concession of mine [Sect. 7.] concerning 'our receiving of our regeneration and new birth, by the preaching of the Word,' in England; saying, p. 161, 'Could they make use of our preaching [and baptism, for their regeneration, and not of the other sacrament; and the same preaching, for their confirmation; and besides, now renounce us as no true churches? This, we think is Brownistical, and highly schismatical.']: but the truth is, when most of us, by the free grace of God, received our new birth through the preaching of the Word, neither they nor we, as to the practice of our ways, were in England! so that their concernment as such in the concession, is very small; and we hope, since, in respect of others, our own ministry hath not been altogether fruitless, though we make no [invidious] comparison with them!

"In rendering of the next passage, which is concerning Anabaptists and Anabaptism, I shall not contend with him; he hath not, in the

least, impaired the truth of what I assert [Sect. 8.] in reference to them and their way. . .

“Page 167, we arrive at that which, alone almost, I expected would have been insisted on; and quite contrary thereto, it is utterly waved, namely, the whole business of ‘a National Church,’ upon which account indeed all the pretence of the charge this Reverend Author is pleased to manage, doth arise. Take that out of the way, and certainly they and we are upon even terms! And if we will be judged by them who were last in possession of the *reiglement* of that Church—upon supposition, that there is such a Church still,—they are no more interested in it than we: yea, are as guilty of Schism from it as we! But that, being set aside, and Particular Churches only remaining, it will be very difficult for him to raise the least pretence of his ‘great’ charge. But let us consider what he thinks meet to fasten on in that discourse of mine about a National Church. The first thing, is my inquiry, Whether the denial of ‘the Institution’ of a national church,—which he pleads not for,—doth not deny, in consequence, that we had either ordinances or ministry amongst us? p. 168. To which, I say that though ‘it seems to do so,’ yet indeed it doth not; because there was, then, ‘another church-state,’ even that of Particular Churches, amongst us. With many kind reflections, of my renouncing my ministry, and rejecting my ‘jejune and empty vindication’ of their ministry!—which yet is the very same that himself fixes on,—he asks me how I can ‘in my conscience believe that there were any true ministers in this Church in the time of its being National?’ and so proceeds to infer from hence, my denying of all ministry and ordinances among them. Truly, though I were more to be despised than I am—if that be possible!—yet it were not common prudence for any man to take so much pains to make me his enemy whether I will or not. He cannot but know that I deny utterly that ever we had indeed, whatever men thought, a National church; for I grant no such thing as a National church in the present sense contended about. That in England, under the rule of the Prelates, when they looked on the church as National, there were true churches and true ministers, though in much disorder as to the way of entering into the ministry and dispensing of ordinances, I grant freely; which is all this Reverend Author, if I understand him, pleads for: and this, he says, p. 169, I was unwilling to acknowledge, lest I should ‘thereby condemn’ myself, ‘as a schismatic.’

“Truly, in the many sad differences and divisions that are in the world amongst Christians, I have not been without sad and jealous thoughts of heart lest by any doctrine or practice of mine I should, occasionally, contribute anything unto them. If it hath been otherwise with this Author, I envy not his frame of spirit: but I must freely say, that having, together with them, weighed the reasons for them, I have been very little moved with the clamorous accusations and insinuations of this Author. In the meantime, if it be possible to give him satisfaction, I here let him know that I assent unto that sum of all he hath to say, . . . p. 170, as to the ‘true and faithful ministers *with the* [their] *people in their several congregations*, administering the true ordinances of Jesus Christ, whereof baptism is one, was and is

the true church-state of England ;' from which, I am not separated : nor do I think that 'some additions, of human prudence,' or imprudence, can disannul 'the ordinances of Jesus Christ.' Upon the disavower made of any other National Church state, and the assertion of this to answer all intents and purposes, I suppose now that the Reverend Author knows that it is incumbent on him to prove that we have been members of some of these particular churches in due order according to the mind of Christ, to all intents and purposes of church-membership ; and, that we have in our individual persons raised causeless differences in those particular churches whereof we were members respectively, and so separated from them with the condemnation of them ; or else, according to his own principles, he fails in his brotherly conclusion : Ἦδὸν Π'όδος, ἰδὸν πῆδημα.

"I suppose the Reader is weary of pursuing things so little to our purpose. If he will hear any further, that Independents are 'schismatics ;' that the setting up of their way, hath opened a door to all evils and confusions ; that they have separated from all churches, and condemn all churches in the world but their own ; that they have 'hindered' Reformation, and the setting up of the Presbyterian church[!] p. 176 : that being members of 'our churches' as they are members of the nation, because they are born in it, yet they have deserted them ; that they gather churches which they pretend to be spick-and-span new ; [that] they have separated from 'us ;' that they countenance Quakers and all other sectaries ; that they will reform a National Church, whether men will or not, though they say that they only desire to reform themselves, and plead for liberty to that end ! If any man, I say, have a mind to read or hear of this, any more, let him read the rest of this chapter ; or else converse with some persons whom I can direct him to, who talk at this wholesome rate all the day long.

"What seems to be my particular concernment, I shall a little further attend unto. Some words—for that is the manner of managing this controversy—are culled out from p. 259, 260 [Chap. viii. sect. 43] to be made the matter of further contest. Thus they lie in my treatise, 'As the not giving a man's self up unto any way, and submitting to any establishment, pretended or pleaded to be of Christ, which he hath not light for, and which he was not by any act of his own formerly engaged in ; cannot, with any colour or pretence of reason, be reckoned unto him for Schism, though he may, if he persist in his refusal, prejudice his own edification ; so, no more can a man's peaceable relinquishment of the ordinary communion of one church in all its relations, be so esteemed.' These words have as yet, unto me a very harmless aspect ; but our Reverend Author is sharp-sighted, and sees I know not what monsters in them : for first, saith he here, p. 187, 'he seems to me to be a very sceptic in his way of Independency.' Why so, I pray ? This will 'gratify all sects, Quakers and all, with a Toleration !' How, I pray ? it is Schism, not 'Toleration,' we are treating about. But this leaves *them* to 'judge of,' as well as others, 'what is, and what is not according to the mind of Christ !' Why, pray Sir, who is appointed to 'judge' finally for them ? 'Why,

then should they 'be denied their liberty?' but is that the thing under consideration? Had you concluded, that their not submitting to what they have not light for its Institution, is not properly Schism, you should have seen how far I had been concerned in the inference; but excursions unto 'Quakers,' etc., are one topic of such discourses.

"But now, he asks me, one question, it seems to try whether I am a 'sceptic,' or not. 'Whether,' saith he, p. 188, 'does he believe his own way to be the only true way of Christ, for he hath instituted but one way; having *run* from and renounced all other *ways* in this nation?' I promise you, this is a hard question, and not easily answered: if I deny it, he will say, I am a 'sceptic;' and other things also will be brought in: if I affirm it, it may be he will say that I condemn their churches for no churches, and the like! It is good to be wary, when a man hath to deal with *wise* men. How, if I should say, that our way and their way are for the substance of them, one way; and so I cannot say that my way is 'the only true way' exclusively of theirs; I suppose this may do pretty well? But I fear this will scarce give satisfaction; and yet I know not well how I can go any further: yet this I will add, I do indeed believe that wherein their way and our way differ, our way is according to the mind of Christ, and not theirs: and this, I am ready at any time, God assisting, personally to maintain to him. And as for my *running* from *ways* of religion; I dare again tell him these reproaches and calumnies become him not at all. But he proceeds: 'If so,' saith he, 'is not every man bound to come into it; and not upon every conceived [conceited, *sic*, Cawdrey] new light to relinquish it?' Truly, I think Mr. C. himself *is* 'bound to come into it!' and yet I do not think that his not so doing, makes him a 'schismatic!' And as for relinquishment, I assert no more than what he himself concludes to be lawful.

"And thus, Christian reader, I have given thee a brief account of all things of any importance that I could meet withal in this treatise, and of many which are of very little. If thou shalt be pleased to compare my treatise 'Of Schism' with the refutation of it, thou wilt quickly see how short this is of that which it pretends to; how untouched my principles do abide; and how the most material parts of my discourse are utterly passed by without any notice taken of them. The truth is, in the way chosen by this Reverend Author to proceed in, men may multiply writings to the world's end without driving any controversy to an issue. Descanting and harping on words; making exceptions to particular passages, and the like; is an easy and facile, and to some men a pleasant, labour. What small reason our Author had to give his book the title it bears, unless it were to discover his design, I hope doth by this time appear. Much of the proof of it lies in the repeated asseverations of it; it is so! and, it is so! If he shall be pleased to send me word of one argument tending that way that is not founded in an evident mistake, I will promise him if I live, a reconsideration of it.

"In the meantime, I humbly beg of this Reverend Author that he would review, in the presence of the Lord, the frame of spirit wherein he wrote this charge; as also, that he would take into his

thoughts all the reproaches and all the obloquy he hath endeavoured to load me, causelessly, and falsely, withal. As for myself, my name, reputation, and esteem with the churches of God to whom he hath endeavoured to render me odious; I commit the whole concernment of them to Him whose presence, through grace, I have hitherto enjoyed, and whose promise I lean upon, that he will never leave me nor forsake me. I shall not complain of my usage: [for] what am I? [but] of the usage of many precious saints and holy churches of Jesus Christ, to Him that lives and sees; any further, than by begging that it may not be laid to his charge. And if so mean a person as I am can, in any way, be serviceable to him, or to any of the churches that he pleads for, in reference to the Gospel of Christ, I hope my life will not be dear to me that I may effect it. And I shall not cease to pray that both he and those who promoted this work in his hand, may, at length, consider the many calls of God that are evident upon them to lay aside these unseemly animosities, and to endeavour a coalition, in love, with all those who in sincerity call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Lord and ours.

“For the distances themselves that are between us wherein we are not as yet agreed, what is the just state of them; the principles whereupon we proceed, with the necessity of our practice in conformity thereunto; what we judge our Brethren to come short in, of, or wherein to go beyond the mind of Jesus Christ; with a further vindication of this business of Schism; I have some good grounds of expectation that, possibly ere long, we may see a fair discussion of these things in a pursuit of truth and peace.”

Cawdrey returned to the combat in “Independency further proved to be a Schism: Or, A Survey of Dr. Owen’s Review of his Tract of Schism: with a Vindication of the Author from his unjust Clamours and false Aspersions. 1658.” 12mo. pp. 158. Upon which, followed, “A Defence of Mr. John Cotton from the Imputation of Self-contradiction, charged on him by Mr. Dan. Cawdrey: Written by Himself, not long before his death. To which is prefixed an Answer to a late Treatise of the said Mr. Cawdrey, about the Nature of Schism. By John Owen, D: D. Tit. i. 7. Gr.—1658.” 12mo. pp. 83.

“I am not in the least convinced,” Owen writes here, “that Mr. Cawdrey hath given satisfaction to my former expostulations, about the injuries done me in his other treatises, and hath evidently added to the number and weight of them in this.^a . . . I confess I was somewhat surprised with the delivery of his judgment in reference to many of his own party, whom he condemns of ‘schism’ for not administering the Lord’s supper to all the congregation with whom they pray and preach. I suppose the greatest part of the most godly and able ministers of the Presbyterian way in England and Scotland are here cast into the same condition of ‘schismatics’ with the Independents! And the truth is, I am not yet without hopes of seeing a fair coalescence in love and church-communion between the reforming Presbyterians and Independents; though for it, they shall with some suffer under the unjust imputation of ‘schism.’^b . . .

^a P. 7.

^b P. 71, 72.

“We deny that since the Gospel came into England, the Presbyterian government as by them stated, was ever set up in England, but in the wills [only] of a party of men; so that here as yet, unless as it lies in particular congregations, where our right is as good as theirs, none have separated from it, that I know of; though many cannot consent unto it. The first ages we plead ours, the following were unquestionably episcopal.^a . . .

“Let this reverend author make what use of it he please, I cannot but again tell him that these things become neither him nor any man professing the religion of Jesus Christ, or that hath any respect to truth or sobriety. Can any man think that, in his conscience, he gives any credit to the insinuation which here he makes, that I should thank him for calling me ‘reverend author,’ or ‘reverend doctor,’ or be troubled for his not using those expressions? Can the mind of an honest man be thought to be conversant with such mean and low thoughts? For the title of ‘reverend,’ I do give him notice that I have very little valued it ever since I have considered the saying of Luther, ‘Nunquam periclitatur religio nisi inter Reverendissimos:’ so that he may as to me, forbear it for the future, and call me as the Quakers do, and it shall suffice. And for that of ‘doctor,’ it was conferred on me by the University in my absence and against my consent, as they have expressed it under their public seal; nor doth anything but gratitude and respect unto them, make me once own it, and, freed from that obligation, I should never use it more; nor did I use it until some were offended with me and blamed me for my neglect of them.^b . . . Sundry other particulars there are, partly false and calumniating, partly impertinent, partly consisting in mistakes; that I thought at the first view, to have made mention of: but on several accounts, I am rather willing here to put an end to the reader’s trouble and my own.”^c

CHAP. LXXX.

CROMWELL AND THE “FIFTH MONARCHY MEN.”

THE many curious incidental particulars contained in the pieces composing this and the subesquent chapter, give insight into the peculiarity of the events and of the chief actor in them, and display moreover in proportion to our limits, in the least sophistical way, “the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure.”^d

We commence with “A Voice from the Temple, to the Higher

^a P. 79.

^b P. 97, 98.

^c P. 100.—In the year 1680, Owen was again involved in “A Brief Vindication of the Nonconformists from the Charge of Schism; as it was managed against them in a Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, by Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul’s.” 4to. pp. 56. And in a further “Vindication,” coupled with his “Inquiry into the Origin, etc. of Evangelical Churches. 1681.” 4to.

^d Shakspeare.

Powers: Wherein is showed, That it is the work and duty of Saints to search the Prophecies and Visions of Holy Scripture which concern 'the Latter Times;' and, That Jesus Christ will reveal the Understanding of them, near the end of their Accomplishment. And so much, is here clearly proved; and the Objections to the contrary, answered. Also, several Prophecies are here opened, concerning 'The time of the End:' and what is the present 'Work of the Lord' in the World; and wherein the Saints, whether the Higher Powers or others, are now to move and follow Him. Likewise, what will be 'the Work of the Lord' forward, and all along, from year to year, till 'the Mystery of God be finished,' both among the Christian-Gentiles and Jews. By John Canne. 1653." 4to. pp. 39.

"This short treatise," he tells His Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, "was intended in publishing, specially for you, as being thereunto encouraged by your Honour. . . Not only myself but many more who love you truly and dearly, earnestly desire—and beg it daily of God for you—that those Prophecies which speak out the work of God to be done now in the world, may be searched by you, and clearly opened to you. . . If the Lord shall be pleased to perfect by you, the good work which he hath made you instrumental in, that is, to be His and our General still, for the execution of the last vengeance upon the two persecuting powers of the world, namely, kingly and antichristian, it will be such an honour as few of the sons of men ever had." This is followed by an Epistle "To the Rt. Hon. Col. Robert Overton, Governor of Hull, and his religious Lady, etc.," whom he tells, "I have found all along, in opening the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation to you, the answer of your prayers, and the fruit of your faith abundantly upon my soul. I know these things when they were delivered, offended the Priests in that country; and in all likelihood, being made now more public, will increase their rage and blasphemy against the God of heaven, because of their pains and sores. . . I hope there will be, shortly, some effectual means used to remove from the people the heaviest burden and sorest plague that lies upon them; which is, a generation of *Priests* that fatten the people for the day of slaughter."

On looking into the narrative itself, what shall be said of passages like these? "The High Court of Justice which was erected in the year 1648, before which the last of our kings had his trial and sentence, was no other than that 'throne' of God mentioned in Dan. vii. 9, 10.—I do not confine 'the thrones' in Daniel, and the sitting of 'the Ancient of Days' unto England. . . But. . . what was done by the Parliament and High Court of Justice in taking away the king, and changing, in part, the form of government, was no other than a fulfilling of that prophecy in Daniel. Not that our statesmen thought so, or so intended; but God did put it in their hearts to do his will."^a "That 'the Ancient of days' hath set up his throne in England, I am further confirmed by the happy dissolution of the late [Long] Parliament; really I have wondered that the Lord should suffer such men so long to profane His throne: . . and, had not the General [Cromwell] done what he did to have the 'thrones' purged from that dross

^a P. 14.

and filth which cleaved thereto, I know not how he could have answered God for that power and trust which He hath put into his hands." ^a . . . "A long time I never expected any good from the late Parliament, for I plainly saw they had no desire to glorify God in the fulfilling of His will, to the rooting up of the remnants either of monarchy or anti-christianism; but rather sought to oppress the bodies and souls of the people, under the heavy burdens of them both." ^b

But to show that truly "the secret things belong unto the Lord our God," ^c we exhibit this proof of infirmity and presumption: "In brief, my opinion is this; as the antichristian state shall be destroyed before or by the year 1660, and all that fulfilled which is set down Rev. xviii.; so not beyond the year 1666 shall the antichristians themselves, and worshippers of the Beast, escape 'the vengeance of the Lord' and 'of his temple;' ^d but either, by repentance from dead works, come in and put themselves under the glorious sceptre of Jesus Christ, or [be] 'cast into the great winepress of the wrath of God;' and so that fulfilled, Rev. xix. And here the Lord will put an end and period to all the troubles of the Gentile churches, not to go beyond or further than the year 1666. After that time, they shall be 'called to the marriage supper of the Lamb,' and sing 'Alleluia; salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God: Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!'" ^e

Another instance of presumptuous miscalculation is as follows: "Some will still creep in unawares, . . . nevertheless this I would have the reader observe, That about the year 1655, the righteous alone shall flourish and be exalted: 'a two edged sword' is 'in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written.'" ^f And this Supreme Power, shall abide with them four or five years without interruption, until they have broken in pieces the 'fourth monarchy!'" ^g

But we pass on to "A Second Voice from the Temple, to the Higher Powers: Wherein is proved, That the Decrees and Institutions of Popes and Popish Counsels which have been established by the Law of the Land, and have been continued and confirmed throughout divers Ages by several Acts of Parliament, against Jesus Christ; in the Way and Order of the Gospel—the same yet standing—ought, by the present Supreme Authority of this Nation, to be taken away. Moreover, here is showed some particular Decrees of Popes which have been established by several Acts of Parliaments, namely, a National Ministry, Tithes, Prohibiting men from public preaching of the Gospel unless elected and ordained after a Popish manner, etc. All which, as they are the Institutions of Popes formerly confirmed by the Law of the Land, so now to be abrogated. By John Canne. 1653." 4to. pp. 32.

It might suffice here, that the tenour of this piece should be inferred from its title; yet the following portions of the narrative are needful to give some insight into the author's views: "It is a ministry, or

^a P. 15.
^e P. 24.

^b P. 20..
^f Psal. cxlix. 6—9.

^c Deut. xxix. 29.

^d Jer. l. 28.
^g P. 30.

more truly a priesthood, taken and derived from the see of Rome which I here speak of; this I call the 'National Ministry,' because, to say the truth, I know no ecclesiastical person—properly so called—which the law of the land allows as lawful, but he whose ministry is essentially derived from the Pope."^a "To allow such a ministry, is to acknowledge the Pope of Rome to be a true minister of the Gospel: . . . hence it is by our law that those who are made priests in the church of Rome, if they come to the church of England retain their priesthood as full and ample as before."^b "To make the calling of one 'national' minister better or more lawful than another, is absurd. In their personal graces, qualifications, administrations, here they may differ; but as to their office and ministry, so they are alike and all one. I speak here what the law of the land hath established and allowed, not valuing the distinction which some make of their own head."^c "Howsoever," writes Canne, "I do observe that the Independents and Presbyterians do appear most for Tithe, yet the truth is neither of them, by the law of the land, have any title to it: for they are not such 'incumbents, or ecclesiastical persons' as the law allows, in case of tithes. . . . Again, for such as have renounced their ordination by bishops, . . . these, the law of the land counts 'sectaries' and 'schismatics,' . . . and so, to be suspended."^d

Notwithstanding what flattery might have proceeded from them, the subjects of the Fifth Monarchy^e or Millennium mania soon arrived at their highest state of rampancy,^f having received unmitigable provocation to resentment from a public denunciation by Cromwell, in his Speech in the Painted Chamber, Sept. 4th, 1654. Having made an allusion to 1 Tim. iv. 2, the Protector remarked that

"The character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place, is so legible and visible that he that runs may read it to be amongst us; for by such, 'the grace of God' is turned into wantonness, and Christ and the Spirit of God made the cloak of all villany and spurious apprehensions. And although these things will not be owned publicly as to practice—they being so abominable and odious,—yet how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, make me to think of a second sort of men, who it is true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet tell the Magistrate 'That he hath nothing to do with men thus holding: for, these are matters of conscience and opinion; they are matters of religion. What hath the Magistrate to do with these things? He is to look to the outward man, but not to meddle with the inward.' And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, as it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment!

"Such considerations and pretensions of liberty; liberty of conscience, and liberty of subjects; [are] two as glorious things to be contended for, as any God hath given us: yet both these, also, abused, for the patronizing of villanies; in-

^a P. 4.—"Thus, Francis Mason [in a Vindication of the Church of England, 1613, fol.] of 'Consecration;' published by Authority. . . . So, Mr. [John] Yates, 'We are ministers from Rome, though not of Rome;' and gives this as 'a bone for the Brownists to pick:.' Model of Divinity [1622. 4to.] p. 257." *Supra*, p. 5.

^b P. 6.

^c P. 9.

^d P. 11.

^e The four others were the Assyrian; the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman.

^f The majority of the Little, or "Barebone's" Parliament, in 1653, "being Fifth Monarchy men, threatened total destruction to the ministry and the lawyers." *Biographia Britannica*, Ed. 2nd. art. Crom. p. 499.—See back, vol. i. p. 293, note c.

so much as that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm 'That it was not in the Magistrate's power; he had nothing to do with it; not so much as the printing a Bible to the nation for the use of the people, lest it be imposed upon the consciences of men, for they must receive the same, traditionally and implicitly, from the power of the Magistrate if thus received!' The above-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height amongst us. The axe was laid to the root of the Ministry: 'it was antichristian; it was Babylonish.' It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth of it is, as the extremity was great on that, I wish it prove not so on this hand. The extremity was, That no man having a good testimony, having received gifts from Christ, might preach, if not nullity! So now many are on the other hand; That he who is ordained, hath a nullity or antichristianism stamped upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not to be heard!

"I wish it may not be too, too justly be said, that there was severity and sharpness; yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matter of conscience; a spirit unchristian enough in any times; most unfit for these: denying liberty to those who have earned it with their blood; who have gained civil liberty and religious also, for those who would thus impose upon them.

"We may reckon among these our spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it and more colour for it; and hath deceived more people of integrity, than the rest have done: for few have been catched with the former mistakes, but such as have apostatized from their holy profession; such as, being corrupt in their consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome opinions. But I say, there are others, more refined: many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God; and that is the mistaken notion of the 'Fifth Monarchy!' A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else; a notion I hope we all honour, wait, and hope for, That Jesus Christ will have a time to set up His 'reign' in our hearts by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there, which reign now more in the world, than I hope, in due time they shall do; and, when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions amongst Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that 'kingdom!'

"But for men to entitle themselves upon this principle, 'That they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to [the] people;' to determine of property and liberty, and everything else, upon such a pretence as this is; truly they had need give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Besides, certainly though many of these men have good meanings, as, I hope in my soul, they have, yet it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith—when he had reckoned up those horrible things done upon pretences; and happily by some, upon mistakes,—'of some,' says he, 'have compassion, making a difference; others, save with fear, pulling them out of the fire.'^a I fear they will give opportunity too often for this exercise; and I hope the same will be for their good.

"If men do but pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits; and will manifest this; let them be the subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the Magistrate by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by this discipline—God having ordained him for that end,—I hope it will evidence love, and no hatred, to punish where there is cause.

"Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger of that spirit; for if these were but notions,—I mean the instances that I have given you both of civil considerations and spiritual; if, I say, they were but notions,—they were to be let alone. Notions will hurt none but them that have them! But when they come to such practices as to tell us 'That liberty and property are not the badges of the kingdom of Christ;' and tell us 'That instead of regulating laws, laws are to be abrogated, indeed, subverted;' and, perhaps, would bring in the Judaical laws instead of our known laws settled amongst us: this, is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration; especially where every stone is turned, to bring confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's consideration!

^a Ver. 22, 23.

“ Whilst these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn, in spirit and principle, from one end to another after this sort and manner I have told you; family against family; husband against wife; parent against children; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but overturning! overturning! overturning! ^a in a Scripture very much abused, and applied to justify unpardonable practices, by all men of discontented spirits—the Common Adversary in the meantime he sleeps not; and our Adversaries in civil and spiritual respects, did take advantages of these divisions and distractions, and did practise accordingly in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“ We know very well, that emissaries of the Jesuits never came, in these swarms, as they have done since these things were set on foot. And I can tell you that divers gentlemen here can bear witness with me, how that they have had a Consistory abroad that rules all the affairs of things in England, from an Archbishop with other dependents upon him: and, they had fixed in England—of which, we are able to produce the particular Instrument, in most of the limits of the cathedrals—an Episcopal power, with Archdeacons, etc.; and, had persons authorised to exercise and distribute those things, who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in this sad and, as I said, deplorable condition!”^b

So much for an introduction to another of those remarkable publications which were products of the effervescings of enthusiasm, but are come to be as warning-pillars which should guide futurity. The mistakes of enthusiasts ought to bring no disparagement upon the more sober judgment and conduct of any who entertain the like doctrine fundamentally; not even though these should themselves also stray beside or indeed a little beyond what exactness and truth require. That any whom we designate emphatically the “ Five,” cherished and discoursed upon the expected “ time ” when “ all things shall be subdued unto Christ;”^c it contributes to prove the solidity of their judgment, that on so exciting a theme they restrained themselves so well from exceeding the bounds of sobriety and prudence. We wonder and therefore ask again, How is it, that they who differ from, or it may be have deserted their standard, on one fundamental point of Scripture doctrine, are remarkable for running into excess to the prejudice of all Scripture? See in this and all history, what it relates too copiously not to justify our observation: and see now “ ‘ The Time of the End: ’ Showing, First, [That] until the ‘ Three Years and a Half are come— which are the last of the ‘ Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days ’—the Prophecies of the Scripture will not be understood concerning the Duration, and Period of the Fourth Monarchy and Kingdom of ‘ The Beast: ’ Then, Secondly, [That] when that ‘ Time ’ shall come, before the expiration, the Knowledge of ‘ the End ’—or, that ‘ there shall be Time no longer; ’—will be revealed by the Rise of ‘ a Little Horn, ’ The last Apostacy, and, The Beast slaying the ‘ Witnesses: ’ Contemporizing the characters of which Little Horn, The last Apostacy, and Beast, as the Scriptures show them; [they] are Here faithfully opened; and the Application left to the Wise. By John Canne.— Amos iii. 7; Matt. x. 34.—Lond. 1657.” 16mo. pp. 275.

That the “ application ” is to CROMWELL, appears first in the Epistle of ten pages “ To the Reader,” subscribed “ Chr. Feake.” He writes, “ The Prince of the Apostates himself hath been compelled, by

^a Ezek. xxi. 27.

^b “ His Highness the Lord Protector’s Speech to the Parliament, . . the 4th of September, . . 1654.” 4to. p. 9—17.

^c 1 Cor. xv. 28.

the overruling power of our Lord Jesus . . . to trample upon his own 'Government'^a with notable contempt, in the presence of his cowardly men of war. Oh, what joy of heart is it to us to live to see how, in that very thing wherein they dealt so proudly, so imperiously, the Lord is above them, and leaves them to such a degree of folly as to set at nought in such notable language in set speeches, the works of their own heads and hands; and that in so short a space of time! Verily, it cannot be treason any longer—no, not in the sense of the Court itself,^b — to imagine, speak, or write, against the 'Instrument'—or instruments—which brought forth that monstrous 'Government.' Ye may all speak treason by authority, O ye inhabitants of these three isles of the sea; for your 'Lord Protector' himself hath lately set you a pattern to pour contempt upon the whole fabric, both foundation and superstruction! . . . I desire . . . it may be understood and remembered by friends and enemies, that we have not by our Testimony engaged our liberties and lives against the General, and the apostatizing part of the army, merely, or indeed principally, upon the account of the expiration of the time allotted to the 'little Horn,' and 'the Beast'—as it may be, some have done;—but upon the account of that good, righteous, and blessed 'Cause' which he and his officers seemed formerly to have loved better than their own lives. . . . All such upright Christians as are not, nor shall be, softened by his tears,^c nor entrapped by his spies, have cause to reckon those two deliverances in the catalogue of their choice mercies from the Lord. The best preservative is to keep out of the sight of the one, and out of the reach of the other: far enough, and safe enough!"

John Rogers follows, in twenty pages of "An Epistolary Perambulation. or, A word to every one round the World." He represents himself to "have more reason than another, to think the ensuing matter taught of God; and to join with this brother—this old sufferer and standard against the prelates and tyrants, old and new,—in wing and word: seeing, without so much as conference, . . . I should hear, in public, from him . . . in my prisons; and, . . . had prepared . . . for the press, the very same things! . . . We think it is easy for so many learned, wise, and able Doctors, Triers, and Chaplains, to handle us if we be in error: . . . the weaker we are, the easier will their work be to answer us. That some of your chiefest heads were once of the same mind with us in these matters, appears by their sermons and former practices, until they came to leave the churches and their pastorships for College-places and corner-caps; and so became Vice-Chancellors, Doctors, Proctors, Presidents, Triers, and such as are in deep traffic with the 'Whore's' merchandise. Did we ever think the Dragon's 'tail' could drag down such stars as these to the earth? to such earthly, yea anti-christian, titles, orders, customs, laws, and degrees, as they have taken? . . . to forsake the churches for heathen-schools; the Bride for the

^a The Engagement; or, "Instrument of Government"—making Cromwell "Protector." See it remarked on in Hume's History of England, chap. lxi. an. 1654, particularly between the "3d. of Sept." and "11th of March," 1653-4."

^b "The court party:" so Hume terms it.

^c See Hume, sup. an. 1656, "With the pretended saints;" etc.

Whore, and the Whore harnessed too in her old filthy, adulterous robes? the very same Popish statutes up and unrepealed at this day, that were in Queen Mary's days, and in the thick of popery? However they refine them a little outwardly, yet the same *idola oculorum*, or feminine idols and trumperies—hoods, caps, robes, rings, holy-days, music, commencements, and divinity-acts,—are yet up! Conradus Pellican, upon his death-bed desired he might not be buried a 'doctor;' for, he said, he must 'rise a disciple, and poor creature.' O Peter, Peter, Peter,' says Mr. Tyndal, 'thou wast too long a fisherman then, if this be lawful: for thou wert never brought up at the Arches[court]; nor wert thou ever Master of the Rolls, Chancellor of England, nor Vice-Chancellor of Oxford! . . . Ye are, though untruly, called 'The Schools of the Prophets'—whereas, in truth, ye are the schools of the profane atheists and heathen; infusing heathenish principles, by heathenish authors, into proud, bold, fantastical, graceless youth. And for this reason, have the saints all along engaged against them; Wyckliffe, Huss, Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndal, and a hundred more; yea, the Brownists at large, to King James petitioned that they might no longer continue heathen but Christian schools. . . Besides, you are accounted the fountain and nursery of the ministry, that is—not of the church, but secular clergy;—not of Christ's but Aristotle's and the State's ministry, that buy what they sell, and then sell what they so have bought. . . The time is near when this 'Beast' and his whole 'body,' whereof you are a part, must be 'given to the burning flame.'^a . . . If it be the 'end,' then woe . . . to all that are involved with the 'Beast' at this day; from court to country; from their 'Protector' to the beggar!^b . . . Woe unto you, soldier, that fightest under the Beast's banner; because the want of a good conscience will eat out thy valour!^c Woe unto you that . . . have pocketed up, as ye have done, the King's Deans' and Chapters' lands; or 'the accursed thing.'^d . . . And woe to *you* that have been both the archer and mark in all your actions, shooting at your own praise and profit; because an arrow shall come from the King's hands, which must shoot you through the very 'heart.'^e . . . Woe to you tyrants and Nimrods of the earth, that do now 'rule' over the saints, and 'make them to howl';^f because 'the time of the end' doth come wherein you shall howl, and the saints shall rejoice and rule over you!"^g

Passing over all or nearly all, the speculative matter,^h we come to Canne's close "application," in these words, "As the 'ten horns' are ten governments or states, so, I think, is the 'little horn' a state or government which may thus be described—A company of men [who], in the last days, having left their former principles of justice, law, and conscience, shall assume unto themselves a state, or body-politic, appointing one as Head, and framing an 'Instrument of Government' suitable to it."ⁱ

^a Dan. vii. 11.

^b Rev. xiv. 10.

^c Jer. l. 43.

^d Jud. vi. 17.

^e Psal. xlv. 5; Isai. i. 31.

^f Isai. lii. 5.

^g Isai. xiv. 2; Dan. vii. 18.

^h "To the end, what I shall say afterward, as more home and proper to the time, may be the better understood." p. 3.

ⁱ P. 130.

“The reader,” he says, “may understand not only the time when the ‘Little Horn’ shall stand up, but one manifest character to know him by. Under his ‘Government’ there will be a large toleration of religion; for he will pretend great care to tender consciences, as that every one may have liberty to worship God in what form he listeth: only he will not allow that any should assert what the Scriptures plainly testify concerning the breaking of the image; and in particular, that he shall be ‘slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame;’ the saints ‘shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end:’^a anything but this! But this will not be suffered. No toleration here of tender consciences; any lie rather will be borne than this truth; and how to suppress it will be the great business, and therefore ‘crafty counsel’^b will be taken against Jehovah and his Christ.”^c

“‘He shall subdue three kings:’^d . . . I would have the reader to consider, Whether these may not be England, Scotland, and Ireland? Being, by the mighty hand of God, brought off and raised up from a great deal of tyranny and arbitrary power under which they were enslaved; and having obtained much of their ancient freedom, rights, and privileges, and [being] in a hopeful way to a thorough reformation at home, and, to have been instruments abroad of much good to other nations in suppressing tyranny and idolatry; behold, on a sudden, out of the last apostacy, as the bottomless pit, up starts the last ‘little horn,’ who humbles them, and brings them down under the oppression and bondage wherein they were before, or rather more hinders them in going on in the work of reformation, and instead of doing good to other nations, makes these three countries a reproach and a scorn everywhere!”^e

“It will not be so much by carnal policy, and the wisdom of this world, for in this respect, the other ‘horns’ were not blind; but he gets power and authority another way into his hauds; namely, by standing up for and with a good interest, and so gains the hearts and prayers of God’s people; and afterwards, having what he desired, turns his ‘horn’—that is, his power, army, and council,—against the holy people, and the Good Old Cause by which he was first raised.”^f

“Under all his protestations, oaths, covenants, great undertakings, etc., the plot and design which he will carry on, is how to make himself and his family great by the ruin of that ‘Cause’ so much before pretended to. In a word, that he is said to have ‘man’s eyes,’^g I take the meaning to be thus, This ‘horn’ shall be a notorious hypocrite, a very atheist, a monster, a monstrous monster; one that shall discover more hypocrisy and atheism, if his former and latter actions be compared together, than ever was done before him, by any person upon the face of the earth.”^h

“Now there is little cause of admiration, to hear a man speak wickedly, that doth wickedly: but to see a man ‘make war’ against ‘the saints;’ weary them out by bonds and imprisonment; destroy the

^a Dan. vii. 11, 26.

^b Psal. lxxxiii. 3.

^c P. 139.

^d Dan. vii. 24.

^e P. 147.

^f P. 150.

^g Dan. vii. 8.

^h P. 150.

laws, liberties, and rights, of the people; and commit all kind of tyranny; and yet in words to profess he is 'for God, and for the interest of Christ and His people; and for the privileges, safety, and public good of the nation;' this indeed is enough to amaze a prophet!"^a

"His looks were 'more stout than his fellows;'^b if this character had been well minded, William the Conqueror, Charles Stuart, and the like, had never been pitched upon: for it is expressly said, that this 'horn' must be stouter than any of the 'ten.' . . . And therefore, unless we see a State that hath more violated and broken the laws of the nation, destroyed the privileges of Parliaments and rights of the people, more than ever Charles Stuart did; yea, than ever was done since the Conquest, or since the rise of 'the Beast;' the Holy Ghost acquits it here from being the 'little horn.' Nay, I say more—for God forbid I should condemn the righteous!—if, since the rise of the 'ten horns,' it can appear that for plucking up by the roots the laws, liberties, and freedom of the people, and ruling according to will and lust, there hath been done by any of the 'ten,' what hath been done in our time; we are not yet come—I speak as I think—to the days of the 'little horn!'"^c . . . It is observed by some Expositors, that in verse 8, there is no mention made of his 'stout looks;' but afterward, verse 20. Hence they conceive that he will be worse at last than at the beginning: grow more fierce and tyrannous against the interest of Christ and his people towards his end than he was before!"^d

"Though 'the saints' are mere patients, yet it is called a 'war,' verse 20: to signify, if it be this 'little Horn,' then, first, the instruments which he shall chiefly employ against God's people, will be army-men. Secondly, his soldiers will be so degenerate and mercenary as [that] they will not spare any of the Lord's precious ones; but whomsoever he bids them to banish, imprison, murder, they will do it, though they know no offence or fault they have committed. Reader, the application is thy part!"^e

"How he shall prevail, ver. 25; 'wear—weary—out the saints;' that is, by keeping some of them under bonds and banishment, as thinking thereby to 'tire' them out, and so compel them to deny Christ, as himself had done before. . . . Nevertheless, he shall but fulfil the counsel and purpose of God, as did Pharaoh, etc.; that is, not put the saints to death, but 'weary them out:' no further—or very little—shall he go, in spite of his 'stout looks.' But again, they are not only 'saints,' but 'of the most High;' which seems to import that some 'saints' shall do well enough under this 'Horn,' as to their peace, liberty, and worldly enjoyments; only those who are—not for him, but—for 'the most High,' he will make 'war' against. And in this, his hypocrisy and other wickedness will be the less seen and noted, in honouring some professors of religion, promoting them to great places and offices in his council, army, colleges, and making them his familiar friends—such, I mean, as will have fellowship with him in the works of darkness, and justify his unrighteous ways; how-

^a P. 152.^b Dan. vii. 20.^c P. 156, 157.^d P. 159.^e P. 162.

soever in the meantime he shall persecute others who are in truth, and really, for the cause and interest of Christ.”^a

“As he takes two sorts of people for his greatest enemies, the Fifth-Monarchy-men and Commonwealth-men; so he has fallen upon a design whereby he thinks to keep up his power and dominion in spite of both parties: that is, by changing ‘times and laws,’ ver. 25. . . He thinks to change the ‘times;’ that is, whereas after ‘three years and a half,’ the ‘saints’ make account the ‘times’ will be Christ’s and theirs, he, on the contrary, ‘thinks’ to have it his still, and to continue the ‘Little Horn,’ as he was before: yea, and to have his son a ‘Horn’ after his decease!”^b

“How will he ‘think to change’ the ‘times?’ . . . My opinion is, these three ways: 1. As ‘the saints of the most High’ will rise in their testimony against him—especially about the time of his end,—so on the other hand, he will engage revolted professors to appear for him more than they did, in justifying his government and ways; aspersing their ‘Dissenting Brethren,’ to speak things of spite, ignorance, preposterous zeal, and ‘What will they have? Men may be as good as they will! etc.’ And thus, getting the apostates everywhere to cry him up for a ‘nursing father,’ and his government ‘the prop and pillar of religion,’ he will ‘think to change’ the ‘times.’ . . . 2. He will ‘scatter the power of the holy people;’^c grow so high in pride and stoutness near his end, that it shall seem their ‘power is gone, and there is none shut up, or left.’^d . . . He thinks ‘to change’ the ‘times’ by his army: and indeed, his greatest hope will be in this; for, first, the army must be purged, that is to say, not a conscientious soldier left in it, ‘specially an officer! not a man, if known that his principles are for smiting ‘the Image!’^e . . . The will and lust of their great Master shall be obeyed, though it be against the express law of God. 3. Their main business is now, to hunt after ‘the saints of the most High;’ break their meetings, and imprison such as they think might promote the interest of Christ and his people against the ‘Little Horn,’ had they liberty. 4. It is probable he will cause his soldiers to take away from some of the Fifth Monarchy-men their arms and weapons, . . . it may be, not a horse, nor money to buy them bread. And, having done all this, now, he ‘thinks’—and, hath he not reason for it?—he hath changed the ‘times!’”^f

“What are these ‘laws’ which he thinks ‘to change?’^g 1. That form of government which was established before, and to which the people had submitted, and engaged to maintain. . . 2. A change in all fundamentals.^h . . . Take away from people and Parliaments their power and privileges; and assume all to himself: yea, so arbitrary and lawless will he be herein, that never a tyrant before him—governing the nations where he shall be,—ever durst to attempt the like! . . . 3. His will shall be for a law; as to imprison and banish whom he will: . . . neither will they have any other defence, while this ‘Horn’ reigns, to preserve themselves and families from ruin.”^h

“But how doth he ‘think’ thus ‘to change’ the ‘laws?’ Ex parte

^a P. 164.

^b P. 166, 167.

^c Dan. xii. 7.

^d Deut. xxxii. 36.

^e Dan. ii. 35.

^f P. 169—172.

^g Dan. vii. 25.

^h P. 173—175.

altissimi, in the behalf of God ; as following providence and necessity, and that he could do no otherwise to preserve the nations in peace, especially the godly party and tender consciences whom above all earthly things he hath a fatherly care of! And this will be—in the time of the ‘Horn’—the greatest plea among apostates! . . . Yea, the impudence of turn-coats and hypocrites at this time, will be such that whosoever grieves and complains because the ‘laws’ are changed, shall be branded for ‘malignants:’ men that seek themselves, and are discontented because ‘the power’^a is not in their hands! . . . He will, to use the Scripture phrase, invent to himself ‘the Instrument’^b of ‘a foolish shepherd;’^c stuff up something—as Michael did the bolster with ‘goats’ hair’^d—and lay it in the place of the other. Not that he shall think what he hath done is worth any thing ; for he will laugh at it himself, and before the ‘three years and a half’ are expired call it all to nought ; but as men, to quiet fools and children when they have taken good things from them, put a bauble or trifle into their hands, so it is some bauble or trifle which he will give the people! . . . My opinion is, when this ‘Horn’ shall reign, in changing the ‘laws,’ he will do as Duke Alva did, choose a Council. And in this, he will be very subtle as taking the persons whom he will have to be of his Council, out of several sects and parties ; it may be, from the Anabaptists, one ; from the Independents, two or three ; and so from the Presbyterians and Cavaliers, more or less ; by which means, he makes account that his changing of the ‘laws’ will be the sooner allowed by all sides and sects.^e . . . He will make use of corrupt lawyers, . . . for I verily think, when this ‘Horn’ shall rule there will be *few* lawyers but [what are] as rotten as dirt. . . . What a watchful eye the ‘Horn’ will have on such as shall appear for laws, and freedom of their poor country ; not only [will he] thrust them out of place and practice, but imprison them, and possibly more too, when that ‘time’ is [and] before it do expire! And . . . he will do it [‘change’ the ‘laws’] by an army which will readily put in execution all his orders and appointments, be they never so unreasonable, . . . as was said before.”^f

“But for all this, the Holy Ghost tells us, he doth but ‘think’ to ‘change times and laws;’ for no such thing indeed can he do! . . . So that in the ‘three years and a half,’ nothing is done for him as to the changing of laws and times, though his own creatures be employed in the work. Read Psal. lii. ; lxxv. ; Exod. xv. 9, 10 ; as applicable to this. . . . Never shall he be able to establish his government ; nor will any of his acts or ordinances—made by him, in the ‘three years

^a Dan. xii. 7.

^b Cromwell signed “The Instrument of Government,” December 16, 1653. æt. 55. See Clarendon’s Hist. bk. xiv.

^c Zech. xi. 15. ^d I Sam. xix. 13.

^e The “Lord Protector’s” first council were Major-Gen. Lambert ; Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood ; Col. Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich ; Philip Lord Visc. Lisle, since Earl of Leicester ; Col. Desborough ; Sir Gilbert Pickering ; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor ; Sir Charles Wolseley ; Major-Gen. Skippon ; Mr. Strickland ; Col. Sydenham ; Col. Jones ; Mr. Rouse ; Mr. Lawrence ; and Mr. Major. See Neal’s Hist. vol. iv. chap. ii.

^f P. 175—178.

and a half,—be acknowledged for ‘law’ when that short ‘time’ is expired, but thrown out as things execrable and abominable.^a . . . This, too, is very considerable, howsoever the main work of the ‘Horn’ in the ‘three years and a half,’ will be about his own interest; how to secure himself, and settle the government of the three Provinces, which he hath pluct up by the roots, in his own Family; yet shall ‘his dominion’ be taken from him^b before anything is perfected. . . Thus shall the Scriptures be fulfilled in him, Prov. xii. 3; x. 28; xi. 5; xiv. 11; xv. 25; xx. 21.”^c

“‘And they shall be given into his hand:’^d this may be meant, first, of God, by whose sufferance the ‘Horn’ shall prosper: . . . secondly, . . . by men; namely, the apostates of that ‘time:’ . . . so then, by this giving is signified that he will plead right to ‘his dominion’ and government, as appointed thereto by God and man: no intruder, or usurper! . . . He will plead hard for the lawfulness of his power as ‘given’ by God and man ‘into his hand;’ howsoever in truth, he receives it from God’s only permissively.”^e

“Thus I have done with the ‘Little Horn’ as to his action. That which follows, is his suffering. Thus the Spirit of God gives us a full history of his life and death.”^f

“In his end and punishment, we may consider, . . . for the Time; it will be immediately upon the expiration of the ‘three years and a half,’ . . . bearing date from the day he was constituted a ‘Horn,’ but no more may he expect. . . God’s people will be prepared for the work, before the ‘years’ be expired; but as no word of command will be given them to go out till then, so they will wait. . . How long the time will be in the execution, that is not certain; but probably a very short time, yet so as gradually. . . The ‘Little Horn’ is to be destroyed before the other ‘ten.’^g . . . Their power and government, is not to be broken in pieces till the ‘Little Horn’ be first consumed: hence it is that the ‘Little Horn’ or State-Apostacy—for I take it to be all one,—is the subject of the first ‘vial,’^h as I have shown.ⁱ . . . And here God’s order in pouring out the last ‘vial,’^k is to be noted: He will not begin with Spain, France, Germany, etc.: . . . nothing will be done against ‘Babylon’ and the ‘ten kings,’^l as the proper work which the ‘hundred forty and four thousand,’^m and the ‘called, chosen, and faithful,’ⁿ shall be put upon, till this thing be done.”^o

“For the Author, of his ‘judgment;’ it is God and Christ, as appears Dan. vii. 9—11, and more briefly ver. 26. . . That the ‘Horn’ hath his ‘judgment’ from so glorious a ‘throne,’ no doubt is signified, that his destruction will be so terrible, strange, and unheard of, as [that] those near him will be at their wits’ end, striving who can be furthest off, Rev. xi. 13. . . Now it shall be discerned between the righteous and the wicked, who were sincere, and ‘on the Lord’s side;’ and who were dissemblers, and sought only themselves and their own interest!”^p

^a P. 178.^b Dan. vii. 26.^c P. 178—180.^d Dan. vii. 25.^e P. 180, 181. ^f P. 181.^g Dan. vii. 11, 12.^h Rev. xvi. 2.ⁱ “See the Book, ‘Truth with Time.’”^j ^k Rev. xvi. 17.^l Rev. xvii.^m Rev. xiv.ⁿ Rev. xvii. 14.^o P. 181—186.^p P. 186, 190, 191.

“We come now to . . . the Instruments, by whose hands the Lord will destroy him. . . . Though they shall all have, I think, the characters of visible ‘saints,’ yet not all alike: some will be weaklings, men very low and of little light and life to the work: . . . some, not enlightened further than for reformation in civil things; and in that respect, to wit, upon Commonwealth principles, will join with their brethren, the Fifth Kingdom-men, against the ‘Little Horn’ and ‘Babylon.’”^a

“Now I come to . . . ‘the Judgment’ itself; Dan. vii. 11, 26. . . . That he perisheth under the name of a ‘Beast,’ though formerly a ‘Horn,’ it shows how little his death will be pitied any where. . . . ‘And given to the burning flame,’ ver. 11, . . . this is for the ‘Horn’ himself and the chief instruments which raised him up. . . . This kind of punishment I take to be the same with Rev. xix. 20. Now howsoever this be not ‘hell’ properly so called, yet it is some temporal judgment more than ordinary. I will not say directly what it is, nor declare at present my own thoughts; yet this I shall say, . . . when this ‘Horn’ shall reign, whosoever shall be the inventors and setters-up of his power and government, they will not ‘die the death of all men!’ . . .^b ‘And they shall take away his dominion,’ ver. 26; . . . the meaning I conceive to be thus: after the army is destroyed, and many put to death by a judicatory, for justifying the ‘Horn’ in his unlawful actions, and himself and his makers ‘given to the burning flame;’ such a stink will that ‘Horn’ leave behind him, as some speedy course shall be taken to have the very remembrance of him blotted out under the whole heaven! . . . The work begins with an ‘earthquake:’^c and it shall be such an ‘earthquake’ as will shake the ‘Horn’ to purpose, in his council, guards, army, and relations everywhere: insomuch, as he will be universally forsaken and left by most people; few abiding with him, unless desperate men, and such who are so deeply engaged with him as have no hope to save themselves—from bodily punishment—by repentance!”^d

“The ‘saints’ knowing ‘the set-time is come’ that the Lord will ‘have mercy upon Zion;’^e and being called ‘out of the temple,’ to ‘pour out the vial upon the earth’^f—apostacy being ready,—go forth in the name and strength of the Lord. And . . . so wonderful will the presence of God be with them, and so dreadful to the enemy, that this ‘war’ will be short; and none of them after [being] once broken to pieces will dare lift up their hands any more in the ‘Horn’s’ behalf!”^g

“Thus have I ended with the ‘Little Horn.’ And in the close, this I can truly say, What I have written is, my conscience bearing me witness, no otherwise than I understand the prophecy; neither have I said anything but what I conceive to be the truth in Jesus.”^h

“That general head which remains, is ‘The Beast slaying the Witnesses.’ . . . Whosoever this ‘Beast’ is, it cannot be the dominion of the Papal Beast, nor can the German empire be meant, nor any of the ‘ten Horns, or Kings;’ for these were risen long before the ‘witnesses’ had ‘finished their testimony.’”ⁱ

^a P. 192, 194.^b Num. xvi. 29.^c Rev. xi. 13.^d P. 200, 201, 204—206.^e Psal. cii. 13.^f Rev. xvi. 1, 2.^g P. 207.^h P. 207.ⁱ Rev. xi. 7. P. 212.

“Whereas it is said, ‘the Beast ascendeth ;’^a it is to show that he comes up of himself; not sent for, nor desired by the people: but it is his own plotting and designings that he takes power and rule to himself; . . . not by election, nor by inheritance, right, or such kind of succession, but by his own craft and strength. . . . By the word, may be signified the horrible pride of the ‘Beast,’ for though his descent be from the depth,^b that is, a most base beginning, yet [he] ‘ascendeth’ in titles, pomp, state, court, etc.; as if he had not been illegitimate. . . . All civil Beasts before him, rose either out of the earth or sea; but this, out of the ‘depth;’ signifying that there was not half that craft and subtlety about them as about this ‘Beast,’ for there shall be so much art and workmanship bestowed about him that when he comes forth to ‘war’ against the ‘witnesses,’ and to ‘overcome them, and slay them,’ very few will perceive any such thing: . . . he ‘ascendeth out of the depth’—from the depths of Satan—as being transformed—and no marvel, for at this time he will be Satan’s chief minister—into an angel of light! So that by the place may be signified, he will not be taken for the ‘Beast,’ but [for a] great Saint! . . . It is true, other Beasts before him carried on their own interest partly by religion; but they were ignorant and unskilful of the great mystery which this ‘Beast’ hath learnt, for before him—note it, reader—no civil state ascended out of this depth of Satan, that is, from apostacy in religion; and therefore, before him there was never a government in the world raised up by hypocrisy in religion in that manner as this will be! Hence Justin Martyr calls the ‘little Horn’ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος,^c ‘the man of apostacy!’”^d

“Thus then, by the Scripture, I take the ‘Beast’ to be a state or government set up by a few apostates ‘three years and a half’ before the end of the twelve hundred and sixty years—neither sooner nor later,—and done with so much secrecy, policy, and craft, as no such ‘Beast’ or government shall be expected or thought of till it be brought forth. And howsoever it hath a mean and low beginning, yet it will ‘rise’ to a monstrous height of pride against God and man. This state or kingdom of the ‘Beast’ will be full of darkness; great oppression exercised by reason [that] the people have their power, laws, and liberties, taken from them.^e And howsoever this be so—yea, and withal, the blessed Cause of Christ destroyed in his ‘witnesses,’ by a usurped power—yet this ‘Beast’ or government shall have with it such a glorious outside of religion and form of godliness as among God’s own people many of them shall not know this state or government to be the ‘Beast’ which slays the ‘witnesses’ till the ‘three years and a half’ are expired. And thus much for the ‘Beast,’ who he is, and what is signified by him.”^f

“By the ‘witnesses,’ I understand not persons, but the Truth, or ‘testimony’ itself which is held forth and asserted by them. I say, it

^a Rev. xi. 7.

^b “Or gulf, for ‘pit’ is not in the [original] text, nor in xvii. 8, but ix. 1, it is.” p. 211.

^c “Dial. cum Tryph. p. 336.”

^d P. 213—216.

^e See Hume’s Hist. chap. lxi. an. 1655, “The Protector instituted twelve major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions; etc.”

^f P. 217.

is not the person, which the 'Beast' is said to 'kill,' but the holy Cause and Interest of Christ, witnessed to and for by the 'saints' of the most High: so that the person may live though he be slain in his 'testimony.' . . This 'Beast' will not 'make war' against every truth; but seeks only to destroy that 'testimony' which he thinks, if not killed, will be his utter ruin: . . it is the last 'witness' which 'saints' shall hold forth for and in the behalf of Jesus Christ against the enemies of God's people; and being the last . . it can be no other than bearing witness to Christ's blessed and visible Kingdom; that He, as 'heir of all things,'^a will take all power, rule, and dominion, into his own hands; and that all the present powers and governments of the world shall be broken to pieces! . . That the 'witnesses' are said to be 'two,' I conceive it is . . because their 'testimony' consists of two parts; first, that Jesus Christ ought to have his right, honour, glory, service, [and] dominion: secondly, that his enemies in not giving the same to him, but instead of exalting him, exalt themselves and their own interest, shall extremely suffer for it: or 'two,' as witnessing for righteous things, and against unrighteous things."^b

"Though the 'witnesses' in their 'testimony,' are slain upon the 'rise' of the 'Beast,' and there we are to begin the 'three days and a half,'^c yet doth he continue his persecution till the whole term be ended. . . In some, he slays their 'testimony' by preferment, and bestowing great offices and places upon them. . . Another way is, by his hypocrisy and dissimulation in religion: . . there is no weapon or crafty course which this 'Beast' will use, like to his hypocrisy . . as his fasting, weeping, praying, honouring ministers, sermons, etc. . . As Nero, when his mastiffs would not destroy the Christians, clad them in bearskins, so will this 'Beast' do, that his dogs may rend and tear 'the testimony of Jesus;' . . under pretence that it is, the doctrine of devils, blasphemy, the delusion of Satan, etc. . . He will prevail very far over the 'witnesses,' by his soldiers; for those men, if he command them, will banish and imprison any of the Lord's faithful servants, that they may not witness for Christ, and against the 'Beast.' No sooner is this 'Beast' ascended 'out of the bottomless pit,' but doubtless he will enact some law against 'the testimony of Jesus,' That it shall be treason for men to speak or act anything against his person; . . not call him the 'Little Horn' and 'Beast!'. . The dread and terror of such an edict will so seize upon people of low and poor spirits, as they will choose rather to have 'the witness'^d of Christ killed in them, than be persecuted . . for bearing any public witness against him."^e

"The place where the 'witnesses' lie dead, is not any kingdom, commonwealth, province, or country, under the authority and jurisdiction of the Pope; neither are they slain—in their 'testimony'—by any state or government that holds the great Antichrist of Rome 'head of the church:' for all this, is within the wall, and part of 'the great city.'^f . . None of the present states and governments of the world which have stood many 'three years' shall 'kill' them. . . It is but one state or government that slays them; . . and this one not

^a Heb. i. 2.^b P. 218—221.^c Rev. xi. 9.^d Rev. xx. 4.^e P. 221, 223—227.^f Rev. xi. 8.

under the obedience of the Church of Rome. Reader, ‘consider what I say; and the Lord give thee understanding in all things!’^a

“Whereas . . . the place where the ‘witnesses’ lie slain, is without ‘the great city,’ yet of it: the Hypocrisy of the Beast—the Great Character of Him!—is here again notably laid open. . . Apostates having forsaken the Truth, it is no other now than ‘dead;’ and that their consciences may not smite them for it, they fall upon new matters; not intending to bear witness any more to ‘The Good Old Cause:’ it is ‘dead!’”^b

“By ‘people, kindreds, tongues, and nations;’^c all are not meant; . . . but such as are within the sight of the ‘dead bodies’ and have knowledge of their slaying. Neither do all the ‘people and kindreds, etc.’ which ‘see’ the dead bodies, oppose their burial; but a part of them: . . . this party . . . are not all one people; . . . some may be English, others Welsh, some Scots, others French or Dutch, etc.; so likewise, of divers provinces, countries, shires, etc. As for this party, I take it not to be cruelty done in despight and disgrace by enemies, to deny them burial; but courtesy of friends and favourers, to provide for their rising again. And my opinion is here meant, first, the ‘Woman’ who was occasioned by the ‘war’ of this ‘Beast,’ to flee ‘into the wilderness:’^d secondly, the ‘remnant of her seed:’^e thirdly, those whom we named before ‘Commonwealth’s-men;’ for howsoever these do not fully close with ‘the witnesses’ in the principles of the Fifth Kingdom, yet they are clearly convinced that the ‘power’ and ‘government’ of this ‘Beast’ is unlawful, and that they suffer unjustly under him! And this party, I take to be ‘the Earth’ which ‘helped the Woman,’ etc:^f for howsoever that thing they contend for be but an earthly interest; as laws, liberties, power of the people, privileges of Parliament, etc.; yet in standing for such things, they give the ‘Beast’ such a check as, maugre all his venom and wrath, he cannot devour ‘the Woman’ standing for the dead ‘witnesses.’ . . . In this controversy about the ‘dead witnesses,’ the Woman and her seed’s will certainly overcome!”^h

“The ‘testimony of Jesus’ being slain; that is, comparatively, now ‘dead’ to what spirit and life it had . . . till the ‘Beast’ came up; . . . yet shall not the ‘Beast’ be suffered to extinguish it altogether in the nation where he hath slain it: . . . In that he can not bury Christ’s ‘testimony,’ he is restrained from acting the mischiefs which otherwise he would.”ⁱ

“The other sort follows: to these, is given a special character; ‘dwell upon the earth:’^k the subject of the first ‘vial’ is ‘earth,’^l and the same mentioned here, the latter apostacy, whose description we had before from 2 Tim. iii. The cause of their ‘joy,’ is the great advantage which they have by the death of the ‘testimony.’ . . . Under this ‘Beast,’ places, offices, and preferment, will be crept into the church; insomuch as [that] no considerable preferment will be gotten unless the person be ‘a church member,’ or can procure some churchman’s hand for it.

^a 2 Tim. ii. 7. P. 229—231.

^b P. 232, 233.

^c Rom. xi. 9.

^d Rev. xiv. 6.

^e Ver. 17.

^f Rev. xii. 16.

^g Ver. 17.

^h P. 238—241.

ⁱ P. 242, 243.

^k Rev. xi. 10.

^l Rev. xvi. 2.

Thus we see who they are that will 'rejoice' at this time; . . . none, like apostates who are fallen from heaven to dwell upon 'the earth!'"^a

"As for others who are faithful and constant to the interest and cause of Christ, they sigh and cry for all the abominations that are done under the 'Beast:' It is said, 'because the[se] two Prophets tormented them:' but wherein? Because they spake against all unrighteousness of men; pressed men to keep their promises and 'Engagements;' declared openly against dissembling, lying, and hypocrisy; would have 'Babylon' down, with all her will-worship and inventions! people to have their power, freedom, and liberty, according to reason and conscience; and none, to have any arbitrary government forced upon them! But such a 'testimony' as this, could not be borne; it was worse than an Egyptian 'boil' . . . no peace, or rest, till . . . that which so 'tormented' . . . was slain! This place puts me in mind of what happened upon the dissolution of the 'Little Parliament.'^b The joy then among the 'Priests' and formal professors, was much like that of the Philistines' when they had Samson in their hand; Judges xvi. 23—25. Some of them, more religious, seemingly at least, were for 'sacrifice;' hence days were kept of Thanksgiving, as they call it: and now the trumpets sound aloud—Oh, what the Lord hath done for 'the sons of Levi,' the holy ministry, and maintenance! . . . One of them I remember told the people, 'the national clergy were like good Isaac, bound and ready to have been sacrificed:' and, 'That God by a wonderful deliverance, had preserved them when the Parliament-Knife was at the throat of their sacred callings, tithes, and the like!' For the other sort, what they did I need not mention; but, 'when their hearts were merry,' then 'Samson' is called for:^c and what is now the subject of all their scurrilous talk and jests, but 'the short-lived Parliament!' Oh, this cruel 'Samson,' that had it in his heart not only to have brought their 'craft' in danger to be set at nought, but 'the temple of the great goddess Diana!'^d And to say the truth, the 'Priests' were not much mistaken in it; for probable it is, had not this glorious 'testimony of Jesus' being killed, they would have sent the 'tail' of the 'Beast' [dragon] after the head [seven heads];^e swept away that other part of Popish dung and trash which the former Parliament had left in the nation. Now if the Holy Ghost meant not these men and their making 'merry;' yet I am sure it was fulfilled in them according to the letter of the text."^f

"One part of the prophecy yet remains, and it is the better part, namely, The rising of the 'witnesses,' Rev. xi. 11, 12. . . I conceive it is not the Lord's meaning, that any should go forth to take his 'dominion'^g from him, until it evidently appears that the 'witnesses'

^a P. 244, 245.

^b Jan. 22nd. 1653-4: this, called also "Barebone's" Parliament, sat five months and twelve days.

^c Judg. xvi. 25.

^d Acts xix. 27.

^e Rev. xii.'3.4.

^f P. 245—248.—Neal says, in the second chapter of his fourth volume, that "Mr. Echard and others of his principles, write that this Parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English laws, as badges of the Norman conquest, and substituting the Mosaic laws of government in their place; and that all schools of learning should be extinguished, as not agreeing with Christian simplicity: but," adds Neal, "no such proposals were made to the House."^g Dan. vii. 12.

are risen, the Spirit poured forth, the 'Beast' certainly known, and the Lord appearing in some visible Providence, making the way plain for the 'angel' of the first 'vial.'^a By 'the Spirit of life from God, etc.,' I understand the sending of the 'Comforter,' John. xiv. ; . . For the understanding of the time, . . I think till the 'witnesses' are risen, the 'saints' shall not be endued with power from on high,^b neither generally nor largely ; for now is 'the tabernacle of the testimony of [in] heaven opened,'^c and not till now ; I mean in respect of a beginning. . . By standing 'upon their feet,' is meant that 'new song,' Rev. xiv. 3 : a high exalting and lifting up the holy Name of God everywhere among the faithful 'remnant ;' chap. xi. 13. . Now I think open 'war' begins to be proclaimed against the 'Beast' and 'Babylon,' according to the Prophets, Isa. xiii. 2 ; Jer. l. 2. Again, [the standing upon their feet] shows with what assurance of victory the 'war' was undertaken : for by faith they see all ready ; Josh. x. 24 ; Dan. vii. 11 ; Zech. xiv. 4."^d

"For the persons upon whom this great fear [affright]^e fell ; I take it to be 'they that dwell upon the earth,'^f the apostates and followers of the 'Beast.' . . The presence of God will be such among his faithful ones, in raising them up to such high resolutions, and filling them with so much spirit, life, and power from on high, as it will strike a terror and amazement every where among Revolters ; Psal. lxxvi. 5 ; Jer. l. 43."^g

"'They heard a great voice,' ver. 12 ; this 'voice' I take to be Christ's, Rev. xvi. 1 ; Isa. lxvi. 6 ; Joel iii. 16 ; Amos i. 2. . . That the 'voice' is said to be 'from heaven,' denotes, first, notwithstanding the great apostacy at this time in churches, especially the officers, the Lord will have a 'remnant' still abiding in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel : . . secondly, the fall of the 'Beast' will be by a 'power' from heaven ; Psal. lxxvi. 3 ; lxviii. 35 ; Zech. iv. 6. 'Come up hither ;' . . Christ himself speaks now for union and oneness amongst Brethren, and will heal all the breaches and divisions which have long been unhappily between them. . . 'And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud ;' . . the 'saints' of the most High being knit together, and having 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,'^h are now formed the armies of heaven to fight the battles of the Lord of Hosts, to destroy the 'little Horn,' the 'image,' 'Babylon,' etc. that Christ alone may rule in the midst of his enemies ; Sol. Song vi. 10 ; Isa. xiii. 4, 5. . . 'And their enemies beheld them.' . . There is nothing said what the 'enemies' of the 'witnesses' do, more than 'beheld them !' that is, saw them as Balaam did Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes, Num. xxiii. ; xxiv. 8. : in this manner, and no otherwise, shall the Enemy now behold them ! . . And here I desire the discreet reader to observe the method and order which the Lord, as it seems to me, will follow in making Christ's enemies 'his footstool.'ⁱ When the 'three years and a half' are expired . . there will be a pouring out of the Spirit in abundance, whereby the hearts of the Faithful everywhere

^a Rev. xvii. 2.

^d P. 248—252.

^g P. 253, 254.

^b Luke xxiv. 49.

^e Rev. xi. 13.

^h Eph. iv. 3.

^c Rev. xv. 5.

^f Ver. 10.

ⁱ Heb. x. 13.

will be raised up to high and great resolutions; . . . even publicly to declare the 'war' of 'the Lamb' against . . . the whole dominion of Antichrist.^a . . . And, that the Lord's work may the more effectually go forward and prosper, now the 'Lamb' himself will speak to the hearts of his sincere ones touching the great commandment of 'love,' and for peace and union! . . . Reader, I pray thee mark it; the 'three years and a half' being expired, this, will follow, [that] as the followers of the Lamb shall have faith, love, light, courage, and understanding, rise and increase among them; so among the followers of the 'Horn' and 'Beast,' quite otherwise: . . . and by this, many will be convinced and satisfied that 'the set time' is 'come.'"^b

"That which is next, is Action; and it follows in the text, Rev. xi. 13. Here, I think, the 'vials' begin: this shaking earth, is 'the earth,' chap. xvi. 2; that 'State-apostacy,' of which we have spoken. . . Of this, I have elsewhere written,^c and shall refer the reader to it.

"I come now to our last point, . . . Whether the prophecy of slaying the 'witnesses,' be fulfilled in our time, or not? . . . If it be fulfilled, in whole or in part, these things must be—as I soberly think,—i. a government or state, set up by apostates: ii. no sooner is it erected, but there will be a glorious 'testimony of Jesus' . . . immediately killed: iii. if it be this 'Beast,' his 'dominion,' etc. must suddenly and strangely come forth; neither expected nor desired by the people; nor hath it their consent: iv. yet, for craft and policy, there will be more used about raising this 'Beast' than hath been known before: v. hypocrisy . . . will be the great thing whereby the 'Beast' . . . shall seek to establish his government: vi. they are not persons, he shall slay, but the Truth witnessed by them: yet not all Truth; but that 'testimony' which is now held forth for the Reign and Kingdom of Christ: . . . vii. this 'testimony' he will kill in many great professors, by corrupting them, etc.; . . . persuading people . . . he kills but error and falsehood; . . . soldiers about him, will act any wickedness he bids them; he will make laws against the 'witnesses;' viii. this 'Beast' shall not be under the authority of the Church of Rome; neither shall the place or country where the 'witnesses' are slain, etc.: ix. nevertheless . . . a main pillar . . . of 'Babylon:' . . . x. . . the Lord will have a 'remnant' in whom the witness shall live, though he have killed it in others: xi. . . it will be a time in which apostates shall flourish: xii. now the carnal and corrupt professor will 'rejoice' and make 'merry;' and 'Priests' say as Agag, 'Surely the bitterness of death is past;'^d 'Call for Samson, that he may make us sport!'^e

"'Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? etc.' Hos. xiv. 9."^f

"A Postscript:—Ye precious Ones, and Saints of the Most High! It is not much that I shall add; but it is to give You an account of the occasion of this work.

"Upon my banishment from Hull—for what cause, I know not; there being nothing to this day made known to me,—I went apart, as Elias did,

^a Rev. xvii. 14.

^b P. 254—261.

^c In "Truth with Time."

^d 1 Sam. xv. 32.

^e Judg. xvi. 25.

^f P. 258[261]—264.

‘into the Wilderness,’ and as I lay under hedges and in holes, my soul in bitterness breathed forth many sad complaints before the Lord, ‘It is enough, O Lord, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers.’^a Often and sore wrestlings I had with my God to know his meaning and teaching under this dispensation; and what further work, whether doing or suffering, he had for me, his poor old servant, being now again banished after seventeen years’ banishment before.^b

“Being brought thus at the feet of God, and there waiting and hearkening what the Lord would speak, I had the former things, for the substance of them, given in unto me. And I can speak it in truth, I understood them not till now; but thought ‘The Time of the End’ was to be found out and known some other way. Now, howsoever, I could not but think there was something of God in this, as to an answer of prayer. . . Nevertheless, considering the weightiness and difficulty of the matter: how differing it was to what others held; and, how deeply some—and myself also—have suffered for our mistakes in meddling with such high things, etc.; . . I besought the Lord with tears day and night, that He would take pity on me, and not leave me to a deceived heart. . . Nevertheless, being yet unsatisfied in myself, . . I acquainted some of my christian friends with the thing, and how the case stood with me; . . much I could say concerning this particular; but . . I found the fruit of their prayers, a greater confirmation! . . Other friends, whose works praise them in the gate, I found to be of my opinion; for which I thanked God and took courage: . . but others, and precious ones, were as I apprehended otherwise minded; and here began, as the last so my sorest and sharpest conflict. . . It may be, in reading of this, you would willingly know my intention? It is thus: I have not published this treatise as I have done things heretofore; for . . this, is a work of faith and prayer; not of my own labour and study comparatively: . . for here, I have been more ‘out of the body’ and with the Lord on the mount: but, oh, I would be humble in expressions, that the Lord alone might be exalted! . . This I desire the Kingdom-Saints everywhere to mind, that as the ‘three years and a half,’ are to have their period; so must all things following—in order to the destruction of the ‘little Horn’—be accomplished: . . yet it must not be understood as if at the end of that time they should presently be destroyed: . . for suppose the aforesaid time should end about June 1657;^c that which next follows will be no more, as I take it, but the pouring out of the Spirit in the rising of the ‘witnesses;’ whereby the saints of the most High shall be . . made meet for the Master’s use!”^d

^a 1 Kings xix. 4.

^b This paragraph seems to settle the point, that Canne sailed from Hull to Holland, and at the period of Ainsworth’s decease, see back, vol. i. p. 515; for if to the date of that event, 1623, be added “seventeen years,” it shows the date of 1640, when Canne is supposed to have been at Bristol, according to Brook, Hist. Purit. vol. iii. p. 333.

^c See back, p. 483, Dec. 16th, 1653.

^d P. 265—272.

CHAP. LXXXI.

CROMWELL AND THE "FIFTH MONARCHY MEN," CONTINUED.

FROM "The Time of the End," we proceed to exhibit its successor, "The 'Time of Finding:' Showing, When the Lord will be Found, and by Whom; and, When there will be no Time of Finding: Also, the Persons are described who shall not Find the Lord though they seek Him with Tears. Likewise, some Reasons why the Lord hath suffered his Work and 'Good Old Cause' to be stopt; and, how it shall be revived again. Also, Something is here showed about the Manner how it shall be revived, and the Time when. By John Canne. —Num. xxiii. 'Jehovah his God is with him, and the shout of a King is among them.' ver. 21. 'According to this Time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought?' ver. 23.—Lond. 1658." 16mo. pp. 296.

The Dedication, of fifteen pages, is addressed by the author himself, "To the Faithful of the Lord every where, mourning and wailing for the Appointed 'Time of Finding;' under the Name of 'Fifth Monarchy-men, and Commonwealth's-men.'

"Precious Witnesses for your God and Country, . . I have, in this Treatise, not only expressed my opinion, That the Lord is reviving his work; but have given some reasons for it. What encouragement and refreshing the Lord's people shall have by it, a little time will show. . . I am now an old man, and expect every day to lay down this earthly tabernacle; it will be therefore some comfort to me whensoever my changing comes, that I have left a public Testimony against this present Apostacy, as formerly I did against the other. . . As for their jeerings and reproachful speeches, I pass them by; such things are not new with me: the Bishops and their creatures used them; yet thus much I must say for the Bishops which I cannot say for them, [that] so far they showed us fair play [as] not to imprison us nor banish us till they had told us the cause, and heard what we could say for ourselves; yea, and would seem to be very pious and charitable in taking great pains with some of us to bring us out of our 'errors'—as they called it;—but I have found no such piety or charity with these men, for I have been banished now almost two years, but never to this day knew the cause of it, neither hath there been any thing laid to my charge. I shall not speak of the sad calamity which they have brought since upon my family by the death of my dear wife and daughter. Again, for the Bishops, this I may say further for many of them—I think the most part,—when they banished any of us, or cast us into prison for Non-Conformity, they thought they did well, and did God good service in it. Thus, they were like Saul before his conversion, they did things 'ignorantly in unbelief!'^a But, for men to persecute

^a 1 Tim. i. 13.

the people of God for no other cause but because they reprove them for their hypocrisy and falsehood ; . . of such men we cannot have the charity which we had for the Bishops : indeed, they are like Saul too, but it is another Saul, that is, that Saul which persecuted David ; one, who knew he did not well in it, but acted against his light and conscience. . .

“ I am very sensible that many of the Lord’s people have other thoughts of the ‘ Time ’ than I have, and do think I am mistaken concerning the period of ‘ the one thousand two hundred and sixty years. ’ Indeed to know what I do, in respect of so many good men dissenting from me, would very much discourage me from engaging again in the same thing ; but that I have more encouragement to hold fast than I think meet to express ! ”

The treatise is founded on Psalm xxxii. 6, “ For this shall every *gracious saint* pray unto Thee *at the time of finding.* ”

“ Chap. i. At what Time the Lord will be found of his praying saints.—It is a ‘ time of finding,’ when the Lord’s people are prepared for mercy. . . I have thought many times, what mercy it was that in the time of the Little Parliament, the Lord gave us not the things which we then desired ; for had we received them, they had been in our hands before we were meet for them. . . The ‘ time and times and dividing of time,’^a which the ‘ LITTLE HORN ’ is to have, may be already expired and his iniquity full, and so ripe for cutting down ; nevertheless ‘ the saints of the most High ’ not being prepared to take away his ‘ dominion ’^b and ‘ possess the Kingdom,’^c there may be some years after the three years and a half are expired, before he be destroyed ! . . The ‘ high places ’^d remaining with us, as the carnal ministry, tithes, Triers, the corrupt law, etc., these *gillulim*, filthy things, would soon be ‘ taken away ’ were the ‘ saints ’ prepared to meet their God in his judgments : see Psal. lxxxii. 13—16. . .

“ It is a ‘ time of finding,’ when the Faithful have nothing left them for help, but the Lord only : man’s extremity, is God’s opportunity. . . As long as we had a Parliament, a Council of State, an Army, a General, etc., we too much rested on them as our saviours and deliverers ; it is therefore well for us that Jehovah has broken these Egyptian reeds ; and that we have at present, none in heaven nor in earth but Jesus Christ to trust in ; for now we may confidently expect a ‘ time of finding ! ’ . .

“ It is a ‘ time of finding,’ when the Enemies of Zion are at the highest ; that is, triumph and insult as if all were theirs, and that they shall see sorrow no more. . . It is truly my opinion, were God’s people as fit for mercy as their enemies are for judgment ; were they as low in humiliation and reformation as the other are high in pride, blasphemy, atheism ; we should soon see a ‘ vial ’ poured out upon them. . .^e

“ It is a ‘ time of finding,’ when seekers make Jesus Christ their all. . . How comes it to pass that some men make soldiers their saviours ? . . being left of God, they are necessitated to make the best shift they can ! . .

^a Dan. vii. 25. ^b Ver. 12. ^c Ver. 18. ^d 2 Chron. xx. 33. ^e Rev. xvi.

“ It is a ‘time of finding,’ when the enemies of God are plotting mischief against Jesus Christ, his interest and people. . . ‘Why boasteth thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man?’^a This may serve to take down the pride of tyrants and insulting hypocrites; for what are they, though emperors, kings, princes, Protectors, etc., if they persecute the ‘witnesses of Jesus’ for speaking against their wicked ways? . . .

“ It is a ‘time of finding,’ when saints are bold beggars, and will take no nay or denial at the Lord’s hand. . . When the Lord shall raise up a poor destitute ‘remnant’ who—like the poor ‘widow’—will never cease weeping and crying to him; then He will suddenly come forth to pour out the ‘vials’ upon the ‘Little Horn,’ the ‘last apostacy,’ ‘Babylon,’ though formerly he kept silence a long time. . .

“ Chap. ii.—When there is no ‘time of finding,’ though the Lord be sought with tears. . .

“ When men, like Esau, for light things and vanities, most profanely ‘give up great privileges. . . Verily, I think that blood is not more like blood, than Esau and the *revolters* of this age, are like one another. . . Let it be considered what they have ‘sold :’ such a glorious Cause as never was, I think, in the hands of men before! Not civil rights and liberties alone, but the great Cause of God, the interest of Christ and of his Kingdom, laws, people! . . .

“ There will be no ‘time of finding’ for old Hypocrites whose ‘bones are full of the sins of their youth.’ . .^b Their hearts are so hardened, and consciences seared, as their hypocrisy is no poison, no trouble to them, but it turns to their nourishment! . . . But of all hypocrites, beware of the Weeping hypocrite, as the most dangerous. Such a one was Ishmael, who by his religious ‘weeping,’ deceived ‘fourscore men’ and murdered them all as they were going with their ‘offerings’ to ‘the house of the Lord.’^c This weeping-hypocrite is like the strumpet Phryne, for this cause named *Κλαυσιγελως*, as if you would say ‘weep-laugh,’ because commonly she did both together, having in the midst of laughter tears at command! . . .

“ There will be no ‘time of finding’ for such persons who are so obstinate in their sins as no admonition or reproof can reclaim them. . . Who had a hand in the late ‘Rebellion,’ more than they, to appoint a Captain to return to bondage?^d Whereby not only to build again the things which they had destroyed, but to bring the sin and guilt of all the blood shed in the Three Nations, upon the interest of Christ and his people, and so to justify and acquit the Cavaliers! . . . It is a professing people which have made the ‘last apostacy;’ the subject, I conceive, of the first ‘vial.’

“ Such will have no ‘time of finding’ who glory in their shame, and think it their grace that they are graceless: as David said of Doeg, do boast themselves ‘in mischief.’^e . . . Is not He the nonsuch who, by hypocrisy and double-dealing, can deform himself most, and of all men is the ugliest to look on? ‘Woe worth the day!’ . . .^f I have read it somewhere, that in Cumena ‘a wide mouth is in fashion;’ and what is more in fashion now than a Wide Mouth? . . .

^a Psal. lii. 1.
^d Neh. ix. 17.

^b Job, xx. 11.
^e Psal. lii 1.

^c Jer. xli. 5—7.
^f Ezek. xxx. 2.

“ No ‘ time of finding ’ for tyrants, oppressors, and men of blood, who live by theft and murders, as ravenous beasts by prey. . . Is not the Lord among us ? this seems to be the saying of the Priests and false prophets, for their hire and money : ‘ We are under the best government that ever was. Our Heads will make us a happy people ; we need not fear foreign enemies . . for our rulers are good men, love the temple, and give large maintenance to the priests, so that no evil can come upon us ! ’

“ Such will have no ‘ time of finding,’ who turn with the dogs to the vomit, by breaking vows and engagements, and building again what they had destroyed.^a . . That which aggravated Manasseh’s sin, and most provoked the Lord to such wrath, it is expressed thus, ‘ For he built[up] again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed ;’^b intimating [that] had there not been such a great Reformation a little before, his wickedness had not been so foul and great ; but after so much time and labour and treasure spent in rooting up idolatry and tyranny ; and to have the true worship of God, with other good things, settled in the Commonwealth,^c that he should be so graceless and impudent [as] presently to make things as bad—or rather, worse—than they were before ; here the Lord will not hearken to prayer, but his fury must break forth, and there is ‘ no remedy.’^d . . .”

“ But what if with prayer they had joined fasting, as the present backsliders^e do ? For all this,^f there had been no ‘ time of finding.’ . . Formerly in wars they used elephants, which did much service ; but if they gave back, did more hurt than the enemy. So long as *some men* stood fast and faithful in the Lord’s battles, they did the Lord and his people singular service ; but by giving-back, they have more dishonoured God, and trampled ‘ The Good Old Cause ’ under foot, than the common enemy ever did ! . .

“ When the Lord hath separated ‘ the precious from the vile,’ there will be no ‘ finding time ’ for the rest. . .

“ Chap. iii. Certain grounds and reasons wherefore there will be a ‘ Time of finding :’ 1. in respect of God himself ; 2. in respect of his people ; 3. in respect of the Cause, or things they seek him for.—The Lord will be found in respect of Himself ; because He is good, and his mercy endureth for ever. . .^g

“ The Lord will be found because of his Word and promise’ sake. Among men there are *some* who will not break their promise for anything. . . The Lord’s people many times remembered Him of His promise : . . thus did Moses ;^h so David ;ⁱ and Solomon ;^k again ;^l so Jeremiah. ^m Neither was the Lord offended with them. . much less did he answer them as *some men* use to do when they are minded of their oaths, vows, and solemn appeals to God, that they would do such and such things for Christ and his people, and the good of the nations : ‘ Oh ! ’ say they, ‘ those promises and engagements were but *pro tempore* ! ’ . . But our God abhorreth such ‘ deceitful ’ men,ⁿ and all such

^a Prov. xiv. 14

^b 2 Kings xxi. 3.

^c See 2 Chron. xxix—xxxii.

^d xxxvi. 16.

^e Jer. xi. 10, 11, 14.

^f Jer. xiv. 12.

^g Psal. xxv. 6.

^h Exod. xxxii. 13.

ⁱ Psal. cxix. 49.

^k 1 Kings viii. 25.

^l Ver. 26.

^m Jer. xiv. 21.

ⁿ Psalm v. 6.

execrable hypocrisy; for he changeth not:^a ‘all’ His promises are ‘yea,’ and ‘amen!’.^b A little before the fall of the Bishops and the King, the Lord’s ‘hidden ones’^c were in ‘bitterness of soul,’^d and poured out mournful complaints day and night against their persecutors; but much more have they sighed and groaned before the Lord since this sad *revolt* broke forth, in regard of the scandal and reproach brought to the Gospel by it. . . You cannot more grieve and vex certain *new* lords, than to tell them of their engagements! . . In all the reign of Caligula, if a man did but name a ‘goat,’ it was a crime of *læsæ majestatis* against the imperial person: this was of his hairy body. A very strange thing, that a man could not say ‘goat,’ but he must mean the emperor! Can you say, ‘Covenant-breaker, self-seeker, deceiver of the people,’ but ‘the lawyer cries out, ‘Master, thus saying thou reprovest us also?’”^e

“It must needs be, that there will be a ‘time of finding,’ because the Lord hereby will be honoured and glorified many ways. . . So long as Hypocrites reign, and Tyrants rule the nations, their sins, like dung will stink in the nostrils of the Lord; but when they are removed, He will smell a sweet savour of praise and thanksgiving. . .

“I know well enough what the Faithful are charged with, for witnessing against the unrighteousness of men; namely that, That they would have others down, to have all power and greatness themselves; and, that they allow of no ministry or magistracy! The Lord who searcheth the hearts knows all this to be false: Josh. xxii. 22. The accusers themselves know it to be false: for would some men for worldly advantages corrupt their consciences, they have had not a little profited them of Esau’s ‘pottage’^f and Balaam’s ‘reward.’^g But this is true; we pray against the Antichristian ministry and magistracy, that the Lord would pluck them up root and branch, and cast them, as unsavoury salt, to the dunghill. And this we do, not being against all magistracy and ministry, but to have ‘Judges restored as at the first,’^h and ‘Pastors according’ to the Lord’s own ‘heart;’ⁱ and so Christ the ‘only Potentate!’^k Lastly, it is our opinion [that] until the last Apostacy be destroyed, God’s ‘way’ will not ‘be known upon earth,’ and his ‘saving health among all nations;’^l for it is this that letteth [hindereth] the ruin of ‘Babylon’ and ‘the gathering’^m of the nations to Jesus Christ; namely, Jews and Gentiles. . . Because we are against an unlawful ministry and magistracy; ergo, saith the accuser of the brethren, we deny all, and will have none! . .

“If we have a ‘time of finding,’ we will provoke others to love the Lord. Psal. xxxi. 22, 23. . .

“This ‘time of finding,’ will cause many—hearing of it—to love, fear, and honour the Lord. Exod. xviii. 9—11. . .

“Times ‘of finding’ give encouragement unto saints to trust in the Lord at all times, and to pour out their hearts before him. Psal. lxvii. 8; Rom. iv. 20; Psal. ix. 10. . .

“But what hath the Lord gotten by granting such a ‘time of find-

^a Mal. iii. 6.

^b 2 Cor. i. 20.

^c Psal lxxxiii. 3.

^d Job vii. 11.

^e Luke xi. 45.

^f Gen. xxv. 31.

^g Jude 11.

^h Isai. i. 26.

ⁱ Jer. iii. 15.

^k 1 Tim. vi. 15.

^l Psal. lxvii. 2.

^m Gen. xlix. 10.

ing ?' The honour of trusting in Him! Psal. lxxiii. 7. 'That the Lord heard us in the late wars, and was found 'Jehovah-jireh,' a God seen 'in the mount !'^a We can pray now, against all the hypocritical enemies of his Cause and Kingdom more earnestly ; 'in faith, nothing wavering ;'^b which is greatly to His glory. . . In what sore distress the Church and State were—both ready to split,—had not a minion Idol been devised—like Dominic's 'shoulders'—to keep them up. The Triers, probably, will apply this, because it is like 'that shameful thing,'^c for all the world ! . . . I know there were many complaints and heart-groans poured out against the King and Bishops for their tyranny and idolatry; but this I can truly say, [that] for twenty years and more—in which I suffered under them,—the Lord did not draw out my heart to so much mourning and sighing as I have done within these three or four years, against the Great Betrayers of the interest of Christ and his people. And this I find as a burning-fire shut up in my bones, that I cannot hold my peace day nor night. Besides, howsoever I am a poor worm, and the least in my Father's house, yet herein I can give glory to God ; I do believe, the Lord that delivered his afflicted people 'out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear,'^d—King and Bishops,—He will deliver them from all proud philistines that defy the Israel of God ; yea, and that speedily.

'Times of 'finding,' engage the Lord's people to do him more work and better service, afterwards. . . Psal. cxvi. 8, 9. . . When the Great 'Time of finding' comes, then will Zion's children be at work indeed ; for now, they may be said to be 'idle'^e comparatively to their work then ! Then, some shall be the 'angel' to preach 'the everlasting Gospel ;'^f others, the 'angels' to pour out 'the seven last plagues :'^g some, 'to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron ;'^h others, to execute vengeance upon 'Babylon.'ⁱ Come, Lord Jesus ! . . . What is it that saints pray for ; and desire a 'time of finding ?' Truly this, That hypocrites and apostates 'be consumed out of the earth,' and bloody tyrants 'be no more :'^k that all 'the kingdoms of the [this] world' may be 'Christ's,'^l whose right it is,^m and in order hereunto, they are ready to follow the Lamb in this work, wheresoever He shall lead them.

'But howsoever some men by times of 'finding' are the better, yet many are the worse ! Here Jesus Christ may say, 'For my love they are my adversaries :'ⁿ that is, for the deliverances, victories, preferments, which I gave them, I am the more wronged by them in my great Name, Cause, and Kingdom. . . They are not only contented to feather their nest with the Interest of Christ and his people, but with those feathers—that is, power, places, offices, and preferment—which they have pluckt from it, shoot at her and murder her most unworthily.

'Chap. iv. Reasons why there will be a 'time of finding,' in respect of God's people.—Because of the scornings and revilings of the proud, as reproaching the godly for their mourning and tears. . . Though it

^a Gen. xxii. 14.

^b Jam. i. 6.

^c Jer. xi. 13.

^d 1 Sam. xvii. 37.

^e Matt. xx. 3.

^f Rev. xiv. 6.

^g Rev. xv. 1.

^h Psalm cxlix. 8.

ⁱ Rev. xviii. 5.

^k Psal. civ. 35.

^l Rev. xi. 15.

^m Ezek. xxi. 27.

ⁿ Psal. cix. 4.

be a grievous thing to have our prayers reproached, yet this help we have by it, namely, it will force us to be the more fervent and earnest with God, and not to rest day nor night till there be a 'time of finding'! . .

"Mourners shall have a 'time of finding,' because the Lord knows their 'frame,' and 'remembereth they are dust.'^a . . Better one man should die, than the whole nation perish. Methinks things are come to that strait that if Christ's enemies live, his faithful friends die; if their spirits fail not, the others will. If God do not suddenly arise for his great Name, some sobbing hearts will break at His foot. But 'fear not, thou worm Jacob; I will give men for thee,' saith the Lord, 'and people for thy life,'^b He will give the 'little Horn' to the burning flame. . .

"[Mourners shall have a 'time of finding'] because they are the Lord's people; his jewels, servants, children, and friends. 'I am thy Servant,' saith holy David; 'give me understanding.'^c But howsoever the Lord will . . deal with his enemies for their crooked ways, yet with his friends and faithful servants who 'continued' with Him in his 'temptations';^d suffered banishment, imprisonment, spoiling of their goods, etc., rather than to forsake The Good Old Cause; these shall 'call, and the Lord shall answer;' they shall 'cry, and He shall say, Here I am.'

["Mourners, etc.] because in seeking Him, they seek only his glory. . . For men's 'judgment' we pass it by, as 'a very small thing';^e the Lord knows it is true, namely, That there is a seed of God at this day in bitterness of soul to know 'what is that good,' that 'acceptable and perfect, will of God';^f and for no other end than to serve the Lord; and not as turn-coats and revolvers do, to serve themselves upon Him. . . As the rainbow never appears but in opposition to the sun; so some men, if they appear publicly or privately, in fasting and prayer, they are never in that side of the world where God's glory is, but quite in opposition to it. . .

"[Mourners, etc.] because the prayers of saints are not only by Jesus Christ presented to the Father, and by Him made a sweet sacrifice, but likewise He himself moves and intercedes in their behalf. Rev. viii. 3, 4. . . When they pray against 'Babylon, Tyrants, Triers, Lawyers, Soldiers'; is not this to pray for Christ? namely, that 'his enemies' may 'be made his footstool.'^g . .

"[Mourners, etc.] because they seek the face of God, with the groanings of the Spirit: and this is to pray 'in the Holy Ghost.'^h . . Are our mournings, the work of the Spirit? surely then, as God sees them, they are 'very good.'^k . . What great mourning was there some few years since, in churches and among professors, after righteousness and judgment, and to have all heavy yokes broken? But now the Abbey-key being found, and the fish caught; that is, great places, offices, and preferments gotten, we hear no more crying out against oppression; all is quiet now, and well again! . . But what may we

^a Psal. ciii. 14.

^b Isa. xli. 14; xliii. 4.

^c Psal. cxix. 125.

^d Luke xxii. 28.

^e Isa. lviii. 9.

^f 1 Cor. iv. 3.

^g Rom. xii. 2.

^h Heb. x. 13.

ⁱ Jude 20.

^k Gen. i. 31.

gather hence?—they were not the Lord's remembrancers! . . . They will have the Lord to bless their counsels and designs, though they are against Himself, his Son and Zion; so when they 'have made a covenant with death, and with hell are at an agreement,'^a then must priests and people be called together to fast and pray, that it may prosper! . . . What is the reason some men see not so much evil in their ways as they did some years past? I answer; in their fasting and praying ever since, they have been drawing curtains over their filthy sores. Not but that they are far worse than they were; but they see it not, because of their hypocritical tears. . . . It is a common saying—and I have heard it often,—when some men talk of fasting and prayer, 'Now,' say they 'beware, there is some plot or other in hand;' and usually it is so; for after the formality of the work is over, their doings are worse than ever! . . .

"[Mourners, etc.] because the Lord is teaching Zion's mourners the art of seeking. . . . This benefit, through grace, some of the Lord's people have received since the Apostacy came up; namely they have been learning the art of prayer. . . . Let this Heaven-daring Giant know that the little 'stone' which he derides—faith and prayer,—shall within a little while, sink 'into his forehead,' and the Monster shall fall; and his flesh be given 'to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel.'^b . . . I well remember in the time of the Bishops, when there rose up any cruel persecutor, the good old Puritans would say one to another, 'Come, let us pray this enemy of our Lord Jesus Christ and his people, to death.' And I could give some memorable instances what a wonderful return of prayer they had; that is, how the revenging hand of God smote the enemies sometimes dead, immediately upon the sighings and groanings of His people against them. A warning to all new Persecutors to look about them. Sion's children are crying day and night unto God against them; and they have learnt now, the art of praying, never to be silent till they have prayed them to death, that is, prevailed with the Lord 'to execute upon them the judgment written.'^c

"Chap. v. That there will be a 'time of finding,' because of the good things prayed for: 1 John v. 14, 15.—. . . Though they are the Lord's own people, yet when they will take that boldness to pray for Traitors and Covenant-breakers, and that Hypocrites may reign; and, that the Lord will bless their counsels, armies, [and] navies; I tell you, the Lord doth not take it well at their hands, neither shall they have 'a time of finding,' but [he] will 'be angry against the prayer' of his people.^d The Lord's people are asking, according to the will of God, . . . that Jesus Christ, 'Heir of all things,'^e may have his right and possession, that is, that all corrupt powers on earth may be broken to pieces; 'His enemies made his footstool;' and He 'alone exalted,' and 'the [blessed and] only Potentate;' Psal. ii. 8; lxxii. 8, 15; Dan. ii. 34, 35; vii. 14; Luke xix. 12; Obad. 21; Rev. xi. 15, 17; Isai. ii. 11—21; Heb. x. 13; 1 Tim. vi. 14, 15. . . .

^a Isa. xxviii. 15.

^b 1 Sam. xvii.

^c Psal. cxlix. 9.

^d Psal. lxxx. 4.

^e Heb. i. 2.

. . . Chap. vi. Reasons wherefore the Lord will not be found of some people, though they call upon Him in the time of trouble.—Deut. xxxii. 15; Psal. lxxv. 5; Job xxi. 14, 15. . . The fox in a snare looks wishfully, hangs the head, will sigh extremely, and you may see tears fall from his eyes; but all this will not serve his turn, nor save him from being knocked on the head. Reader, shouldst thou live to see an Old Hypocrite under divine wrath, thou wouldst see him just like a fox in a trap; his countenance altered, groan and sigh, as if his heart would break, and tears at his command. ‘I have sinned, I have sinned;’ will that Old Fox say, in betraying that innocent Cause. But the Lord will neither trust him, nor believe him any more: his day is now come in which the Judge of all the earth will pay him home for all his former craft and falsehood: ‘so let all thine enemies perish, O God!’^a. . .

“There is a twofold Separation which the Lord requires of his people at this time: from things; from persons: and the followers of the Lamb, they do both. They are ‘redeemed from the earth;’^b that is, from the carnal church-ministry, worship, and government; they will not communicate in any of their devised service, forms, customs, administrations, nor contribute anything to their maintenance. Likewise, they are ‘redeemed from among men;’^c who these ‘men’ are, the apostle shows, namely, the Apostates in the last days; ‘men’ that ‘shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, proud, etc., from such turn aside.’^d. . .

“The devil is little troubled that men do weep and cry now and then, and are sometimes pricked at the heart for their corrupt walking; so that for a little honour, pleasure, profit, and such like toys, their consciences are soon quieted. I speak not this as taking delight to discover the nakedness of professors: the Lord knows my desire is that the ‘the precious’ might be separated ‘from the vile,’^e and that none of God’s elect among the backsliders might be partakers of their plagues: and therefore, in the bowels of Jesus, I beseech them to consider what a sad thing it is that men not looking to themselves should ‘lose’ those things that ‘they have wrought,’ and not ‘receive a full reward!’^f. . . And this I wish that they would seriously lay to heart; namely, how the dishonour of God’s great Name, occasioned by this late apostacy, lies principally at their door. . . The old Nonconformists were wont to say of the Conformable ministers, that ‘the best were the worst;’ meaning, those who subscribed to the Prelates, and used the Service and ceremonies of the Church—though otherwise good men—did more hinder the work of Reformation and harden ignorant people in error and superstition then, than all the ignorant and scandalous priests of the nation! And, questionless it was so. And what may we say of the present Conformists? ‘The best are the worst!’ For howsoever in many things they walk better than the rest, and we hope better things of them as to their soul-state; yet considering how they have left the Lord’s work, and are fallen in with a worldly interest, and what evil instruments they have been in obstructing the

^a Jud. v. 31.^b Rev. xiv. 3.^c Ver. 4.^d 2 Tim. iii. 2, 5.^e Jer. xv. 19.^f 2 John 8.

Good Old Cause, in these respects and such like, it may be fairly asserted. . .

“ Much blood, precious blood, was spilt in the late wars ; the which some men, by their falsehood and breach of promise, have not only contracted to themselves, but bring their bloody hands to the altar, lifting them up before the Lord, angels, and men ; as glorying, it seems, there lies the guilt of so much blood upon them. . . And, with this blood, purchase courts, titles, superiority. . . As such men are unlike David,^a so like Nero and Julian the apostate, for all the world : the first having killed his own mother, persuaded the people, publica fortuna extinctam ; . . the other, when he opened the temples of the pagan gods, and repaired their altars, it was securitas reipublicæ ! . . Have there been none since, having murdered the Commonwealth in her laws, liberties, privileges, etc., and re-established old popish idols, would make the simple believe all is done for the public good, and safety of the people ? ‘ What shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue ?’^b . .

“ As men, to keep their goods, have strong walls and doors about their houses ; so have Reigning Hypocrites about them : some to write for them ; others to preach for them ; some, to fight for them : and all is, that the hypocrite’s goods may not be lost ; to wit, his pomp, pride, oppression, etc. . .

“ Should some men be spared, it would encourage them to go on in their sinful ways. . . The very rumour of Christ’s coming forth to reign, and to break all corrupt powers, makes Tyrants mad ; and it is their greatest care and study how to prevent Him. . .

“ By that revenging stroke from heaven which reached Julian the apostate, many who formerly had spoken wickedly of Christ repented and acknowledged their blasphemy, and gave glory to Him : in some such way, I am persuaded, will the Lord vindicate his providence and justice ; namely, by making Some Men public examples of his wrath ! such I mean who by their false swearing and horrible hypocrisy—and prospering awhile, therein,—have occasioned many to have hard thoughts of God. Where is the God of Judgment ? . . Was not the Lord eminently known in this nation when he executed judgment, upon the King and Prelates, and that party ? To my knowledge, ‘ the fear ’ of God’s people^c ‘ fell upon ’ the nations about us, and they confessed the Lord had done great things for us, and began to inquire after our Good Cause, and had honourable thoughts of it. But true it is, since this unblest Apostacy came up—occasioned by Professors,—they judge otherwise both of us and it. . . Truly, I mourn as I write it ; by reason of the gross miscarriages of some Professors, the very name of religion is become so odious that they have made ballads and songs against it ; and they are sung by base fellows up and down the nation ; and what is the burden of their song ? ‘ No cheater like the professor !’ But though this be so, yet when the Lord shall execute judgment upon those men who have brought such dishonour and reproach to Him, and so ‘ build the old waste places,’ and be called ‘ The repairer of the breach, and the Restorer of paths to

^a Sam. xxiii. 16, 17.

^b Psal. cxx. 3.

^c Esth. viii. 17.

dwell in,'^a then he will recover the glory of his great Name, and be more admired of the nations than before. . . If the Lord do magnify his great Name by lifting up the interest of Christ and his people, it must be to the shame and confusion of their faces who have brought it under foot. . . The time, I am persuaded, is nigh, that they shall not show their heads abroad, but men, women, and children will point at them, saying, 'Lo, there walks one, a professor, or church-member, who for a salary, a place, an office, or monopoly, prostituted his honesty, faith, conscience, country, to the lust and will of men!'. . .

" Chap. vii. How saints may know it is a 'time of finding.'—When a man finds that all distractions and unquietnesses are removed from him, and a sweet calm breathes upon his spirit. Psal. xxxiv. 4, 6. . . When the Lord's people faint not in their seeking, but are kept up and have life and power given them to persist and persevere to the end. Isa. xl. 29—31. . . I know Satan and hypocrites are ready to reproach us with the little profit we have made by our mournings; 'You have been,' say they, 'these three or four years in tears, and nothing but sighing and crying out against Self-seekers, Oppressors, Covenant-breakers: but what hearing-time have ye had? What profit is it, that ye have walked mournfully before the Lord of hosts?'^b To this we answer, Whereas we have not fainted, but have been kept up in the work all this time; yea, have had such fresh springs of encouragement and enlargement, that . . . we are satisfied that 'the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth' have been open to our prayers.^c Many and great were the discouragements which the 'woman of Canaan' met with when she besought Christ for her daughter.^d . . . To you therefore, my brethren and companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, this I would humbly send to you; Whereas the Lord hath strengthened you in mourning and crying against the abominations of the last Apostacy, it is not only matter of comfort to assure you that there hath been a 'time of finding,' but also—and note it well—there is a blessing in it, and much Divine love. . . A word likewise to our Dissenting Brethren, whose mourning of late is turned into laughter, and their heaviness to joy. Joseph's afflictions are no more remembered, neither the oppression and cry of the poor and needy. Their heart is not now 'in the house of mourning,' but 'in the house of mirth!'^e As if they were placed in the earth as Leviathan in the sea—only to take their sport and pastime therein. Here lies the difference between you and your Brethren; you laugh and are more merry than you used to be, because of the advantages you have by these corrupt times; whereas your poor Brethren are more in tears and bitterness of soul, these three or four years, than they used to be, for the great dishonour, scandal, and reproach, which you have brought to the name of God and profession of religion, by assisting and justifying of men's interest against the interest of Christ and his people: hear what the Lord saith to both, Luke vi. 21, 25. . .

" I have heard of a Great Hypocrite, who having by his weeping

^a Isa. lviii. 12.

^b Mal. iii. 14.

^c Jas. v. 4.

^d Matt. xv. 22—28.

^e Eccles. vii. 4.

prevailed with some honest men to think better of his actions than they did before; no sooner were their backs turned, but he laughed at them and called them 'fools.' . . . A weeping Hypocrite knows well enough, were his prayers and tears discovered, there is nothing but juggling in them: . . . by a kind of enchantment, the simple are made to believe there is a world of truth and love to The Good Old Cause under the eggshell of a disfigured^a—Jesuitical—face! . . .

" True it is, when the Apostacy first broke forth, many good people 'believing all things, and hoping all things,' had some hope that the Covenant-breakers, under their public miscarriages had secretly some good intent to promote not their own interest but Christ's and his people. Hence, for awhile they were silent, judging the best. But as the apes were known by the nuts, though taken for men before, and admired for their dancing; so it was not long after some had taken greatness and power upon them, but such ambition, oppression, covetousness, and base-self appeared, as honest people everywhere perceived they were apes, revolters, the very men characterized by Paul, 2 Tim. iii., howsoever formerly deemed otherwise.

" That this 'time of finding,' may the better appear, let us consider some particulars wherein the Lord hath most graciously answered the prayers of his people in unmasking evil men. . . . There is no history—Divine or human—of men more monstrous, ungrateful, and inhuman, towards their friends and benefactors, than some of late have been. . . . As one said of the Trent Fathers, 'they would pare other men's nails, but let their own grow;' so the excess, riot, ambition, oppression, etc., of former Kings and Bishops, these must be pared and cut off; though themselves in the meantime more sinful in the same ways and courses. Who spake more against covetousness, than Crassus; and yet who more covetous? Who wrote more against the title of 'Universal Bishop,' than Gregory the Great? yet no man more liked it, and affected it, than himself. So Sylla and Richard III. commanded other men to be sober and honest, and yet none worse than themselves. Who was he that would have no government by Kings because of their wasteful courts, and putting the nation to unnecessary charges in maintaining the pride of their children? and who is he, that hath been more lavish and expensive than any before him? What a deal of good doctrine have some men, in their sermons, and so in their books; concerning humility, self-denial, contentment, and to mortify the members of the body. Oh, what a noise have they made against the world, this 'bewitching world;' and that men should not seek great things, honour, riches, Court-promotion! In their words and writings, here all is 'dung,' and 'vanity of vanities;' but should a man come home to their practice, and observe what heaps of this 'dung and vanities' they have scraped together, and are, like the daughters of 'the horseleach,' crying 'give, give; never satisfied; nor say, it is enough;'^b he would almost think they walked in their steps of whom our Saviour speaks, 'They say, and do not!'^c When they are teaching others, we have this, very soberly from them: 'We would think him unwise, who hath brought much sweet water into his cistern,

^a Matt. vi. 16.

^b Prov. xxx. 15.

^c Matt. xxiii. 3.

and largely gives it out to others; but himself drinks that which is bitter and unwholesome. What profiteth it a steward to know the nature of meats, and not to taste them; or, to be able to dispute of the nature and use of fire, and yet die for cold? I shall leave the application to themselves; and the rather, because they do not think to be saved by their book! . . .

“Such a discovery there hath been of late, that whatever some persons have commanded—though against reason, religion, law, conscience, yea, their own former vows and oaths,—the same hath been immediately put in execution: Prov. xxix. 12. A wicked Ruler will have none about him, but such as shall serve his turns and purposes. . . There are two things enough to discourage every honest man from being a servant to a wicked Ruler: first, the suspicion and jealousy which all good people will have of him if he turn courtier, as not to be the man he was before, namely, for truth, integrity, and plain dealing; but as a candle turned the wrong way and held downward, it goes out; so out goes the light of simplicity, and singleness of heart, and up riseth the snuff and stink of flattering lips and a double tongue. Secondly, how basely their great Masters will cast them off. As a man that rides post takes often fresh horses, and looks no more after the beast he used before, thus do tyrants; those that will not hold out and keep pace with them in all their sinful ways, away they are turned, and up they get upon the back of a fresh horse! . . .

“It is not long since priests and lawyers had their waters so dried up as they were almost dead, and could hardly croak for drought; but now they increase again, and grow fat, having power given them to devour every green thing. . . Though some professors were suspected of many, to be rotten at the core, long before their rottenness brake forth, like Gehazi's leprosy^a—on their foreheads; yet I think no man thought they would have been half so bad as they are. For if you mark it, their design is closely and by degrees to suppress every good thing that stands in the way of their interest, and so to have their will and lust alone exalted. . .

“The Prophets' are 'ashamed every one of his vision;'^b they hold down the head, and dare not speak any more, things being so intolerably out of order. . . Neither is it strange [that] they are all silent; for what can the new Doctors, or Triers, or any of the money-prophets, bring forth to justify some statesmen's doings, but Gardner's argument against relying on the merits of Christ? 'Allow that,' said he, 'and ye open a gap to the taking away of the priests' profit!' It is sure enough, if Christ in his Kingdom, laws, worship, etc., should reign; open that gate to the King of glory, down goes the wantonness, pride, riot, and gallantry, of our new princes and prelates and their dependants.

“For those Fools which 'will be meddling' and 'prating,'^c what do they but make 'lies' their 'refuge?'^d Oh, the wonderful victories and prosperous successes which they have had in the West Indies and other parts, against the Spaniard! and, what huge credit and glory the English nation hath gained of late among Turks and Jews and heathen,

^a 2 Kings v. 27. ^b Zech. xi. 3, 4. ^c Prov. xx. 3; x. 8. ^d Isa. xxviii. 15.

and where not! When I hear such gross untruths, and consider for what end they are devised, that beast comes into my mind, called Bonosus; not being able to defend himself with his horns, poisoneth the dogs with his dung: [so] seeing they can do nothing by their power, but the Lord breaks their horns every where; they hope to help themselves with their excrements,—men, that shall write for the Turk or Devil, if he will hire him,—and therewith to poison the ears and understanding of the people! But some may say, they are not believed; their news is taken for lies in all places! Though this be true, yet their wickedness is not the less; namely, when God is visibly against them, and curseth their ‘blessings.’^a . . .

“What strange and monstrous people are the ‘Fifth Monarchy-men and Commonwealth’s-men’ reported to be! and, doubtless, ‘the simple,’ who believe ‘every word,’^b think it is all true which apostates say of them! . . . They will tell you they are ‘monsters, monstrous monsters; men that will have no government, no magistracy, no ministry; men that will have all things common, allowing no property!’ . . . Are not our enemies and Moab^c here alike? Do they not altogether conceal the case and carriage of Christ’s ‘faithful witnesses?’ Where do they fairly and honestly report their principles and judgment? but lay to their charge, things they never knew!^d I have, in part, showed what they hold, and what they desire to have: this I shall add, . . . if Charles Stuart justly suffered—and his family too—for exercising an arbitrary and unlimited power; they know no reason why any man, if he govern worse than the king did, should be suffered! . . .

“The Lawyers never tormented poor men more than now. The old superstitious Priests, how are they mumbling over the English mass again! So, in many parts of the land, their Malignant Justices [are] persecuting honest men under the name of Conventicles, putting in execution the bloody laws of the ‘Beast’ enacted for the suppression of the Truth. Other things, are too foul to be named! . . .

“They [‘the Lord’s people:’ that is, the ‘Fifth Monarchy-men’] have prayed that the Lord would not bless or prosper the designs of ‘the froward’ and ‘crafty,’^e who, to set up their own interest, have betrayed the Cause of Christ; but that he would ‘make them as a rolling thing, as chaff before the wind.’^f How the Lord hath answered them, will appear first by some queries: Had Charles Stuart sent an army to Hispaniola and ten of the Spaniards had killed a hundred of them, a hundred a thousand; whether people would not have said, ‘God’s curse was upon that action?’^g Had Charles Stuart, to satisfy his pride and lust, put the nation to some millions of expense to keep a great fleet about the Straits, and after some years a part had returned bringing nothing back but shame and dishonour to the nation; whether people would not have said, ‘This action likewise was given to the curse?’^h If Charles Stuart for the business at the isle of Rhé,ⁱ and violating some privileges of Parliament, etc., was fairly dealt with;

^a Mal. ii. 2.

^b Prov. xiv. 15.

^c Num. xxii. 5.

^d Psal. xxxv. 11.

^e Job. v. 12, 13.

^f Psal. lxxxiii. 13.

^g See Hume’s Hist. of Eng. ch. lxi. an. 1656, Apr. 13.

^h Isa. xliii. 28.—See Hume, *supra*. an. 1655.

ⁱ An. 1627.

whether other men, after him, should they do worse, might not be called to such an account? If that Parliament and High Court of Justice which arraigned Charles Stuart deserved much love and praise of the nation for it; what deserve they and are worthy to have, that shall betray the public trust by giving up to one man the power, laws, rights, and privileges of people and Parliament? If Charles Stuart, in three or four years, had unnecessarily wasted more than four millions of the treasure of the nation, and in that time had destroyed more than forty thousand men's lives and only for his own pleasure, and afterward should have gotten a pack of his own creatures together, who in Parliament—as he would call it—should justify and confirm what he had done; the question is, whether in this case there had been any way or means left to the people whereby they might lawfully and justly have called Charles Stuart and his juncto to an account for the same? . . .

“ Oh, how desperately straitened are those men, and know not what to do [who] having fought against Malignants and Cavaliers, against Episcopal men and Presbyterians, shall afterward run to them, court them and crouch to them, as seeing no way else to be helped! ‘ Did not ye hate me, and expel me out of my father's house? and why are ye come unto me now when ye are in distress?’^a . . .

“ Chap. viii. It is a ‘time of finding,’ when there is no staggering at the promise; but the things asked are, by faith, obtained.— . . . No less confident and certain are saints now, that is, as some of the Canaanites are cast out—monks, friars, archbishops, bishops,—so ‘the land,’ ere long, shall ‘spue out’^b the rest of them, and it ‘shall be given to the saints of the most High.’^c . . . But wherefore hath the Lord suffered His work to be stopped, and to be as it were under a death? . . . The Lord could have prevented all stops, yet he would not; but he will have His cause slain and buried; . . . and then will he awake ‘as one out of sleep,’^d break the heavens and come down . . . to the glory of his power, the joy of his people, and the confusion of his enemies!

“ But what reasons have you to believe that The Good Old Cause will be revived again? Because the honour of God is much concerned in it since the stop! What say the scoffers, ‘This man began to build, and was not able to finish:’^e as if some, by their craft and policy had overreached Jesus Christ. As long as Pompey stood and flourished, Cato stoutly maintained a Providence; but when he fled into Egypt, and was slain of a base fellow, and lay upon the shore without any honour of burial; when Cato also was beset with Cæsar's army, he fell from his former doctrine; . . . every thing went by hap! . . . Such were the wonderful actings and appearances of God for and with this Cause, as it is not possible it should come to nothing: . . . ‘If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not . . . have showed us all these things.’^f Let no man think, that He would so eminently have showed his power, justice, and wrath, against the late King for his tyranny and arbitrary government; so, against the Bishops for their pride and human

^a Jud. xi. 7. ^b Lev. xviii. 28. ^c Dan. vii. 27. ^d Psal. lxxviii. 65.

^e Luke xiv. 30. ^f Jud. xiii. 23.

inventions ; but that He means to destroy the like wickedness in others, if afterward they shall take it up ! . . . Is not all oppression to cease, and ‘ violence ’ to ‘ be heard no more in the land ? ’^a the first and second Apostacies both to be destroyed ? must not ‘ truth spring out of the earth, and righteousness look down from heaven ? ’^b and, ‘ the saints possess the kingdom ? ’^c But can these things be, and not the work [or Cause] revived ? That is impossible ! . . .

“ But is there not something for the Lord’s people to do, in order to the reviving of the work ? Yes, surely : for howsoever Achan was the troubler, and had caused the stop, yet ‘ Israel ’ had sinned also !^d . . . So that it is the duty of every saint—waiting for the great promises of the Father—to be at the foot of God, exceedingly bewailing his own and his brethren’s great miscarriages. And as there is hope our deliverance is nigh, so our hearts should be more broken and in bitterness, and our tears and sighings increase. . . . Though some have been ‘ pricks ’ in the eyes of the Lord’s work and The Good Old Cause, and ‘ scourges ’ and ‘ thorns ’^e in the sides of his people : yet must we confess the righteousness of Jehovah, and say He hath ‘ punished us less than our iniquities deserve.’^f In short, our sins are as ‘ the stone ’ upon the grave, which must be rolled away^g by confession and heart sorrow, in order to the reviving of the work. . . . How to be prepared for the Lord’s work when it shall come forth again, is showed us in the characters of the Lamb’s followers, Rev. xiv. 1, 4, 5. What is the reason so many have fallen under the Lord’s work ; made shipwreck of it and themselves too ? They took it up before they were meet for it. . . . ‘ Woe to thee, O land, when thy King is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning ! ’^h that is, one wrung out of inferior condition is leapt into a throne, and gives himself—with his new lords—to lust and pleasures ; and make their own interests and profits the chief thing that they look after ! . . . Though I attribute to the work done as much as any man rightly can ; yet this I humbly conceive, it hath hitherto been but a rough draft, very low and mean comparatively to what the work will be when the Lord shall give it a resurrection : and therefore, as the work will be much finer, so he will use better instruments ; or if he use any of the former . . . he will make them purer and better than ever : He will have a ‘ created people ; sanctified ones ; called, and chosen, and faithful ; clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.’^k . . .

“ But can you demonstrate by any fair argument, that the work is . . . coming forth out of the womb of Providence as the ‘ man-child,’ to rule the nations with a rod of iron ?^l . . . Indeed I cannot decline my former opinion, but do think the work as an unformed substance began about June ! . . . A little time will show by whose leading and motion I wrote thus, namely, That the Lord’s work is reviving, and will suddenly appear in the destroying of the last Apostacy ; and this, done by that faith which some poor worms have received, to which all things are possible. I think Providence is opening the womb, because some

^a Isa. lx. 18.^b Psal. lxxxv. 11.^c Dan. vii. 22.^d Josh. vii. 11.^e Num. xxxiii. 55.^f Jos. xxiii. 13.^g Ezra ix. 13.^h John xi. 39, 41.ⁱ Eccles. x. 16.^k Psal. cii. 18 ;

Isai. xiii. 3 ;

Rev. xvii. 14 ;

xv. 6.

^l Rev. xii. 5.

men, like Jehu, drive too furiously to hold out long! . . . [and] because the controversy riseth high between the Lord's witnesses and the Lord's enemies. . . . Can the controversy be higher? Is it not about the title of [to] the crown, kingdom, government; yea, and who shall reign and be King? Whether Jesus Christ in his laws, or Proud Flesh in his lusts? . . . Judgment is at the birth against a professing people, when the counsel of the Lord in all his servants is rejected; and they are hearkening to flatterers, liars, wizards, who will humour them in their lusts, and encourage them in every sinful action! . . . That the work is upon reviving, this also shows it; never in my apprehension did time look so like midnight as now: night it hath been some years together, but no midnight till of late! . . . Are there any such in our time who, in respect of many engagements, should assist and help the Lord's people, stand up with them for righteousness and truth; and, do they, like Midian, Ahithophel, Judas,^a side and take part with wizards, rebels, pharisees, and marked slaves of the Beast? . . . Then I question not, but Providence ere long will show some notable work upon them. . . . Is it possible that it should lie with so much weight upon the spirits of all the little remnant, that the Lord is coming forth to take vengeance on his adversaries, and to comfort Zion, and nothing should be in it? I cannot think so. . . .

"Thus, reader, thou seest the reasons why I think the work is at the birth. . . . From the 'creation' to the 'flood,' according to the best account that I have seen, [there] were 1657 years: and so many years we reckon past, since Jesus Christ was born. . . . Mr. Tillinghast, of precious memory, beginning at the head of the account,—that is, at the rise of the 'Beast,'—brings down the two numbers ['forty-two months,' and 'twelve hundred and sixty days'] to the year 1657: I have done something by inquiring at the foot, to wit, the last 'three years and a half' of the account; and here we do agree as to the 'time of the end.' . . . If matters soberly be considered by wisdom's eye, [16]57 hath showed some token for good, and that the day of the Lord's redeemed is come, 'and the year of recompense for the controversy of Zion:'^b for what may be meant by that Government which was set up Dec. 16th, 1653, and laid aside again June 26th, 1657? It stood 'a time and times and the dividing of time;' that is, three years and a half almost to a day. Oh, the depth of God's ways! . . . What things have been done and how managed, and what success hath followed in 57, it is so well known to many men's cost, as I need not mention it: . . . the national affairs, in their hands, is like the fig-tree under the curse.^c When Agag thought the bitterness of death was past,^d then came sudden destruction upon him: 57 is not yet ended! . . .

"But how can the twelve hundred and sixty years be ended, seeing it is the opinion of many good men, that the witnesses are not slain; neither hath the little horn yet been, nor the second beast risen out of the earth; besides many other things not yet fulfilled, which must be before the forty-two months do expire? Because there are many men, and some whom I know and honour, of this judgment, I do intend by

^a Deut. xxiii. 4; 2 Sam. xvii. 23; Matt. xxvii. 5; Acts i. 18.

^b Isai. xxxiv. 8.

^c Matt. xxi. 19.

^d 1 Sam. xv. 32.

the good hand of God assisting me, to publish very shortly, . . . why I think there is nothing foretold in Scripture which should come to pass in the twelve hundred and sixty years but hath had its due accomplishment.

“If the work be so nigh reviving, how and in what manner will the Lord . . . bring it forth? . . . Near or about the visible reviving . . . ‘a voice’ will be heard ‘from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder.’^a Waters are from beneath, thunders from above: so then, by the ‘voice’ of these waters, I understand a terrible appearance and standing up of much people, or Commonwealth’s men, for civil rights; crying, ‘Justice, Justice,’ against oppressors and wrong doers: neither will they be silenced or quieted no more than waters, till they have recovered their freedom and liberties. Thunder, as I said, is from above: and here may be meant Fifth Monarchy men speaking very high for the rights of Jesus Christ, his kingdom, crown, and dignity! . . . While the adversaries are thus in confusion and fear, a happy union and accord will be made between the ‘waters’ and ‘thunder;’ so much, I think, is meant by the witnesses ascending up to heaven ‘in a cloud:’^b it is but one cloud that hath them both. Hence, about this time I do expect a great uniting of the Commonwealth-men and Fifth Monarchy men upon good righteous principles. . . This blessed ‘Agreement of the People,’ instrumentally will be made by some eminent and choice christians; men that have ‘understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do:’^c and this, I take to be the ‘great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up *higher*.’^d . . . My opinion is, [That] for any people to go forth with the material sword against Babylon, or the kings of the earth, or to set up the visible kingdom of Christ, before the Lord hath brought them to this ‘heaven,’ . . . they will not be upon the Lord’s work as to the pouring out of any vial! . . . They need not fear these men for secret plots and treason; they scorn it, they need no such shifts: what they do shall be in the sight of the sun. . .

“In this last Apostacy, who are ‘men of name;’^e yea, would be thought and counted the only ‘men of name;’ if not church members and church officers, those that are in the Congregational Way as they call it? As for the Cavalier Church, that hath no ‘name;’ and the Presbyterian, very little: the Commonwealth’s men and Fifth Kingdom men, all under hatches; their crown is fallen; they must go for a company of idiots, giddy heads and silly fellows; in a word, all without ‘name’ that bear a faithful testimony to The Good old Cause! Hence, I am persuaded—and, in the fear of God, I speak it,—by the ‘seven thousand names of men,’^f is meant such members and officers of Congregational churches and other professors of religion, as have grievously revolted from the Lord’s work, and the interest of Christ and his people! The judgment follows, ‘were slain.’^g As the witnesses were not corporeally ‘slain,’ so may this be understood of a spiritual death upon the churches, officers, worship, government; which is worse and more grievous than the other. Neither is this without some

^a Rev. xiv. 2.

^b Rev. xi. 12.

^c 1 Chron. xii. 32.

^d Rev. xi. 12.

^e Gen. vi. 4.

^f Rev. xi. 13, Gr. ^g *Ibid.*

appearance already; for, is there not an ‘earthquake’ in their churches: from whence else are all those rents, divisions, distractions? Is it not evident that the Lord, of late, hath very much withdrawn His presence from them; so that they have not the power, comfort, and sweetness, of his ordinances, as formerly? Do not the gifts and parts of their officers, sensibly abate and wither? For the characters of the last Apostacy, namely, self-seeking, covetousness, pride, etc.; do they not spread and appear like a ‘Gangrene’ every day more and more? But what means this bitter complaining of late, among the new raised Masters and Doctors, that ‘the sons of Zeruah’ are too hard for them;^a not only get away their places, but jeer and deride them? If half be true which themselves report, the Lord hath met with them already, for their unfaithfulness. Now, howsoever these things are but a beginning, and little to what, probably, will follow; yet enough to show, if the ‘earthquake’ be not come, there is a type of it at least. . . The judgment on churches and professors, will be by some immediate hand of God; but the other, which is to be executed upon the civil state, will be by the hands of men:^b so then, though the latter Apostacy be the subject of the ‘first vial,’ yet it must be understood as Church and State, and the judgments distinct. . . Profane men and idolaters when they shall see the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ—as they will soon do in the effects of the ‘first vial,’—oh, how will they storm and rage! no torment like it: but the children of the kingdom, will do otherwise; ‘The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof!’^c

The perusal of the foregoing pieces will have prepared the reader the better to judge of “A Narrative, wherein is faithfully set forth the Sufferings of John Canne, Wentworth Day, John Clarke, John Belcher, John Ricard, Robert Boggis, Peter Kidd, Richard Bryenton, and George Strange, called,—as their News-book saith,—‘Fifth Monarchy Men:’ That is, How Eight of them were taken in Coleman-street, Month *second*—called, April,—Day first, 1658, as they were in the solemn Worship of God and by the Lord Mayor sent Prisoners to the Compter in the Poultry.^d Also, Of the Arraignment of Wentworth Day and John Clarke at the Sessions in the Old Bailey: And how, the rest, after three Weeks’ Imprisonment and more, were discharged in their Court. Published by a Friend to the Prisoners, and The Good Old Cause they suffered for.—Acts v. 38, 39.—1658.” 4to. pp. 16.

“Upon the first day of the second month,^e commonly called April 1658, many of the Lord’s people being assembled together in Swan-alley in Coleman-street,—a public place where Saints have met many years,—as they were waiting upon the Lord in prayer and holy duties, on a sudden the Marshal of the City with several officers rushed in with great violence upon them. . . Old brother Canne was then in the pulpit, and had read a place of Scripture, but spoken nothing to it; the Scripture was Num. xvi. 20—26. Now he perceiving that they

^a 2 Sam. iii. 39.

^b Dan. vii. 26.

^c Psal. xcvi. 1.

^d See back, vol. ii. p. 4, note c.

^e Old Style.

came in, at both doors, with their halberts, pikes, staves, etc., and fearing lest there might be some hurt done to the Lord's poor and naked people; he desired the brethren and sisters to be all quiet, and to make no stir: for his part, he feared them not, but was assured the Lord would eminently stand by them. Whilst he was thus speaking to the people, exhorting them to patience, one of the officers breaking through the crowd, came furiously upon him, and with great violence plucked him out of the pulpit; and, when he had so done, hurled him over the benches or forms in a very barbarous manner.^a

“Having thus awhile pulled and halled [hauled] him, at last they brought him to the Mayor of the City who was without the door, with one of the Sheriff's on horseback, waiting for the brethren to be taken, and brought to him. The [aged] brother asked the Mayor, ‘What he had against him;’ telling him withal, ‘for his part, he desired no more favour at his hands than was allowed thieves and murderers; that is . . . to know what they had to charge him with, and who were his accusers.’ To which, the Mayor answered, ‘Mr. Canne’—saith he—‘I have nothing against you, neither do I know any evil you have done, but that you are an honest man, only you must appear before his Highness, and I will send you thither presently.’ ‘No,’—saith the Sheriff—‘keep him till to-morrow morning, and then send him.’ And so the Mayor bid one of his officers to carry our brother to the Compter. Afterward they brought some more to the Mayor, of which number five had never spoken in that Meeting-place, but came only to hear. Now that which occasioned their apprehending and sending to prison, it was because they spake against the cruelty and inhuman dealing exercised upon brother Canne; saying aloud, ‘He is an old man, and do not use him so barbarously.’^b

“Having brought eight of them to the Compter with halberts [and] staves, here presently [was] begun a new trouble; for the Keeper having neither a Warrant for the commitment nor knowing who they were, comes to inquire for their names, all refused to tell him their names except brother Canne whose name they knew before; whereupon they were all seven thrust into the cold stinking hole, and [the gaolers] would not allow them any beds to lie on, nor any other place in the prison, though they offered them any reasonable content. In this noisome place, they were kept all night; neither suffered the next day, to come forth,—though the rest of the prisoners did,—till they were all sent for by the Mayor to come before him; which was about three or four of the clock in the afternoon.^c

“When they came to the Mayor's house, he sent for them one by one into a private room. Some of the brethren desired that they might be heard openly, and that their friends might be witness to what was spoken; but this would not be granted. The first that they called was brother Canne: the Mayor asked him, ‘What he thought of the present Government?’ his answer was, ‘The present Government, I am not’—saith he, ‘satisfied with it; but this concerns not you: neither shall I speak now anything to you about it; but if you send me to the Protector, I shall

^a P. 3.

^b P. 4.

^c *Ibid.*

tell him what I think concerning this Government. For I have a great deal to say to his face if, in such a way as this I may be brought before him. But for you, Sir, this is not our business now.' Many words passed to and fro, not worth the mentioning here; only I shall note a little concerning the Marshal: he had been a little before in Coleman-street, and having heard brother Canne exercise there, gave him his thanks before the people 'for his good sermon.' He being now with the Mayor, brother Canne told him what he had said; his answer was, 'I confess'—saith he—'it was a good sermon, but I knew whom you meant, even the Lord Protector!' Thus he acknowledged the matter to be 'good;' only the meaning of the brother, that he presumed to know, and could tell how to apply it!^a

"Having nothing to lay to the charge of the first prisoner, nor could ensnare him in his words, they desired him to withdraw; and so he was brought into another room. Then, brother Day was called in, and the same question put to him, namely, 'What he thought of the present Government?' Many words passed between the Mayor and him; but nothing could they draw from him to serve their turn till he told them that he would give it under his hand, 'to prove Oliver Cromwell a juggler by his own confession!' and so much, he did leave with the Mayor in a piece of paper; which was the great charge that he was afterward arraigned for.^b

'Having kept them about three weeks in prison, upon the twenty-second day of the second month [April] towards evening, brother Day was sent for, and brought to the sessions. Coming before them with his hat on, they caused it to be pulled off, and commanded him to be put into the gaol among the thieves and murderers; but the keeper was more civil to him, and allowed him a better place. A little while after, he was brought again to the Bar, and keeping his hat on as before, they took it off; whereupon he told them, 'he was no Quaker, but could very well give them civil respect; and therefore, what he now did in refusing to put off his hat, it was to show he could not own their authority; and that they had basely and unworthily betrayed a most glorious and noble Cause, yea, and the rights and liberties of the whole nation.'^c . The next day in the morning, called Friday, our brother Day was brought again to the Bar; the charge being read, they asked him 'guilty or not?' He told them as before, he understood not their punctilios in law, etc.^d . His third and last trial was on the seventh day [Saturday]; . . then he told them 'he had twelve witnesses to prove Oliver Cromwell a juggler;' and desired some of them might be called into Court, they being there to give in their evidence for him upon oath. But the Recorder presently pronounceth sentence against him, which was 'Five hundred pounds fine, and twelve months imprisonment without bail or mainprise, and then not to come out without giving security for his good behaviour!' He told them, 'it was very strange, that they would give judgment against him, before they had heard him; neither suffer him to plead for himself, nor admit that he should have a copy of his Indictment.' But they commanded the officers to take him away, and would not suffer him to speak any more

^a P. 5.^b *Ibid.*^c P. 7.^d P. 9.

to them. It is observable in all their proceedings, that they never produced any one witness against him, though he called often upon them for it; neither was there a Jury that past upon his case, but only gave sentence upon him by their own will and power.^a

“Upon the twenty-third day, called Friday, . . . brother Clarke was sent for.^b . . . The cause being now left with the jury, the prisoner takes occasion to inform them how the matter stood between his prosecutor and him, and speaks to them to this purpose, ‘I was’—saith he—‘fetched away from Coleman-street, etc.’. . . Then began the Recorder to speak to the jury, and told them, ‘Howsoever the prisoner had spoken so and so for himself, yet they were to consider that under a pretence of conscience a great deal of wickedness is committed.’ To which, the prisoner replied, ‘Let Baal speak for himself.’ ‘What do you say?’ said the Recorder. ‘I say’—saith he—‘Let Baal plead for himself.’ After this, the Jury went aside, and in a very little time returned again and brought in their verdict, which was, ‘That they found not the prisoner guilty of the Indictment; but for two or three words which he had spoken and brought Scripture for it, that they did not quit him of, for he had confest them and stood to the justification of them.’ The Bench at this, were much dissatisfied, and a great stir there was; but the Jury stood to it, and some of them said openly, ‘If ye like not this verdict, then look somewhere else, for we have no more to say nor anything more against the prisoner!’ and so broke up; the benchmen and the jury men seeming very much displeas’d each with other. The next day, . . . he was brought again to the Bar, and howsoever the night before he was quitted by the Jury as to the Indictment, yet the Recorder pronounced the sentence against him, namely, ‘A fine of two hundred marks, and to lie six months in prison without bail or mainprise, and afterward not to come forth without giving security for his good behaviour.’^d

“The others remained all Saturday in Newgate till, about eight or nine of the clock at night, . . . they were all sent for to the Sessions. Brother Feake, brother Goodgroom, and several more of the christian friends, went with the prisoners to the Court: being there, they made proclamation, etc., . . . no sooner had they read it, but presently they cried out, ‘Ye are discharged of the Court.’^e

^a P. 10.

^b P. 12.

^c P. 13.

^d P. 14.

^e *Ib.*—We cannot close this chapter without noticing that imperishable monument of Canne’s industry and judgment, his marginal references to the Bible. In his address “To the Reader,”—the first date of which we have not found,—he begins by assuming the universality of the proposition, That the Scriptures are their own best interpreter. So ample is their fulness and perfection; and so attainable is their explanation by themselves; that, by God’s blessing, other interpreters will be little needed, and much less will any “private interpretations and bold glosses” be imposed “upon the text.” The less there is of men’s interpretation, and the more of the Scripture’s own, so much the more will they be honoured. He confesses, that in order to their “sufficiency and fulness,” they should be “rightly translated,” and “as much as possible, even word for word;” and that, “how inconvenient, yea how absurd soever and harsh “the literal rendering;” because ‘the foolishness of God is wiser than man,’ 1 Cor. i. 25.” But in chapters—he remarks,—various readings, suitable explanations, reconciliation of doubts and “seeming differences,” and the translation of certain words “left untouched,” and special notice taken of “original particles” as of “great concernment” to the

connexion of the context; these, are so many things to be attended to and performed in order to that complete “sufficiency” which shall preclude any “need to seek further for the sense and meaning of the text.” He intimates, that he was still making further provision towards “an exact and full Scripture interpreter.” More than thirty-seven years he had already been employed upon this “Scripture work,” which was accompanied by “sweetness and great content,” and “good hope” that “many will have much soul-good and spiritual comfort by it.” There will be a constant inducement and facility to “search” the Scriptures: meditation will be encouraged; knowledge will not only be increased, but be more abiding; the presence of the holy Spirit, who guides us into all Truth, may be expected in such a pursuit, “more than in reading other books.” This “self-interpreter” will, therefore, by removing ignorance, make the Scriptures more “honoured and regarded among men;” and “it must needs be the best way, and freest from errors.” The honour and glory of God, having been his end herein, Canne refers all the “praise” to Him alone. He concludes by announcing that he had, after many years, prepared for the press “large annotations,” which he purposed to set forth in an edition of the Bible in “a large and fair character;” but the work will be heavy, and require care and time.”—When he died is uncertain; Mr. Steven,—p. 271 of his *Hist. of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam, 1833,—attributes it to the year 1667.

CHAP. LXXXII.

THE SAVOY “DECLARATION.”

WHATEVER might have been the ulterior design—whether, unhappily, a “national” establishment of religion, or not,—of those divines concerned in the main subject of this chapter; it was probably frustrated by the intervention alone of an overruling Providence. By what party chiefly the measure was projected or promoted, does not appear; but, we find that on May 25th, 1657, the Protector gave his “consent” to “The Humble Petition and Advice of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth.”

The eleventh clause contains these words,—“That the true Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be held forth and asserted for the Public Profession of these Nations: And that A CONFESSION OF FAITH to be agreed by your Highness and the Parliament, according to the rule and warrant of the Scriptures, be asserted, held forth and recommended to the People of these Nations, That none may be suffered or permitted, by opprobrious words or writing, maliciously or contemptuously to revile or reproach the Confession of Faith to be agreed upon as aforesaid: And such who profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and in the holy Spirit, God coequal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed Will and Word of God, and [but] shall in other things differ in doctrine, worship or discipline, from the Public Profession held forth; endeavours shall be used to convince them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation: But that they may not be compelled thereto by penalties, nor restrained from their profession, but protected from all injury and molestation in the profession of the Faith and exercise of their religion, whilst they abuse not this liberty to the Civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the public peace; so that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to the countenancing such who publish horrid blasphemies, or practise or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness

under the profession of Christ : And that those Ministers or Public Preachers who shall agree with the Public Profession aforesaid in matters of Faith, although in their judgment and practice they differ in matters of worship and discipline, shall not only have Protection in the way of their Churches and worship respectively, but be esteemed fit and capable, notwithstanding such difference—being otherwise duly qualified and duly approved—of any trust, promotion, or employment whatsoever in these Nations, that any Ministers who agree in doctrine, worship, and discipline, with the Public Profession aforesaid, are capable of : And all others who agree with the Public Profession in matters of Faith, although they differ in matters of worship and discipline as aforesaid, shall not only have Protection as aforesaid, but be esteemed fit and capable—notwithstanding such difference, being otherwise duly qualified—of any Civil trust, employment or promotion in these Nations : But for such persons who agree not in matters of Faith with the Public Profession aforesaid, they shall not be capable of receiving the public maintenance appointed for the Ministry.^a—Provided, That this Clause shall not be construed to extend to *enable* such Ministers or public preachers, or pastors of Congregations ; but that they be *disenabled*, and they are hereby disenabled to hold any Civil employment which those in Orders were or are disenabled to hold by an Act intituled ‘ An Act for disenabling all persons in holy Orders to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority ;’ etc.”

Further, on June 26th, following,^c the Protector gave his consent also to a stringent and rigid “ Act for the better observance of the Lord’s-day :” chap. 15. In which, is this clause,—“ And to the end that no profane licentious person or persons whatsoever, may in the least measure receive encouragement to neglect the performance of religious and holy duties on the said Day, by colour of any law or laws giving liberty to truly tender consciences : Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every person and persons shall—having no reasonable excuse for their absence, to be allowed by a Justice of the Peace of the County where the offence shall be committed—upon every Lord’s-day diligently resort to some Church or Chapel where the true worship and service of God is exercised, or shall be present at some other convenient Meeting-place of Christians, not differing in matters of Faith from the Public Profession of the Nation, as it is expressed in ‘ The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, to His Highness the Lord Protector,’ where the Lord’s-day shall be duly sanctified, according to the true intent and meaning of the Act, upon pain that all and every such person or persons so offending shall, for every such offence, being thereof convicted, forfeit the sum of Two shillings and sixpence.”^d

Incidental with these measures, might have been that of which the following summons appears to be preliminary ; “ Sir,—The meeting of the Elders of the Congregational Churches in and about London, is appointed at Mr. Griffith’s^e on Monday next, at two of the clock in the afternoon, where you are desired to be present.—I am, Sir, yours to love and serve you in the Lord, Henry Scobell. June 15th, 1658.”

The signature being that of the “ Clerk of the Council,” and communications to him being addressed “ Whitehall,” give an unquestionably official character to the above document ; which is confirmed by several answers to Scobell from country ministers, acknowledging the receipt of Letters to the several Churches of the Congregational order in England and Wales, signed by Griffith, thirteen copies of which replies are preserved.^f The result of the correspondence was

^a An. 1654 : see a Letter, dated Aug. 16th, 1655, from Bridge, to Scobell, in “ Desiderata Curiosa : by Francis Peck, M. A., 1735.” Fol. vol. ii., lib. xiii. p. 13. And see the Act in Scobell, cap. 49, p. 353 ; passed Sept. 2nd, 1654, and confirmed, cap. 10, *an.* 1656. See also, back, p. 424.

^b Scobell, p. 381.

^c Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. p. 575.

^d Scobell, p. 441.

^e “ Preacher in the Charter-House.”

^f See Peck, vol. ii. lib. xiii.

that on the 29th of September, being twenty-six days after the Protector's death, about two hundred delegates from a hundred and twenty churches,^a met and appointed Doctors [T.] Goodwin and Owen, with Nye, Bridge,^b Caryl, and Greenhill, a committee for digesting the articles to be submitted for general acceptance; Griffith to act as "scribe."^c

Many interesting points concerning their principles and judgments are recorded in a Preface, the whole of which is, with all they concurred in, here presented, under the title of "A Declaration of the FAITH and ORDER owned and practised in the CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES in England: Agreed upon and consented unto by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the Savoy, Oct. 12th, 1658. Lond. 1659." 4to. pp. xiv., 27.^d

"A PREFACE.—Confession of the Faith that is in us, when *justly called for*, is so indispensable a due all owe to the glory of the Sovereign GOD, that it is ranked among the duties of the first commandment, such as prayer is; and therefore by Paul yoked with faith itself as necessary to salvation: 'with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.'^e Our Lord Christ himself, when he was accused of his doctrine, considered simply as a matter of fact by preaching, refused to answer; because as such, it lay upon evidence and matter of testimony of others, unto whom therefore he refers himself.^f But when both the high priest and Pilate expostulate his faith and what he held himself to be, he without any demur at all cheerfully makes declaration that he was 'the Son of God;' so to the high priest:^g and, that He was 'a King,' and 'born' to be a King; thus to Pilate:^h though upon the uttering of it his life lay at the stake. Which holy 'profession' of His is celebrated for our example.ⁱ

"Confessions when made by a company of professors of Christianity jointly meeting to that end—the most genuine and natural use of such is, that under the same form of words they express the substance of the same common salvation, or unity of their faith, whereby speaking the same things they show themselves 'perfectly joined in the same mind and in the same judgment.'^k And accordingly such a transaction is to be looked upon but as a meet or fit medium or means whereby to express that their 'common faith and salvation;'^l and no way to be made use of as an imposition upon any. Whatever is of force or constraint in matters of this nature, causeth them to degenerate from the name and nature of Confessions; and turns them, from being Confessions of Faith, into exactions and impositions of faith!

^a "Account of the Ministers, etc., ejected or silenced, after the Restoration in 1660. By Edmund Calamy, D. D. edit. 2nd. 1713." 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 444. art. "Reyner." And see hereafter.

^b Simpson died this year, Neal, Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. iii. The three others of the "Five Apologists" survived the epoch of the Restoration.

^c Neal, Hist. Purit. vol. iv. chap. iii.

^d "Confessio nuper edita Independentium seu Congregationalium in Anglia. — Ultraj. 1662." 8vo.

^e Rom. x. 10.

^f John xviii. 19, 21.

^g Matt. xxvi. 64.

^h John xviii. 37;

ⁱ 1 Tim. vi. 13.

^k 1 Cor. i. 10.

^l Tit. i. 4; Jude 3.

“ And such common Confessions of the orthodox faith made in simplicity of heart by any such body of christians with concord among themselves, ought to be entertained by all others that love ‘ the truth, as it is in Jesus,’^a with an answerable rejoicing : for if the unanimous opinions and assertion but in some few points of religion, and that when by two churches, namely that of Jerusalem and the messengers of Antioch, met, assisted by some of the apostles, were by the believers of those times received with so much joy—as it is said ‘ they rejoiced for the consolation ;’^b—much more this is to be done when the whole substance of Faith and ‘ form of wholesome words ’^c shall be declared by the Messengers of a multitude of churches, though wanting those advantages of counsel and authority of the apostles which that assembly had. Which acceptation is then more specially due when these shall [meet] to choose, utter, and declare their Faith in the same substance for matter, yea words for the most part, that other churches and assemblies, reputed the most orthodox, have done before them : for upon such a correspondency, all may see that actually accomplished which the apostle did but exhort unto and pray for, in those two more eminent churches of the Corinthians and the Romans—and so in them for all christians of his time,—that both Jew and Gentile ; that is, ‘ men ’^d of different persuasions, as they were, might glorify God ‘ with one mind and with one mouth ’ !^d And truly, the very turning of the Gentiles to the owning of the same faith in the substance of it, with the Christian-Jew—though differing in greater points than we do from our Brethren—is, presently after, dignified by the apostle with this style, That it is the Confession of Jesus Christ himself, not as the object only, but as the author and maker thereof ; ‘ I will confess to thee,’ saith Christ to God, ‘ among the Gentiles.’^e So that in all such accords, Christ is the great and first Confessor ; and we, and all our faith uttered by us, are but the epistles, as Paul, and confessions, as Isaiah there,^f of their Lord and ours : He but expressing what is written in his heart, through their hearts and mouths, to the glory of God the Father ;^g and shall not we all rejoice herein, whenas Christ himself is said to do it upon this occasion, as it there also follows, ‘ I will . . . sing unto thy Name ?’^h

“ Further : as the soundness and wholesomeness of the matter gives the vigour and life to such Confessions, so the inward freeness, willingness, and readiness of the spirits of the confessors do contribute the beauty and loveliness thereunto ; as it is in prayer to God, so in confessions made to men. If two or three met do agree, it renders both to either the more acceptable. The Spirit of Christ is in himself too free,ⁱ great, and generous a Spirit, to suffer himself to be used by any human arm to whip men into belief ; he drives not, but gently leads, ‘ into all truth,’^k and persuades men to dwell in the tents of ‘ like precious faith ;’ⁱ which would lose of its preciousness and value if that sparkle of freeness shone not in it. The character of His people

^a Eph. iv. 21.

^b Acts xv. 31.

^c 2 Tim. i. 13.

^d Rom. xv. 6, 8, 9.

^e Ver. 9.

^f Ver. 12.

^g Ver. 6.

^h Ver. 9.

ⁱ Psal. li. 12.

^k John xvi. 13.

^l 2 Pet. i. 1.

is, to be a 'willing' people, in the day of his 'power,' not man's; 'in the beauties of holiness,'^a which are the assemblings of the saints. One glory of which assemblings in that first church, is said to have been, they met with one accord;^b which is there in that Psalm prophesied of in the instance of that first church, for all other that should succeed. And as this Great Spirit is in himself 'free,' when and how far, and in whom, to work, so where and when he doth work he carrieth it with the same freedom; and it is said to be a 'free Spirit,' as he both is and works in us: and where this Spirit of the Lord is, 'there is liberty!'^c

"Now, as to this Confession of ours, besides that a conspicuous conjunction of the particulars mentioned hath appeared therein, there are also four remarkable attendants thereon, which, added, might perhaps, in the eyes of sober and indifferent spirits, give the whole of this transaction a room and rank amongst other many good and memorable things of this age; at least, all set together do cast as clear a gleam and manifestation of God's power and presence as hath appeared in any such kind of Confessions, made by so numerous a company, these later years.

"The First is, the temper—or distemper, rather of the *times* during which these Churches have been gathering, and which they have run through. All do, out of a general sense, complain that the times have been 'perilous,' or difficult, 'times,' as the apostle foretold;^d and that, in respect to danger from 'seducing spirits,'^e more perilous than the hottest seasons of persecution!

"We have sailed through an estuation, fluxes and refluxes, of great varieties of spirits, doctrines, opinions, and occurrences; and especially in the matter of opinions, which have been accompanied in their several seasons, with powerful persuasions and temptations to seduce those of our Way.

"It is known, men have taken the freedom—notwithstanding what Authority hath interposed to the contrary—to vent and vend their own vain and accursed imaginations, contrary to the great and fixed truths of the Gospel; insomuch as, take the whole round and circle of delusions the devil hath, in this small time, ran, it will be found that every truth, of greater or lesser weight, hath by one or other hand, at one time or another, been questioned and called to the bar amongst us; yea and impleaded, under the pretext—which hath some degree of justice in it—That all should not be bound up to the traditions of former times, nor take religion upon trust!

"Whence it hath come to pass, that many of the soundest professors were put upon a new search and disquisition of such truths as they had taken for granted, and yet had lived upon the comfort of; to the end they might be able to convince others, and establish their own hearts against that darkness and unbelief that is ready to close with error, or at least to doubt of the truth, when error is speciously presented. And hereupon, we do professedly account it one of the greatest advantages gained out of the temptations of these times, yea,

^a Psal. cx. 3.

^b Acts ii. 1.

^c 2 Cor. iii. 17.

^d 2 Tim. iii. 1.

^e 1 Tim. iv. 1.

the honour of the saints and ministers of these nations, That after they had sweetly been exercised in, and had improved practical and experimental truths; this should be their further lot, to examine and discuss, and indeed anew to learn over every doctrinal truth, both out of the Scriptures and also with a fresh taste thereof in their own hearts: which is no other than what the apostle exhorts to, ‘*Try* all things, hold fast that which is good.’^a

“Conversion unto God at first, what is it else than a savory and affectionate application and the bringing home to the heart with spiritual light and life, all truths that are necessary to salvation, together with other lesser truths? All which, we had, afore conversion, taken in but notionally from common education and tradition.

“Now that after this first gust, those who have been thus converted, should be put upon a new probation and search out of the Scriptures, not only of all principles explicitly ingredients to conversion—unto which, the apostle referreth the Galatians, when they had diverted from them,^b—but of all other superstructures, as well as fundamentals; and together therewith, anew to experiment the power and sweetness of all these in their own souls: what is this, but *tried faith* ^c indeed; and, equivalent to a new conversion unto the truth: ‘an anchor,’ that is proved to be sure and stedfast; ^d that will certainly hold in all contrary storms? This was the eminent seal and commendation, which those holy apostles that lived and wrote last—Peter, John, and Jude, in their epistles—did set and give to the Christians of the latter part of *those* primitive times! And besides, it is clear and evident by all the other epistles from first to last, that it cost the apostles as much, and far more, care and pains to preserve them they had converted, in the truth, than they had taken to turn them thereunto at first. And it is in itself, as great a work and instance of the power of God, that keeps, yea guards, us ‘through faith unto salvation.’^e

“Secondly: let this be added—or superadded rather,—to give full weight and measure, even to running over, That we have, all along this *season*, held forth—though quarrelled with for it by our Brethren—this great principle of these times, That amongst ALL Christian States and Churches, there ought to be vouchsafed a forbearance, and mutual indulgence, unto saints of all persuasions that keep unto, and hold fast, the necessary foundations of faith and holiness: [even] in all other matters extra-fundamental, whether of faith or order.

“This, to have been our constant principle, we are not ashamed to confess to the whole christian world. Wherein yet we desire we may be understood not as if, in the abstract, we stood indifferent to falsehood or truth; or were careless whether faith or error in any truths but fundamental, did obtain or not, so we had our liberty in our petty and smaller differences; or, as if to make sure of that, we had cut out this wide cloak for it: no; we profess that the whole and every particle of that ‘faith delivered unto the saints’^f—the substance of which, we have, according to our light, here professed,—is, as to the propagation and furtherance of it by all Gospel means, as precious to us as our lives,

^a 1 Thess. v. 21.

^d Heb. vi. 19.

^b Gal. v. 8.

^e 1 Pet. i. 5.

^c 1 Pet. i. 7.

^f Jude 3.

or what [ever] can be supposed dear to us ; and, in our sphere, we have endeavoured to promote them accordingly. But yet withal, we have, and do contend—and if we had all the power, which any or all of our Brethren of differing opinions have desired to have over us or others, we should freely grant it unto them all—[yea] we have, and do contend for this, That, in the concrete, the persons of all such gracious saints, they and their errors as they are in them, when they are but such errors as do and may stand with communion with Christ, though they should not repent of them as not being convinced of them to the end of their days ; that those, with their errors—that are purely spiritual, and intrench and overthrow not civil societies,—as concrete with their persons, should for Christ's sake be borne withal by all Christians in the world ; and they notwithstanding, be permitted to enjoy all ordinances and spiritual privileges, according to their light, as freely as any other of their brethren that pretend to the greatest *orthodoxy* ; as having as equal and as fair a right in and unto Christ and all the holy things of Christ, that any other can challenge to themselves !

“ And this doth afford a full and invincible testimony on our behalf, in that while we have so earnestly contended for this just liberty of saints in *all* the churches of Christ, we ourselves have no need of it ; that is, as to the matter of the profession of Faith which we have maintained together with others : and of this, this subsequent Confession of Faith gives sufficient evidence. *So as*, we have the confidence, in Christ, to utter, in the words of those two great apostles, that we have stood fast ‘ in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,’^a in the behalf of others, rather than ourselves,—and having been ‘ free,’ have not made use of our ‘ liberty for a cloak of error, or ‘ maliciousness,’^b in ourselves. And yet, lo, whereas from the beginning of the rearing of these Churches, that of the apostle hath been, by some, prophesied of us and applied to us, That while we promised unto others ‘ liberty,’ we ourselves would become ‘ servants of corruption,’ and be ‘ brought in bondage’^c to all sorts of fancies and imaginations ! Yet the whole world may now see, after the experience of many years ran through—and, it is manifest by this Confession—that the great and gracious God hath not only kept us in that common unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God which the whole community of saints have and shall, in their generations, come unto ; but also, in the same truths, both small and great, that are built thereupon, that any other of the best and more pure Reformed Churches in their best times—which were the first times—have arrived unto. This Confession withal, holding forth a professed opposition unto the common errors and heresies of these times.

“ These two Considerations, have been taken from the *seasons* we have gone through.

“ Thirdly : let the space of time itself, or days wherein, from first to last, the whole of this Confession was framed and consented to by the whole of us, be duly considered by sober and ingenuous spirits. The whole of [the] days in which we had meetings about it—set aside the two Lord's days, and the first days’

^a 1 Gal. v. i

^b 1 Pet. ii. 16.

^c 2 Pet. ii. 19.

meeting, in which we considered and debated what to pitch upon,—were but eleven days; part of which also was spent by some of us in prayer, others in consulting, and in the end all agreeing. We mention this small circumstance but to this end—which still adds unto the former,—That it gives demonstration not of our freeness and willingness only, but of our readiness and preparedness unto so great a work; which, otherwise, and in other Assemblies, hath ordinarily, taken up long and great debates; as in such a variety of matters of such concernment, may well be supposed to fall out. And this is no other than what the apostle Peter exhorts unto, ‘Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason,’ or account, ‘of the hope that is in you.’^a The apostle Paul saith of the spiritual truths of the Gospel, that God ‘hath prepared’ them for those ‘that love him;’^b the inward and innate constitution of the ‘new creature’ being, in itself, such as is suited to all those truths, as congenial thereunto; but although there be this mutual *adaptness* between these two, yet such is the mixture of ignorance, darkness, and unbelief, carnal reason, pre-occupation of judgment, interest of parties, wantonness in opinion, proud adhering to our own persuasions, and perverse oppositions, and averseness to agree with others; and a multitude of such like distempers common to believing man; all which, are not only mixed with, but at times—especially in such times as have passed over our heads,—are ready to overcloud our judgments and to cause our eyes to be double, and sometimes prevail, as well as lusts, and do bias our wills and affections: and such is their mixture, that although there may be existent an habitual preparedness in men’s spirits, yet not always a present readiness to be found, specially not in such a various multitude of men, to make a solemn and deliberate profession of all truths; it being as great a work to find the spirits of the just—perhaps, the best of saints—ready for every truth, as to be ‘prepared to every good work.’^c

“It is, therefore, to be looked at as a great and special work of the Holy Ghost, that so numerous a company of Ministers and other principal brethren, should so readily, speedily, and jointly, give up themselves unto such a whole body of Truths that are after godliness.

“This argues, they had not their Faith to seek; but as is said of Ezra,^d that they were ‘ready scribes,’ and as Christ [said] ‘instructed unto the kingdom of heaven;’ being as the good householders of so many families of Christ, bringing forth of their store and treasury ‘new and old.’^e It shows these truths had been familiar to them, and they acquainted with them as with their daily food and provision—as Christ’s allusion there insinuates; in a word, that so they had preached, and that so their people had believed, as the apostle speaks upon one like particuler occasion.^f And the apostle Paul considers, in cases of this nature, the suddenness or length of the time either one way or the other, whether it were in men’s forsaking or learning of the truth: thus the suddenness, in the Galatians’ case, in leaving the truth, he makes a wonder of it; ‘I marvel that you are so soon’—that is, in so short a time—‘removed from’ the true Gospel ‘unto

^a 1 Pet. iii. 15.

^b 1 Cor. ii. 9.

^c 2 Tim. ii. 21.

^d Ezra vii. 6.

^e Matt. xiii. 52.

^f 1 Cor. xv. 11.

another:^a again, on the contrary, in the Hebrews he aggravates their backwardness, that ‘when for the time you ought to be teachers, you had need that one teach you’ the very ‘first principles of the oracles of God.’^b The parallel, contrary to both these, having fallen out in this transaction, may have some ingredient and weight with ingenuous spirits in its kind, according to the proportion [which] is put upon either of those forementioned in their adverse kind, and obtain the like special observation.

“This accord of ours hath fallen out without having held any correspondency together, or prepared consultation, by which we might come to be advised of one another’s minds. We allege not this, as a matter of commendation in us; no, we acknowledge it to have been a great neglect: and accordingly one of the first proposals for Union amongst us was, That there might be a constant correspondence held among the churches, for counsel and mutual edification; so for time to come, to prevent the like omission.

“We confess, that from the first, every, or at least the generality, of our churches, have been, in a manner, like so many ships—though holding forth the same general colours—launched singly, and sailing apart and alone in the vast ocean of these tumultuous times; and they [have been] exposed to ‘every wind of doctrine,’^c under no other conduct than the Word and Spirit, and their particular Elders and principal Brethren, without associations among ourselves or so much as holding out common lights to others whereby to know where we were!

“But yet while we thus confess, to our own shame, this neglect, let all acknowledge that God hath ordered it for his high and greater glory, in that His singular care and power should have so watched over each of these as that all should be found to have steered their course by the same Chart, and to have been bound for one and the same Port; and, that upon this general search now made, that the same holy and blessed Truths of all sorts which are current and warrantable amongst all the other churches of Christ in the world, should be found to be our Lading.

“The whole and every of these things when put together, do cause us—whatever men of prejudiced and opposite spirits may find out to slight them,—with a holy admiration, to say, That this is no other than the Lord’s doing; and which we, with thanksgiving, do take from his hand, as a special token upon us for good; and doth show, that God is faithful and upright towards those that are planted in his house: and, that as the ‘faith’ was but ‘once’ for all and intentionally first ‘delivered unto the saints,’^d so the saints when not abiding scattered, but gathered under their respective pastors, according to God’s heart, into a ‘house,’ and churches unto the living God; such together, are, as Paul forespake it, the most steady and firm ‘pillar’ and seat of Truth,^e that God hath anywhere appointed to himself on earth, where his Truth is best conserved, and publicly held forth: there being, in such assemblies, weekly, a rich dwelling of the Word amongst

^a Gal. i. 6.^b Heb. v. 12.^c Eph. iv. 14.^d Jude 3.^e 1 Tim. iii. 15.

them, that is, a daily open house kept by the means of those good householders, their teachers and other instructors respectively appropriated to them whom Christ, in the virtue of his ascension, continues to give as gifts to his people; himself dwelling amongst them, to the end that by this as the most sure standing permanent means, the saints might be perfected till we all—even all the saints in present and future ages—do come, by this constant and daily ordinance of his, unto ‘the unity of the faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ’^a—which, though growing as by parts and piecemeal, will yet appear complete when that great and general assembly shall be gathered, then, when this world is ended and these dispensations have had their fulness and period—and so that from henceforth—such a provision being made for us—‘we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.’^b And, finally, this doth give a fresh and recent demonstration that the great ‘Apostle and High Priest of our profession’^c is indeed ascended into heaven, and continues there, with power and care, faithful ‘as a son over his own house; whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end:’^d and shows, that he will as he hath promised be with his own institutions to the end of the world.

“It is true, that many sad miscarriages, divisions, breaches, fallings off from holy ordinances of God, have along this time of temptation—especially in the beginning of it—been found in some of our churches; and no wonder, if what hath been said be fully considered. Many reasons might further be given hereof, that would be a sufficient apology without the help of a retortion upon other churches—that promised themselves peace,—how that more destroying ruptures have befallen them, and that in a wider sphere and compass; which, though it should not justify us, yet may serve to stop others mouths.

“Let Rome glory of the peace in, and obedience of her children, against the Reformed Churches for their divisions that occurred—especially in the first rearing of them;—whilst we all know the causes of their dull and stupid peace to have been carnal interests, worldly correspondencies, and coalitions strengthened by gratifications of all sorts of men by that religion; the principles of blind devotion, traditional faith, ecclesiastical tyranny, by which she keeps her children in bondage to this day! We are also certain, that the very same prejudices that from hence they would cast upon the Reformed—if they were just—do lie as fully against those pure churches raised up by the apostles themselves, in those first times: for, as we have heard of their ‘patience,’ ‘sufferings,’ ‘consolations,’ and the transcending gifts poured out, and graces shining in them, so we have heard complaints of their ‘divisions’ too; of the forsakings of their assemblies, as the custom or manner of some was^e—which latter were, in that respect, *felones de se*, and needed no other delivering up to Satan as their punishment than what they executed upon themselves.—We read of the ‘shipwreck’ also of ‘faith, and a good conscience;’^f and overthrow-

^a Eph. iv. 13.

^d Ver. 6.

^b Ver. 11.

^e Heb. x. 25.

^c Heb. iii. 1.

^f 1 Tim. i. 19.

ings of ‘the faith of some;’^a and still but of ‘some,’ not all, nor the most: which is one piece of an apology the apostle, again and again, inserts, to future ages; and, through mercy, we have the same to make.

“And truly, we take the confidence professedly to say, that these temptations, common to the purest churches of saints separated from the mixture of the world, though they grieve us—for ‘who is offended,’ and we ‘burn not?’^b—yet they do not at all stumble us as to the truth of our Way, had they been many more. We say it again, these stumble us no more as to that point, than it doth offend us against the power of religion itself to have seen, and to see daily, in particular persons, called out and separated from the world by an effectual work of conversion, that they for awhile do suffer under disquietments, vexations, turmoils, unsettlements of spirit; that they are tossed with tempests and horrid temptations, such as they had not in their former estate whilst they ‘walked according to the course of this world.’^c For Peter hath sufficiently instructed us whose business it is to raise such storms, even the devil’s;^d and also, whose design it is that, after they have ‘suffered awhile,’ thereby they shall be settled, perfected, stablished, that have so suffered; even, ‘the God of all grace.’^e And look, what course of dispensation God holds to saints personally, he doth the like to bodies of saints, in churches; and the devil the same for his part too. And that consolatory maxim of the apostle, ‘God shall tread down Satan under your feet shortly,’^f which Paul uttereth concerning the church of Rome, shows how both God and Satan have this very hand therein; for he speaks that very thing in reference unto their ‘divisions,’^g as the coherence clearly manifests; and so you have both designs expressed at once.

“Yea, we are not a little induced to think that the ‘divisions,’ breaches, etc., of *those* primitive churches, would not have been so frequent among the people themselves, and not the elders only, had not the freedom, liberties, and rights of the members—the brethren, we mean,—been stated and exercised in those churches; the same which we maintain, and contend for, to be in ours! Yea, which, perhaps, may seem more strange to many, had not those churches been constituted of members ‘enlightened’ further than with notional and traditional knowledge, by a new and more powerful light of the Holy Ghost, wherein they had been ‘made partakers of the Holy Ghost,’ and ‘the heavenly gift;’ and their hearts had tasted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come:^h and of such members, at lowest, there had not fallen out these kinds of divisions among them.

“For experience hath shown that the common sort of mere doctrinal professors—such as the most are, now-a-days—whose highest elevation is but freedom from moral scandal, joined with devotion to Christ through mere education, such as in many Turks is found towards Mahomet; that these, finding and feeling themselves not much concerned in the active part of religion, so they may have the honour—

^a 2 Tim. ii. 18.

^e Ver. 10.

^b 2 Cor. xi. 29.

^f Rom. xvi. 20.

^c Eph. ii. 2.

^g Ver. 17.

^d 1 Pet. v. 8.

^h Heb. vi. 4, 5.

especially upon a Reformation of a new refinement!—that themselves are approved members, admitted to the Lord's supper; and their children, to the ordinance of baptism; they regard not other matters—as Gallio did not—but do easily and readily give up themselves unto their Guides, being, like dead fishes, carried with the common stream; whereas those that have a further renewed light, by a work of the Holy Ghost, whether saving or temporary, are, upon the quite contrary grounds, apt to be busy about and inquisitive into what they are to receive and practise, or wherein their consciences are professedly concerned and involved: and thereupon, they take the freedom to examine and 'try the spirits, whether of God'^b or not? and from hence, are more apt to dissatisfaction; and from thence to run into division; and many of such, proving to be 'enlightened' but with a temporary, not saving faith,—who have [however] such a work of the Spirit upon them and profession in them, as will and doth approve itself to the judgment of saints, and ought to be so judged until they be otherwise discovered;—[but] who, at long-run, prove hypocrites through indulgence unto lusts; and then, out of their lusts, persist to hold up these divisions unto breach of or departings from churches and the ordinances of God; and God is even with them for it, they waxing 'worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived:'^c and even many of those that are sincere, through a mixture of darkness and erroneousness in their judgments, are, for a season, apt, out of conscience, to be led away with the error of others which 'lie in wait to deceive.'^d

“Insomuch as the apostle, upon the example of those first times, foreseeing also the like events in following generations, upon the like causes, hath been bold to set this down as a ruled case, That likewise in other churches so constituted and *de facto* empriviledged, as that of the church of Corinth was—which single church, in the sacred records about it, is the completest mirror of church-constitution, order, and government, and events thereupon ensuing, of any one church whatever that we have story of,—his maxim is, 'There must be also divisions [*sects*] amongst you:'^e he setly inserts an 'also' in the case, as that which had been in his own observation, and that which would be ἐπι τὸ πᾶσι the fate of other churches like thereunto, so prophesieth he: and he speaks this, as peremptorily as he doth elsewhere in that other, 'We must through many tribulations [*πολλῶν ἐλπίσεων*] enter into the kingdom of heaven [God];'^f yea, and that 'all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.'^g There is a *must* upon both alike; and we bless God that we have run through both, and do say—and we say no more—That as it was then, so it is now, in both respects.

“However, such hath been the powerful hand of God's providence in these which have been the worst of our trials, that, out of an *approved* experience, and observation of the issue, we are able to add that other part of the apostle's prediction; that such rents must be, 'that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.'^h Which holy

a Acts xviii. 17.

d Eph. iv. 14.

g 2 Tim. iii. 12.

b 1 John iv. 1.

e 1 Cor. xi. 19.

h 1 Cor. xi. 19.

c 2 Tim. iii. 13.

f Acts xiv. 22.

issue, God—as having aimed at it therein—doth frequently and certainly bring about in churches; as He doth bring upon them that other fate, of division. Let them, therefore, look unto it, that are the authors of such disturbances; as the apostle warneth, Gal. v. 10! The experiment is this, That we have seen, and do daily see, that multitudes of holy and precious souls, and—in the Holy Ghost’s word—‘approved’ saints, have been and are the more ‘rooted and grounded’^a by means of these shakings; and do continue to cleave the faster to Christ and the purity of his ordinances, and value them the more by this cost God hath put them to for the enjoying of them; who, having been ‘planted in the house of the Lord,’ have flourished ‘in the courts of our God,’^b in these evil times, ‘to show that the Lord is upright.’^c And this experimented event, from out of such divisions, hath more confirmed us and is a louder apology for us than all that our opposites are able, from our breaches, to allege to prejudice us.

“We will add a few words for conclusion; and give a more particular account of this our Declaration.

“In drawing up this Confession of Faith, we have had before us the Articles of Religion, approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament,^d after advice had with an [*sic*] Assembly of Divines, called together, by them, for that purpose. To which Confession, for the substance of it, we fully assent; as do our brethren of New England, and the churches also of Scotland, as each, in their general synods, have testified.

“A few things we have added, for obviating some erroneous opinions that have been more broadly and boldly here, of late, maintained, by the assertors, than in former times; and, made other additions and alterations in method, here and there, and some clearer explanations, as we found occasion.

“We have endeavoured throughout to hold to such truths, in this our Confession, as are more properly termed Matters of Faith; and what is of Church-Order, we dispose in certain propositions, by itself. To this course, we were led by the example of the Honourable Houses of Parliament;—observing what was established and what omitted, by them, in the Confession [which] the Assembly presented to them;—who thought it not convenient, to have matters of Discipline and Church-government put into a Confession of Faith: especially such particulars thereof, as then were, and still are, controverted and under dispute by men orthodox and sound in faith. The thirtieth chapter, therefore, of that Confession, as it was presented to them, by the Assembly, which is, Of Church Censures; their use, kinds, and in whom placed; as also, chapter thirty-first, Of Synods and Councils; by whom to be called; of what force, in their decrees and determinations: and the fourth paragraph of the twentieth chapter, which determines what opinions and practices disturb the peace of the church; and how such disturbers ought to be proceeded against by the censures of the church, and punished by the civil magistrate: also, a great part of the twenty-fourth chapter, Of Marriage and Divorce. These were such doubtful assertions, and so unsuitable to a Confession of Faith, as the Honourable

^a Eph. iii. 17.

^b Psal. xcii. 13.

^c Ver. 15.

^d June 20th, 1643.

Houses, in their great wisdom, thought fit to lay them aside: there being nothing that tends more to heighten dissensions among Brethren, than to determine and adopt the matter of their difference, under so high a title as to be an article of our Faith. So that there are [also] two whole chapters, and some paragraphs in other chapters, in their Confession, that we have, upon this account, omitted. And the rather do we give this notice, because that Copy of the Parliament's followed by us, is in few men's hands; the other, as it came from the Assembly, being approved of in Scotland^a was printed and hastened into the world before the Parliament had declared their Resolutions about it; which was not till June 20th, 1648; and yet, hath been and continueth to be the Copy, ordinarily, only sold, printed and reprinted, for these eleven years!

"After the nineteenth chapter, Of the Law, we have added a chapter, Of the Gospel, it being a title that may not well be omitted in a Confession of Faith. In which chapter, what is dispersed and by intimation, in the Assembly's Confession, with some little addition is here brought together, and more fully, under one head.

"That there are not Scriptures annexed, as in some Confessions—though in divers others it is otherwise,—we give the same account as did the Reverend Assembly in the same case: which was this, 'The Confession being large, and so framed as to meet with the common errors, if the Scriptures should have been alleged with any clearness and by showing where the strength of the proof lieth, it would have required a volume.'^b

"We say further, it being our utmost end in this [Preface]—as it is indeed of a Confession—humbly to give an account [of] what we hold and assert in these matters, that others, especially the churches of Christ, may judge of us accordingly; [that] this we aimed at, and not so much to instruct others or to convince gainsayers. These are the proper works of other institutions of Christ, and are to be done in the strength of express Scripture. A Confession is an ordinance of another nature.

"What we have laid down and asserted about churches and their government, we humbly conceive to be the order which Christ himself hath appointed to be observed; we have endeavoured to follow Scripture light, and those also that went before us according to that rule; desirous of nearest uniformity with reforming-Churches, as with our Brethren in New England so with others that differ from them and us. The models and platforms of this subject laid down by learned men and practised by churches are various. We do not judge it brotherly, or grateful, to insist upon comparisons, as some have done; but this, experience teacheth, that the variety, and, possibly, the disputes and emulations arising thence, have much strengthened if not fixed this unhappy persuasion in the minds of some learned and good men, namely, that there is no settled order laid down in Scripture; but it is left to the prudence of the christian magistrates, to compose or make choice of such a form as is most suitable [to] and consistent with their

^a Aug. 27th, 1647: It had reached Edinburgh in January. Acts of the Gen. Assembly. p. 351.

^b Session, 786.

civil government. Where this opinion is entertained in the persuasion of governors, these churches asserting their power and order to be *jure divino*, and the appointment of Jesus Christ, can have no better nor more honourable entertainment than a toleration or permission. Yet herein, there is this remarkable advantage to all parties that differ about what, in government, is of Christ's appointment, in that, such magistrates have a far greater latitude in conscience to tolerate and permit the several forms of each [party] so bound up in their persuasion, than they have to submit unto what the magistrate shall impose. And thereupon the magistrate exercising an indulgency and forbearance, with protection and encouragement to the people of God, so differing from him and amongst themselves, doth therein discharge as great a faithfulness to Christ and love to His people as can anyway be supposed and expected from any christian magistrate of what persuasion soever he is. And where this clemency from governors is showed to any sort of persons, or churches of Christ, upon such a principle, it will in equity produce this just effect, That all that so differ from him and amongst themselves standing in equal and a like difference from the principle of such a magistrate, he is equally free to give a like liberty to them, one as well as the other.

“ This faithfulness in our Governors, we do with thankfulness to God acknowledge, and to their everlasting honour, which appeared much in the late Reformation: the Hierarchy, Common-Prayer Book, and all other things grievous to God's people, being removed, they made choice of an Assembly of learned men to advise what government and order is [are] meet to be established in the room of these things: and because it was known there were different opinions—as always hath been among godly men—about forms of church government, there was by the Ordinance first sent forth to call an assembly, not only a choice made of persons of several persuasions to sit as members there, but liberty given to a lesser number if dissenting to report their judgments and reasons as well and as freely as the major part! Hereupon the Honourable House of Commons—an indulgence, we hope will never be forgotten—finding by Papers received from them that the members of the Assembly were not like to compose differences amongst themselves so as to join in the same rule for church-government, did order further as followeth, ‘ That a Committee of Lords and Commons, etc., do take into consideration the Differences of the opinions in the Assembly of Divines in point of Church-Government, and to endeavour a Union if it be possible; and in case that cannot be done, to endeavour the finding out some way how far tender consciences, which cannot in all things submit to the same Rule which shall be established, may be borne with according to the Word, and as may stand with the public peace.’ By all which it is evident, the Parliament purposed not to establish the rule of church-government with such rigour as might not permit and bear with a practice different from what they had established, in persons and churches of different principles if occasion were. And this christian clemency and indulgence in our Governors hath been the foundation of the freedom and liberty in the managing of

church-affairs which our Brethren, as well as we that differ from them, do now and have many years enjoyed.

“The Honourable Houses, by several Ordinances of Parliament after much consultation, having settled rules for church-government, and such an ecclesiastical order, as they judged would best joint with the laws and government of the kingdom, did publish them,—Ordinance of March 14th 1645-6,—requiring the practice hereof throughout the nation, and in particular by the ministers of the Province of London. But, upon the former reason or the like charitable consideration, these rules were not imposed by them under any penalty or rigorous enforcement, though frequently urged thereunto by some! Our Reverend Brethren of the Province of London having considered of these Ordinances and the church-government laid down in them, declared their opinions to be that ‘there is not a complete rule in those Ordinances;’ also that ‘there are many necessary things not yet established, and some things wherein their consciences are not so fully satisfied.’ These Brethren, in the same Paper have published also their joint resolution ‘to practise in all things according to the rule of the Word, and according to these Ordinances so far as they conceive them correspond to it; and in so doing they trust they shall not grieve the spirit of the truly godly, nor give any just occasion to them that are contrary minded, to blame their proceedings.’—‘Considerations and Cautions from Sion College. June 19th, 1646.’

“We humbly conceive that—we being dissatisfied in these things, as our Brethren [are],—the like liberty was intended by the Honourable Houses, and may be taken by us of the Congregational-Way,—without blame or grief to the spirits of those Brethren at least—to resolve or rather to continue in the same resolution and practice in these matters; which indeed were our practices in times of greatest opposition, and before this Reformation was begun. And as our Brethren, the ministers of London, drew up and published their ‘opinions’ and ‘apprehensions’ about Church-government into an entire system; so we now give the like public account of our Consciences, and the Rules by which we have constantly practised hitherto, which we have drawn up and do present: whereby it will appear how much or how little, we differ in these from our Presbyterian Brethren.

“And we trust there is no just cause why any man—either for our differing from the present settlement, it being out of conscience and not out of contempt, or our differences one from another being not wilful,—should charge either of us with that odious reproach of Schism. And indeed, if not for our differing from the State-Settlement, much less because we differ from our Brethren; our differences being ‘in some lesser things’ and circumstances only, as themselves acknowledge.—‘Jus Divinum Minist. 1654:’ Ep. to the Read. p. [iv.]—And let it be further considered, that we have not broken from them or their order by these differences—but rather, they from us!—and in that respect we less deserve their censure; our practice being no other than what it was in our breaking from Episcopacy, and long before Pres-

bytery or any such form as now they are in was taken up by them. And we will not say how probable it is that the yoke of Episcopacy had been upon our neck to this day, if some such way as formerly and now is and hath been termed 'Schism,' had not with much suffering been then practised and since continued in! For Novelty, wherewith we are likewise both charged by the enemies of both; it is true, in respect of the public and open profession either of Presbytery or Independency, this nation hath been a stranger to each way, it is possible, ever since it hath been christian: though for ourselves, we are able to trace the footsteps of an Independent Congregational-Way in the ancientest customs of the churches; as also in the writings of our soundest Protestant divines; and—that which we are much satisfied in—a full concurrence throughout in all the substantial parts of church-government with our Reverend Brethren the old Puritan Nonconformists, who being instant in prayer and much suffering prevailed with the Lord, and we reap with joy what they sowed in tears.—'Puritanis. Angl.' by [attributed to] Dr. Ames, near fifty years since; as the opinions of Whitehead, Gilby, Fox, Dering, Grenham, Cartwright, Fenner, Fulke, Whitaker, Rainolds, Perkins, etc.—Our Brethren also, that are for Presbyterial Subordinations, profess what is of weight against 'Novelty,' for their Way.

“ And now therefore, seeing the Lord, in whose hand is the heart of Princes, hath put into the hearts of our Governors to tolerate and permit—as they have done many years—persons of each persuasion to enjoy their consciences; though neither, come up to the rule established by Authority; and that which is more, to give us both protection and the same encouragement that the most devoted Conformists in those former superstitious times enjoyed; yea, and by a public law, to establish this liberty for time to come; and yet further, in the midst of our fears to set over us a Prince [!] that owns this establishment, and cordially resolves to secure our churches in the enjoyment of these liberties if we abuse them not to the disturbance of the civil peace! This should be a very great engagement upon the hearts of all though of different persuasions, to endeavour our utmost jointly to promote the honour and prosperity of such a Government and Governors, by whatsoever means which in our callings as ministers of the Gospel, and as churches of Jesus Christ 'the Prince of Peace,'^a we are any way able to do; as also to be peaceably disposed one towards another, and with mutual toleration to love as brethren, notwithstanding such differences: remembering, as it is very equal we should, the differences that are between Presbyterians and Independents, being differences between fellow-servants, and neither of them having authority given from God or man to impose their opinions, one more than the other. That our Governors after so solemn an Establishment, should thus bear with us both in our greater differences from their rule; and, after this, for any of us to take a fellow-servant 'by the throat'^b upon the account of a lesser reckoning and nothing due to him upon it, is to forget, at least not to exercise, that compassion and tenderness we have found where we had less ground to challenge or expect it.

^a Isai. ix. 6.^b Matt. xviii. 28.

“Our prayer unto God is, that ‘whereto we have already attained,’ we all may ‘walk by the same rule,’^a and that wherein we are ‘otherwise minded,’ God would ‘reveal’ it to us in his due time.”^b

“A DECLARATION OF THE FAITH, ETC.—Chap. I. Of the Holy Scripture.—
 i. Although the light of nature and the works of creation and providence do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, as to leave men inexcusable; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary unto salvation. Therefore, it pleased the Lord, at sundry times and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and to declare that his will, unto his church; and afterwards, for the better preserving and propagating of the Truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the church against the corruption of the flesh and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly unto writing: which maketh the holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God’s revealing his will unto his people, being now ceased.—ii. Under the name of ‘holy Scripture,’ or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testament [66, together]: all which are given by the inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life.—iii. The books commonly called ‘Apocrypha,’ not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of the Scripture; and therefore, of no authority in the church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings.—iv. The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God—who is Truth itself—the author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.—v. We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the church to a high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture. And the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole—which is, to give all glory to God,—the full discovery it makes of the only way of man’s salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof; are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God: yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word, in our hearts.—vi. The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man’s salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture; unto which, nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and that there are some circumstances, concerning the worship of God and government of the church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.—vii. All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed and observed, for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.—viii. The old Testament in Hebrew, which was the native language of the people of God of old, and the New Testament in Greek, which at the time of writing of it was most generally known to the nations; being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical, so as in all controversies of religion the church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto and interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them; therefore, they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through patience and comfort of the Scriptures may have hope.—ix. The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself: and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture—which is not manifold, but one,—

^a Phil. iii. 16.

^d Ver. 15.

it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.—x. The Supreme Judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit; into which Scripture so delivered, our faith is finally resolved.

“Chap. II. Of God, and of the Holy Trinity.—i. There is but one only living and true God; who is infinite in being and perfection; a most pure Spirit, invisible, without body, parts, or passions; immutable, immense, eternal, incomprehensible, almighty; most wise, most holy, most free, most absolute, working all things according to the counsel of his own immutable and most righteous will, for his own glory; most loving, gracious, merciful, longsuffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; the rewarder of them that diligently seek him; and withal, most just and terrible in his judgments, hating all sin, and who will by no means clear the guilty.—ii. God hath all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto Himself all-sufficient, not standing in need of any creatures which he hath made, nor deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto, and upon, them. He is the alone fountain of all being; of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things; and hath most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, or upon them, whatsoever Himself pleaseth. In his sight, all things are open and manifest; his knowledge is infinite, infallible, and independent upon the creature, so as nothing is to Him contingent or uncertain. He is most holy in all his counsels, in all his works, and in all his commands. To him is due from angels and men and every other creature, whatsoever worship, service, or obedience, as creatures, they owe unto the Creator, and whatever he is further pleased to require of them.—iii. In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son. Which doctrine of the Trinity is the foundation of all our communion with God, and comfortable dependence upon Him.

“Chap. III. Of God’s Eternal Decree.—God, from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures; nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.—ii. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions, yet hath he not decreed anything because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.—iii. By the decree of God for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.—iv. These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.—v. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love; without any foresight of faith or good works or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions or causes moving him thereunto, and all to the praise of his glorious grace.—vi. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he by the eternal and most free purpose of his will foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore, they who are elected being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ; are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power, through faith, unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.—vii. The rest of mankind, God was pleased according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.—viii. The doctrine of this high mystery of pre-

destination, is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his Word and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God; and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation, to all that sincerely obey the Gospel.

“Chap. IV. Of Creation.—i. It pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of his eternal power, wisdom, and goodness, in the beginning to create, or make of nothing, the world and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good.—ii. After God had made all other creatures, he created man, male and female, with reasonable and immortal souls endued with knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, after his own image, having the law of God written in their hearts, and power to fulfil it; and yet under a possibility of transgressing, being left to the liberty of their own will, which was subject unto change. Besides this law written in their hearts, they received a command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which while they kept they were happy in their communion with God, and had dominion over the creatures.

“Chap. V. Of Providence.—i. God the great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according unto his infallible fore-knowledge and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy.—ii. Although in relation to the fore-knowledge and decree of God, the first cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly, yet by the same providence he ordereth them to fall out according to the nature of second causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently.—iii. God in his ordinary providence, maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above, and against them, at his pleasure.—iv. The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his providence in that his determinate counsel extendeth itself even to the first fall and all other sins of angels and men—and that, not by a bare permission,—which also He most wisely and powerfully boundeth and otherwise ordereth and governeth, in a manifold dispensation, to his own most holy ends; yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature and not from God, who being most holy and righteous neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin.—v. The most wise, righteous and gracious God doth oftentimes leave, for a season, his own children to manifold temptations and the corruption of their own hearts, to chastise them for their former sins or to discover unto them the hidden strength of corruption and deceitfulness of their hearts, that they may be humbled; and to raise them to a more close and constant dependence for their support upon Himself, and to make them more watchful against all future occasions of sin, and for sundry other just and holy ends.—vi. As for those wicked and ungodly men whom God, as a righteous Judge, for former sins doth blind and harden; from them he not only withholdeth his grace whereby they might have been enlightened in their understandings and wrought upon in their hearts, but sometimes also withdraweth the gifts which they had, and exposeth them to such objects as their corruption makes occasions of sin, and withal gives them over to their own lusts, the temptations of the world and the power of Satan; whereby it comes to pass that they harden themselves even under those means which God useth for the softening of others.—vii. As the providence of God doth, in general, reach to all creatures, so, after a most special manner, it taketh care of his church, and disposeth all things to the good thereof.

“Chap. VI. Of the Fall of Man; of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.—i. God having made a covenant of works and life, thereupon, with our first parents and all their posterity in them, they being seduced by the subtilty and temptation of Satan did, wilfully, transgress the law of their creation, and break the covenant, in eating the forbidden fruit.—ii. By this sin, they and we in them fell from original righteousness and communion with God; and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.—iii. They being the root, and by God's appointment, standing in the room and stead of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation.—iv. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all

good and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions.—v. This corruption of nature, during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin.—vi. Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God and contrary thereunto, doth in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner; whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.

“Chap. VII. Of God’s Covenant with Man.—i. The distance between God and the creature is so great that although reasonable creatures do owe obedience unto Him as their Creator, yet they could never have attained the reward of life but by some voluntary condescension on God’s part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of covenant.—ii. The first covenant made with man was a ‘covenant of works,’ wherein life was promised to Adam, and in him to his posterity, upon condition of perfect and personal obedience.—iii. Man, by his fall, having made himself incapable of life by that covenant; the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly called the ‘covenant of grace;’ wherein he freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in Him that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit to make them willing and able to believe.—iv. This covenant of grace, is frequently set forth in the Scripture by the name of a ‘testament,’ in reference to the death of Jesus Christ the Testator, and to the everlasting inheritance with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.—v. Although this covenant hath been differently and variously administered, in respect of ordinances and institutions in the time of the Law, and since the coming of Christ in the flesh, yet for the substance and efficacy of it to all its spiritual and saving ends, it is one and the same; upon the account of which various dispensations, it is called ‘The Old and New Testament.’

“Chap. VIII. Of Christ the Mediator.—i. It pleased God in his eternal purpose, to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus his only begotten Son, according to a covenant made between them both, to be the Mediator between God and man; the Prophet, Priest, and King, and Head and Saviour of his church; the Heir of all things, and Judge of the world; unto whom He did, from all eternity, give a people to be his seed, and to be by Him, in time, redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified.—ii. The Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance and equal with the Father, did when the fulness of time was come, take upon Him man’s nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof; yet without sin, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the virgin Mary of her substance: so that two whole perfect and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion; which person, is very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man.—iii. The Lord Jesus, in his human nature thus united to the Divine in the person of the Son, was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above measure, having in Him all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, to the end that being holy, harmless, undefiled, and full of grace and truth, He might be thoroughly furnished to execute the office of a Mediator and Surety; which office he took not unto Himself, but was thereunto called by his Father, who also put all power and judgment into his hand, and gave him commandment to execute the same.—iv. This office, the Lord Jesus did, most willingly, undertake; which that he might discharge, He was made under the Law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the punishment due to us, which we should have borne and suffered; being made sin, and [a] curse for us; enduring most grievous torments immediately from God in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body, was crucified and died; was buried, and remained under the power of death, yet saw no corruption; on the third day, he arose from the dead with the same body in which he suffered, with which also he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making intercession, and shall return to judge men and angels at the end of the world.—v. The Lord Jesus by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of Himself, which he, through the eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of God, and purchased not only recon-

ciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him.—vi. Although the work of redemption was not actually wrought by Christ till after his incarnation, yet the virtue, efficacy and benefits thereof, were communicated to the elect in all ages successively from the beginning of the world, in and by those promises, types, and sacrifices, wherein He was revealed and signified to be the seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head, and the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world; being yesterday and to-day the same, and for ever.—vii. Christ, in the work of mediation, acteth according to both natures, by each nature doing that which is proper to itself; yet by reason of the unity of the person, that which is proper to one nature is sometimes in Scripture attributed to the person denominated by the other nature.—viii. To all those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same, making intercession for them; and revealing unto them, in and by the Word, the mysteries of salvation; effectually persuading them by his Spirit, to believe and obey; and governing their hearts by his Word and Spirit; overcoming all their enemies by His almighty power and wisdom, and in such manner and ways as are most consonant to his wonderful and unsearchable dispensation.

“Chap. IX. Of Free-Will.—i. God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty and power of acting upon choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to do good or evil.—ii. Man in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which was good and well-pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.—iii. Man by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as [that] a natural man being altogether averse from that good, and [being] dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.—iv. When God converts a sinner and translates him into the state of grace, He freeth him from his natural bondage under sin, and by His grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good; yet so as that by reason of his remaining corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only will that which is good, but doth also will that which is evil.—v. The will of man is made perfectly and immutably free to good alone, in the state of glory only.

“Chap. X. Of Effectual Calling.—i. All those whom God hath predestinated unto life and those only, He is pleased in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call, by His Word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ; enlightening their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God; taking away their heart of stone, and giving unto them a heart of flesh; renewing their wills, and by His almighty power determining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ; yet so as [that] they come most freely, being made willing by His grace.—ii. This effectual call, is of God's free and special grace alone; not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.—iii. Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ, who worketh when and where, and how, he pleaseth: so also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word.—iv. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the Word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet not being effectually drawn by the Father, they neither do nor can come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved; much less can men not professing the christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess: and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious, and to be detested.

“Chap. XI. Of Justification.^a—i. Those whom God effectually calleth, He also freely justifieth; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for anything

^a This article met with the special disapprobation of Baxter, who terms it “crude and unsound.” *Life*. pt. ii. p. 199. But Baillie denounces him as “a very unhappy broiler; a full avowed Amyraldist, and a great confounder of the head of Justification.” *Let.* 198, to Spang, Nov. 1658, p. 427.

wrought in them or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone : nor by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience, to them as their righteousness ; but by imputing Christ's active obedience unto the whole Law, and passive obedience in his death, for their whole and sole righteousness ; they receiving and resting on Him and his righteousness, by faith ; which faith they have not of themselves, it is the gift of God.—ii. Faith thus receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness, is the alone instrument of justification ; yet it is not alone in the person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving graces, and is no dead faith, but worketh by love.—iii. Christ by his obedience and death, did fully discharge the debt of all those that are justified ; and did by the sacrifice of Himself in the blood of the cross,—undergoing in their stead, the penalty due unto them,—make a proper, real, and full satisfaction to God's justice in their behalf : yet, inasmuch as He was given by the Father for them, and his obedience and satisfaction accepted in their stead ; and both, freely, not for anything in them ; their justification is only of free grace, that both the exact justice and rich grace of God might be glorified in the justification of sinners.—iv. God did, from all eternity, decree to justify all the elect ; and Christ did, in the fulness of time, die for their sins, and rise again for their justification : nevertheless, they are not justified personally until the Holy Spirit doth, in due time, actually apply Christ unto them.—v. God doth continue to forgive the sins of those that are justified ; and although they can never fall from the state of justification, yet they may by their sins fall under God's fatherly displeasure : and in that condition, they have not usually the light of His countenance restored unto them, until they humble themselves, confess their sins, beg pardon, and renew their faith and repentance.—vi. The justification of believers under the Old Testament, was in all these respects one and the same with the justification of believers under the New Testament.

“ Chap. XII. Of Adoption.—All those that are justified, God vouchsafeth in and for his only Son Jesus Christ, to make partakers of the grace of adoption ; by which they are taken into the number and enjoy the liberties and privileges of the children of God, have his Name put upon them, receive the Spirit of adoption, have access to the throne of grace with boldness ; are enabled to cry ‘ Abba, Father,’ are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened by Him as by a father ; yet never cast off, but sealed to the day of redemption, and inherit the promises as heirs of everlasting salvation.

“ Chap. XIII. Of Sanctification.—i. They that are united to Christ, effectually called and regenerated, having a new heart and a new spirit created in them through the virtue of Christ's death and resurrection, are also further sanctified really and personally through the same virtue, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them : the dominion of the whole body of sin is destroyed, and the several lusts thereof are more and more weakened and mortified ; and they [themselves] more and more quickened and strengthened in all saving graces, to the practice of all true holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.—ii. This sanctification is throughout in the whole man ; yet imperfect in this life, there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part ; whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable war, the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh.—iii. In which war, although the remaining corruption for a time may much prevail, yet through the continual supply of strength from the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, the regenerate part doth overcome, and so the saints grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

“ Chap. XIV. Of Saving Faith.—i. The grace of faith, whereby the elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their souls, is the work of the Spirit of Christ in their hearts ; and is, ordinarily, wrought by the ministry of the Word : by which also, and by the administration of the seals, prayer, and other means, it is increased and strengthened.—ii. By this faith, a christian believeth to be true whatsoever is revealed in the Word, for the authority of God himself speaking therein ; and acteth differently upon that which each particular passage thereof containeth, yielding obedience to the commands, trembling at the threatenings, and embracing the promises of God, for this life and that which is to come. But the principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone, for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace.—iii. This faith, although it be different in degrees and may be weak or

strong, yet it is in the least degree of it different in the kind or nature of it—as is all other saving grace—from the faith and common grace of temporary believers ; and therefore, though it may be many times assailed and weakened, yet it gets the victory, growing up, in many, to the attainment of a full assurance, through Christ who is both the author and finisher of our faith.

“Chap. XV. Of Repentance unto Life and Salvation.—i. Such of the elect as are converted at riper years, having sometime lived in the state of nature, and therein served divers lusts and pleasures, God in their effectual calling giveth them repentance unto life.—ii. Whereas there is none that doeth good, and sinneth not ; and the best of men may, through the power and deceitfulness of their corruptions dwelling in them with the prevalency of temptation, fall into great sins and provocations ; God hath in the covenant of grace mercifully provided that believers, so sinning and falling, be renewed through repentance unto salvation.—iii. This saving repentance is an evangelical grace, whereby a person being by the Holy Ghost made sensible of the manifold evils of his sin, doth, by faith in Christ, humble himself for it with godly sorrow, detestation of it, and self-abhorrency ; praying for pardon and strength of grace, with a purpose and endeavour by supplies of the Spirit, to walk before God unto all well-pleasing in all things.—iv. As repentance is to be continued through the whole course of our lives, upon the account of the body of death and the motions thereof, so it is every man’s duty to repent of his particular known sins particularly.—v. Such is the provision which God hath made, through Christ in the covenant of grace, for the preservation of believers unto salvation, that although there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation, yet here is no sin so great that it shall bring damnation on them who truly repent ; which makes the constant preaching of repentance necessary.

“Chap. XVI. Of Good Works.—i. Good works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy Word ; and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal, or upon any pretence of good intentions.—ii. These good works done in obedience to God’s commandments, are the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith ; and by them believers manifest their thankfulness, strengthen their assurance, edify their brethren, adorn the profession of the Gospel, stop the mouths of the adversaries, and glorify God whose workmanship they are, created in Christ Jesus thereunto, that having their fruit unto holiness they may have the end, eternal life.—iii. Their ability to do good works is not all of themselves, but wholly from the Spirit of Christ : and that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the graces they have already received, there is required an actual influence of the same Holy Spirit to work in them to will and to do of his good pleasure ; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as if they were not bound to perform any duty unless upon a special motion of the Spirit, but they ought to be diligent in stirring up the grace of God that is in them.—iv. They who, in their obedience, attain to the greatest height which is possible in this life, are so far from being able to supererogate and to do more than God requires, as that they fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do.—v. We cannot by our best works, merit pardon of sin or eternal life at the hand of God, by reason of the great disproportion that is between them and the glory to come, and the infinite distance that is between us and God, whom by them we can neither profit nor satisfy for the debt of our former sins, but when we have done all we can, we have done but our duty and are unprofitable servants ; and because as they are good they proceed from his Spirit, and as they are wrought by us they are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection that they cannot endure the severity of God’s judgment.—vi. Yet notwithstanding, the persons of believers being accepted through Christ, their good works also are accepted in him ; not as though they were in this life wholly unblameable and unprovable in God’s sight, but that he looking upon them in his Son is pleased to accept and reward that which is sincere although accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections.—vii. Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and to others, yet because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to the Word, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they are therefore sinful and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive grace from God ; and yet their neglect of them is [would be] more sinful, and displeasing unto God.

“Chap. XVII. Of the Perseverance of the Saints.—i. They whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved.—ii. This perseverance of the saints, depends not upon their own free will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election, from the free and unchangeable love of God the Father; upon the efficacy of the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ, and union with Him; the oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and of the seed of God within them, and the nature of the covenant of grace; from all which, ariseth also the certainty and infallibility thereof.—iii. And though they may through the temptation of Satan and of the world, the prevalency of corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the means of their preservation, fall into grievous sins and for a time continue therein; whereby they incur God’s displeasure and grieve his Holy Spirit, come to have their graces and comforts impaired, have their hearts hardened and their consciences wounded, hurt and scandalize others, and bring temporal judgments upon themselves; yet they are, and shall be, kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.

“Chap. XVIII. Of the Assurance of Grace and Salvation.—i. Although temporary believers and other unregenerate men, may vainly deceive themselves with false hopes and carnal presumptions of being in the favour of God and state of salvation, which hope of theirs shall perish; yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus and love Him in sincerity, endeavouring to walk in all good conscience before him, may in this life, be certainly assured that they are in the state of grace, and may rejoice in the hope of the glory of God; which hope shall never make them ashamed.—ii. This certainty, is not a bare conjectural and probable persuasion grounded upon a fallible hope, but an infallible assurance of faith founded on the blood and righteousness of Christ revealed in the Gospel; and also, upon the inward evidence of those graces unto which promises are made; and, on the immediate witness of the Spirit testifying our adoption, and as fruit thereof leaving the heart more humble and holy.—iii. This infallible assurance, doth not so belong to the essence of faith but that a true believer may wait long and conflict with many difficulties before he be partaker of it; yet being enabled by the Spirit to know the things which are freely given him of God, he may, without extraordinary revelation, in the right use of ordinary means, attain thereunto. And therefore, it is the duty of every one, to give diligence to make his calling and election sure, that thereby his heart may be enlarged in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, in love and thankfulness to God, and in strength and cheerfulness in the duties of obedience, the proper fruits of this assurance; so far is it from inclining men to looseness.—iv. True believers may have the assurance of their salvation divers ways shaken, diminished and intermitted; as by negligence in [the] preserving of it, by falling into some special sin which woundeth the conscience, and grieveth the Spirit; by some sudden or vehement temptation; by God’s withdrawing the light of his countenance, suffering even such as fear him to walk in darkness and to have no light; yet are they neither utterly destitute of that seed of God and life of faith, that love of Christ and the brethren, that sincerity of heart and conscience of duty, out of which by the operation of the Spirit this assurance may in due time be revived, and by which in the mean time they are supported from utter despair.

“Chap. XIX. Of the Law of God.—i. God gave to Adam a law of universal obedience written in his heart; and a particular precept, of not eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, as a covenant of works, by which He bound him and all his posterity to personal, entire, exact, and perpetual obedience; promised life upon the fulfilling, and threatened death upon the breach of it, and endued him with powers and ability to keep it.—ii. This law so written in the heart, continued to be a perfect rule of righteousness after the fall of man, and was delivered by God upon Mount Sinai in ten commandments and written in two tables; the four first commandments containing our duty towards God, and the other six our duty to man.—iii. Beside this law, commonly called ‘moral,’ God was pleased to give to the people of Israel ceremonial laws containing several typical ordinances; partly of worship, prefiguring Christ, his graces, actions, sufferings and benefits; and partly holding forth divers instructions of moral duties: all which ceremonial laws being appointed only to the time of reformation are by

Jesus Christ, the true Messiah and only Lawgiver who was furnished with power from the Father for that end, abrogated and taken away.—iv. To them also he gave sundry judicial laws, which expired together with the state of that people; not obliging any now, by virtue of that institution; their general equity only being still of moral use.—v. The moral law doth for ever bind all, as well justified persons as others, to the obedience thereof; and that not only in regard of the matter contained in it, but also in respect of the authority of God the Creator who gave it: neither doth Christ in the Gospel any way dissolve, but much strengthen, this obligation.—vi. Although true believers be not under the Law as a covenant of works, to be thereby justified or condemned, yet it is of great use to them, as well as to others, in that, as a rule of life informing them of the will of God and their duty, it directs and binds them to walk accordingly; discovering also the sinful pollutions of their nature, hearts, and lives, so as, examining themselves thereby, they may come to further conviction of humiliation for and hatred against sin, together with a clearer sight of the need they have of Christ and the perfection of his obedience. It is likewise of use to the regenerate, to restrain their corruptions, in that it forbids sin; and the threatenings of it, serve to show what even their sins deserve, and what afflictions in this life they may expect for them, although freed from the curse thereof, threatened in the Law. The promises of it, in like manner, show them God's approbation of obedience, and what blessings they may expect upon the performance thereof, although not as due to them by the Law as a covenant of works; so as [that] a man's doing good and refraining from evil, because the Law encourageth to the one and deterreth from the other, is no evidence of his being under the Law and not under Grace.—vii. Neither are the forementioned uses of the Law contrary to the grace of the Gospel, but do sweetly comply with it, the Spirit of Christ subduing and enabling the will of man to do that freely and cheerfully which the will of God, revealed in the Law, required to be done.

“Chap. XX. Of the Gospel, and of the Extent of the Grace thereof.—i. The covenant of works being broken by sin and made unprofitable unto life, God was pleased to give unto the elect the promise of Christ, the seed of the woman, as the means of calling them, and begetting in them faith and repentance: in this promise, the Gospel as to the substance of it was revealed, and was therein effectual for the conversion and salvation of sinners.—ii. This promise of Christ and salvation by Him, is revealed only in and by the Word of God; neither do the works of creation or providence, with the light of nature, make discovery of Christ or of grace by him, so much as in a general or obscure way; much less that men destitute of the revelation of Him by the promise or Gospel, should be enabled thereby to attain saving faith or repentance.—iii. The revelation of the Gospel unto sinners made in divers times and by sundry parts, with the addition of promises and precepts for the obedience required therein, as to the nations and persons to whom it is granted, is merely of the sovereign will and good pleasure of God; not being annexed by virtue of any promise, to the due improvement of men's natural abilities by virtue of common light received without it, which none ever did make or can so do: and therefore, in all ages the preaching of the Gospel hath been granted unto persons and nations as to the extent or straitning of it in great variety, according to the counsel of the will of God.—iv. Although the Gospel be the only outward means of revealing Christ and saving grace, and is as such abundantly sufficient thereunto, yet that men who are dead in trespasses may be born again, quickened or regenerated, there is moreover necessary an effectual, irresistible work of the Holy Ghost upon the whole soul for the producing in them [it] a new spiritual life, without which no other means are sufficient for their conversion unto God.

“Chap. XXI. Of Christian Liberty, and Liberty of Conscience.—i. The liberty which Christ hath purchased for believers under the Gospel, consists in their freedom from the guilt of sin, the condemning wrath of God, the rigour and curse of the Law; and in their being delivered from this present evil world, bondage to Satan, and dominion of sin; from the evil of afflictions, the fear and sting of death, the victory of the grave, and everlasting damnation; as also, in their free access to God, and their yielding obedience unto him not out of slavish fear but a childlike love and willing mind: all which, were common also to believers under the Law, for the substance of them; but under the New Testament, the liberty of

Christians is further enlarged, in their freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial law, the whole legal administration of the covenant of grace to which the Jewish church was subjected, and in greater boldness of access to the throne of grace, and in fuller communications of the free Spirit of God than believers under the Law did ordinarily partake of.—ii. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his Word or not contained in it; so that to believe such doctrines or to obey such commands out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring of an implicit faith and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.—iii. They who upon pretence of Christian liberty, do practise any sin or cherish any lust, as they do thereby pervert the main design of the grace of the Gospel to their own destruction, so they wholly destroy the end of Christian liberty; which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Him, all the days of our life.

“Chap. XXII. Of Religious Worship, and the Sabbath-day.—i. The light of nature showeth that there is a God who hath lordship and sovereignty over all; is just, good, and doth good unto all; and is therefore, to be feared, loved, praised, called upon, trusted in, and served with all the heart and all the soul and all the might: but the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by his own revealed will, that he may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representations, or any other way [not] prescribed in the holy Scripture.—ii. Religious worship is to be given to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and to Him alone; not to angels, saints, or any other creatures; and since the fall, not without a Mediator, nor in the mediation of any other but of Christ alone.—iii. Prayer with thanksgiving, being one special part of natural worship, is by God required of all men; but that it may be accepted, it is to be made in the Name of the Son by the help of the Spirit, according to his will, with understanding, reverence, humility, fervency, faith, love, and perseverance; and when with others, in a known tongue.—iv. Prayer is to be made for things lawful, and for all sorts of men living or that shall live hereafter; but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the sin unto death.—v. The reading of the Scriptures, preaching and hearing the Word of God, singing of psalms, as also the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper, are all parts of religious worship of God; to be performed in obedience unto God, with understanding, faith, reverence, and godly fear. Solemn humiliations, with fastings and thanksgiving upon special occasions, are in their several times and seasons to be used in a holy and religious manner.—vi. Neither prayer nor any other part of religious worship is now, under the Gospel, either tied unto or made more acceptable by any place in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed; but God is to be worshipped everywhere in spirit and in truth, as in private families daily and in secret each one by himself, so more solemnly in the public assemblies, which are not carelessly nor wilfully to be neglected or forsaken, when God by his Word or providence calleth thereunto.—vii. As it is of the law of nature that in general, a proportion of time by God's appointment be set apart for the worship of God, so by his Word in a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages, He hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a sabbath to be kept holy unto Him; which from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ was the last day of the week, and from the resurrection of Christ was changed into the first day of the week, which, in Scripture, is called ‘The Lord's day,’ and is to be continued to the end of the world as the christian sabbath; the observation of the last day of the week being abolished.—viii. This sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord when men, after a due preparing of their hearts and ordering their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe a holy rest all the day from their own works, words and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations, but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of His worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.

“Chap. XXIII. Of Lawful Oaths and Vows.—i. A lawful oath is a part of religious worship wherein the person swearing, in truth, righteousness and judgment, solemnly calleth God to witness what he asserteth or promiseth, and to

judge him according to the truth or falsehood of what he sweareth.—ii. The Name of God, only, is that by which men ought to swear; and therein it is to be used with all holy fear and reverence; therefore, to swear vainly or rashly by that glorious and dreadful Name, or to swear at all by any other thing, is sinful and to be abhorred. Yet as in matters of weight and moment, an oath is warranted by the Word of God under the New Testament as well as under the Old, so a lawful oath being imposed by lawful authority in such matters, ought to be taken.—iii. Who-soever taketh an oath warranted by the Word of God, ought duly to consider the weightiness of so solemn an act, and therein to avouch nothing but what he is fully persuaded is the truth; neither may any man bind himself by oath to anything but what is good and just and what he believeth so to be, and what he is able and resolved to perform; yet it is a sin to refuse an oath touching anything that is good and just, being lawfully imposed by authority.—iv. An oath is to be taken in the plain and common sense of the words, without equivocation or mental reservation: it cannot oblige to sin, but in anything not sinful being taken it binds to performance although to a man's own hurt; nor is it to be violated although made to heretics or infidels.—v. A vow, which is not to be made to any creature, but to God alone, is of the like nature with a promissory oath; and ought to be made with the like religious care, and to be performed with the like faithfulness.—vi. Popish monastical vows of perpetual single life, professed poverty, and *regular* obedience, are so far from being degrees of higher perfection that they are superstitious and sinful snares, in which no christian may entangle himself.

“Chap. XXIV. Of the Civil Magistrate.—i. God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be, under Him, over the people, for his own glory and the public good; and to this end hath armed them with the power of the sword for the defence and encouragement of them that do good, and for the punishment of evil-doers.—ii. It is lawful for christians to accept and execute the office of a magistrate when called thereunto: in the management whereof as they ought specially to maintain justice and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each commonwealth, so for that end they may lawfully now, under the New Testament, wage war upon just and necessary occasion.—iii. Although the magistrate is bound to encourage, promote and protect, the professors and profession of the Gospel, and to manage and order civil administrations in a due subservieney to the interest of Christ in the world; and to that end, to take care that men of corrupt minds and conversations do not licentiously publish and divulge blasphemy and errors in their own nature subverting the faith, and inevitably destroying the souls of them that receive them; yet in such differences about the doctrines of the Gospel or ways of the worship of God as may befall men exercising a good conscience, manifesting it in their conversation, and holding the foundation; not disturbing others in their ways or worship, that differ from them; there is no warrant for the magistrate, under the Gospel, to abridge them of their liberty.—iv. It is the duty of people to pray for magistrates, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority for conscience' sake. Infidelity, or difference in religion, doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience to him: from which, ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them [the magistrates] in their dominions, or over any of their people, and least of all to deprive them of their dominions or lives if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretence whatsoever.

“Chap. XXV. Of Marriage.—Marriage is to be between one man and one woman; neither is it lawful for any man to have more than one wife, nor for any woman to have more than one husband, at the same time.—ii. Marriage was ordained for the mutual help of husband and wife; for the increase of mankind with a legitimate issue, and of the church with a holy seed; and for [the] preventing of uncleanness.—iii. It is lawful for all sorts of people to marry who are able with judgment to give their consent. Yet it is the duty of christians to marry in the Lord; and therefore such as profess the true Reformed religion should not marry with infidels, papists or other idolaters: neither should such as are godly be unequally yoked, by marrying with such as are wicked in their life, or maintain damnable heresy.—iv. Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consan-

guinity or affinity forbidden in the Word ; nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man or consent of parties, so as [that] those persons may live together as man and wife.

Chap. XXVI. Of the Church.—i. The catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be, gathered into one under Christ the Head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.—ii. The whole body of men throughout the world professing the faith of the Gospel, and obedience unto God by Christ according unto it; not destroying their own profession by any errors everting the foundation, or [by] unholiness of conversation; are and may be called the visible catholic church of Christ, although as such it is [be] not intrusted with the administration of any ordinances or have any offices [officers] to rule or govern in or over the whole body.—iii. The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error, and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan; nevertheless Christ always hath had, and ever shall have, a visible kingdom in this world to the end thereof, of such as believe in Him and make profession of his Name.—iv. There is no other Head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof: but it [he] is that antichrist, that man of sin and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the church against Christ and all that is called God, whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.—v. As the Lord in care and love towards his church hath, in his infinite, wise providence, exercised it with great variety in all ages for the good of them that love Him, and [for] his own glory; so according to His promise we expect that in the latter days, antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the adversaries of ‘the kingdom of his dear Son’ broken,—the churches of Christ being enlarged, and edified through a free and plentiful communication of light and grace, shall enjoy, in this world, a more quiet, peaceable and glorious condition than they have enjoyed.

Chap. XXVII. Of the Communion of Saints.—i. All saints that are united to Jesus Christ their Head, by his Spirit and faith, although they are not made thereby one person with Him, have fellowship in graces, sufferings, death, resurrection and glory; and being united to one another in love, they have communion in each other’s gifts and graces, and are obliged to the performance of such duties, public and private, as do conduce to their mutual good both in the inward and outward man.—ii. All saints are bound to maintain a holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification; as also in relieving each other in outward things, according to their several abilities and necessities: which communion, though especially to be exercised by them in the relations wherein they stand, whether in families or churches, yet as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who in every place call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus.

“Chap. XXVIII. Of the Sacraments.—i. Sacraments are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, immediately instituted by Christ to represent Him and his benefits; and to confirm our interest in Him, and solemnly to engage us to the service of God in Christ according to his Word.—ii. There is in every [each] sacrament a spiritual relation or fundamental union between the sign and the thing signified; whence it comes to pass that the names and effects of the one are attributed to the other.—iii. The grace which is exhibited in or by the sacraments rightly used, is not conferred by any power in them; neither doth the efficacy of a sacrament depend upon the piety or intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the work of the Spirit, and the Word of institution, which contains together with a precept authorizing the use thereof, a promise of benefit to worthy receivers.—iv. There be only two sacraments ordained, by Christ our Lord, in the Gospel; that is to say, baptism and the Lord’s supper; neither of which, may be dispensed by any but by a minister of the Word lawfully called.—v. The sacraments of the Old Testament, in regard of the spiritual things thereby signified and exhibited, were, for substance, the same with those of the New.

“Chap. XXIX. Of Baptism.—i. Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, to be unto the party baptized a sign and seal of the covenant of grace; of his ingrafting into Christ; of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up [himself] unto God through Jesus Christ to walk in newness of life: which ordinance is, by Christ’s own appointment, to be continued in his

church until the end of the world.—ii. The outward element to be used in this ordinance is water, wherewith the party is to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by a minister of the Gospel lawfully called.—iii. Dipping of the person into the water is not necessary; but baptism is rightly administered by pouring or sprinkling water upon the person.—ii. Not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized; and those only.—v. Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated.—vi. The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance the grace promised is not only offered but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such, whether of age or infants, as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time.—vii. Baptism is but once to be administered to any person.

“Chap. XXX. Of the Lord's Supper.—i. Our Lord Jesus in the night wherein he was betrayed, instituted the sacrament of his body and blood, called the Lord's supper, to be observed in his churches unto the end of the world; for the perpetual remembrance and showing forth of the sacrifice of Himself in his death, the sealing of all benefits thereof unto true believers, their spiritual nourishment and growth in Him, their further engagement in and to all duties which they owe unto Him, and to be a bond and pledge of their communion with Him and with each other.—ii. In this sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father; nor any real sacrifice made at all for remission of the sins of the quick or dead; but only a memorial of that one offering up of Himself by Himself upon the cross once for all, and a spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God for the same: so that the popish sacrifice of the Mass, as they call it, is most abominable; injurious to Christ's own only sacrifice, the alone propitiation for all the sins of the elect.—iii. The Lord Jesus Christ hath in this ordinance appointed His ministers to pray [over] and bless the elements of bread and wine, and thereby to set them apart from a common to a holy use; and, to take and break the bread; to take the cup; and, they communicating also themselves, to give both, to the communicants, but to none who are not then present in the congregation.—iv. Private Masses, or receiving the sacrament, by a priest or any other, alone; as likewise the denial of the cup to the people, worshipping the elements, the lifting them up or carrying them about for adoration, and the reserving them for any pretended religious use, are all contrary to the nature of this sacrament and to the institution of Christ.—v. The outward elements in this sacrament duly set apart to the uses ordained by Christ, have such relation to Him crucified as that truly yet sacramentally only they are sometimes called by the name of the things they represent, to wit, the body and blood of Christ; albeit in substance and nature, they still remain truly and only bread and wine as they were before.—vi. That doctrine which maintains a change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, commonly called Transubstantiation, by consecration of a priest or by any other way, is repugnant not to Scripture alone but even to common sense and reason, overthroweth the nature of the sacrament, and hath been and is the cause of manifold superstitions, yea of gross idolatries.—vii. Worthy receivers outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this sacrament, do then also inwardly by faith, really and indeed yet not carnally and corporally but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified and all benefits of his death; the body and blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the bread or wine, yet as really but spiritually present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to the outward senses.—viii. All ignorant and ungodly persons, as they are unfit to enjoy communion with Christ, so are they unworthy of the Lord's table, and cannot without great sin against Him, whilst they remain such, partake of these holy mysteries or be admitted thereunto; yea, whosoever shall receive unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, eating and drinking judgment to themselves.

“Chap. XXXI. Of the State of Man after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead.—i. The bodies of men after death return to dust and see corruption; but their souls, which neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence, immedi-

ately return to God who gave them : The souls of the righteous being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies : and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torment and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.—ii. At the last day such as are found alive shall not die but be changed, and all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same bodies and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls for ever.—iii. The bodies of the unjust shall by the power of Christ, be raised to dishonour ; the bodies of the just, by his Spirit, unto honour, and be made conformable to his own glorious body.

“ Chap. XXXII. Of the Last Judgment.—i. God hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, to whom all power and judgment is given of the Father ; in which day not only the apostate angels shall be judged, but likewise all persons that have lived upon earth shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their thoughts, words, and deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the body whether good or evil.—ii. The end of God’s appointing this day, is for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate who are wicked and disobedient ; for then shall the righteous go into everlasting life and receive the fulness of joy and glory, with everlasting reward in the presence of the Lord ; but the wicked who know not God and obey not the Gospel of Jesus Christ shall be cast into eternal torments, and be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power.—iii. As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a judgment, both to deter all men from sin and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity ; so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security and be always watchful because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may be ever prepared to say, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.”

“ OF THE INSTITUTION OF CHURCHES, AND THE ORDER APPOINTED
IN THEM BY JESUS CHRIST.

“ i. By the appointment of the Father, all power for the calling, institution, order, or government of the church, is invested in a supreme and sovereign manner in the Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head thereof.

“ ii. In the execution of this power wherewith he is so intrusted, the Lord Jesus calleth out of the world unto communion with Himself those that are given unto him by his Father, that they may walk before Him in all the ways of obedience which he prescribeth to them in his Word.

“ iii. Those thus called, through the ministry of the Word by his Spirit, He commandeth to walk together in particular societies or churches, for their mutual edification, and the due performance of that public worship which he requireth of them in this world.

“ iv. To each of these churches thus gathered according unto his mind declared in his Word, He hath given all that power and authority which is any way needful for their carrying on that order in worship and discipline which he hath instituted for them to observe, with commands and rules for the due and right exerting and executing of that power.

“ v. These particular churches thus appointed by the authority of Christ, and intrusted with Power from Him for the ends before expressed, are each of them as unto those ends the seat of that power which he is pleased to communicate to his saints or subjects in this world, so that as such they receive it immediately from Himself.

“ vi. Besides these particular churches, there is not instituted by Christ any church more extensive or catholic, intrusted with power for the administration of his ordinances, or the execution of any authority in his Name.

“ vii. A particular church gathered and completed according to the mind of Christ, consists of officers and members : the Lord Christ having given to his called ones—united, according to his appointment, in church-order—liberty and

power to choose persons fitted by the Holy Ghost, for that purpose, to be over them, and to minister to them in the Lord.

“viii. The members of these churches are saints by calling, visibly manifesting and evidencing, in and by their profession and walking, their obedience unto that call of Christ; who being further known to each other by their confession of the faith wrought in them by the power of God, declared by themselves, or otherwise manifested, do willingly consent to walk together according to the appointment of Christ; giving up themselves to the Lord and to one another by the will of God, in professed subjection to the ordinances of the Gospel.

“ix. The officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the church so called and gathered, for the peculiar administration of ordinances and execution of power or duty which he intrusts them with or calls them to, to be continued to the end of the world, are pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons.

“x. Churches thus gathered and assembling for the worship of God, are thereby visible and public; and their assemblies, in what place soever they are, according as they have liberty or opportunity, are therefore church or public assemblies.

“xi. The way appointed by Christ for the calling of any person fitted and gifted by the Holy Ghost unto the office of pastor, teacher, or elder, in a church, is that he be chosen thereunto by the common suffrage of the church itself, and solemnly set apart by fasting and prayer with imposition of hands of the eldership of that church, if there be any before constituted therein: and of a deacon, that he be chosen by the like suffrage, and set apart by prayer and the like imposition of hands.

“xii. The essence of this call of a pastor, a teacher, or elder, unto office, consists in the election of the church, together with his acceptance of it, and separation by fasting and prayer; and those who are so chosen, though not set apart by imposition of hands, are rightly constituted ministers of Jesus Christ, in whose Name and authority they exercise the ministry to them so committed. The calling of deacons consisteth in the like election and acceptance, with separation by prayer.

“xiii. Although it be incumbent on the pastors and teachers of the churches to be instant in preaching the Word, by way of office, yet the work of preaching the Word is not so peculiarly confined to them but that others also, gifted and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved—being by lawful ways and means in the providence of God called thereunto,—may publicly, ordinarily and constantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereunto.

“xiv. However, they who are engaged in the work of public preaching, and enjoy the public maintenance upon that account, are not thereby obliged to dispense the seals to any other than such—as being saints by calling, and gathered according to the order of the Gospel—they stand related to as pastors and teachers; yet ought they not to neglect others living within their parochial bounds, but besides their constant public preaching to them they ought to inquire 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 admit.^a

^a Nothing is said of Catechising, on this occasion, which induces us to introduce here that, October 22nd, 1647, the “Larger Catechism,” was presented, and ordered to be printed for the service of both Houses and the Assembly. It appeared in pp. 58, 4to. On November 25th the like order was made, “to the end that they may advise thereupon,” respecting “The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Shorter Catechism, presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament,” 4to. pp. 20. This copy is without Proofs, but upon the last page, the “Creed,” with a note upon the word “hell,” is printed, and followed by these remarks, “So much of every Question, both in the larger and shorter Catechism, is repeated in the Answer as maketh every answer an entire proposition or sentence of itself; to the end [that] the learner may further improve it upon all occasions for his increase in knowledge and piety, even out of the course of catechising, as well as in it. And albeit the substance of the doctrine comprised in that abridgement, commonly called ‘The Apostles’ Creed,’ be fully set forth in each of the Catechisms so as [that] there is no necessity of inserting the Creed itself, yet it is here annexed, not as though it were composed by the apostles, or ought to be esteemed canonical Scripture as the ten Commandments and the Lord’s prayer [are]—much less a

“xv. Ordination alone without election or precedent consent of the church, by those who formerly have been ordained by virtue of that power they have received by their ordination, doth not constitute any person a church-officer, or communicate office power unto him.

“xvi. A church furnished with officers according to the mind of Christ, hath full power to administer all his ordinances; and where there is want of any one or more officers required, that officer or those that are in the church, may administer all the ordinances proper to [his or] their particular duty and offices; but where there are no teaching officers, none may administer the seals, nor can the church authorize any so to do.

“xvii. In the carrying on of church administrations, no person ought to be added to the church but by the consent of the church itself; that so love without dissimulation may be preserved between [among] all the members thereof.

“xviii. Whereas the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed and instituted as a means of edification, that those who walk not according to the rules and laws appointed by Him in respect of faith and life, so that just offence doth arise to the church thereby, be censured in his Name and authority: every church hath power in itself to exercise and execute all those censures appointed by Him, in the way and order prescribed in the Gospel.

“xix. The censures so appointed by Christ, are admonition and excommunication; and whereas some offences are or may be known only to some, it is appointed by Christ that those to whom they are so known do first admonish the offender in private; in public offences where any sin before all, and in case of nonamendment upon private admonition, the offence being related to the church and the offender not manifesting his repentance, he is to be duly admonished, in the Name of Christ, by the whole church, by the ministry of the elders of the church; and if this censure prevail not for his repentance, then he is to be cast out by excommunication with the consent of the church.

“xx. As all believers are bound to join themselves to particular churches when and where they have opportunity so to do, so none are to be admitted unto the privileges of the churches who do not submit themselves to the rule of Christ in the censures for the government of them.

“xxi. This being the way prescribed by Christ in case of offence, no church-members upon any offences taken by them, having performed their duty required of them in this matter, ought to disturb any church-order, or absent themselves from the public assemblies or the administration of any ordinances, upon that pretence, but to wait upon Christ in the further proceeding of the church.

“xxii. The power of censures being seated by Christ in a particular church, is to be exercised only towards particular members of each church respectively as such; and there is no power given by Him unto any synods or ecclesiastical assemblies, to excommunicate, or by their public edicts to threaten excommunication or other church-censures, against churches, magistrates, or their people, upon any account; no man being obnoxious to that censure, but upon his personal miscarriage as a member of a particular church.

“xxiii. Although the church is a society of men assembling for the celebration of the ordinances according to the appointment of Christ, yet every society assembling for that end or purpose, upon the account of cohabitation within any civil precincts or bounds, is not thereby constituted a church; seeing there may be wanting among them what is essentially required thereunto: and therefore, a believer living with others in such a precinct, may join himself with any church for his edification.

“xxiv. For the avoiding of differences that may otherwise arise, for the greater solemnity in the celebration of the ordinances of Christ, and [for] the opening a way for the larger usefulness of the gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, saints,

prayer, as ignorant people have been apt to make both it and the decalogue,—but because it is a brief sum of the Christian faith, agreeable to the Word of God, and unanimously received in the churches of Christ.—Cornelius Burges, Prolocutor pro tempore.” The adoption and long continued acceptance of the “Shorter Catechism” among the Congregationalists, demands this notice; but its use in New England is universal, while attachment to it in our own country is for the present somewhat decreasing, though not being displaced by any other as a standard.

living in one city or town or within such distances as that they can conveniently assemble for divine worship, ought rather to join in one church for their mutual strengthening and edification than to set up many distinct societies.

“xxv. As all churches and all the members of them, are bound to pray continually for the good, or prosperity, of all the churches of Christ in all places, and upon all occasions to further it—every one, within the bounds of their places and callings, in the exercise of their gifts and graces,—so the churches themselves, when planted by the providence of God so as they may have opportunity and advantage for it, ought to hold communion amongst themselves for their peace, increase of love and mutual edification.

“xxvi. In cases of difficulties or differences, either in point of doctrine or in administrations, wherein either the churches in general are concerned, or any one church, in their [or her] peace, union and edification; or any member or members of any church, are injured in or by any proceeding in censures not agreeable to truth and order; it is according to the mind of Christ that many churches holding communion together do by their messengers meet in a synod or council, to consider and give their advice in or about that matter in difference, to be reported to all the churches concerned: howbeit, these synods so assembled are not intrusted with any church-power properly so called, or with any jurisdiction over the churches themselves, to exercise any censures either over any churches or persons, or to impose their determinations on the churches or officers.

“xxvii. Besides these occasional synods or councils, there are not instituted by Christ any stated synods in a fixed combination of churches or their officers, in lesser or greater assemblies; nor are there any synods appointed by Christ in a way of subordination to one another.

“xxviii. Persons that are joined in church-fellowship, ought not lightly or without cause to withdraw themselves from the communion of the church whereunto they are so joined. Nevertheless, where any person cannot continue in any church without his sin [*sic*], either for want of the administration of any ordinances instituted by Christ, or by his being deprived of his due privileges, or [being] compelled to anything in practice not warranted by the Word, or in case of persecution, or upon the account of conveniency of habitation; he, consulting with the church or the officer or officers thereof, may peaceably depart from the communion of the church wherewith he hath so walked, to join himself with some other church where he may enjoy the ordinances in the purity of the same for his edification and consolation.

“xxix. Such reforming churches as consist of persons sound in the faith and of conversation becoming the Gospel, ought not to refuse the communion of each other so far as may consist with their own principles respectively, though they walk not in all things according to the same rules of church-order.

“xxx. Churches gathered and walking according to the mind of Christ, judging other churches, though less pure, to be true churches, may receive unto occasional communion with them such members of those churches as are credibly testified to be godly and to live without offence.”

As dependent upon the foregoing “Declaration,” this passing notice is bestowed upon “Irenicum: Or an Essay towards a Brotherly Peace and Union between those of the Congregational and Presbyterian-Way. Showing out of the most Learned and Renowned Divines of the Congregational-Way, that their Positions concerning 1. Church Matters and Members: 2. Church Constitution and Form: 3. Church State: 4. Church Officers and Ordination: 5. Church Government and Censures: 6. Church Combinations and Synods: 7. Communion with, and Separation from, Churches: are sufficient for the Establishing a Firm and Lasting Peace between them and the Presbyterians. Drawn up and published by Discipulus De Tempore Junior. In pursuance of the good Design begun at the Savoy, where it was agreed and declared, that ‘Such Reforming Churches as consist of persons sound in the Faith, and of conversation becoming the Gospel,

ought not to refuse the communion of each other so far as may consist with their own Principles respectively, though they walk not in all things according to the same rules of Church-Order.' Canon xxix.—1659." 4to. pp. 75.

The address "To the Judicious Reader" states that "The God of Peace hath stirred up the heart of a faithful minister of the Gospel—whose name would add authority to this work, though he see cause to conceal it,—in a new way to attempt a brotherly agreement. His design is to stitch up our rents, and to heal our breaches by discovering the concessions and positions of the chief patrons of the Congregational-Way, That, in reference to Church-constitution of members and officers, and in reference to Church-administrations by classes and synods, there is not so great opposition betwixt the Presbyterians and them as the Independent brethren here amongst us do pretend and publish. . . And because the names of Mr. Cotton and Mr. [T.] Hooker are superlatively famous in the churches of Christ, therefore their judgment is most frequently insisted upon. . . Very few, if any Nonconformists of special note, who staid in England, ever turned Independents. As for the most if not all of our English Independents, they did at once step over the heads of Nonconformists, from Conformity unto Independency; or as reverend Mr. Ball was wont, with dislike, to express it, they did at one jump leap out of the surplice and Church-assemblies also!"

Enough, surely, to prove that we have here to do with *anguis in herba!* Even here recurs the note of lamentation, while using all means of detraction; that these despised Independents "have drawn and culled out of those congregations—whom yet you confess to be true churches—as many of the choicest members as you could, and gathered them, as you speak, into churches not only distinct from but opposite to the rest of the churches and congregations of the nation."^a And now it will be more than enough, to cite the chief Incognitus, saying, "If any say these authors elsewhere express themselves otherwise, all that I answer is that my design and work was not to reconcile them to themselves, but, if I could, to their Presbyterian Brethren!"^b Such is this "new way to attempt a brotherly agreement!"

The conclusion which we foresaw, when commencing our Historical Memorials, is however arrived at now, That during the period they embrace, neither Separatists taken in the aggregate, nor Independents, can rightly be denominated "Puritans," or even "Nonconformists."

CHAP. LXXXIII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE "COMMONWEALTH."—FATE OF THE TYRANNICIDES.

WE might have considered ourselves released from prosecuting our labours beyond the chapter just closed; having brought the reader chronologically to the result of that deliberative and therefore momentous proceeding when the principles and their main appliances came

^a P. 68.

^b Pref.

to be embodied in a document which has for ever fixed them systematically and historically; still something is requisite as well to the full completion of our design, as to the deplorable effects of that reaction which ensued upon the dissolution of the "Commonwealth," and the return of "a ribald king"^a and "a court, where nothing was tolerated but wit at the cost of sense, the injury of truth, and the violation of decency!"^b

It will have been seen that we are not the unqualified panegyrists of him whom a Warburton styled "the most magnanimous of Usurpers;" and of whom a Burke remarked, that when such men put themselves at the head of the nation, "they are not so much usurping power as asserting their natural position in society." In conformity with these opinions, is the judgment that "his military exploits exceeded those of all his 'regular-bred' contemporaries; and he managed the army—on the whole amounting to fifty thousand men—with a firm grasp. He also infused spirit by raising its standard of respectability in recruiting from the freeholders and farmers, instead of clogging his ranks with 'decayed serving-men and tapsters.'^c Of such a man, it would follow of course that when he was dead his enemies, having nothing more to fear from his valour, would boisterously assail his memory: thus, that "lover of his king and country, T. M. Esq.," tells us that September the 3d, 1658, "he died, but with such extremity of tempestuous weather that was by all men judged to be *prodigious*;^d neither indeed was his end more miserable, for he died mad and despairing, than he hath left his name infamous."^e And of Dr. George Bate^f we are told, that having "closed with the times, for interest' sake," he became Cromwell's chief physician, "and did not stick, though he pretended to be a concealed royalist, to flatter him in a high degree;" and that, upon the

^a Scott's "Marmion," Introd. to Canto I.—To show the profanity and bombast of the royalists, we copy from T. M., Hist. of Independency, Pt. IV. 1660, his dedication, "To the Sacred Majesty of Great Britain's Monarch: The triumphant Son of a most glorious Father who was in all things 'more than Conqueror,' [Rom. viii. 37.] The illustrious offspring of a royal train of ancient princes, Charles, the Second of that name, entitled 'Pious' by the sole providence of an Almighty Hand; of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King; Defender of the Faith: Restorer of the English Church unto its pristine state and glory: Patron of law and liberty: not to be seconded by any but Himself, who is the best of Kings: and of all Virtue, to the world the grand exemplar!"

^b D'Israeli's "Miscellanies of Literature," 1840. Imp. 8vo. p. 249.—In the Somers' Tracts 1748, 4to. vol. iv. p. 516, is a piece by one Henry Bold, "On the thunder, happening after the solemnity of the coronation of Charles II., on St George's day, 1661," where he says—

"It rained as heaven and earth would come together;
And yet these April tears would have us know
They grieved above at Malcontents below,
To see that Heaven should design a court
For us like theirs, and some not thank them for 't!"

^c "United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal. Aug. 1842." 8vo. p. 468.

^d Pepys—Memoirs, 1825, 4to. vol. i. p. 104,—remarking on the storm after Charles's coronation, says, it "is a foolery to take too much notice of such things."

^e Hist. of Independency. Pt. IV. 1660. p. 32.

^f See back, p. 358, note c.

restoration, "he got in with the royal party by his friends' report that he by a dose given to Oliver, hastened him to his end!"^a Baxter's account is, that he "died of a fever, before he was aware. He escaped the attempts of many that sought to have despatched him sooner, but could not escape the stroke of God."^b "Never man," he adds, "was highlier extolled, and never man was baselier reported of and vilified, than this man."

The reins of government having fallen into the hands of Richard Cromwell, he caused his father's corpse to be deposited among the kings and queens, at Westminster, at a far greater charge—£29,000—than had been used upon like occasions; and among the congratulations sent from "most of the counties, cities, and chief towns of England, and from the armies," addresses were sent also, in the words of our authority, "from the Independent churches, by Mr. Goodwin and Nye, their metropolitans; and [he] was indeed worshipped by many, as the rising sun in our horizon."^c

This "rising sun" was, however, destined soon to decline, and upon his setting ensued all the concomitant perturbations and incidents portending change. It is not our office to narrate the particulars; it must suffice that a dire vengeance long stored, is now being whetted for its appointed victims.^d To certain of these, then, we commence drawing the reader's attention by introducing at this place what we deem most fit to rekindle his emotions raised by the eventful tribunal at Westminster, and roused into every variety of exercise before Whitehall! We begin by averting reproach which might be heaped upon us did we not thus declare abhorrence at the excesses into which one and all the sufferers had been driven; while we hold that it would be injustice to their better qualities to suppress entirely what relates to them individually.

In reverting to the prominent part taken by Cook at the trial of Charles we are giving exposure to conduct and language far beneath the decorum befitting the solemn scene. Here are words employed undignified on any occasion, and much more unbecoming a man whose christian profession^e should have prevented from intending—for it might be the words were not spoken,—to insult humbled Majesty, by resorting to the worst artifices of a special pleader.^f That their publi-

^a A. à Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. iii. col. 827, ed. Bliss, 4to.; and where it is shown that Bate had attended Cromwell in June, 1650.

^b Baxter has introduced an anecdote here, in so loose a way as to render it unworthy of further notice: see his Life Pt. I. p. 98.

^c T. M. *sup.* p. 32.

^d Neal, to whose account of this period we refer the reader, begins it with remarking that, "upon the death of the Protector, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year revived the confusions of the preceding ten." Vol. iv. chap. iv. The Presbyterians came back to all the power they had formerly enjoyed, and Mar. 5th 1660, they reinforced "the solemn League and Covenant!"

^e Cook, like Canne, had espoused the party of "the Fifth Monarchy Men," but we have not found that either of them had really renounced infant baptism.

^f "Eloquentia, in the counsel; Judicium, in the judges; and Veritas, in the witnesses." Cook's Defence at his Trial, Oct. 10th, 1660.

ation occurred subsequently, however, to the occasion for which they were substantially prepared, appears to have been caused by the high state of excitement to which the writer's mind was wrought by the incessant persecution which followed him after the last act of the momentous tragedy; the effect of a conspiracy begun and continued in deed and in intention, till the opportunity should arrive to immolate upon the altar of *regal justice*,^a a hecatomb of victims; among which was numbered this "The solicitor-general of the People, or Commons of England!" The publication we allude to is intitled, "KING CHARLES, his Case: Or, An Appeal to all Rational Men concerning His Trial at the High Court of Justice. Being, for the most part, that which was intended to have been delivered at the Bar, if the King had pleaded to the Charge, and put Himself upon a Fair Trial. With an additional Opinion concerning the Death of King James; the Loss of Rochelle; and the Blood of Ireland.—By John Cook, of Gray's Inn, Barrister.

Justice, is an excellent Virtue :
Reason, is the life of the Law :
Womanish pity, to mourn for a Tyrant,
Is a deceitful cruelty to a City !

London, 1649," 4to. pp. 43.

"To the Reader:—The RIGHTEOUS JUDGE, whose judgment is not only inevitable but infallible, must, shortly, judge ME and all that concurred to bring the Capital Delinquent to condign punishment. But in the interim, I desire to be judged by all understanding men in the world that suffer their judgments to be swayed by reason, and not biassed by private interest, Whether ever any man did so much deserve to die? . . . Blessed God! what ugly sins lodge in their bosoms that would have this man to live! But words are but women; proofs, are men: it is reason that must be the chariot to carry men to give their concurrence to this judgment: therefore, I shall deliver my thoughts to the courteous reader as I was prepared for it if Issue had been joined in the Cause; but with some addition, for illustration's sake."

"... SINCE Naseby Letters, I ever thought him [Charles] principal in all transactions of state, and the wisest about him but accessaries. He never acted by any implicit faith in state matters! The proudest of them all, durst never cross him in any design when he had once resolved upon it. Is any man so soft-brained, to think that the Duke, or Pennington, durst betray Rochelle without his command? Would not he have hanged them up, at their return, if they had wilfully transgressed his commands? A thousand such excuses made for him, are but like Irish quagmires, that have no solid ground or foundation in reason.

"He was well known to be [so] great a student in his younger days, that his father would say, He must make him a bishop!^b He had more learning and dexterity in state affairs undoubtedly, than all the kings in christendom. If he had had grace answerable to his strong

^a See back, vol. i. p. *ult.*, note c.

^b See back, vol. i. p. 464.

parts, he had been another Solomon ; but his wit and knowledge proved like a sword in a madman's hand : he was a stranger to the work of grace and the Spirit of God ; as the poor creature confessed to Mr. Knowls [Knollys] after he was condemned : and all those meanders in state, his serpentine turnings and windings, have but brought him to shame and confusion. But I am fully satisfied, none of his council durst ever advise him to anything but what they knew before, he resolved to have done ; and that they durst as well take a bear by the tooth, as do or consent to the doing of any thing but what they knew would please him. They did but hew and square the timber, he was the master-builder that gave the form to every architecture ; and being so able and judicious, to discern of every man's merits. Never think, that the Duke, or Pennington, or any judge, or officer, did ever any thing for his advantage, without his command, against law or honour.

“ Upon all which premises, may it please your Lordship, I do humbly demand and pray the justice of this High Court : and yet, not I, but the innocent blood that hath been shed in the three kingdoms, demands justice against him. . . This blood hath long cried, How long, Parliament ; how long, Army ; will ye forbear to avenge our blood ? Will ye not do justice upon the capital author of all injustice ? When will ye take the proud lion by the beard, that defies you with imperious exultations, What's the House of Commons ? what's the Army ?—as Pharaoh said, Who is the Lord ? and, who is Moses ?—I am not accountable to any power on earth ! Those that were murdered at Brentford, knocked on the head, in the water ; and those honest souls that were killed in cold blood at Bolton^a and Liverpool in Lancashire, at Bartomley in Cheshire, and many other places ; their blood cries night and day for justice against him ; their wives and children cry, Justice upon the murderer, or else give us our fathers and husbands again : nay, should the people be silent, the very stones and timbers of the houses would cry for justice against him !

“ But, my Lord, before I pray judgment, I humbly crave leave to speak to two particulars. i. Concerning the Prisoner : When I consider what he was, and how many prayers have been made for him ; though I know that all the world cannot restore him, nor save his life, because God will not forgive his temporal punishment, yet if God, in him, will be pleased to add one example more to the Church, of his unchangeable love to his elect in Christ, not knowing but that he may belong to the election of grace ;—I am troubled in my spirit, in regard of his eternal condition, for fear that he should depart this life without love and reconciliation to all those saints whom he hath scorned under the notion of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Sectaries. It cannot be denied but that he hath spent all his days in unmeasurable pride ; that, during his whole reign, he hath deported himself as a god, been depended upon and adored as God ; that, hath challenged and assumed an omnipotent power, an earthly omnipotence, that with the breath of his mouth hath dissolved Parliaments ; his non-placet, hath made all the counsels of that supreme court to become abortives !

^a The Earl of Derby was executed here, in 1651, for proclaiming Charles II.

Non curo, hath been his motto who, instead of being honoured as good kings ought to be and no more, hath been idolized and adored as our good God only ought to be. A man that hath shot all his arrows against the upright in the land; hated Christ in his members; swallowed down unrighteousness as the ox drinks water; esteemed the needy as his footstool; crushed honest public-spirited men, and grieved when he could not afflict the honest, more than he did; counted it the best art and policy, to suppress the righteous, and to give way to his courtiers, so to gripe, grind, oppress and overreach the free people of the land, that he might do what he list—the remembrance whereof, would pierce his soul if he knew the preciousness of it—but all sins to an infinite Mercy are equally pardonable, therefore my prayer for this poor wretch shall be, That God would so give him repentance to life, that he may believe in that Christ whom he hath imprisoned, persecuted and murdered, in the saints: that he, which hath lived a tyrant and hated nothing so much as holiness, may die a convert, and in love to the saints in England; that so the tears of the oppressed and the afflicted, may not be so many fiery, stinging, serpents, causing an eternal despairing, continual horror, to this miserable man, when all tyrants shall be astonished, and innocent blood will affright more than twelve legions of devils. All the hurt I wish to him is, that he may look the saints in the face with comfort, for the saints must judge the world!^a And however it may be, he or his adherents may think it a brave Roman spirit not to repent of anything, nor express any sorrow for any sin though never so horrid; taking more care and fear, not to change their countenance upon the scaffold, than what shall become of them after death! yet I beseech your Lordship, that I may tell him and all the Malignants now living but this,—Charles Stuart, unless you depart this life in love and reconciliation to all those saints and godly men whom you have either ignorantly or maliciously oppressed, mocked, and persecuted, and still scorn and jeer at as ‘heretics and sectaries,’ there is no more hopes for you ever to see God in comfort, than for me to touch the heavens with my finger, or with a word to annihilate this great building, or for the devil to be saved, which he might be if he could love a saint as such. No, Sir, it will be too late for you to say to those saints whom you have defied, Give me some of your holiness, that I may behold God’s angry countenance: you can expect no answer but, Go buy, Sir, of those soul-hucksters your bishops, which fed you with chaff and poison, and now you must feed upon fire and brimstone to all eternity.

“2. Concerning myself, I bear no more malice to the man’s person than I do to my dear father; but I hate that cursed principle of tyranny that has so long lodged and harboured within him; which has turned our waters of law into blood. And therefore, upon that Malignant principle, I hope this High Court—which is a habitation of justice, and a royal palace of principles of freedom,—will do speedy justice, That this lion which has devoured so many sheep, may not only be removed out of the way, but that this iron sceptre which has been lifted up to break this poor nation in pieces like a potter’s vessel, may

^a 1 Cor. vi. 2.

be wrested out of the hands of tyrants ; That my honourable Clients—for whom I am an unworthy advocate—the People of England, may not only taste but drink abundantly of those sweet waters of that well of Liberty which this renowned Army hath digged with their swords ; which was stopped by the Philistines, the fierce Jew, and uncircumcised Canaanite ; the hopes whereof, made me readily to hearken to the call to this service, as if it had been immediately from Heaven ; being fully satisfied that the Prisoner was long since condemned to die by God's law—which being more noble and ancient than any law of man, if there had been a statute that he should not die, yet he ought to be put to death notwithstanding,—and that this High Court was but to pronounce the sentence and judgment written against him. And though I might have been sufficiently discouraged in respect that my reason is far less than others of my profession, yet considering that there are but two things desirable to make a dumb man eloquent, namely, a good cause, and good judges ; the first whereof, procures the justice of Heaven ; and the second, justice upon earth : and thinking that happily, God might make use of one mean man at the bar, amongst other learned counsel, that more of His mind might appear in it—for many times, the less there is of man, the more God's glory does appear ; and hitherto, very much of the mind of God hath appeared in this action,—I went as cheerfully about it as to a wedding. And that the glory of this administration may be wholly given to God, I desire to observe to the praise of His great Name, the work of God upon my own spirit in his gracious assistance and presence with me, as a return of prayer and fruit of faith ; believing that God never calls to the acting of anything so pleasing to Him as this most excellent Court of Justice is, but He is present with the honourable Judges and those that wait upon them ! I have been sometimes of Counsel against felons and prisoners, but I never moved the Court to proceed to judgment against any felon, or to keep any man in prison, but I trembled at it in my thoughts as thinking it would be easier to give an account of mercy and indulgence than of anything that might look like rigour ; but now my spirits are quite of another temper, and I hope it is meat and drink to good men to have justice done, and recreation to think what benefit this nation will receive by it.

“ And now, my Lord, I must as the truth is, conclude him guilty of more transcendent treasons and enormous crimes, than all the kings in this part of the world have ever been. And as he that would picture Venus, must take the eyes of one, the cheeks of another beautiful woman, and so other parts to make a complete beauty ; so to delineate an absolute tyrant, the cruelty of Richard III., and all the subtlety, treachery, deep dissimulation, abominable projects, and dishonourable shifts, that ever were separately in any that swayed the English sceptre, conspired together to make their habitation in this ‘whited-wall.’^a Therefore, I humbly pray, that as he has made himself a precedent in committing such horrid acts, which former kings and ages knew not, and have been afraid to think of, That your Lordship and this High Court, out of your sublime wisdoms, and

^a Acts, xxiii. 3.

for justice' sake, would make him an example for other kingdoms for the time to come: that the kings of the earth may hear and fear, and do no more so wickedly: that he which would not be a pattern of virtue and an example of justice in his life, may be a precedent of justice to others by his death!

“ Courteous reader; for thy full satisfaction in matter of law; how the late King was, by the law of the land, accountable for his tyrannous and traitorous exorbitancies; I refer thee to my Lord President's most learned and judicious speech before the sentence read. And I have one word to add, That High Court was a resemblance and representation of the great day of judgment, when the saints shall judge all worldly powers, and where this judgment will be confirmed and admired; for it was not only *bonum* but *bene*, not only good for the matter, but the manner of proceeding. This High Court did not only consult with Heaven for wisdom and direction—a precedent for other Courts to begin every solemn action with prayer,—but examined witnesses several days, upon oath, to inform their consciences, and received abundant satisfaction in a judicial way—which, by the law of the land, was not requisite in treason, the prisoner standing mute—as judges, which before, was most notorious and known to them as private persons; and having most perspicuously discerned and weighed the merits of the cause in the balances of the sanctuary, law, and right reason, pronounced as righteous a sentence as ever was given by mortal man.

“ And yet, what action was ever so good, but was traduced? Not only by ungodly men, but by the holy men of the world. That professors, should pray for justice, and then repine at the execution of it! Blessed Lord, how does ‘the god of this world’ storm, now his kingdom is shaking! An enlightened eye must needs see that it is the design of Heaven to break all human glory with an iron sceptre, that will not kiss his golden sceptre; and, to exalt justice and mercy in the earth. I confess, if the greater part of the world should approve such high and noble acts of justice, it might be suspected, because the most people will judge erroneously: but that Christians that have fasted and prayed many years for ‘justice;’ should now be angry to see it done, what is it but like foolish passengers that having been long at sea in dangerous storms, as they are entering into the quiet haven, to be mad with the pilot because he will not return into the angry seas? But I shall observe one passage in the Lord President's speech, as a scholar may presume to say a word after his master, concerning the many menaces, and minatory dangerous speeches, which are given forth concerning this High Court. If men must be killed for the faithful discharge of their duties to God and their country, I am sure the murderer will have the worst of it in conclusion, if he should not be known here—though murder is a sin that seldom goes unpunished in this world; and never did any Jesuit hold it meritorious to kill men for bringing tyrants and murderers to justice, or to do such horrid acts in the sight of the sun.—It was a noble saying of the Lord President, ‘That he was afraid of nothing so much as the not doing of justice; and when he was called to that high place which was put

upon him, he sought it not, but desired to be excused more than once; not to decline a duty to God and the People for fear of any loss or danger — being above such thoughts, by many stories, as actions testify,—but alleging that of himself out of an humble spirit, which if others had said of him, I am sure they had done him a great deal of wrong. And though he might have been sufficiently discouraged, because it was a new unprecedented tribunal of condemning a King —because never did any King so tyrannize and butcher the people: find me but that, in any history, and on the other side the leaf you shall find him more than beheaded, even to be quartered and given to be meat to the fowls of the air,—yet the glory of God and the love of justice constrained him to accept it; and with what great wisdom and undauntedness of resolution joined with a sweet meekness of spirit, he hath performed it, is most evident to all; the Malignants themselves being judges.

“Concerning this High Court; to speak anything of this glorious administration of justice, is but to show the sun with a candle—the sun of justice, now shines most gloriously, and it will be fair weather in the nation; but, alas, the poor mole is blind still, and cannot see it; but none so blind as they that will not see it!—However, it is not proper or convenient for me, at present, to speak all the truth that I know—the generations that are to come, will call them blessed—concerning the integrity and justice of their proceedings; lest I that am a servant should be counted a sycophant, which I abhor in my soul, as my body does poison. And this, I will be bold to say—which I hope God guides my hand to write—This High Court hath cut off the head of a tyrant, and they have done well. Undoubtedly, it is the best action that they ever did in all their lives: a matter of pure envy, not hatred, for never shall or can any men in this nation promerit so much honour as these have done, by any execution of justice comparable to this. And in so doing, they have pronounced sentence not only against one tyrant, but tyranny itself. Therefore, if any of them, shall turn tyrants, or consent to set up a kind of tyranny by a law, or suffer any unmerciful domineering over the consciences, persons and estates, of the Free People of this land, they have pronounced sentence against themselves! But good trees cannot bring forth bad fruits; therefore let all desperate Malignants repent, ere it be too late, of any such ungodly purposes, and fight no longer against God. Every man is sown here as a seed or grain, and grows up to be a tree; it behoves us all to see on what ground we stand. Holy and righteous men will be found to be timber for the great building of God in his love; when tyrants, and enemies to holiness and justice, will be for a threshold or footstool to be trodden upon, or fit for the fire.

“Lastly; for myself, I bless God, I have not so much to fear as comes to the thousandth part of a grain. It is for a Cain to be afraid that every man that meets him will ‘slay’ him. I am not solicitous whether I die of a consumption, or by the hand of Ravailacs;^a I leave that to my heavenly Father: if it be His will that I shall fall by the hand of violence, ‘it is the LORD,’ let him do what he pleaseth.^b If

^a See back, p. 343.

^b 1 Sam. iii. 18.

my indentures be given in before the term of my apprenticeship be expired, and that I be at my Father's house before it be night, I am sure there is no hurt in all this. If I have but so much time left, I shall pray my Father to forgive the murderer: the blood of Christ can wash away sins of the deepest stain, but when he sees his children's blood sprinkled upon the bloody wretch. He loves every member, as he loves Himself. But know this, ye that have conceived any desperate intentions against those honourable Justices who have made you Freemen unless you will return to Egypt; if God, in wrath to you and love to any of His people, should suffer you to imbrue your hands in any of their innocent blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will cost you ten times more anguish and grief of heart than the pleasure of the sin can cause delight; and what a base thing is it, to do that which must be repented of at the best! But if you repent not, it had been better for you to have never been born. But let every man be faithful in doing his duty; and trust God with the success, and rejoice in Christ in 'the testimony' of a good 'conscience;'^b for he that hath not a soul to lose, hath nothing to lose: but, blessed be God, I have no soul to lose; therefore, I desire only to 'fear' Him whom to fear 'is the beginning of wisdom.'^c And for all Malignants to come in, and join with honest men in settling this nation upon noble principles of justice, freedom, and mercy to the poor, will be their best and greatest 'understanding.'^d ^e

Arrived nearly at the close of our original plan, the whole will be shut up after a recital more particularly of one portion of those tragic butcheries consequent upon unsuccessful rebellion, and which fulfils the intimation recorded at the opening of our enterprise.^f From "Churchmen" of the vaunted apostolic line, it was but matter of course that they should do the bidding, or not oppose the measures, of secular authorities whose genial influences alone had reproduced their vitality, and with vitality ensured succour: but that another sort of Churchmen whose vaunt had been "divine right," should finally compromise their high-sounding professions, and succumb, at least for awhile, to "that proud generation whose kingdom must down, hold they never so hard,"^g would have previously been puffed at and unceasingly derided. When the Bill of Indemnity came to be discussed in what was called the Con-

^a Eph. v. 30.

^b 2 Cor. i. 12.

^c Psal. cxi. 10.

^d P. 35—43.

^e In vol. iv. of Lord Somers' Tracts, 1748, 4to. p. 198—211, Art. 27, is "King Charles' Case truly stated, in Answer to Mr. Cook's pretended 'Case' of the Blessed Martyr. By Mr. Samuel Butler, Author of 'Hudibras.'" He writes, "Sir, I am so charitable [as] to believe it was your passion that imposed upon your understanding; else, as a gentleman, you could have never descended to such peasantry of language, especially against such a person, to whom—had he never been your prince—no law enjoins—whatsoever his offences were—the punishment of ribaldry: and for the laws of God, they absolutely condemn it; of which I wonder you that pretend so much to be of His *council*, should be either so ignorant or forgetful." p. 199. Our agreement with this extract, does not preclude us from remarking that, as might be expected, there is no lack of invective on Butler's part, amidst some occasional points, and very little solid argument.

^f Vol i. p. 18.

^g Admonition to the Parliament, 1572: Preface; quoted in B. Hanbury's *Life of Thomas Cartwright* prefixt to his Edit. of R. Hooker's *Eccles. Polity*, vol. i. p. clii.

vention-Parliament—a Parliament made legal by their own vote and the restored King's act—"the Commons," Hume represents, "seemed to have been more inclined to lenity than the Lords." The historian refrained, however, from remarking on the different composition of the two Houses, though he insinuates revenge to have predominated in that especially wherein the fragment of the long ejected "Spiritual" dignitaries was once more a constituent ingredient.^b The condition of the "regicides," which Hume represents also as a "subject of joy to the people," and of "general indignation," he, to our surprise, palliates, by granting that "in the peculiar circumstances of that action,"—which he had just before denounced "as an enormous crime,"—and "in the prejudices of the times,"—but which "times," he has left doubtful—"as well," he says, "as in the behaviour of the criminals; a mind seasoned with humanity, will find a plentiful source of compassion and indulgence!" Concluding his enumeration of the sufferers with "Coke [Cook], the Solicitor for the People of England, and Hugh Peters the fanatical preacher who inflamed the army and impelled them to regicide," this historian continues, be it in ridicule or approbation, by affirming that "no saint or confessor ever went to martyrdom with more assured confidence of heaven than was expressed by those criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were set before them."

From another source we are informed that this John Cook, "with a cheerful countenance taking leave of his friends [Oct. 16th, 1660] went to the sledge that carried him, whereon was also the head of [his cousin^c] Major-General Thomas Harrison^d with the face bare towards him! And notwithstanding that dismal sight, he passed rejoicingly through the streets as one borne up by that Spirit which man could not cast down. . . . Being come upon the ladder, and the rope put about his neck, he rejoiced, saying, 'Blessed be the Name of God, that I am bound for the sake of Christ.' Then his work was to address himself to God. . . . Having ended his first prayer [he said] 'Mr. Sheriff, and Gentlemen—The most glorious sight that ever was seen in the world was our Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross; and the most glorious sight next to that, is to see any poor creature suffer for Him in his Cause. . . . The Lord knows, I have no malice upon my heart against any man or woman living upon the face of the earth; neither against the jury that found me guilty, nor against the court that passed sentence: I desire freely to forgive every one from the bottom of my heart. And as concerning this great dispensation, you may, it may be, desire to hear something of it. Truly, I say, as to the King's Majesty, I have not any hard thoughts concerning him: my prayer shall be for him that his throne may be upheld by truth and by mercy; for 'by mercy' the 'throne is upheld.'^e But I must needs say, that poor we have been bought and sold by our brethren, as Joseph was. Brother hath betrayed brother to death; and that Scripture is in a great measure fulfilled, Matt. x. 21. I desire for my own part to kiss the rod.

^a Hist. chap. lxiii.

^b Nine only of the bishops survived their expulsion: Duppa, Frewen, Juxon, King, Pierce, Roberts, Skinner, Warner, and Wren.

^c P. 45, app.

^d Executed Oct. 13th.

^e Prov. xx. 28.

And I do desire, if it may please the King's Majesty, that no more blood may be shed after mine: it may be, the Lord will put it into his own breast. Here is a poor brother coming: I am afraid that he is not fit to die at this time; I could wish that his Majesty might show some mercy.

“The Sheriff interrupted, in words to this effect, Let that alone, for the King's Majesty hath clemency enough for all but his father's murderers. Mr. Cook replied, Then I shall proceed to speak something concerning my profession and faith, which I bless the Lord is founded upon the rock Christ Jesus. I do not expect salvation for any thing I have ever done; but only lay hold upon Christ as a naked Christ, and there to bottom my soul. I can say to the praise and glory of God, that I have endeavoured in my place and to my power, to do that which might be to God's glory according to the best of my understanding. I have stood for a Gospel magistracy and ministry; and that many delays in the law might be removed—and that thing I have much suffered for:—I say it is good both for king and people, that many delays in matter of justice, should be removed, and that public justice might be speedily and cheaply administered. And as for my profession, I am of the Congregational-Way.^a I desire to own it; and am for liberty of conscience and [for] all that walk humbly and holily before the Lord: and I believe it is a truth, and there can be nothing said against it. I do confess, I am not convinced of any thing I have done amiss, as to that I have been charged with. I am not indeed. Neither did I understand the plea of the court, That if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the bar, and had set him over them again; their bringing him to the bar had been treason. I desire never to repent of any thing therein I have done; but I desire to own the Cause of God and Christ, and am here to bear witness to it, and so far as I know any thing of myself I can freely confess it.

“Here the Sheriff interrupted him again, desiring him to forbear any such expressions. Mr. Cook replied, It hath not been the manner of Englishmen to insult over a dying man; nor in other countries, among Turks or galliasses [galley-slaves?]. The Lord bless every one of us, and help us that we may look more to the honour and glory of God than the concernments of our own lives: for, alas, what is a poor miserable life to us, but that therein we might give honour and glory to the God of all our mercies. And if there be any here of that Congregation to which I was related in the time that I lived here, I would commend to them that Scripture, ‘Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of *the* faith, I joy and rejoice with you all. For the same cause also do ye joy, and rejoice with me.’^b And, ‘The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times [so many] more than you are, and bless you, as he hath promised.’^c The Lord be pleased to speak comfort to them, and to all that fear the Lord. The Lord keep England from popery, and from superstition; and keep it from profaneness, and that there may not be an inundation of Antichrist in the land: and that is all the harm I wish unto it! The Lord hath forgiven me many thousand talents, and therefore I may well forgive those

^a See back, p. 250.

^b Phil. ii. 17, 18.

^c Deut. i. 11,

few pence that are owing unto me. I bless the Lord I have nothing lying upon my conscience, but I can unbosom myself to every one, and to the Throne of free grace; in the simplicity of my spirit, I have endeavoured to do nothing but with a good conscience and through the integrity of my heart, though accompanied with many frailties. I desire to bless the Lord, my lot was rather in Ireland than here; here I have been more known, where I have given the offence.

“The Sheriff again interrupted him. Mr. Cook replies,—Sir, I pray take notice of it, I think I am [shall be] the first man that ever was hanged for demanding of justice, therefore I hope you will not interrupt me. I suppose you were there and do bear me witness in your conscience, that there was not anything then that I did not communicate to the court that I now speak upon the ladder. If you will believe the words of a dying man, I say, as I must give an account, I have nothing lieth upon my conscience. We must all meet together at the great day of the Lord to ‘give an account’^a of all our actions, and then it will appear: the Lord grant we may meet with joy and comfort. I have a poor wife and child and some friends left; I desire you that came along with me, to commend to them Isaiah liv. 4th, 5th, and 10th verses. I hope the King and Parliament will consider our poor friends as to their estates. You know that those lords that formerly suffered under the Parliament did not lose all their estates. I hope there will be some consideration as to justice; lest that our small estates prove a poison amongst their great deal, and my poor wife and relations suffer. The Lord grant that mercy may be showed, that mercy and righteousness may magnify and exalt itself above justice! I shall not hold you long; I shall desire, in the fear of the Lord, to give myself ‘a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God,’ which is but a ‘reasonable service.’^b And so I do entreat that I may have a little time to call upon the Lord; unless there be anything more desired, or any one would ask me a question. Truly, I forgive all, from my heart; I have nothing upon my heart to accuse any of them withal. I bless the Lord I have a clear conscience; I say it in the integrity and simplicity of my heart,—I do now appeal to the Great God to whom I must give an account of what I have done,—knowing that all my guilt is washed away in the blood of Jesus Christ, and before him I hope to appear; and have nothing else to plead anything at all for me. And so I hope that I have declared myself with simplicity and integrity in a few words, that you may understand my mind. I shall speak a few words to the Lord in prayer, and shall not trouble you further.

“Most Glorious Majesty,—I beseech Thee so to warm my heart and fill it so full of the love of Jesus Christ, that it may never be cool any more. Oh, that the Lord would now appear graciously to show himself a wonder-working God in bearing up the heart and spirit of thy poor creature! It is no matter how bitter the cup is, if the Lord give strength to drink it; and no matter how heavy the burden be, if the Lord be at one end, and uphold the other and bear the burden himself, or lay no more upon his poor children than they are able to bear.

^a Rom. xiv. 12.

^b Rom. xii. 1.

The Lord give strength to all that are to bear this burden; the Lord be with all that are yet to suffer in this Cause: and double and treble sevenfold of thy Spirit upon us. Let us not stand it out against our reasons and judgments and consciences. If any did pursue power and interest, and did not look after the good of God's poor people and the good of the nations, the Lord forgive them. The Lord knows the simplicity of the hearts of his poor servants that are gone before, and of those that are to come after; I desire that all thine may have hearts willing to suffer for Thee. To make confession of faith in Christ Jesus, I know is nothing: I know it is not enough only to confess in words, to confess in doctrinal evangelical truths, and [but] to confess by a holy life and conversation; and if the Lord call any of his poor children to seal the truth with their blood, yea their precious blood, it is their duty also. If the Lord Jesus had come down from the cross and had not shed his most precious blood, and had not by that blood gone to heaven, our salvation had not been.

“Lord, let it be well with England. The Lord hear me for my poor friends and relations, for my poor wife and child. Unto thee, Lord, I commend the Cause of God and of Jesus Christ. And remember poor Ireland, wherein I had a lot and interest.^a The Lord remember them all, and help thy poor children to continue faithful unto death, that so we may receive a crown of life, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so I come, Lord Jesus. Oh, receive my soul! Send down a guard of angels to convey my soul into Abraham's bosom. Receive my soul; O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.

“And I desire to appeal to thee, O Lord; Thou art the Great God of heaven and earth before whom all controversies must come. I believe there is not a man in the world, whatever he be, but hath some reverential fear of death: but for sinful vicious fear, I bless the Lord I have not the hundredth part of a drachm upon my conscience. If it were my wedding-day I could not more rejoice in the Lord, because it is a consummation of that marriage that my Lord Jesus hath made up with me. Blessed be thy Name, methinks I do ‘see’ with Stephen, even by the eye of faith, ‘heaven’ open, and the Lord Jesus ready to receive my poor soul. And oh, that I may with Ezekiel, see ‘the glory’ of God; and see, with Isaiah, ‘the Lord sitting on his throne’ of glory! And, oh, that the love of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Spirit, may warm my heart, and carry me up from the beginning of this passage to the end and close of it! Lord Jesus, come and receive my spirit, and sweeten this cup, and let me say, ‘the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink of it?’ And I leave all in the hands of the Lord, that if it be the Lord's will, every one that belongs to the election of grace may meet with comfort at the great Day; and that we may shake hands together where no office of love shall be unrewarded, nor any unkindness showed to the people of God.

“But within a few *hours*, I shall be in the harbour; I am just now entering into it: I would not go back again, for all the world.

^a He had been “a Chief Justice there,” p. xxii.

Blessed be the Lord, I despise the shame, and am willing to endure the cross for Christ's sake; because the Lord Jesus, who is 'the author and finisher' of my salvation, did it for me. The Lord pity those that follow, and bear up their hearts. The Lord help his poor people that find anything upon their souls; that they should stand fast unto the truths of Jesus. Alas, we shall be but a few days here; and [but] heaven will make amends for all, and we shall glorify God in eternity, where we shall enter into a sinless, timeless, and temptationless estate, and never meet with sorrow or trouble any more, but the Lord will receive us to himself; and then, the innocency of Thy poor servants shall be vindicated, and we shall be ever with the Lord, blessing and praising his holy Name!

"When Elijah was taken away, the spirit of Elijah rested on Elisha who stood up in his stead: and when John the Baptist was cut off, the Lord had his apostles to supply that office. The Lord will have profit in the death of his children. I believe that an army of martyrs would willingly come from heaven to suffer in such a Cause as this that I come here to suffer for. I desire to bewail that I have not had so much love to the glory of God therein, as I ought; but as to the thing I come to suffer for, I have not had any thing or act come to my mind with less regret and greater comfort than this. And as for those that brought me hither, I do forgive; I have not one hard thought concerning them: the blessing of the Father, Son, and Spirit, be with them. Oh, that the Lord would grant that no more might suffer. And so, dear and blessed Father, I come into the bosom of Thy love, and desire to enter into that glory which is endless and boundless, through Jesus Christ!"

In the Preface of the volume whence the above is taken,^a it is said p. xvi. "the speeches and prayers stole abroad in 1661, but were soon publicly reprinted with animadversions under the title of 'Rebels no Saints;' and came out again in a third edition, towards the latter end of King Charles the Second's reign." The same volume contains besides others, "A Letter written from the Tower to a Christian Friend, by Mr. Justice Cook," in which he writes, "Blessed be God, I do love the saints; every one that suffers in this Cause is as dear to me as my own soul. My sighs have been many and my heart faint since I came hither, not for my own condition, for it is happy, but for the afflictions of Joseph; scarce a poor saint permitted to breathe in Irish air: those that will not swear and be drunk, or [will]

^a The Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, and Judgment at large of Twenty-nine Regicides, the Murderers of His Most Sacred Majesty King Charles the First, of Glorious Memory: Begun at Hicks's Hall on Tuesday the ninth of October, 1660, and continued at the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey until Friday the nineteenth of the same Month. Together with a Summary of the dark and horrid Decrees of those Caballists, preparatory to that hellish Fact.—Exposed to view for the Reader's satisfaction, and information of Posterity.—To which is added, their Speeches. With a Preface giving an account of the rise and progress of Enthusiasm among us and in other parts of Europe; with the characters, and answer to the tenets, of the several persons executed. 1713." 8vo. pp. 312, 102—414. All, before the words "Exposed to view," etc. was first printed in 4to. 1660, pp. 287, and is attributed to Heneage Finch, first earl of Nottingham, in Watt's Bibliog. vol. i. 367, s.; it is reprinted also in the "State Trials." 1776, fol. vol. i.

have prayer in their families, are counted ‘fanatics.’ I have a dear respect to all God’s commandments; spiritual joy is no stranger to me: I love the Word and ordinances more than my appointed food. I desire that all my thoughts, words, and actions, may please God, and that all that he does may please me. And I do freely forgive my adversaries; the Lord herein ‘increase’ my ‘faith:’^a and I bless God, I have a quiet conscience as to the world, and which is good, also, for ‘being justified’ by Christ, apprehended ‘by faith,’ I have ‘peace with God,’^b and so I descend to the Cause for which I am in bonds, which is as good as ever it was; and I believe there is not a saint that hath engaged with us but will wish at the last day, that he had sealed to the truth of it with his blood if thereunto called: for I am satisfied that it is the most noble and glorious Cause that has been agitated for God and Christ since the apostolical times; being for truth, holiness, and righteousness; for our liberties as men and as christians; for removing of all yokes and oppressions; for a Gospel magistracy and ministry; and not only for the priestly and prophetic offices of Christ Jesus, but for his kingly also: the peculiar light and work of this generation being—to discover and oppose the civil and ecclesiastical tyrannies intruded upon the nations by the Pope’s legerdemain, — to exalt Christ as Lord and King over men’s consciences, — to magnify and make the law of God honourable and authentic every where, — and, to give justice and mercy the upper hand!

“As I hear nothing what they intend to do with me, so I am not much solicitous about it: I do freely trust God to make what bargain for me he pleases. I believe they are as angry with me as any man in the nations, because *litera scripta manet*; but their cause requires rather silence than eloquence. As for that against ‘Monarchy,’ unaccountable, they will be ashamed to oppose it: that which teaches thence is the stating the case, for which I had vouchers and warrants for every word: but now they plough with our heifers;^c yet great is the Truth, and that will prevail!^d As for petitioning, there is not any.

“I cannot confess any guilt, it is such a Cause that the martyrs would gladly come from heaven to suffer for if they might; though too many object against me, ‘Let none of you suffer as a murderer.’^e I look upon it as the most noble and highest act of justice that our story can parallel; and so far as I had a hand in it, never any one action in all my life comes to my mind with less regret or trouble of conscience than that does; for the blood must lie upon him or the Parliament; and I am sure I had no more malice in my heart than when I was in my cradle. All that I can be sorry for is that I had not such pure and unbiassed aims at the glory of God and exaltation of Christ therein, as I should have had. I neither did

^a Luke xvii. 5.

^b Rom. v. i.

^c Judges xiv. 18.

^d Monarchy no Creature of God’s making, etc. Wherein is proved that Monarchical Government is against the Mind of God; and that the Execution of the late King was one of the Fattest Sacrifices that ever Queen Justice had.—Waterford. 1652.” 8vo. Reprinted, 1794. 8vo.

^e 1 Pet. iv. 15.

any thing *dubitante* nor *reluctante conscientia*; I was so far from a gainsaying conscience in anything I acted, that I never scrupled in the least, and the generality of the people have since owned it. I was in mercy a poor Advocate for Christ and the People of England; and if by my blood their cause may be watered, I say to you and the rest of the church of Christ, 'If I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith,' let us 'rejoice' together.^a It has been counted shameful for soldiers to run from their colours or desert their masters and principles; but it is more odious for a Counsellor to prevaricate and betray his client's cause. I am persuaded that all those that have had a chief hand [in] and are now giving judgment, against themselves and all good people, in all those points which they formerly contended for, against the King,—as the lawfulness of the war, which was granted both here and at Edinburgh; the militia; negative voice; power to dissolve Parliaments; conferring great offices (as King James said, 'So long as I make bishops and judges, I will have what religion and laws I please!'): as they are most abominable prevaricators of the honest interest, so they will wish, at the last day, that they had been Jews, Turks, or Indians; for the greater [their] light, the greater is their apostacy and ingratitude; and sure they will have a peculiar judgment by themselves,^b for they do openly proclaim the cause of Barabbas before the Cause of Jesus! Peter denied Christ, and Judas betrayed him, but it was before his passion and ascension; they never saw the wonderful works which our eyes have beheld. But what shall we say, if the treachery of Judas help forward the work of our salvation. Why may we not hope that God is whetting his tools, and gone back to fetch a greater blow against his oppressors? Isaac must not die, though the knife be at his throat.^c Our case seems to be like theirs; under proud Haman the gallows was erected, but the royal seed preserved.^d The story of Balaam^e is much upon my heart. The shout of King Jesus to reign in holiness and righteousness, is amongst his people, I hope, as much as ever; and there is no enchantment against Jacob, therefore he must not be afraid. I am persuaded we shall fare the better for the thousand curses we had between Chester and London.^f

“. . . And as the spiritual man overcomes the animal, so I am reasoning myself, against sense, into a willingness to die; for either the times will be better or worse. Is there not, in probability, a great flood of oppression and persecution coming upon the godly? will not the righteous soul of a just Lot be vexed with the horrible profaneness, malignity, and contempt of Christ's pure ordinances, that abound everywhere? We have heard justice and tyranny, truth and falsehood, the form and power of godliness, pleading together; and judgment was given for God and his people; but all seems to be reversed, and what was but an 'injurie' or 'nesciente' before, is now a formal and material contempt and despight to God and Christ, and [to] the Spirit of grace in whomsoever breathing. . . Besides, as for myself, I can expect to do little for God: I am three parts dead, seventy

^a Phil. ii. 17, 18.^b 2 Pet. ii. 21.^c Gen. xxii. 12.^d Esther vi. 13.^e Num. xxiii.^f 2 Sam. xvi. 12.

being divided into four. The shadows of the evening are upon me, and akes and pains are inseparable companions: if now, Christ should graciously accept of my poor crazy body, and bring me to an honouring and easy death for Him; blessed be his Name for ever!^a. . . I think this will rather be a Julian than a Neronian persecution. . .

“ Had the King made his way by the sword, we might expect his sorest strokes; but for ‘the men of Keilah’ to ‘deliver’ us up, for the Parliament to sacrifice us; these men that sit by a Commonwealth writ, for whose privileges we adventured our all, and who cannot condemn us but must give up the Cause, and give judgment against themselves and all the good people in the nation, let the Indians judge of it! If any of the elect think hardly of us that we do not cry peccavi and make our recantation, it will not last long; and it is no matter what others say, for they must receive their judgment at the bar of Christ, and we shall judge our Judges; therefore let us not entertain damps of despondency. . . At the revelation of the righteous judgment of God, it will appear before men and angels that we are not traitors, nor murderers, nor fanatics, but true Christians and good Commonwealth’s men; fixed and constant to the principles of sanctity, truth, justice, and mercy, which the Parliament and army declared and *engaged* for; and to that noble principle of preferring the universality before a particularity; that we sought the public good, and would have enfranchised the people, and secured the welfare of the whole groaning creation, if the nation had not more delighted in servitude than in freedom! . . .

“ I have been the larger, not knowing what use this may be of if my mouth should be stopped. If you hear any report of me contrary hereunto, believe it not; so you have my heart, and I had rather be buried alive than my tongue or hand should differ from it. O pray much for me. . . Yours for ever, in our dear Redeemer, John Cook.”

To his “brother F.” he wrote, “ Dear Brother, beloved in the Lord. —Condemnatus sum ad vitam; and this is my cordial farewell to you and all saints, from my Jeremiah’s prison. To-morrow, I shall be in eternal glory, in the bosom of Christ, where our father Abraham is, and a guard of angels will convey my soul thither. Never let God’s people fear a prison any more; for the Lord’s supporting or comforting Spirit hath not been absent from me since my indictment. . . Fearing lest wrong may be done to the Cause when I am in heaven, I think fit to leave a few words, with my dearest love to all christian friends. First. Upon my trial, it came to this; that the Judges said, ‘ That all had been treason since 1642:’ so that the Lords and Commons are not to meddle with the King! I said, ‘ That I acted obedientially, by order of the House of Commons; and the Commons being the representatives of the People cannot commit treason, for there can be no trial of all the people. And as for any force upon the House in 1648, they were the only judges of it; and no inferior court can judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of their acts or orders.’ But they said, ‘ All our acts and orders are treason: so that now it is brought to that it was in 1642. Secondly: I intend, by God’s assistance, upon the ladder to

^a 1 Chron. xxix. 10—15.

^b 1 Sam. xxiii. 12.

bear my testimony for Jesus Christ to all his offices ; and for a Gospel magistracy and ministry, and to speak something, so far as God shall enable and will be permitted, for ‘ The good old Cause,’ or righteousness and holiness. . . Farewell, farewell : Revide in Paradiso ! Yours for ever, John Cook.”

The same authority which communicated what has been detailed of one sufferer relates of another, who had been “ somewhat unprepared for death,”^a Hugh Peters, that “ Being carried upon the sledge, to execution, and made to sit therein within the rails at Charing-Cross, to behold the execution of Mr. Cook ; . . when Mr. Cook was cut down and brought to be quartered, one they called Col. Turner called to the Sheriff’s men to bring Mr. Peters near, that he might see it. And, by and by, the hangman came to him, all besmeared in blood, and rubbing his bloody hands together, he tauntingly asked, ‘ Come, how do you like this, Mr. Peters ? how do you like this work ? ’ To whom he replied, ‘ I am not, I thank God, terrified at it : you may do your worst.’ When he was going to his execution, he looked about and espied a man to whom he gave a piece of gold—having bowed [bent] it first,—and desired him to go to the place where his daughter lodged and to carry that to her as a token from him, and to let her know that ‘ his heart was as full of comfort as it could be ; and that before that piece should come to her hands, he should be with God in glory.’ Being upon the ladder, he spoke to the Sheriff, saying, ‘ Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of God before my eyes ; and have made me to behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me : but God hath made it an ordinance to me for my strengthening and encouragement ! ’ When he was going to die, he said, ‘ What ! flesh, art thou unwilling to go to God through the fire and jaws of death ? Oh,’ said he, ‘ this is a good day ; He is come that I have long looked for, and I shall be with Him in glory ; ’ and so smiled when he went away.”^b

“ The head of John Cook is since set on a pole on the north-east end of Westminster Hall, on the left of Mr. Harrison’s, looking towards London ; and the head of Mr. Peters, on London-bridge. Their quarters are exposed in like manner upon the tops of some of the city gates.”^c

“ The day will declare it,”^d was in effect the solemn and pointed dying appeal of the ten several victims^e immolated by the reinstated dynasty. To assert, that the putting the former King to death was necessary, is not requisite ; any more than it is, that these victims were all butchered : “ the day will declare it ! ” In the mean time the L’Estranges, Butlers, Greys, et id omne genus, will continue to distort facts and pervert truths : while honourable and reflective minds will continue to treat the inexhaustible theme with so much of impartiality as shall comport with their theoretical principles regarding a just and equitable control against the encroachments of licentiousness and tyranny.

^a And See back, p. 560.

^b P. 61, app.

^c P. 311.

^d 1 Cor. iii. 17.

^e Of the twenty-nine tried, they who suffered under the hands of the executioner, were, Oct. 13th, Thos. Harrison ;—15th, John Carew ;—16th, John Cook with Hugh Peters ;—17th, Thos. Scot and Geo. Clement, with Adrian Scroop and John Jones ;—19th Francis Hacker and Daniel Axtel.

How much soever all the actors in the great national drama, which has thus much of it passed under our review; may yet be deemed either the basest or wisest of their species, one fair inference can never be successfully eluded, That a government compacted through a long series of ages, and wrought into practice by heads and hands enlogized for the utmost attainments of learning and art, could never have fallen into disruption by instrumentality so destitute of those attainments, as party prejudice would endeavour to persuade its votaries to believe. Either, surely, the most gross mismanagement is correctly chargeable on those who had presided over the public weal; or else the bifurcated edifice long esteemed impregnable would not, with weapons primarily and chiefly of ethereal temper, have dissolved at their touch. Clay and iron—the sceptre and the crosier—form but a brittle alliance; they cannot adhere to perpetuity, while Mammon is endeavoured to be leagued with Christ, and the world shall be forcibly wedded to the church: the qualities of either, must ever be repulsive of the other.

Why should statesmen and philosophers be at a loss, then, to account for a perpetual perturbation among all ranks of society, so long as this legislative source of discord exists? Say not, that the strifes among the several religious denominations, if placed on an equality in civil rank, would produce likewise an endless agitation: the reply is ready, that experience has proved that nothing is therefore gained by the attempts to procure a stagnant uniformity; for so great diversity obtains notwithstanding, that to repress it, as experience has also proved, the wisdom of long-tried legislation is utterly unavailable. The conclusion is past gainsaying; that as in civil affairs the passions of the multitude are only awed by measures adequate to their end; so in religious concerns, the inculcation and practice, by any sect, of what is destructive of the proper ends of civil government, does alone justify any kind of state-interference!

The supremacy of the crown, is the subjugation of the mitre: this axiom furnishes an irrefragable argument, why they whose will it is not to be enthralled under authority of state-leagued rocheted-episcopalian, can never render to them voluntary submission; especially, because it is certain that no other than mitred brows wear the ignominy of justifying the statute enacting the coronary supremacy. With a fact like this, never possible to be obliterated from their historical recollections, “separatists” are always prepared to repel the petulant allegation of “divided allegiance.”^b Independents owe and own but only an indivisible fealty, to which they are true and indefectible beyond comparison with those of their accusers whom the State itself so much distrusts, that since Nov. 8th, 1717, it has not permitted them to deliberate and transact business in Convocation! See their old assumption of exclusive loyalty tested in “The Antipathy of the English Lordly Prelacy both to Regal Monarchy and Civil Unity; etc.,”^a continued through several ages; and the occurrences also, incidental to the deposition of “our most religious and gracious King,”^c his

^a By William Prynne, 1641, 4to.

^b See back, vol. i. p. 476, 477.

^c “Prayer for the High Court of Parliament.”

“ Sacred Majesty ” James II., whose right and title he himself claimed to be fully as good and legal as were those of his forefathers ; and for whom, as their “ most gracious Sovereign Lord,” they prayed also four twenty-ninth days of May, “ promising all loyal and dutiful allegiance to thine Anointed Servant now set over us, and to his Heirs after him.”^a Had the self-exiled King’s restitution been effected, whether by force or fraud, would not his parasites have styled what had passed against him, another “ Great Rebellion ? ” Here then, Episcopalians alone were implicated in measures for the deposition of their own “ anointed ” head !^b “ Thus ”—so wrote in 1756, the Tory historian of the finally rejected dynasty of the House of Stuart—“ have we seen, through the whole course of four reigns, a continual struggle maintained between the crown and the people : privilege and prerogative were ever at variance. And both parties . . . had many latent claims which, on a favourable occasion, they produced against their adversaries. . . . The Revolution [of 1688] forms a new epoch in the Constitution ; and was probably attended with consequences more advantageous to the people than barely freeing them from an exceptionable administration. By deciding many important questions in favour of liberty, and still more by that great precedent of deposing one King, and establishing a new family, it gave such an ascendant to popular principles as has put the nature of the English Constitution beyond all controversy. And it may justly be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that we in this Island, have ever since enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the most entire system of liberty, that ever was known amongst mankind ! ”^c

^a “ Prayer for the Twenty-ninth of May.”

^b The question was carried for a King, by two voices only. All the prelates, except two, voted for a Regent; the primate alone, did not vote at all. See Hume, Hist. chap. lxxi. an. 1689. That there was a divided allegiance among their body subsequently, history shows, where it treats of the Jacobites and of those who complied with the new order of affairs. A hundred and fifty years and more have not, however, been enough to confirm loyalty to “ the powers that be,” in the representatives of those who, as their advocate, Hume, admits, “ agreed to drop for the present all over-strained doctrines of submission, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature ; ” and in another place he writes, “ The Tories and High Church party . . . had zealously promoted the national revolt, and had on this occasion departed from those principles of non-resistance of which, while the King favoured them, they had formerly made such loud professions ! ” Ann. 1688, 1689. How one sovereign was in part assailed in our own times, we have exhibited in our early pages, Vol. I. p. 123, 124 : how his successor—whom may God long preserve !—is warned of Her insecurity upon the throne, is attested by those Puseyites, whom we have slightly noticed, p. 60, in the same volume,—in their “ Tracts for the Times. By Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. IV. For 1836-7.” 1838. 8vo. where, No. 80, p. 77, they remark “ The great loss of Christian principle, which our Church sustained at the REBELLION of 1688.” Since this, however, Dr. E. B. Pusey, one of the leaders in this daring Anti-Protestant confederacy, has been, in May, 1843, by the “ Board of Heresy,” at Oxford, suspended from preaching before the University for two years, in consequence of having uttered sentiments in the pulpit alleged to be at variance with the doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of the Eucharist.

^c Hume, *ut sup.*

CHAP. LXXXIV.

REMAINS OF HUGH PETERS.

WHILE it is not for us to exculpate faults, and especially crimes, we may under circumstances be expected not to permit injustice to be perpetuated, nor truth violated and suppressed. We proceed, therefore, to exhibit portions of the remains of him whose life had been so varied and whose death was so tragical as “to point a moral” if not to “adorn a tale.” Some time in the year 1660, appeared a hasty production intitled “The Case of Mr. Hugh Peters, impartially communicated to the View and Censure of the whole World: Written by his own Hand.^a Lond.” No date; 4to. pp. 8.

Where he was at this time, does not appear, but he writes in p. 2, “At this distance and leisure, hearing, by printed papers, what my lot is in England my native country; therefore I do,—in the name and fear of God, and before his holy Majesty, angels, and men,—profess that I never had head or hand in contriving or managing the late King’s death; as is basely and scandalously suggested by black mouths. [I] was all that day he died, sick and sad in my chamber; which I prove by two substantial witnesses. And for what is in that pamphlet, June 19, about my confessing in my sickness, landing at Plymouth from Ireland, it is most untrue and mistaken; for I never was sick at Plymouth, nor landed there from Ireland, nor any of that information colourable. . . I shall briefly give an account of my coming into England, my behaviour since I came, and my present condition in this juncture.

“A colony going to settle in New England by his Majesty’s patent, I went thither; who by my birth in Cornwall [at Fowey, in 1599,] was not a mere stranger to that place and fishing trade, and thither invited often; I say [I] went; and was with another sent [back] into England by the magistrates there, for ease in excise and customs, and some supplies for learning, etc., because I had been witness to the Indians receiving the Gospel there in faith and practice; they having the Bible translated by us into their language, and part thereof printed, and hundreds of them professing the Gospel are teaching each other the knowledge of the true God, and the rather from the example of the English there: when in seven years, among thousands there dwelling, I never saw any drunk, nor heard an oath, nor [saw] any begging, nor Sabbath broken. All which, invited me over to England; but coming, [I] found the nation embroiled in troubles and war; the preaching was ‘Curse ye Meroz’^b from Scotland to England; the best ministers going into the field; in which without urging, I was embarked in time, and by force upon me here, failed of

^a In “Letters to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland,” vol. iii. fo. Bibl. Lansdowniana, Num. 351—356, are all by the hand of Peters.

^b Judg. v. 23.

my promise of returning home [to New England], which was and is my sad affliction.^a

^a Among proceedings in America the following possess no inconsiderable share of interest, especially as connected with him whose name gives occasion for their being recorded at this place, no better having occurred since the particulars had come to our knowledge. In a "Memoir of Roger Williams; etc. By James D. Knowles; Boston [N. E.]. 1834." 12mo., at p. 176, is this very remarkable Certificate: "Reverend and dearly Beloved in the Lord,—We thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of such persons as have had the great Censure passed upon them in this our Church, with the reasons thereof; beseeching you in the Lord, not only to read their names in public to yours, but also to give us the like notice of any dealt with in like manner by you, that so we may walk towards them accordingly; for some of us, here, have had communion, ignorantly, with some of other churches; 2 Thess. iii. 14; we can do no less than have such noted as disobey the Truth. ROGER WILLIAMS and his wife; John Throgmorton and his wife; Thomas Olney and his wife; Stukely Westcott and his wife; Mary Holliman; Widow Reeves: these, wholly refused to hear the Church; denying it, and all the churches in the Bay, to be true churches; and, except two, are all *rebaptized*. John Elford, for obstinacy, after divers sins he stood guilty of, and proved by witness: William James, for pride and divers other evils, in which he remained obstinate: John Tabby, for much pride, and unnaturalness to his wife, who was lately executed for murdering her child: William Walcott, for refusing to bring his children to the Ordinance, neglecting willingly family duties, etc. Thus wishing the continued enjoyment of both the 'staves, beauty and bands' [Zech. xi. 7], and that your souls may flourish as watered gardens, rest—Yours in the Lord Jesus, HUGH PETERS: By the Church's Order and in their Name.—For the Church of Christ in Dorchester. Salem, 1st, 5th Mo., [July] [16]39."

We have shown—in vol. i. p. 267, 268—by what method an alleged "true" baptism was sought to be obtained for England; and here we are able to show how it was managed in America: "The most obvious expedient in their circumstances was adopted. Mr. Ezekiel Holliman was selected to baptize Mr. WILLIAMS, who then baptized the administrator and ten others [Benedict, vol. i. p. 473]. This event occurred in March, 1638-9. Thus was founded the first Baptist church in America, and the second, as it is stated, in the British empire." Backus, vol. i. p. 106, note; and Knowles, p. 165. The "validity of this baptism," or rather, those baptisms, might well be disputed! "The question disturbed for awhile, the first English baptists. They had no clerical administrator who had himself in their view been baptized. Some of them went to Holland, and were baptized by baptist-ministers there." Knowles, p. 169. "These examples, however, cannot justify a departure," so says Knowles, p. 170, "from the usual practice of our churches at the present day, when the ministry is regularly[?] established." This same writer informs us also, that Governor "Winthrop, [Journal] vol. i. p. 307, says under the date of June or July, 1639, 'At Providence, matters went on after the old manner. Mr. WILLIAMS and many of his company, a few months since, were in all haste rebaptized, and denied *communion* with all others; and *now* he was come to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles otherwise than by the ministry of England whom he judged to be ill authority, so as [that] he conceived God would *raise up* some apostolic power. Therefore he bent himself that way, expecting, as was supposed, to become an apostle; and having a little before refused communion with all save his own wife, now he would preach to and pray with all comers. Whereupon some of his followers left him, and returned back from whence they went.' This fact is confirmed by a Letter of Richard Scott, inserted in George Fox's 'New England's Firebrand quenched,' Pt. ii. p. 247."

It should seem that Peters and Williams had come to an understanding, for the latter who had been in England since the end of 1651, being lately returned home, wrote from Providence, July 12th, 1654, to Mr. John Winthrop at Pequod, and who had married a daughter of Peters, thus—"Your father Peters preacheth the same doctrine, though not so zealously as some years since, yet cries out against New-English rigidities and persecutions; their civil injuries and wrongs to himself, and their unchristian dealing with him in excommunicating his distracted

“ My first work was, with the first to go for Ireland ; which I did with many hazards ; then I was at sea, with my old patron, the Earl of Warwick, to whom I owed my life ; then was employed by the City ; then by the Earl of Essex, my lord Say, and others ; and my return stopped, by the Power that was ; and so was in the last army in several places, but never in the North. In all which affairs, I did labour to persuade the army to do their duty. . . For the war, I thought the undertakers knew their work ; I was inconsiderable, yea, heartily sorry for mistakes about me. For my carriage, I challenge all the King’s party to speak if I were uncivil ; nay, many of them had my purse, hand, help every way, and are ready to witness it ; yea, his present Majesty’s servants preserved me through hazards. . . It is true, I was of a party, when I acted zealously, but not with malice or mischief. . . The many scandals on me for uncleanness, etc., I abhor as vile and false, being kept from that, and those aspersions cast ; and such I make my protest against as before. I know how low my name runs, how titleless, how contemned. David knew why Shimei cursed him.^a . . I can charge myself with evil enough, as any eccentric motion of mine from my own calling ; want of a solemn spirit, in slight times ; with unbelief, if I have gone about to teach religious ends by trampling upon civil duties, breaking of my covenants, or slighting them ; and do fear [the] Gospel and the Spirit also, may be undervalued by mine and others’ unworthy dealing with them. Much to these I might add, who have seen many vanities under the sun, and the world hung with nets and snares. . . And lastly, I understand what exception there is upon me for life and estate, in the House of Commons. I have taken hold of the King’s Majesty’s gracious pardon, as others did ; and know not truly where this exception lies grounded. . .

“ Through grace, I resolve to be quiet in a corner, if I may ; to let God alone with ruling the world, to whose wisdom and power we ought to submit ; yea, to mind my own work though never so small ; to be passive under Authority, or other than impatient ; to procure the quiet of the nation to my utmost ; to mind things invisible and of a better consistence than these below, and to pray when I can do no more !”^b

But we desist, only to call attention to one of the most touching narratives which a man about to die ever left to inform and further

wife. All this he told me in his lodgings at Whitehall, those lodgings which I was told were [Abp.] Canterbury’s ; but he himself told me that that library wherein we were was Canterbury’s, and given him by the Parliament. His wife lives from him not wholly, but much distracted. He tells me he had but two hundred pounds a year, and he allowed her fourscore *per ann.* of it. Surely, Sir, the most holy Lord is most wise in all the trials he exerciseth his people with. He told me that his affliction from his wife stirred him up to action abroad ; and when success tempted him to pride, the bitterness in his bosom-comforts was a cooler and a bridle to him. Surely, Sir, your father and all the people of God in England, formerly called ‘ Puritani Anglicani,’ of late ‘ Roundheads ;’ now, the ‘ Sectarians ’ —as more or less cut off from the parishes ;—are now in the saddle and at the helm, so high that non datur descensus nisi cadendo. . . It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, Mr. Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages.” Knowles, *sup.* p. 262, 264.

^a 2 Sam. xvi.

^b P. 7.

benefit posterity. Portions of his history related in this "Case," are related also in "A Dying Father's last Legacy to an only Child: Or, Mr. Hugh Peters' Advice to his Daughter. Written with his own Hand, during his late Imprisonment in the Tower of London, and given her a little before his Death. 1660." 24mo. pp. 122.

The Address "To the Impartial Reader," signed G. F.,—N, B., begins thus, "Be not discouraged from reading this small treatise because of the unhappy end of a wearisome pilgrimage which the Author met with in this world. . . In this discourse, he bewails the vanity of his own spirit; and we will not excuse him: he finds himself too busy *in aliena Republica*, and we will not justify him. But if that precious gold should be cast away because there is some dross, or the children of God cast out of the family for every fault though heinous, we should condemn the generation of the just. You will find in this Legacy to his only [surviving] child, that he had a root of grace and that the fountain was clear from which ran so savoury a stream; and that, at the last, when he had no hope to save a frail body, yet he minded his own and others' souls; and that he was a master-workman in that mystery wherein he had laboured successfully so many years. And we hope that—notwithstanding the prejudices of some against him, and the words of others, and his shameface [*sic*] catastrophe,—we may charitably judge that God hath wiped away all tears from his eyes; that he is entered into rest, his works following him; and that he is made perfect by his great sufferings: and wish the same to you, 'except these bonds.'"

"For ELIZABETH PETERS.—My dear Child: I have thought to leave you the extract of all my experiences, so far as may concern yourself. . .

"Above all things, know that nothing can do you any good, without union with Christ the Head; which can never be, till your understanding be enlightened with the want of Christ, and his worth. . . Read Shepard's ['Sincere] Convert' [1652], Daniel Rogers' 'Practical Catechism' [1633], and [T.] Hooker,^a to this end; with such other helps as you may get. And herein, I am the more earnest with you, because, in this my condition, I find that union with Christ, and the satisfaction Christ hath made to his Father's justice, by his active and passive obedience, are the only two pillars that must support a soul leaving a mortal body! For I profess myself orthodox in all points of religion according to the Assembly's 'Confession,' explained by others at the Savoy also. . . I have wished you to be perfect in Rom. viii., and mind verses 1 and 28, well, with what follows to the end of that chapter. This hath been my experience, that the preaching of these truths has been my greatest advantage, and of most benefit to others; though in this, I have enough to bewail also.

"To this purpose, hear the best men; keep the best company; read the best books. Especially make the grounds of religion, your own: [John] Ball's,^b and the Assembly's Catechism, with the like,

^a "The Soul's Implantation into Christ. 1637."

^b "A short Treatise containing all the principal Grounds of the Christian Religion. 1632." 14th edit.

you have from me commended to you. You have my experience, so often repeated to you, That an unbroken heart and an uncatechised head, will keep distance enough betwixt God and a poor sinful creature. Oh, that parents and ministers would think of it, what a heap of mischiefs this neglect hath produced! The Waldenses and Germans had never been so famous for suffering, had they been uncatechised. . . He that sets up religion, to get anything by it more than the glory of God and the saving his own soul; will make a bad bargain of it in the close. My dear, only child, be rooted in the Truth, and thou shalt be fruitful and thriving.

“Be constant in reading the Scriptures, and that with a fervent meditation: I mean, as to pray in praying, fast in fasting; so, to read in reading. . . Read with delight, . . which you shall never do unless your heart be conatural with the Word; and therefore remember, as justification takes away guilt and punishment, sanetification takes away the power and filth, [and as] glorification takes away the presence, of sin, so effectual-calling takes away that jar that is betwixt the soul and the law of God, by reason of sin. . . You will find Solomon's Proverbs, the best politics; and Christ crucified, the best divinity. . . And truly, you may be assured you shall upon mine and your own experience, find that you shall have no more [of] Christ,—nay, God, Spirit, faith, peace comfort,—than you have [of] Scripture; nor will you have any Christ a Saviour, that is not a Scripture Christ. Oh, that the Word may dwell plentifully in you, my poor child!

“‘Pray continually,’ is the apostle's counsel to the Thessalonians;^a and for this, you may have far better helps than from my unworthy, unable self. There are many helps to devotion; Mr. Baxter, Burroughes, Gurnall,^b Bridge, etc.; yet you shall have what I promised, even my experience. I hope you know that Prayer is the breathing forth of holy desires, or lifting up the soul unto God; or asking the things we need from God, in and by Christ, according to His holy will, not without confessions and thanksgiving. This work must have time, seriousness, composure. And this take undoubtedly, that prayers can never fly high, where the person is not accepted; can have no strength, without faith. About this duty, I must let you know there are three miscarriages usually: first, before the duty; unpreparedness, unsuitableness; reeking-hot out of the world, self, sin, into that service, as if men could leap into God's bosom out of the devil's lap. Before prayer, you need to study God, yourself, and the way to Him, John vi. You need to take a time when He is most like to hear, even when he is enditing for you, and puts words into your mouth, Hosea xiv. 2. The second failure in Prayer, is when you do not watch to prayer, [Eph. vi. 18.] Oh, the hurries of our hearts, etc.! And lastly, after this duty, there is either an aptness to be proud, and [to] add another note, as if the Lord was in our debt; or, upon miscarriage in point of enlargement, we grow weary and peevish, etc. Look on Thos. Goodwin on Isaiah lv. 6—8. . . With the old martyr, I cry, ‘pray, pray, pray;’ my dearest child! Regard no iniquity in thy heart, [Psal. lxvi. 18.]

^a 1 Thess. v. 17.

^b “The Christian in Complete Armour,” by William Gurnall, M.A. 1658.

“Keep a constant watch upon your whole man; for which, much hath been written, as Mr. Reyner’s ‘Rules for the New Creature,’^a Mr. Brinsley’s ‘Watch,’^b and many others. . . My advice is, that mainly, you watch yourself in what you are, and where you are. . . But to be very accurate in your watch, and to keep off from troublesome arrears, keep a book by you—I mean it literally,—in which, every night before you sleep, you [shall] set down on the one side, the Lord’s gracious procedure and dealings with you; and your dealings with Him, on the other side. This watch, well kept, fits for prayer, fastings, sabbaths, sacraments, and death; upon which, judgment follows! I pray watch so that thoughts, affections, head, heart, hands, feet, and all, have a share in and benefit by the work. . . If you do not watch, you will be tempted; I say, tempted. The Lord watch over thee, that thou mayest watch; my dearest child!

“For thy growth in grace, I am the more zealous, because, 2 Pet. iii. 18, the apostle propounds it, as a cure against all the errors of the wicked. For this also, there are divers helps; as Mr. Symonds, his ‘Cure’ to distressed consciences,^c a choice piece;—and many others. . . The best evidence of growth, is to grow more humble, more holy; attend that well, and see how it is from meal to meal, from one sabbath to another, one sermon to another: are you fed, or surfeited! . . . The south and north wind blow upon thee for growth, my child!

“In all things, as you will have use, so you need to study conscience well: for it eats, drinks, walks, sleeps, buys, sells; accompanies you to every duty, service, work, doing or suffering; for which, you have Ames, his ‘Cases,’^d and some others. . . Your wisdom will be, to live upon a directing Word, and then Conscience will make a soft bed for you in your greatest sorrow: ‘a wounded conscience, who can bear?’ [Prov. xviii. 14.] . . Remember, good conscience and sin cannot live together. Let but this bird sing sweetly within, and let heaven and earth come together, thou shalt be safe, my poor child!

“Next, I am to remember you that you have much work to do in a little time; which calls you up to labour, as the day the lark, and the lark the husbandman; Eccles. xii. the whole chapter; I hope you have it? About redemption of time, you have many treatises. The greatest of your work in your short time is, to get Christ, and live upon him, and to him. And this is the Life of Faith, which you can never live unless faith have to live upon itself, which will digest nothing but [the] Word and promises. Therefore, now you are young lay in a good stock for faith to live on. But you must do it seasonably. You are young, I say, and may have a little time before you, which certainly hath eternity hanging upon it, called a ‘race,’ a ‘day,’ or ‘hour!’ The old world, had their ‘day;’ Jerusalem, a ‘day;’ the Gospel is called ‘the day of grace’ [Heb. iii. 7, 15;] therefore lay in

^a In “Precepts for Christian Practice,” by Edward Reyner, 11th edit. 1658. 12mo.

^b “The True Watch and Rule of Life. By John Brinsley. 1684.” vo8.

^c “The Case and Cure of a Deserted Soul, by Jos. Symonds.” 1641. 12mo.

^d “Conscience, with the Power and Cases thereof.” 1643. 4to.

seasonably, and not only so but abundantly : . . . you know not what promises you may need for want, for reproach, for sickness and death. . . The time will come when wishes will not help ; your own works and righteousness will fail ! Lastly, lay up your stock of faith conveniently, that you may reach a Word when you need it most. Ah, that you would be wise ! Ask your heart at night, what you have done that day in this point : because every night may be your last . . . Therefore work and pray, repent, believe, get assurances of heaven to-day ; I say, to-day, and be happy for ever, dear child !

“ I must also invite you to ‘ content ’ in a low condition ; for which you have great furtherance in Mr. Burroughes for ‘ Contentment,’^a—whose writings are all savoury.—But for my own thoughts, they are these, that though many write and speak of the contempt of the world, some cloister up themselves from it ; yet very few are ‘ Masters ’ of this ‘ Art,’ which the apostle himself had been long learning [Phil. iv. 11] . . . Crowns have it not, and beggars want it. I was about to say, it is only in heaven. . . But oh, that you might be truly ‘ content !’ You will find a ‘ but ’ upon all your comforts, and therefore you cannot be contented ; you may find a ‘ fulness ’ in Christ, Col. i. 19, and therefore you should be contented. . . The good Lord grant you may groundedly say, ‘ Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven ;’ and, that is ‘ content,’ my child !

“ I commend unto you ‘ meekness ’ of spirit, Zeph. ii. 3. . . Grief will hardly get footing long where ‘ meekness ’ and her concomitants dwell. . . Oh, that you might be God-like, Christ-like, Moses-like : Michael contesting with the dragon maintained his ‘ meekness,’ [Jude. 9] ; and Peter says, it is the woman’s ‘ ornament !’ [1. Pet. iii. 4] . . . The Lord make you meek, from the true Root, my dear child !

“ Beware of a trifling, loose heart. . . Do but mind, in your reading, what a sober, plain, unaffected, holy strain is in Dod,^b Sibbs,^c Preston,^d [T.] Hooker, Burroughes, and many other good men, to what you find in some others, though, it may be, good men too. Ah, my child, a frothy wit, and a vicious life, carry directly to atheism, which is the master-mischief in this age ; yea, in professing England ! . . Christ’s spirit was ever serious, never known to laugh ; ‘ be ye sober, and watch’ [1 Pet. iv. 7.], dear child !

“ In like manner, against that spreading evil, of being a busy-body, and pragmatistical, which is the plague of mankind, 1 Thess. iv. 11. . . Be much at home, and you will find work enough ! As long as you keep Christ and sin before you, you will have work enough for your thoughts ; and if your fancy be not well fed, your thoughts, like mill-stones, will grind themselves. . . An hour’s idleness is a sin, as well as

^a “ The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment . Wherein is showed, What Contentment is : The holy Art or Mystery of it : Several Lessons that Christ teacheth, to work the Heart to Contentment : The Excellencies of it : The evils of Murmuring : The Aggravations of the Sin of Murmuring. By Jeremiah Burroughes. 1649.” 4to. pp. 327. Reprinted without “ the Saint’s Duty in Times of Extremity,” in 1666, pp. 208.

^b John Dod, A.M., died in 1645.

^c Richard Sibbs, D.D., died in 1635.

^d John Preston, D.D., died in 1628.

an hour's drunkenness. Few men's feet 'stand before princes,' because few men's hands are 'diligent,' [Prov. xxii. 29]. The maid was possesst, because the devil found her in his own house, namely a Playhouse! . . . Oh, keep home, keep home; I speak experience to you, who never found good hour but in my own work. Nor doth this cut off works of love, or charity, which must be attended in their seasons, and by their rules. . . . Tell me what our blessed Lord did, but the work he was sent about; [John xvii. 4]. Be like Him then in this, as in all things else; and the Spirit of the Lord Jesus be with thee, my dear heart!

"Through your whole course, let Truth have its way, and do not make 'lies' your 'refuge,' [Isai. xxviii. 15]; they will mock you in the end. Mr. Reyner, and others, have written largely about the words and the tongue; but none like James, the apostle. You see I do not load you in anything with heathen, fathers, poets, and their apothegms, which are many in these cases; which I purposely avoid, as tickling the ear when, often, they reach not the heart: a scholar, yea a school-boy, may gather them, but the Truth of God set on by his Spirit must make you consistent. All the world is hung with lies, and all of man proclaims so much; clothes, meats, trades, salutations, yea our profession of religion! All men are liars, and all things on this side Christ, a lie, [Psal. lxii. 9]. 'The prince of the air' [Eph. ii. 2], makes it his work, who was the father of lies. Christ calls for 'yea' and 'nay' only, [Matt. v. 37]: I wish, in Christianity, we could find this Christianity! Heathen and Turks shame us. It is the blot of the nation, as if we were liars from the womb; the sin even lives and dies with us. You may not tell a lie for God. . . . Christ is 'the Truth,' as well as 'life' and 'way,' John xiv. 6. . . . Let Truth be thy portion; it will preserve you. And ever say, 'I can do nothing against the Truth;' dear child!

"And what I said last, urgeth me to commend 'Wisdom' to you; which is a very comprehensive word, and 'is justified of her children,' [Matt. xi. 19]: . . . I intend Scripture 'wisdom,' which 'is from above,' [Jas. iii. 17]. 'The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding,' Job xxviii. 28. . . . Above all, to make Christ your 'wisdom,' 1 Cor. i. 30; but, oh, that you were thus wise! Much of wit must be pared off, before it will be useful: I have seen the ways of it, though never could pretend much to it; but, this I know, being unsanctified, it is a sword in a madman's hand! . . . Be much in the Word, which will make you 'wise to salvation,' [2 Tim. iii. 15]: let your companions be the children of Wisdom. Judge of all things by this 'wisdom,' which will make you look upon them by eternity. To 'the only wise God' [1 Tim. i. 17], I commend you, my dear child!

"There are two very great turns in man's life; the one is a Lawful-calling, the other is Marriage; and miscarriages in either, are almost irrecoverable. For the former, I must say the less, because of your sex; though your present condition may lead you to the service of others, and then know, fidelity and diligence are your duties; your time and parts will then be another's, not your own. Eye-services will not be acceptable to God or man; much less, comfortable to

yourself. Many have written upon this subject, as Dr. Gouge,^a and others. For Marriage, though your present estate, according to the world, renders you many ways hopeless, yet your ‘times are in God’s hands,’ [Psal. xxxi. 15]; and daily experience, with my own, will let you know that as it is the joining together of one man and one woman lawfully, in an indissoluble bond, . . . so it hath many concernments in it, where goodness and suitableness are the primary ingredients. And as the husband’s duty is love, teaching, providing, honouring, etc.; so the wife’s must be subjection suitable to that love in all the parts of it: and these duties need mutual supports. . . . Let Christ be your Husband, and he will provide you one to his own liking. Do nothing herein, without prayer, Scripture, and counsel. The Lord love you, my dear child!

“For the World,—I mean the people in it,—and that part of it the Lord hath set you in; I have very much to say, because my days in it are not a few, as we account. Believe our Saviour, and the Word, John xvi. 33, and you will find that ‘in the world you shall have tribulation;’ and your passage out of it must be through many tribulations, and persecutions too, if you ‘will live godly,’ [2 Tim. iii. 12]. ‘The world loves his own,’ [John xv. 19]. . . . The world will give you no more credit than you have of the world to maintain it; and therefore whilst you are in the world, though you may know many, yet be acquainted with few, and even trust none. Be sure you get nothing unlawfully; it hath fire in it to destroy. . . . And do not borrow. . . . I wish I had never been vain in a vain world; but I appeal to, and plead with, Christ, for my peace. So use the world as if you used it not; for the world hath a principle of decay in all the glory of it. Dote not on it, my dear child!

“And whilst I am in the world, and advising about it, there is a great rarity in the world if you could reach it; and that is Friends! which is a commodity so very scarce that it will be your wisdom so to look upon a Friend this day as likely to be an enemy to-morrow. How many sad experiences can I witness to of this kind, yea, in these times and changes! Fair dovecots have most pigeons: lost estates know no friends! The friend I commend to you is a soul-friend; which you will never find among children, fools, or profane. An experienced Christian friend, I intend, who must have three qualifications. He, or she, must have the art and skill of a friend; few know it: must have the bowels and mercy of a friend, which most want: and lastly, must have faithfulness, the great ingredient. If such a one, you can find, you shall enjoy their experiences freely; you shall constantly be carried to God in their prayers; you shall have sympathy and help in your troubles. . . . Walk not unworthy of the mercy, if you gain it. Kinsman will not make it; no, not ‘a brother,’ though ‘born for adversity,’ [Prov. xvii. 17]. Your hopes may be these, if the Lord promise, when your ‘ways please’ him, your ‘enemies’ shall ‘be at peace’ with you, [Prov. xvi. 7]. He can raise a friend, and Himself be your best Friend: to whom I commend you, dear child!

^a He published eight treatises on “Domestic Duties.”

“ And because Sin will be creeping into all your conditions, ways, and works ; something I must advise you about it from experience, though many books are written about it ; as Mr. [T.] Goodwin’s ‘ Sinfulness of Sin,’^a etc. Yet two things, take from me ; be marvellous careful it break not in : secondly, as diligent to drive it out speedily. And for the former, Gouge^b and Gurnall,^c I commend, about the putting on ‘ the whole armour,’ Ephes. vi. 13. . . Pursue sin with a deadly feud ; hate it in all the stock and lineage of it, my child ! . . The Lord sprinkle thy conscience with ‘ the blood of the everlasting covenant ’ [Heb. xiii. 20], that you may not sin to death, my dear child !

“ And next, because bordering upon what went before, I would add a case which so often even choice Christians are encumbered with ; and that is, their questioning all their works, after many years’ experience and profession. . . This therefore I would have you know, that though it be not safe to dig at foundations often, lest we shake the building, so our great care is, to have some foundations to build upon ; which, in the general, is ‘ Christ : ’ and ‘ other,’ none can lay, [1 Cor. iii. 11]. . . Make quick work and see you be in Christ, and offer your evidences to a discerning friend, or more. And know, that God hath limited his tenders of grace to a day of this life, of the Gospel, and of conscience awakened ; therefore look out whilst it is ‘ to-day ! ’ . . How unworthy, to put off the Lord till to-morrow ; and how retaliated, see Prov. i. 29—32. . . Ply the Lord with all the promises of his free-grace, Isai. lv. 1 ; Matt. xi. 30 ; Rev. xxii. 17 ; Isai. liii., the whole chapter ; Jer. iii. 1 ; and many more. . . Hang upon Him, living and dying, in the use of means, Hos. xiv. 3—5. . . Do not question, continually, as some do, Prov. xviii. 1. Love the Lord who hath been your strength, and will answer all thy hard questions, dear child !

“ I add hereunto, your case under cross-providences : . . under which, the best saints have had great and strange sinkings of spirit : for which, you have Sibbs, Burroughes, and others, to help. My poor thoughts are these, for ease and cure : when Job faints, iv. 5 ; when David chides his soul, Psal. xlii. ; when Heman is even ‘ distracted,’ Psal. lxxxviii. 15 ; Jacob, will not ‘ be comforted,’ Gen. xxxvii. 35 ; and so divers : . . be willing to want, what God is not willing to give ; and to know He is wise, to give what he will, how he will, and when he will : for the godly heart, for temporals cries, Lord, What thou wilt ; and, in spirituals, When thou wilt ; and in both, How thou wilt ! Beggars must not be choosers ; and anything is good from the hand of such a Father ! . . He that made the world, can change it when he will. Your comfort will be, that in the greatest storm your heavenly Father is at the helm : though sin and Satan bustle, that Hand keep you, my dear child !

“ And if you ask me, after all, What you shall do with your fears to which your sex and condition prompt you ? You shall have what I know ; though the Lord Jesus answers all to his ‘ little flock,’ when he says, ‘ Fear not,’ [Luke xii. 32] ; yea, more particularly, ‘ Fear not

^a Query ? “ The Aggravations of Sin.”

^b “ The Whole Armour of God.”

1627. fol. ^c See back, p. 574, note.

them that can only kill the body,' and destroy that, [Matt. x. 28] . . . The cure, in general, even for Peter, who by it, denied his Master, is this, That whoever fears to sin, never sins by fear: and, more particularly, The absence of some good you desire, or the coming on of some evil, draws out this fear; therefore make much of this rule, Be ever possessor of some good that may answer the taking away of what you may lose; which is, the presence and favour of God in Christ. In the night, the waking child in the cradle is quiet at the nurse's coming to it; because there is more of comfort in the nurse, than fear in the dark. And then, be persuaded to set a right value upon all earthly, perishing, dying things; do not call a pebble, a pearl. . . Oh, fear God; fear God: it is not only the 'beginning of wisdom,' but the perfection of your joys. . . My earnest desire for you is, that the Lord would give you an even and equal spirit, and the root of it, integrity; that, as the righteous, you may be 'bold as a lion,' and yet 'rejoice with trembling.' In this good fear, I leave you, my dear child!

"And if the evil you fear, and the day of affliction come upon you; then my counsel is—bear with the feebleness of it in all,—take that rule, Eccles. vii. 14: in that evil day, or day of your distresses, you must 'consider': . . . little sins may be followed with great sorrows. . . First, you must see the evil of adversity in the nature of it: . . . in the meritorious cause; there look at sin, and search closely, and then, the final cause; God will either be glorified by your humiliation or ruin. . . But for the instrumental cause, travel not much there: though Pharaoh were the occasion of the plagues, yet the Egyptians' sins [were] the cause. Secondly, . . . you must 'live by faith'—so Habakkuk, ii. 4,—and walk with God: for this must be your rule, That no condition supersedes duty that may be, must be, performed. . . Thirdly, to get out of such a day and case, you may not act unlawfully; nor did Paul, in going out in a 'basket.' . . 'I will hear what the Lord will say,' cries the prophet [Hab. ii. 1]: so do you, my dear heart!

"Though, in part, I have hinted something about Errors, yet in this age and juncture, I need let you know what I know. . . And because many have touched hereupon—as you see in their writings,—and many more polemics and disputes are printed than profitable; every party striving their own advancement; this I have said, this I must say, That whoso departs from those fundamentals professes and died upon by the saints and martyrs since the Reformation, and departure from Popery, need have his opinion written in stars; for, if an angel bring another Gospel, he or it may not be received that shall contradict what we have received already from the Lord Jesus. It is a continuing Word; oh, that it might abide in us, and with us! . . . I could be very large in this; accounting it my great mercy, that temptation never led me from that honest, old, godly, PURITAN profession of the everlasting truths of the Gospel! . . . Be very low and humble before the Lord, and 'grow in grace,' 2 Pet. iii. 18; my dear child!

"And, because the first child that appears in view of this Jezebel, the mother of mischief, Error, so called by John, Rev. ii. 20, is about the Sabbath: either wholly slighting it, or counting it Jewish; or

our day, not the right day, not the seventh; yea, that every day is a Sabbath; with the like;—I mean, besides all such as profanely look upon it as a day of sport, pleasure, and vanity;—I think it my duty to charge you, as ever you mean or hope to enjoy that everlasting ‘rest’ hereafter, that you would value the Sabbath! Read Dod^a and others about it. . . The seventh part of Time for Him, is holy time: works of necessity and charity, not crossing that holiness. I say, the seventh part of time; because it is night in one place, when day in another; which time begins at the evening, as time is distinguished into days, Gen. i. And though the questions about the Sabbath and baptism breed much dispute in the world, yet we must study to know God’s will in both. I must say more to you: where the Sabbath is at an undervalue in any country, say it be in France, Holland, Germany, etc., there you shall find religion low; and at best, wasting itself into disputes. But know that England, which is famous for religion, got it from the Sabbaths; upon which day the Lord is pleased, as princes by their almoners, to give out his gifts and graces to the sons of men. I was a witness that Middleburgh, in Zealand [or Walcheren], grew famous for religion, by Teeling,^b their preacher, fetching the keeping of the Sabbath from England. Certainly the Fourth Commandment is the key to all the rest: for, how shall the rest be practised if not taught? and how taught, if not time allowed? And, what time more likely to carry a blessing, than God’s appointment? . . . The wonders of God have been witness, as Burton and others write, against the breakers of it. Wherefore, look well about you, Isai. lviii. 13, 14. Love the Lord in his Sabbaths, as you would have rest hereafter. Look to this ‘rest’ here: and ‘remember’ the Sabbath; that is, prepare for it all the week long, especially the evening before. The Jews had two preparations to the Sabbath, at three, and six. Do you keep on, and gather home all affections to wait upon the work; and let the day be dear to you. The God of [the] Sabbath be yours, dear child!^c

“In the next, which looks like the last, indeed I must give you my thoughts about Death. . . And I must tell you, it is a great word to say, I dare die! . . . I say, Life is sweet, and Death terrible. Many, in several distempers, may call for it; neither minding what it is, nor whither it leads. Job desires it in his agony: and heathen could say, The first good was, not to be born; and the next, to die quickly! Paul, above any, desires it upon right grounds. Yea, the last words in the Canticles, and the last in the Bible are, for the Lord Jesus to ‘come quickly;’ yea, to come to judgment! As if it were the breathings of the spirits of the just, in the last times; of which spirit if you be, these will be your reasons, as theirs, That you may see Him of whom you have heard so much: . . . That you may have full draughts of what you now taste only: That your Beloved may come to you, or

^a Query? In an “Exposition of the Ten Commandments.” 1635.

^b William Teelinck: see the Ded. to Ames’ “Conscience,” 1630; and Steven’s “Hist. of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, etc.” p. 317.

^c Here we drop four entire sections, 25—28, which appertain to a kind of vindication of himself from some misapprehensions on the subject of Free-grace, and his coinciding, partially, with Tobias Crisp, D.D.

you to Him: . . . When the Sanctuary is trodden upon, Isai. lxiv. 1.: 'That the double vail of corruption and affliction may be taken off from you. Thus to wish for death, is to wish for life! . . . Romans, and fools, can die bravely; write their own elegies: I am sure a well-led life, is the best monument. If one at your door should cry every morning, 'You must die,' it would not reach far; but Christ died for you, my child!

"They say, and truly, 'Where death leaves you, there judgment finds you.' . . . Your wisdom will be, to carry your pardon in your bosom; there wit and learning, parts and worth, will get no hearing; there, the eloquent orator is dumb; no coin is current, but the blood of a loving Saviour: no man can appear there, by any other proxy: there greatness must give way to goodness: there hypocrisy is unmasked; truth naked; there, your fellow saints shall sit judges, though despised amongst men; there, 'the Son of man' shall approve, because despised as the son of man; there, preaching, miracles, casting out devils, will not profit, but a 'name' written in the 'book' of 'the Lamb,' [Rev. xxi. 27]. . . If the grave make no difference betwixt the sceptre and the mattock; what will eternity do, when that shall make the difference? Wherefore I pray, measure all your works by eternity; eat, drink, sleep, work, by eternity! . . . The ever-living God love you, and keep you to all eternity, my child!

"And because I have brought you so far as the Great Day, give me leave to awaken you with the condition of the place, Heaven: . . .

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 'Heaven, in its great magnificence;
 Hell's punishment, in loss and sense;
 Are the great things charg'd on thee here.'

"And because I know not how the door of opportunity may stand open or shut—the day drawing near of trial,—I shall give you an account of Myself and dealings, that, if possible, you may wipe off some dirt, or be more content to carry it; in which, I shall mainly apply myself to these late troubles.

"I was the son of considerable parents, from Foy [Fowey], in Cornwall. My father, a merchant; his ancestors drawn thither from Antwerp, for religion; I mean the Reformed. My mother, of the same town; of a very ancient family, the name, Treffey, of Place—or, The Place—in that town, of which I would not boast. These lived in very great abundance: their losses, at sea, grew very great; in the midst of which losses, my elder brother being at Oxford, I was sent to Cambridge; and that estate I had by an uncle, I left with my mother, and lived at the University. And a little from thence, about eight years, took my degree of M. A.; where I spent some years vainly enough, being but fourteen years old when thither I came; my tutor died, and I was exposed to my shifts. Coming from thence to London, God struck me with the sense of my sinful estate, by a sermon I heard under Paul's, which was about forty years since; which text was 'The burden of Dumah,' or Idunea [Isai. xxi. 11], and stuck fast.

“This made me go into Essex. And upon being quieted by another sermon, in that country, and the love and labours of Mr. Thomas Hooker, I there preached; then married with a good gentlewoman; till I went to London to ripen my studies, not intending to preach at all; where I attended Dr. Gouge, Sibbs, and Davenport’s ministry, with others; and I hope with some profit. But, in short time, was forced to preach by importunity of friends, having had a licence from Dr. Mountain, Bishop of London, before; and to Sepulchre’s, I was brought by a very strange providence. For, preaching before at another place, and a young man receiving some good, would not be satisfied but I must preach at Sepulchre’s once monthly, for the good of his friends: in which he got his end—if I might not show vanity,—and he allowed thirty pounds per annum to that Lecture; but his person, unknown to me! He was a chandler, and died a good man, and member of Parliament. At this Lecture, the resort grew so great that it contracted envy and anger.^a Though I believe above a hundred every week were persuaded from sin to Christ.

“I wish I may not be judged for saying so: there were six or seven thousand hearers, and the circumstances fit for such good work; but I am tender; there I had some trouble, who could not conform to all: and went to Holland, where I was five or six years, not without the presence of God in my work. But many of my acquaintance going for New England, had engaged me to come to them when they sent; which accordingly I did. And, truly, my reason for myself and others to go was merely not to offend Authority in that difference of judgment; and had not the book of encouragement of Sports on the Sabbath come forth, many had staid.

“That good man, my dear friend, Mr. White of Dorchester, and Bishop Lake, occasioned, yea founded, that work, and much in reference to the Indians, of which we did not fail to attempt with good success to many of their souls, through God’s blessing. See Bishop Lake’s Sermon, 1 Kings viii. 37; who professed to Mr. White of Dorchester, he would go himself with us but for his age; for which we had the late King’s gracious patent, licence, and encouragement. There I continued seven years, till sent hither, by the Plantation, to mediate for ease in customs and excise; the country being poor, and a tender plant of their own setting and manuring.

“But coming hither, [I] found the nation embroiled in those civil dissensions, jars, and wars; and here was forced to stay, though I had nothing to support me but the Parliament’s promises. And not being

^a As it has been the lot of that blessing to England and America, George Whitefield, to be caricatured in his person and reviled for his office by stage buffoons in the presence of royalty, so it had been with Hugh Peters. Gerard Langbaine, in an “Account of the English Dramatic Poets, 1691,” 12mo., says, at p. 339, in what he styles a third rate play, intituled “Loyal Lovers: a Tragi-Comedy. Written by Major Cosmo Manuche. Lond., 165—,” that “Our author, . . . I believe, meant to expose [in Act ii.] Hugh Peters’ adventure with the butcher’s wife of St. Sepulchre’s, with his revenge thereupon.” Giving this playwright all the honour that those of his profession could ever claim; we prefer Peters’ testimony, and fairly suspect that in this instance he is grossly scandalized.

able in short time, to compass my errand, [I] studied with a constant purpose of returning, and went with the first to Ireland; most of your London godly ministers being engaged in person, purse, and preaching, in this trouble. I thought Ireland the clearest work, and had the pay of a preacher then and afterward, as I could get it: I was not here at Edge-hill, nor at the Bishop of Canterbury's troubles or death.

“Upon my return, [I] was staid again from going home, by the Earl of Warwick, my patron; then by the Earl of Essex; afterwards by the Parliament, who at last gave me an estate, now taken away. I had access to the King about my New England business. He used me civilly. I, in requital, offered my poor thoughts three times for his safety: I never had hand in contriving or acting his death, as I am scandalized; but the contrary, to my mean power. I was never in any councils, or cabal, at any time; I hated it, and had no stowage for counsel; thinking all Government should be open to all; nor had penny from any General, but lived in debt, as I now am; nor had means for my expenses; what I had, others shared in. I confess, I did what I did strenuously, though with a weak head, being overlaid with my own and others' troubles; never was angry with any of the King's party, not [nor with] any of them for being so; thought the Parliament-authority lawful, and [but] never studied it much; have not had my hand in any man's blood, but saved many in life and estate.

“The Parliament, in 1644, gave me the Bishop's Books, valued at £140, which I intended for New England, being a part of his private library; which, with all my own, I have often offered for £150. The mistake about them was and is, great; for they never were so considerable. And these were my gettings, who never aimed to be rich, nor ever had means to reach it. The changes grew, as you see; a Commonwealth I found, but this altered. I staid so long at Whitehall, contented with any good Government that would keep things together, till the breach of that they call Richard's Parliament; and then I removed, and never returned more, but fell sick long, and in trouble ever since: never was summoned but once by the Council; which was in April, about Books, of which lying sick, I craved of the President of the council to excuse me; who sent unto me, he had; and I gave him an account of the Books. But hearing that my estate was gone, and I indebted, was private, and did purpose so to live and so to die, having a resolution, which I kept, never to meddle with State-matters; but either here, or in New England, to spend my old age in looking into my grave, and eternity; and never had to do with any transactions with soldiers or others; nor never would, had I longer life, my head and heart being tried [*tired*], as well as my body crazed.

“I thought the Act of Indemnity would have included me, but the hard character upon me, excluded me; which I was so sensible of, that nature, in its own preservation, carried me to privacy; but free from that report of the manner which is suggested, of which you may be assured. By my zeal, it seems, I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach; but wish you to know that, besides your mother, I have had no fellowship that way, with any woman since I knew her, having a godly wife before also, I bless God.

“ But because what is before written may seem my white side only, I shall deal in all plainness with you ; that though, for religion, I am and have been really sound and orthodox to my best apprehension according to the blessed Word of God, and the generality of the Protestant ‘ Confessions ;’ yea, though I travelled through Protestant churches for Order, to espy the best, and have joined with the churches of Christ, and took in with that I call a Tender Presbytery, for such was ours in New England, and yet so as I never unchurched [in] any parish where a godly minister was, and godly people joined together, though not all so ; and do know God may have a People under all forms ; and would withdraw to the furthest Judges, rather than give offence to what I cannot close with ; yet so unworthy have my thoughts been of myself to be a meet preacher of the Gospel, that more than twice I had given it over, had not friends prevailed ; yea my profession of the Gospel hath been with much folly, weakness, vanity ; I crave pardon of any that have taken offences, though, in a christian-way, I have not had reproofs of three either for preaching or conversation.

“ I am heartily sorry I was popular, and known better to others than to myself. It hath much lain to my hurt above anything almost that I left that people I was engaged to in New England ; it cuts me deeply ; I look upon it, as a root-evil. And though I was never parson nor vicar, never took ecclesiastical promotion, never preached upon any agreement for money in my life, though not without offers, and great ones ; yet, I had a flock, I say I had a flock, to whom I was ordained, who were worthy of my life and labour ; but I could never think myself fit to be their pastor, so unaccomplished for such a work for which ‘ who is sufficient,’ cries the apostle [2 Cor. ii. 16]. This is my sore trouble ; and a private life would have become me best, and my poor gift have had its vent also : but here I was overpowered to stay.

“ For errors in judgment, I have pitied, never closed with any, that I know ; when I was a Trier of others, I went to hear and gain experience rather than to judge. When I was called about mending laws, I rather was there to pray, than mend laws : when to judge in Wills, I only went sometimes to learn, and help the poor, than to judge : but in all these, I confess I might well have been spared.

“ Nor do I take pleasure in remembering any my least activity in State-matters ; though this I can say, I nowhere minded who ruled, fewer or more, so the good ends of Government be given out, in which men may live in ‘ godliness and honesty,’ [1 Tim. ii. 2]. I have often said, That is a good Government, where men may be as good as they can, not so bad as they would : where good men and things are uppermost ; and have thought, If good magistrates cannot bring all to their judgments, the Dissenters may have liberty, being kept out of office, and want some other public characters. That which a friend of mine and myself writ, by Letters, about Magistrates, was very little ; and the records of the Tower were only named, as giving way to all other records, to cut off dissensions, or marks of tyranny, which no good prince will exercise : I am sorry if any [be] offended, it was zeal for quietness.

“ I honour laws and good lawyers heartily, and know their use ; only ease, expedition, and cheapness, what good man doth not call for ? Sedition, is the heating men’s minds against the present Authority ; in that, I never was ; yet sorry, Authority should have any hard thoughts of me, or know so inconsiderable a creature as myself. I never could be fit for a Court,—many ways, not fit,—and am therefore grieved that I was either constrained or content to live where I could do so little good ; for I would die without a secret in my bosom, unless cases of conscience, in the way of preaching, which are secrets indeed : and for reading them to the world, I had appointed a portion, if it had been continued to me.

“ Upon all this, you may ask, What design I drove, being looked upon in that way ? Truly, these three : first, that Goodness, that which is really so, and [as] such, Religion, might be highly advanced : secondly, that good Learning might have all countenance : thirdly, that there may [might] not be a beggar in Israel, in England. And for all these [desigus] I have projected or laboured, and I have [for] no other. And these, I pray his present Majesty may look to ; and that God would bless him every way. If in the prosecution of these, I have used any of my wonted rudeness, or unguided zeal, I am heartily as sorry : so begging pardon from God and man, constitution or custom, I conclude in these particulars, though the aim be good : I conclude the former thus ; I think, that as bad men care not who rule, or what is uppermost, so [that] they may have their lusts ; so good men, if they may enjoy God and his Truth with good conscience. For my whole course you know and feel where my wound hath been these twenty years, which hath occasioned not only my head and heart breaking, but travelling from my own nest into business. Bless God, if ever you meet with suitableness in Marriage !

“ For my spirit, it wanted weight, through many tossings ; my head, that composure others have : credulous, and too careless, but never mischievous nor malicious. I thought my work was to serve others, and so my own garden not so well cultivated ; only this I say, I aimed at a good mark, and trust the Lord, in Jesus Christ, hath accepted it. My faith in ‘ the everlasting covenant,’ was and is, though feeble, yet faith. I could thus continue ripping my whole heart to you, who have very often had great success, even to the last hour of my last preaching ; and am preaching the life of faith [Rom. i. 17] to myself, to which call in all your prayers to the Father, in Jesus Christ his dear Son, to whom let us look as ‘ the Author and Finisher of our faith, etc.,’ Heb. xii. 2. To whom, be glory and praise, and thanks, for ever : for He is worthy, who hath ‘ washed us from our sins by [in] his own blood, and made us kings and priests unto God the [and his] Father ; to Him be glory and dominion for ever,’ [Rev. i. 5, 6.]

“ For that part of my Lord Craven’s estate which I have, took no small place in my trouble, you may know that I was not in the City when that Act was made ; nor urged my Lord Grey to buy ; nor ever advised the said Lord, as I had time, but to good and just things and company, against that spirit of Levelling then stirring ; and do heartily wish that taken offence might die ; for it was not intended by me,

who would and can be as well contented without land as with it; never being ambitious to be great or rich since I knew better things.

“And now I must return to yourself again, and to give you my thoughts about your own condition. I do first, commend you to the Lord, and then to the care of a faithful friend whom I shall name unto you, if a friend may be found in this juncture, that dare own your name,—though there be more of your name;—and if such a friend advise it, that you serve in some godly family, to which you seem to incline; and must, it seems. . . But if you would go home to New England, which you have much reason to do, go with good company, and trust God there: the church are a tender company; a little will carry us through the world, yea, very little: oh, ‘godliness with content!’ Your faithfulness to me and your mother will find acceptance in heaven I trust. My dear child, tell me, how couldst thou be without God’s ‘rod?’ Remember He hath a ‘staff’ also! For your mother, considering her distemper, I have [said] and shall say more unto you: to His grace who is able to do above all we can ask or think, I commend you both.

“And if I go shortly where time shall be no more, where cock nor clock distinguish hours, sink not; but lay thy head in His bosom who can keep thee, for He sits upon the waves. Farewell.

“And since we must part,—must part;—take my *Wishes*, sighs, and groans, to follow thee; and pity the feebleness of what I have sent, being writ under much, yea very much, discomposure of spirit.

“MY WISHES.

“I wish your lamp and vessel, full of oil,
Like the wise virgins’,—which all fools neglect;
Yours, the rich pearl, for which the merchants toil,
Yea, how to purchase, are so circumspect:
I wish you, that white-stone, with the new name,
Which none can read but who possess the same.

“I wish you, neither poverty nor riches,
But godliness so gainful, with content;
No painted pomp, nor glory that bewitches;
A blameless life, is the best monument!
And, such a soul that soars above the sky,
Well pleased to live, but better pleased to die.

“I wish you, such a heart as Mary had,
Minding the main; opened, as Lydia’s was;
A hand like Dorcas’, who the naked clad;
Joanna’s feet, posting to Christ apace;
And, above all, to live yourself to see
Married to HIM who must your Saviour be!”

CHAP. LXXXV.

BARWICK, THE KING'S SPY.—PRESBYTERIANS IN DESPAIR.—VENNER'S INSURRECTION.—THE INDEPENDENTS' "RENUNCIATION."—CONCLUSION.

WE have seen, in the above tract the very inside as it were of the writer; and we have seen in foregoing pages how tyrants have been beatified, and their opponents doomed to ignominious rewards. On whom the real ignominy rests here, let truth elicited as above from the testimony of Peters' own pen, and from testimony related of Dr. John Barwick, who had acted "as a secret spy" on behalf of the deceased king, and,—mark it, reader!—"also being very studious of christian simplicity," was "always furnished with a true as well as a convenient answer, if he should be questioned by the rebels, What business he had in London? 'that he performed the office of chaplain to that most reverend prelate!'"^a Thus proceeds the narrator—"The chief of those who had conspired against the sacred life of the royal martyr were brought to their trial, and deservedly condemned to the gallows. By the command of the king and of the bishops, Dr. Barwick and Dr. Dolben . . . were sent to these condemned wretches to try to persuade them to testify unfeigned repentance before God both of that horrid crime and of their other impious deeds. And that they might employ their pious endeavours to better purpose with the others, their first care was to solicit Hugh Peters, the principal and ringleader of all the rest. The wild prophecies uttered by his impure mouth were still received by the people with the same veneration as if they had been oracles; though he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness: a fact which Milton himself, a very good advocate of a very bad cause, did not dare deny when he wrote his Apology for this very end, to defend even by name, as far as was possible, the very blackest of the conspirators, and Hugh Peters among the chief of them who were by name accused of manifest impieties by their adversaries. . . . When Dr. Barwick came to him first, commiserating his sad condition, though what he had very justly deserved; he thought it most proper to address himself to him in terms neither menacing nor any way severe: he therefore condescended to entreat him, to make no difficulty of admitting him and Dr. Dolben—both ministers of the Gospel, and no less solicitous for his salvation than for their own—to a friendly conversation with him. But to all that was said to him though with the utmost candour, he answered with so much surliness, negligence, and stupidity, and so little to the purpose, that Dr. Dolben perceiving how little that gentle method availed, was of opinion, and that justly, that he ought to be treated with more sharpness, to rouse him if it were possible from this lethargic unconcernedness for his better part. He therefore advised him to remember that he had but a few hours left to discharge himself before God, who is always present and merciful to the penitent, of that immense load of

^a "The Life of the Rev. Dr. John Barwick; etc.; by his Brother, Dr. Peter Barwick. 1724." 12mo. p. 46—48.

wickedness wherewith he had burdened his conscience, drowsy and hardened as it was; that those precious minutes were not by any means to be wasted in shuffling and saying what was nothing to the purpose; and, that he ought to think it a matter of no little moment in what manner he intended next day to transmit his soul into an unfathomable abyss of eternity. But he was deaf to all that either of them [!] could say; and had so stopped his ears against the admonitions, not only of these two excellent persons, but of those also who were his accomplices in the same crime and were to suffer with him; and had so perfectly shook off all sense of piety and religion, if ever he had any [!] that they earnestly requested these divines to intercede with his Majesty that a person so deaf to all advice, and so impenetrable to their sacred ministrations, might not be hurried into another world till he were brought if possible to a better sense of his condition. The chief of these was John Cook,^a who yet had made no scruple that very day to vindicate and defend this wretch, in reality the scandal and reproach of the pulpit, against that incomparable divine Dr. Gunning when he was admonishing him friendly of the heinousness of the crimes he had committed; and to extol him [Peters], as ‘the brightest example of true holiness, by whom more souls had been gained to Christ than by any other person in this age.’ But Dr. Dolben and Dr. Barwick did not dare to promise that they should be able to obtain of his Majesty any further respite of his execution; lest that being flattered with the false hope of protracting his life he should grow more obdurate to their sacred admonitions: nor, say they, ‘does the grace of the Holy Spirit stand in need of such slow methods as not readily to offer itself every hour to such as desire to repent in earnest.’ Accordingly next day, together with Cook, he was drawn upon a sledge to execution, still showing the utmost aversion to all good counsel, and even to the advice of Cook himself, seeming to believe very little in that God whom he had so often invoked to patronize his impious rebellion; having this however,—alas! how little this—of a good man, that he no longer endeavoured with a false pretence of sanctity to set a grace upon the worst Cause in the world.”^b

Such is the representation of those who would fain persuade the world that they are the only “example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity!”^c What reproach soever Cook and Peters had brought upon themselves for intemperance of expressions towards an opponent in adversity; it was not, evidently, in these priestly confessors and their admirers, that “purity”^d of spirit was the ruling principle which should induce them to extract from “these condemned wretches” a testification of “unfeigned repentance.” The “wretches” knew that men of *such* “christian simplicity,” had sinister ends in view; and would not therefore be drawn into confessions which might be perversely construed, and so made to damage for ever that “Cause” which it had been the best labour of their lives to promote, and for which they were shortly to render an account in the immediate presence of the righteous JUDGE of all the earth.

But what will not any of those assert who subtly claim for them-

^a See back, p. 560, 567.

^b P. 295—299.

^c 1 Tim. iv. 12.

^d *Ibid.*

selves the figment of a peculiar "divine right;" with a hardihood too that exposes its own grossness because destitute of the external sign of compunction. "It was the justice of God"—so writes in the madness of disappointment, the all but indomitable Presbyterian,—“that brought Peters, Harrison, and others, to a shameful death; to hang up the bones of Oliver,^a Bradshaw, Ireton, Pride, on the gibbet at Tyburn; to disgrace the two Goodwins, blind-Milton, Owen, Sterry, Lockiers, and others of that maleficent crew!”^b Little, truly, did this one of the plotters suspect that having "sown the wind" at the Hague and at Breda,^c he and his complotters should through their own machinations so soon "reap the whirlwind!"^d Well then might it grieve them "sore" that when the Parliament met, May 8th 1661, the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, "advertised them to beware of the Presbyterian ministers as pestiferous incendiaries!" And still more, when "the Solemn League and Covenant" was burnt by the hand of the hangman, were all their hopes "turned into despair!"^e

In a former page^f mention is made of a Meeting-house in Swan-alley; here it was that Thomas Venner taking occasion of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy being enforced, and holding all swearing unlawful, preached an inflammatory sermon on Sunday January 6th, 1660-1, before an auditory of "Fifth Monarchy Men."^g A plan hav-

a A mode of hostility quite in keeping with the party which had issued a Proclamation, in these words, "By the King.—Charles II. by the grace of God King of England, etc., to all our good and loving Subjects, peace and prosperity: Whereas it is apparent to all rational and unbiassed men throughout the world, that a certain mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, hath by most wicked and accursed ways and means, against all laws both divine and human,—taking opportunity through the late sad and unnatural wars in our kingdoms—most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms, to the enslaving and ruining the persons and estates of the good people our free subjects therein, after he had most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear Father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign: These are therefore in our Name to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword or poison, or by any other way or manner whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth; and whosoever, whether soldier or other, shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service, both to God, to his King, and to his country, We do by these presents, and in the word and faith of a Christian King, promise, as a reward for his good service, to give him and his heirs for ever five hundred pounds *per annum*, free land, or the full sum in money for which such a proportion may be purchased of the owners, and also the honour of knighthood to him and his heirs: and if he shall be a soldier of the army, We do also promise to give him a colonel's place, and such honourable employment wherein he may be capable of attaining to further preferment answerable to his merit. . . Given at Paris, the 3d of May, 1654." Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 248.

b Baillie's *Let.* 199, to Spang, Jan 31st. 1661-2, p. 442.

c See back, p. 408.

d Hos. viii. 7.

e *Let.* 200, p. 456.

f P. 511.

g He had previously been concerned in a plot for the destruction of the Protector Oliver, with gunpowder, while in the chapel at Whitehall. And in Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, vol. i. p. 349, we have discovered an "Information" that Col. Harrison, Mr. Pheake [Feake see back, p. 477], Mr. Can [Canne], and Mr. Rogers [see back, p. 478,] meet ordinarily at Mr. Dafone's house in Bartholomew-lane, near the Royal Exchange, where they profess themselves ready for an insurrection; the time being now come, as they say, wherein 'the three years

ing been preconcerted, he now sallied forth with fifty or more followers, all armed, intending the subversion of the restored dynasty; and being joined by confederates in other districts, a murderous attack commenced upon all who opposed them, but such was the unpreparedness of the authorities, that it was not till Wednesday that the leaders were captured, and the peace of the city was restored. But this affair was speedily taken advantage of by those in power to act rigorously against all parties which were opposed to the revival of prelacy.^a “Clarendon and the ministry,” Hume says, “took occasion from this insurrection, to infer the dangerous spirit of the Presbyterians and of all the sectaries: but the madness of the attempt sufficiently proved that it had been undertaken by no concert, and never could have proved dangerous. . . . But as a pretence was wanted, besides their old demerits, for justifying the intended rigours against all of them, this reason, however slight, was greedily laid hold of.”^b Accordingly the next day after the suppression of the disturbance, Jan. 10th, a proclamation was issued prohibiting all meetings for public worship other than in parochial Churches; or in private houses, only by the persons inhabiting them: “Although nothing can be more unwelcome to us,” so *honestly*, this instrument opens, “than the necessity of restraining some part of that liberty which was indulged to tender consciences by our late gracious Declaration; yet since divers persons

and a half’ is at an end in which ‘the witnesses’ have lain dead, and that there will be a resurrection of them. It is confidently believed, that upon this delusion they will ground an attempt which may be attended with some mischief, they professing it to be their resolution to destroy all that shall oppose them.—June 15th, 1657.” An additional proof of the vigilance employed by the agents of Cromwell’s government, is afforded as follows: “Mr. Portman, a prisoner in the Tower, was upon his petition, brought before the House, with the cause of his imprisonment. The warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower for apprehending him was produced; and being only from the Usurper, in these words following—‘Feb. 3d, 1657-8. Sir, I desire you to seize Major-general Harrison, Mr. Carew, Portman, and such as are eminent Fifth-Monarchy Men, especially Feake and Rogers; do it speedily and you shall have a Warrant after you have done,’—the Parliament voted his imprisonment illegal and unjust, and freed him out of prison without paying either fees or charges.” A True or Impartial Narrative: etc. By Slingsby Bethell, Esq. M. P. 1659. See Somers’ Tracts, vol. iv. p. 527.

^a As Charles I. had signed the Statute depriving the Bishops of all temporal preferments, they could only be restored to their former privileges by another Statute. “Yet was the spirit of fanaticism strong enough in *their* House to make a considerable opposition against this just [!] Act, insomuch that had not the Roman Catholic Peers then sitting in the House unanimously voted for the Bishops, they had been kept out, and, in all probability, never recovered their seats in Parliament: so that it appeared they owed their restitution to these Roman Catholic Lords! And it is here well worth observing, that a few years after, when the Test was invented for excluding those Roman Catholic Peers from sitting in the House of Lords, the Bishops carried it against them; for without their votes the Bill had not passed: so that the Roman Catholic Lords brought the Bishops into the House, and the Bishops turned them out of it!” “The History of the Downfal and Resurrection of Episcopacy, etc. 1717.” 12mo. p. 180.

^b Hist. of England, chap. lxiii. He says in a note, previously, “that Venner’s insurrection furnished a reason or pretence for keeping up the Guards;” and in the text, he remarks, “this was the first appearance under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this Island.”

known by the name of Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth Monarchy Men, or some such like appellation, . . . do daily meet in great numbers in secret places, etc., to the disturbance of the public peace by insurrection and murder, etc.^a

“On Thursday, Jan. 17th, twenty of the persons taken in arms were arraigned together at Justice-hall in the Old Bailey; the rest being dangerously wounded, were put off by the Court for a future time. . . First, Thomas Venner was called, who . . . being asked whether he was guilty or not guilty, began an extravagant and bottomless discourse about the Fifth Monarchy, and his having had a testimony above twenty years in New England; . . . and at last, submitted to a trial: . . . confessed himself in the insurrection, but said *he* did not lead them; and when the witnesses positively swore it, he excused it and said it was not *he*, but ‘Jesus’ led them: that he could not deny but that most of the things witnessed against him were true; yet pleaded that he could not commit treason, because the king was not yet crowned! But being told by the Court, that every Englishman knows ‘the king never dies’; and, that that opinion of his was first started by Watson the Jesuit, he pressed it no further.”^b Venner and another were hanged and quartered before the door of the meeting-house from which they sallied; Jan. 19th. Three others suffered in different parts of the city; ten were relieved.

These particulars, with all previously relating to Canne especially, constitute an episode, as it were, in the general plan pursued in these Memorials; but without them neither could a just impression of the state of the several parties have been communicated, nor would the full bearings of the following document be understood and appreciated as now they are capable of being in both respects. We have judged it right therefore, by anticipation, to weaken though we should not be able to obliterate undeserved reproach; and consequently to extend our limits a few pages that we might introduce “A Renunciation and Declaration of the Ministers of Congregational Churches, and Public Preachers of the same Judgment, living in and about the City of London: Against the late Horrid Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the said City. 1661.” 4to. pp. 9.

“THERE hath been of late a Rebellion so impious and prodigiously daring, acted upon so open and great a stage as this famous and populous City, and before the sun of Gospel light shining round about us; as that the noise thereof cannot but make its own report not only throughout all Christendom, but even to the ends of the earth, and fill the most barbarous and inhuman of nations that shall hear it, with astonishment to the highest scandal of [the] Christian religion: yea, and let down the hateful memory thereof to all ages to come as that which, perhaps, cannot be paralleled except by those at Munster, of the same principle, in the former age! And this grand iniquity hav-

^a Kennet's Chronicle, 1741. fol. p. 352, 357.

^b A Relation of the Arraignment and Trial of those who made the late Rebelious Insurrection in London. 1661.” See Somers' Tracts, vol. iv. p. 520—523.—For other authorities for these particulars, consult Kennet's Chronicle, and his Complete History of England, vol. iii.; together with Thurloe.

ing, through the artifice of Satan, been falsely and most uncharitably charged on those—at least, as the favourers of it—whom some will needs style ‘the Independent Party:’

“We, therefore, hold ourselves necessitated to make this true and sincere Renunciation of and Protestation against so horrid a fact and principle they were acted [actuated] by, as both highly derogatory to Christ, and most pernicious to his saints.

“To Christ: In that his ‘Kingdom,’ the coming of which is by Him so closely annexed to the hallowing of God’s ‘Name;’ is, on the contrary, perverted to the greatest dishonour to Him, and the profaning of his Name, and a perfect contradiction to all those principles which He left behind him. And, that divine and heavenly seed—the image of Christ—laid by God in the souls of all his children, the eminent fruits whereof are lowliness of heart, self-denial, peaceableness, with the like; is, hereby, turned into a root of such bitterness, and unto so swollen a self-assuming, as under the title of ‘Saints’ as such, and in the Name of Jesus Christ, to take to themselves the titles of all the kingdoms of the world, and in the face of the full exercise of the dominion thereof, to pronounce the titles of all earthly Potentates actually and absolutely void; whom, from the apostles’ times and at this day, He hath continued as his own ‘ordinance;’ and unto whom He hath commanded saints as saints, and by so much the more because saints, ‘for conscience’ sake, to ‘be subject:’ and who, we are sure, according to the ordination of God, shall continue to [until] the destruction of the true ‘Babylon;’^a and yet to make all the Reformed Churches to be spiritual Babylon, and all Governments of the world to be civil Babylon, and all alike from henceforth to be destroyed.

“And to turn Meetings for Religious Worship—which ought only to assemble in the Name of Christ; and as to such ends only, have the promise of His presence,—into consultations and designments for the disturbance and destruction of those States which yet, by Christ, do reign, and under whose indulgence and protection they live; and then to render ‘faith,’ by which Believers overcome ‘the world,’^b an absolute folly, which this hath done, yea, and a daring madness manifest to all men:

“And, for vain and sorry man, or any company of the sons of men, to rise up and designedly to say within themselves, We will go to such and such a city; and from such or such a time, erect a new Throne for Jesus Christ the Son of God, from thence to reign over all the world; and then to think to invite Him from heaven and in the clouds, to bring him to ‘the Ancient of days,’ and so to give Him possession of that ‘Kingdom:’^c all which, are the sole sovereign prerogatives of God the Father to give; ‘Thine is the Kingdom;’ and of Christ the Son, to take to himself that ‘great power,’ and reign:^d and again, to undertake that which can be no other than the immediate act and work of Christ himself, to ‘create new heavens and [a]

^a Rev. xvii.

^b 1 John v. 4.

^c Dan. vii. 13, 14.

^d Rev. xi. 17.

new earth ;' and to fill the world with righteousness,—which 'I create,'^a saith the Lord ;—and must needs be judged a far greater work than the first creating of the old world, and never to be set up by outward violence :

“ To make all this, a Cause ; and the Cause of Religion ! By the power of force and blood, thus to obtain a worldly dominion, and power over all men's estates and lives ; what a high presumption is all this, and derogation to the glory of Christ !

“ Nor can there be any principle more pernicious to the 'saints' themselves, dispersed throughout the nations of the world ; seeing [that] the wrath of Princes and Governors, in all dominions, might thereby be inflamed, and their sword whetted against them. And it engageth all these men themselves or any other, with whom this wicked persuasion shall prevail, to destroy the whole body of 'saints' and others, promiscuously, as enemies to the 'Kingdom' of Christ, if not of this opinion. As if that Jesus Christ, who is 'Lord over all,' and 'rich unto all,'^b having so long expected the accomplishment of his 'Kingdom,' were so impatiently desirous of a kingdom of Saints to be set up in the world, that to advance it though but in a few, He regarded not the thousands of thousands of the people of God that are in the world, and who in their consciences stand engaged to oppose it.

“ Neither is this Protestation now made against such principles and proceedings other, in the tendency and drift thereof, than what some years since, such of us as had opportunity thereunto did, by Letters, declare unto divers in this kingdom whose principles then were comparatively modest ; for which we have ever since been openly reproached personally by name in writings and otherwise, as is well known. And again, in a Meeting at the Savoy, above two years since, of persons sent from one hundred and twenty Churches^c of our Way, in the Confession of Faith there by them agreed upon, it was, as concerning Magistrates in the general, unanimously declared as followeth, chap. xxiv. arts. i—iv.^d

“ And accordingly, we cease not to pour out hearty prayers for all sorts of blessings spiritual and temporal, upon the person and government of His Majesty, both in our congregations, families, and retirements ; and through God's grace, according to our duties shall continue so to do ourselves and to persuade others thereunto, and to live quietly and peaceably 'in all godliness and honesty.'^e

“ To conclude all : We have a far greater and sadder occasion to utter of these late attempts and resolutions, what Jacob did of that fatal execution by 'Simeon and Levi' upon a whole city—the order of the words being only inverted—the 'instruments of cruelty are in their *habitations*'—which, ver. 6, is termed 'Assembly'—'cursed be their anger, for it was fierce ; and their wrath, for it was cruel :' and we each one say, 'O my soul, come not thou into their secret ; unto

^a Isai. lxx. 17.

^b Rom. x. 12.

^c See back, p. 517.

^d See back, p. 542.

^e 1 Tim. ii. 2.

their Assembly, mine honour, be not thou united;’ but let God ‘divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel!’^a

Joseph Caryl,	Samuel Slater,	William Greenhill,
George Griffith,	George Cockayne,	Mathew Barker,
Richard Kentish,	Thomas Goodwin,	Thomas Malory,
Robert Bragg,	Thomas Brooks,	John Loder,
Ralph Venning,	Cam[shaw] Helm,	John Yates,
John Oxenbridge,	John Hodges,	Th[ankful] Owen,
Philip Nye,	John Bachiler,	Nathaniel Mather,
John Ro[w]e,	Seth Wood,	William Stoughton, ^b
Thomas Weld,		

January, 1660[-1].”

Our task is finished; yet from one wild outrage of rationality, our regret is, if possible, increased on leaving it followed by those other “evil days,” and “evil tongues,”

————— “the barbarous dissonance
Of BACCHUS and his revelers!”^c

Had the second Charles been as sedate as the governance of so great a nation awakened to its own interests called for, he had been enrolled in the list of the world’s benefactors; but, alas! beguiled by debased and fawning courtiers, and suffered to wallow in a sty of corruption, a corresponding odour cleaves to his memory, the strength of which not time even will abate; for what single virtue had he wherewith to savour the olio of his vices? At his restoration, all that he found of “the living body of Religion,” was destined to be “bound down to the dead corpse of superannuated Polity.”^d But we resign “this theme of everlasting interest” into other hands, consoling ourselves with the conviction that “the passion for increase of knowledge,” and “the mighty instincts of progression and free agency,” are preparing the world for that only “equilibrium”^e which is the produce on earth of peace, “GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN!”^f

If a synopsis of the results of our labours in these Historical Memorials be looked for, the following is submitted as among the leading points which make up the sum of those results. Herein, Obloquy derived from the Brownists, is removed:—The personal characters of the earliest promoters of Independency are established

^a Gen. xlix. 5—7.

^b These names are all in Dr. Calamy’s Account of the Ejected Ministers, etc., 1713.—It is right to state that simultaneously with the Independents’ “Renunciation,” appeared “The Humble Apology of some commonly called Anabaptists, in behalf of themselves and others of the same Judgment with them: With their Protestation against the late wicked and most horrid Treasonable Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the City of London. Together with an Apology formerly presented to the King’s most excellent Majesty.”—Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 358.

^c Milton, Parad. Lost, bk. vii. l. 26, 32, 33.

^d Alexis de Tocqueville.

^e Letters, etc., of S. T. Coleridge. 1836. 12mo. vol. i. Let. viii. p. 52.

^f Luke ii. 14.

beyond the possibility of success in any future attempt seriously to damage them:—The body of the Independents is relieved from the censure of groundless Separation:—Independency is proved more than competent to grapple with Presbyterianism:—The succession of the Independents is not from the Puritans:—Baptists, so called, are reduced to their proper position:—Political and Ecclesiastical facts and principles are brought out, which an unjustifiable timidity allowed to be covered with apparent neglect:—Historical and philosophical consistency, is advantageously effected:—Independents possess withal, a denominational Work comprising a catenation of documentary evidence not exceeded in interest and importance by any, in its department of Ecclesiastical literature.^a

^a Calamy says, in his "Account," 1713, vol. i. p. 30, that Nye "had a complete History of the old Puritan Dissenters, in MS., which was burnt at Alderman Clarkson's in the fire of London," 1666.

APPENDIX.

THE FAITH, CHURCH ORDER, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL OR INDEPENDENT DISSENTERS, AS SET FORTH IN THE DECLARATION ADOPTED AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION, HELD IN LONDON, May 7th, 8th, and 10th, 1833.*

ADVERTISEMENT.—As there is reason to believe that the opinions of the Congregational Dissenters have been greatly misunderstood and even misrepresented, and that a large body of their countrymen suppose them to be either Socinians or Methodists, the attention of the brethren assembled at the general meeting of the CONGREGATIONAL UNION, held in London, May 11, 1832, was invited to the subject, and they were requested to deliberate on the best methods of disabusing the public mind. A DECLARATION of Faith and Church Order was suggested, and the draught of such a document was submitted for their consideration. On a business of such moment, it was determined, however, first to consult the Ministers and Churches of the respective County and District Associations, whether, in accordance with the example of their nonconformist ancestors, it be desirable to publish a Declaration of the leading articles of their faith and practice; and whether, if deemed advisable, that Declaration should be made by such a statement as that which had been presented to them.

The proposed Declaration was accordingly appended to the printed Report of the meeting, and in that form submitted for the consideration of the County and District Associations.

At the last General Meeting it was found that the publication of a Declaration is deemed to be expedient, and that the draught had “met with the general approbation of the Churches,” subject to the verbal alterations that had been suggested in various quarters: an open Committee was therefore appointed for its final revision.

On Friday, May 10th, 1833, it was presented by that Committee in its revised state to the General Meeting, and unanimously adopted “as the Declaration of the Congregational Body, with the distinct understanding, that it is not intended as a Test or Creed for Subscription,” as is, indeed, stated in the “Preliminary Notes.” In accordance with the wishes of that meeting, it is now put forth in a cheap form for the use and information of the churches and the public.

J. BLACKBURN,
W. S. PALMER,
JOSHUA WILSON, } *Secretaries.*

London, August, 6, 1833.

DECLARATION.—THE CONGREGATIONAL Churches in England and Wales, frequently called INDEPENDENT, hold the following Doctrines as of Divine authority, and as the foundation of Christian faith and practice.

They are also formed and governed according to the principles hereinafter stated.

PRELIMINARY NOTES.—1. It is not designed in the following summary, to do more than to state the leading doctrines of faith and order maintained by Congregational Churches in general.

* “Looking at such a Confession of Faith put forth by the Congregationalists, as I hold in my hand,—if it can be called a Confession of Faith, being a summary of doctrine held by them generally as congregations, thoroughly in accordance with our own theology,—and looking to the practical working of their system, according to which they are associated together; why should we not anticipate good from a full and friendly conference and discussion of our differences, as well as of our agreements, with prayer for the guidance of God’s holy Spirit?” Speech of the Rev. Dr. Candlish, at the “Bicentenary” of the Westminster Assembly, at Edinburgh, Thursday, July 13th, 1843; on “The leading features and excellencies of the Westminster Standards.”—Edin. 1843. 8vo. p 155.

2. It is not proposed to offer any proofs, reasons, or arguments, in support of the doctrines herein stated ; but simply to declare what the denomination believes to be taught by the pen of inspiration.

3. It is not intended to present a scholastic or critical confession of faith ; but merely such a statement as any intelligent member of the body might offer, as containing its leading principles.

4. It is not intended that the following statement should be put forth with any Authority, or as a standard to which assent should be required.

5. Disallowing the utility of creeds and articles of religion as a bond of union, and protesting against subscription to any human formularies as a term of communion, Congregationalists are yet willing to declare, for general information, what is commonly believed among them ; reserving to every one the most perfect liberty of conscience.

6. Upon some minor points of doctrine and practice, they, differing among themselves, allow to each other the right to form an unbiassed judgment of the Word of God.

7. They wish it to be observed that, notwithstanding their jealousy of subscription to creeds and articles, and their disapproval of the imposition of any human standard, whether of faith or discipline, they are far more agreed in their doctrines and practices than any church which enjoins subscription and enforces a human standard of orthodoxy ; and they believe that there is no minister and no church among them, that would deny the substance of any one of the following doctrines of religion, though each might prefer to state his sentiments his own way.

PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION.—i. The Scriptures of the Old Testament as received by the Jews, and the books of the New Testament as received by the Primitive Christians from the Evangelists and Apostles, Congregational Churches believe to be divinely inspired and of supreme authority. These writings in the languages in which they were originally composed, are to be consulted by the aids of sound criticism, as a final appeal in all controversies ; but the common version they consider to be adequate to the ordinary purposes of christian instruction and edification.

ii. They believe in One God, essentially wise, holy, just, and good ; eternal, infinite, and immutable, in all natural and moral perfections ; the Creator, Supporter, and Governor of all beings, and of all things.

iii. They believe that God is revealed in the Scriptures, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that to each are attributable the same Divine properties and perfections. The doctrine of the Divine existence, as above-stated, they cordially believe, without attempting fully to explain.

iv. They believe that man was created after the Divine image, sinless, and in his kind perfect.

v. They believe that the first man disobeyed the Divine command, fell from his state of innocence and purity, and involved all his posterity in the consequences of that fall.

vi. They believe that therefore all mankind are born in sin, and that a fatal inclination to moral evil, utterly incurable by human means, is inherent in every descendant of Adam.

vii. They believe that God having, before the foundation of the world, designed to redeem fallen man, made disclosures of his mercy, which were the grounds of faith and hope from the earliest ages.

viii. They believe that God revealed more fully to Abraham the covenant of his grace ; and, having promised that from his descendants should arise the Deliverer and Redeemer of mankind, set that patriarch and his posterity apart, as a race specially favoured, and separated to his service ; a peculiar church, formed and carefully preserved under the Divine sanction and government, until the birth of the promised Messiah.

ix. They believe that in the fulness of the time, the Son of God was manifested in the flesh, being born of the Virgin Mery, but conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit ; and that our Lord Jesus Christ was both the Son of man and the Son of God ; partaking fully and truly of human nature, though without sin,—equal with the Father, and “the express image of His person.”

x. They believe that Jesus Christ the Son of God, revealed, either personally in his own ministry, or by the Holy Spirit in the ministry of his apostles, the

whole mind of God for our salvation ; and that, by his obedience to the Divine law while he lived, and by his sufferings unto death, he meritoriously “ obtained eternal redemption for us ;” having thereby vindicated and illustrated Divine justice, “ magnified the law,” and “ brought in everlasting righteousness.”

xi. They believe that, after his death and resurrection, He ascended up into heaven, where, as the Mediator, he “ ever liveth ” to rule over all, and to “ make intercession for them that come unto God by him.”

xii. They believe that the Holy Spirit is given, in consequence of Christ's mediation, to quicken and renew the hearts of men ; and, that his influence is indispensably necessary to bring a sinner to true repentance, to produce saving faith, to regenerate the heart, and to perfect our sanctification.

xiii. They believe that we are justified through faith in Christ, as “ the Lord our righteousness ;” and not “ by the works of [the] Law.”

xiv. They believe that all who will be saved were the objects of God's eternal and electing love, and were given by an act of Divine sovereignty to the Son of God : which in no way interferes with the system of means, nor with grounds of human responsibility ; being wholly unrevealed as to its objects, and not a rule of human duty.

xv. They believe that the Scriptures teach the final perseverance of all true believers to a state of eternal blessedness, which they are appointed to obtain through constant faith in Christ, and uniform obedience to his commands.

xvi. They believe that a holy life will be the necessary effect of a true faith, and that good works are the certain fruits of a vital union to Christ.

xvii. They believe that the sanctification of true Christians, or their growth in the graces of the Spirit and meetness for heaven, is gradually carried on through the whole period during which it pleases God to continue them in the present life ; and that at death, their souls, perfectly freed from all remains of evil, are immediately received into the presence of Christ.

xviii. They believe in the perpetual obligation of Baptism and the Lord's supper : the former to be administered to all converts to Christianity and their children, by the application of water to the subject, “ in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ;” and the latter to be celebrated by Christian churches as a token of faith in the Saviour, and of brotherly love.

xix. They believe that Christ will finally come to judge the whole human race, according to their works ; that the bodies of the dead will be raised again ; and that as the Supreme Judge, he will divide the righteous from the wicked, will receive the righteous into “ life everlasting,” but send away the wicked into “ everlasting punishment.”

xx. They believe that Jesus Christ directed his followers to live together in christian fellowship, and to maintain the communion of saints ; and that, for this purpose they are jointly to observe all Divine ordinances, and maintain that church order and discipline which is either expressly enjoined by inspired institution, or sanctioned by the undoubted example of the apostles and of apostolic churches.

PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH ORDER AND DISCIPLINE.—i. The Congregational Churches hold it to be the will of Christ that true believers should voluntarily assemble together to observe religious ordinances, to promote mutual edification and holiness, to perpetuate and propagate the Gospel in the world, and to advance the glory and worship of God, through Jesus Christ ; and that each society of believers having these objects in view in its formation, is properly a Christian Church.

ii. They believe that the New Testament contains, either in the form of express statute or in the example and practice of apostles and apostolic churches, all the articles of faith necessary to be believed, and all the principles of order and discipline requisite for constituting and governing christian societies ; and, that human traditions, fathers, and councils, canons and creeds, possess no authority over the faith and practice of Christians.

iii. They acknowledge Christ as the only Head of the Church ; and the officers of each church under him, as ordained to administer his laws impartially to all ; and their only appeal in all questions touching their religious faith and practice, is to the Sacred Scriptures.

iv. They believe that the New Testament authorizes every christian church to elect its own officers, to manage all its own affairs, and to stand independent of and irresponsible to all authority, saving that only of the Supreme and Divine Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ.

v. They believe that the only officers placed by the apostles over individual churches are the bishops or pastors, and the deacons; the number of these being dependent upon the numbers of the church; and that to these, as the officers of the church, is committed respectively the administration of its spiritual and temporal concerns—subject, however, to the approbation of the church.

vi. They believe that no persons should be received as members of christian churches, but such as make a credible profession of Christianity, are living according to its precepts, and attest a willingness to be subject to its discipline; and, that none should be excluded from the fellowship of the church, but such as deny the faith of Christ, violate his laws, or refuse to submit themselves to the discipline which the Word of God enforces.

vii. The power of admission into any christian church, and rejection from it, they believe to be vested in the church itself; and to be exercised only through the medium of its own officers.

viii. They believe that christian churches should stately meet for the celebration of public worship, for the observance of the Lord's supper, and for the sanctification of the first day of the week.

ix. They believe that the power of a christian church is purely spiritual, and should in no way be corrupted by union with temporal or civil power.

x. They believe that it is the duty of christian churches to hold communion with each other, to entertain an enlarged affection for each other as members of the same body, and to co-operate for the promotion of the christian cause: but that no church nor union of churches, has any right or power to interfere with the faith or discipline of any other church, further than to separate from such as in faith or practice depart from the Gospel of Christ.

xi. They believe that it is the privilege and duty of every church to call forth such of its members as may appear to be qualified by the Holy Spirit, to sustain the office of the ministry: and, that christian churches unitedly ought to consider the maintenance of the christian ministry in an adequate degree of learning, as one of its especial cares; that the cause of the Gospel may be both honourably sustained and constantly promoted.

xii. They believe that church officers, whether bishops or deacons, should be chosen by the free voice of the church; but that their dedication to the duties of their office should take place with special prayer, and by solemn designation; to which most of the churches add the imposition of hands by those already in office.

xiii. They believe that the fellowship of every christian church should be so liberal as to admit to communion in the Lord's supper all whose faith and godliness are, on the whole, undoubted, though conscientiously differing in points of minor importance; and that this outward sign of fraternity in Christ should be co-extensive with the fraternity itself, though without involving any compliances which conscience would deem to be sinful."

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