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DISCOURSES

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RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.



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Religious Liberty an invaluable Blessing:

ILLUSTRATED in TWO

DISCOURSES

Preached at Roxbury Decr. 3. 1767.

Being the Day of general

THANKSGIVING.

By Amos Adams, A. M.

Pastor of the first Church in Roxbury.

Psal. xliv. 1, 2. We have heard with our Ears, O God, our Fathers have told us, what Work Thou didst in their Days, in the Times of old; how Thou didst drive out the Heathen with thy Hand, and plantest them; how Thou, didst afflist the People, and cast them out.

Exod. xv. 2.—My Fathers God and I will exalt Him.

B O S T O N : N. E.

Printed by KNEELAND and ADAMS, in Milk-Street. for THOMAS LEVERETT, in Corn-Hill. 1768.

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Religious Liberty an invaluable Blessing.

DISCOURSE I.

GALATIANS V. I.

Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ bath made us free, and he not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage.

fpeaks of in the text, was the rites fpeaks of in the text, was the rites fpeaks of in the text, was the rites fill and ceremonies of the mosaic law. Many, in that day, pretended to embrace the christian faith, but, at the same time, taught and practifed circumcision and obedience to the law of Moses. This the Apostle considered as an abridgment of christian liberty, and an unreasonable imposition, especially, on the Gentile converts. This the Apostles called a yoke—which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear; and in this epistle, it is called a being in bondage, under the elements of this world. The principal design of this, and of some other of St. Paul's epistles,

epiftles, is to vindicate the *liberty* of believers from the obligation of the mosaic law, and to show, that by embracing the law, they do virtually renounce Christ and fall from the doctrines of grace. Having thus vindicated the *liberty* of christians from legal impositions, he, in the text, fervently exhorts them to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ bath made them free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. In discoursing on these words, I shall,

- I. SHEW, that christianity is a system of the most perfect and valuable religious liberty.
- II. NEVERTHELESS, christians have sometimes had this liberty abridged, and have groaned under the unscriptural impositions of men.
- III. I SHALL take a brief view of the religious liberty, which God, in his good providence, hath granted and is continuing to the churches, in this land.
- IV. Show, that it is highly incumbent on us to understand, and praise God, for our religious priviledges; and to stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ bath made us free.

AND while I am discoursing to you, on this subject, I shall not think, that I have altogether mistook the design of this anniversary day, on which, our religious priviledges ought to be one principal article of our joy and thanksgiving.

I. CHRISTIANITY is a fystem of the most perfect, and valuable religious liberty. Whoever will be at the pains to consider the genius and spirit of christianity.

christianity, as laid down by Christ and his Apostles, will find, that it is, on every account, a system of the most perfect liberty.

Not that it relaxes our obligations to perfect and universal holiness; or is, in any sense, friendly to licentiousness: The law of God, in its spiritual meaning, is not set aside, nor toleration, in any single instance, given for sensual indulgence. The Apostles ever disavowed such a doctrine: preaching, that we are not without law to God, but nuder the law to Jesus Christ. They called on christians; for brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the sless, but by love serve one another.

But yet the gospel breaths the spirit of religious liberty—liberty from the guilt of sin, and the condemnation of the law. Liberty from the dominion of sin, the slavery of satan—Liberty from the elements of the jewish law, and liberty from the impositions of men; conceding to every man, that fundamental right of nature, to examine and judge for himself, in matters of religion; and to worship God, according to the dictates of conscience, and the institutions of the head of the church, without the impositions of mankind. These are glorious liberties of the sons of God.

Our Saviour early intimated, that his was to to be a kingdom of rest and liberty; that is, at least, one thing implied in that gracious invitation, Mat. XI. 28. Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. And again, Joh. VIII. 36. If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. Before Pilate our Lord declared, John XVIII. 36. My kingdom

is not of this world. Mat. XX. 25. Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them-but it shall not be so among you; But whoseever will be great among you, let him be your minister : and who soever will be chief among you, let him be your fervant.—The Apostles, though divinely inspired, did not pretend to be the lords of mens faith; they recommended careful enquiry, and defired no means of propagating the christian doctrine and worship, among Yews or Gentiles, but, by manifestation of the truth, and giving miraculous witness to the same. They constantly called on men to attend the evidences of truths, of such unalterable consequence; not, says an inspired Apostle, that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy. They called on men to exercise their own judgment; and, in points of controverlys, gave this advice, Rom. XIV. 5. Let every man be fully perswaded in his own mind. Christians are strictly forbidden judging and condemning one as nother, ver. 4. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Ver. 10, But why dost thou judge thy brother, or set at nought thy brother? For we shall all stand, at the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ. The Apostles knew that christianity, in its facts, doctrines, forms of worship and discipline, could not fuffer, by the freest and fullest enquiry. Although they were fully perswaded of its truth and excellency, yet they defired no one to be followers of them, but, fo far as they gave evidence, that christianity was from heaven. In short, the Apostle James I. 25. exactly describes the nature of the gospel, and the spirit it universally breaths, when he calls it, the law of liberty, and tells us we shall be judged by the law of liberty.

II. ALTHOUGH

II. ALTHOUGH religious liberty be such an unalienable right of nature, and so fully maintained in the gospel of Christ, yet there have been frequent attempts to deprive christians of this liberty. Heathens and christians, Jews and Gentiles have united, in violating the rights of conscience; imposing, either the worship of false gods, or else the doctrines and injunctions of men respecting the

worship of the true God.

THE first enemies to Christ, and the liberties of his kingdom, were the unbelieving Jews. As they, all along, fet themselves against Christ, and crucifyed the Lord of glory, so, when the gospel. was preached, and christianity began to spread, after our Lord's ascension; especially, when the word was preached to the Gentiles, and they received into the church, without circumcifion, they aroused, and exerted themselves to oppose the doctrines of the Apostles. Wherever these came preaching the gospel, those infidels stired up the people to persecute and destroy them. Almost, if not quite, all the opposition, which the Apostles met with, proceeded from the malice and zeal of the Jews stiring up the heathen to persecute the followers of Jesus. The Roman government seems to have been less zealous, in the persecution of the christians, than these biggoted Jews. Many, who did, in a fense, embrace christianity, were yet extreamly fond of retaining the jewish rites; and could not be content without imposing them on the consciences of the Gentile converts. Often does St. Paul warn christians of judaizing teachers; much does he say to establish them in their liberty. In Gal. II. 4. he speaks of false bretbren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring ins into bondage.

When christianity spread, and became an object of general attention, it alarmed the zeal of the Heathen world, and they became the successors of the Jews in persecuting the church of God. The Pagans were strongly possessed in favour of their national religion; of their gods and facrifices: temples and altars; their festivals and sacred ministrations, which, they found, the christian religion was defigned to overthrow. They were jealous of the worship of the gods; and though they did not refuse to admit the saviour of the world into the number of the gods, yet, when they faw the christians abandoning the pagan gods and their worship, they were enraged. When they saw men convinced by the light of truth, and conscientiously turning from dumb idols, to serve the living God, and wait for his son from beaven, the aid of the civil majestrate was implored, to extirpate so dangerous an herefy. The Roman Emperors, at least many of them, became the furious persecutors of the disciples—the harmless followers of the lowly Jesus; until the reign of Constantine, the first christian Emperor, by whom, christianity received a civil establishment, in the beginning of the fourth century. Before this time, thousands of holy Martyrs had fealed the testimony of Jesus with their blood. But so far were these violent and unreasonable perfecutions, of quiet and good subjects, who defired only to live in all good conscience, towards God and man, from rooting out the christian religion; that they ferved but to propagate it the more; multitudes feeing the patience and constancy of the Martyrs, under the cruelest sufferings, embraced the religion, for which they dyed. These violent persecutions, doubtless, awakned thousands to examine into a religion, that had so many to dye

dye for it; and it hath, from that time, been a common faying, that the blood of the Martyrs was the seed of the church.

UNDER Constantine, the empire became christian. Paganism was abolished by imperial Edicts, and christianity became the national, the established religion of the Roman empire. The christian emperors heaped many honours and priviledges on the evangelic ministry; dignity and wealth became the temptations to ecclesiastical functions. The purity of the christian ministry was lost; the simplicity of christian manners was sadly corrupted, an awful example was lest, to teach us, how little temporal power can do to advance real christianity; yea, I might say, how contrary the dignities and riches of this world are to the simplicity of the gospel.

Nothing is more natural to us than a defire to impose our own judgment on our fellow men; we earnestly wish to bring all men to a conformity to our own judgments and manners. This is an instance of the natural pride of our hearts. This was the scource of pagan persecution, and this principle produced infinite mischiefs in the christian world. Pride, working in the hearts of professors, would not long fuffer the church to be quiet, in the free enjoyment of the rights of conscience. 'As christians could not, in every thing, think alike, frequent attempts were made to propagate the opinions of men, concerning faith and worship, by the decrees of councils and synods—the secular arm. was foon called in, and employed, to enforce the decrees of councils; and they, who could not subscribe to forms, of buman invention, were perseguted, excommunicated, and driven into banishment and death. Thus, in a few ages, we find councils against councils, fathers against fathers, sects of christians embittered against each other, and mutually persecuting one another, as they could engage the majestrate on their side: All sides in their turns commenced persecutors; nothing seems to have been less understood than mutual forbearance, and the liberty of private judgment, in matters of religion. I do but hint at what is fully known, to such as are acquainted with ecclesiastical history.

It is needless to point out the steps, by which, the bishops of Rome made their way to the papal power. The Apostle tells us, 2 Thess. II. 7. that, in his time, the mystery of this iniquity 'doth already work. It then, had its beginning, in the pride and love of pre-eminence, which were, then, difcernable in some christians. The aspiring views of the roman bishops, the favours of emperors, and the splendor of their see; Rome, for ages, having been the capitol of the world, all conspired to advance the power of the roman pontiffs; until, at length, the bishop of Rome was declated and acknowledged, univerfal bishop of the church, the fuccessor of St. Peter, and the Vicar of Christ, on earth. For many hundreds of years, the popes were, generally, acknowledged head of the church; kings and potentates sumbitted to their jurisdiction, and held their kingdoms, as gifts of the roman fee. - They decided controversies; formed articles of faith, appointed rites and ceremonies in the worship of God; to all which a blind and absolute obedience was required; they granted indulgences, pardoned fins, and opened and shut the gates of heaven, at their pleafure; exactly fulfilling that prophetic

prophetic character of antichrist, 2 Thess. II. 4. so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself, that he is God. Thus the liberties of the church were given up to the popes of Rome; all the rights of conscience were troden under foot.

During this grand papal apostacy, christians. not content with the simplicity of gospel worship and discipline, were continually adding their own inventions to the worship of God. Transubstantiation, the worship of images, relics, saints and angels, and all the superstitions of popery made their way into the church: Rome christian refembled Rome pagan; and the christian resembled the pagan temples; an awful example to what lengths men will go, when they leave the pattern, which Christ and his Apostles have left us, and pretend to decorate the worship of God, with their own inventions !- Thus the worship of God was filled with idolatry, the temples of God became the temples of idols: the scriptures were little underflood; the fensless decrees of popes, and councils were received, with blind submission, as the rules of faith and worship.

THESE were dark ages; a cloud of ignorance overspread the church: superstition and idolatry well nigh extinguished the pure and noble religion of Jesus. The teachers of the people were ignorant and immoral: real learning was in a great measure banished out of the church of God, and the people proportionably sunk into ignorance and superstition.

Not that God left bimself without witness, in these times of ignorance. All along, there were some, who saw the corruption of the church, and abhorred

abhorred the superstitions and idolatrys of the times. So long ago as the twelfth century the Waldenses and Albigenses, * in France and Savoy, openly declared against the abuses of the church of Rome; they boldly preached, that the pope is not head of the church, denyed the real corporal presence of Christ, in the Eucharist, the worshiping of faints and images, and seperated themselves from the ramish communion. These glorious witneffes of God's truth became martyrs, in the cause of reformation. The papal bulls raifed the zeal of Christendom, to extirpate this unhappy people: all manner of barbarities and cruelties were practised upon them, and multitudes perished in the glorious cause. However, their doctrines could not be suppressed; the dreadful persecution, they fuffered, spread their opinions, through most parts of Europe: Thousands had their eyes opened, to fee the errors of popery; and then were fown the feeds, which, afterward, fprung up, and, at length, produced the glorious reformation.

God, whose ways are unsearchable, and his judgments past sinaing out, is greatly to be adored, for raising up such a number of great and learned men, in the sisteenth and sixteenth centurys. The sall of the eastern empire, and the extension of the turkish dominion into Europe, was the revival of learning in the west. Tis too great a work to tell you, by what means and instruments, the reformation opened and advanced. It must suffice to say, learning revived; by the indefatigable labours of divers learned and worthy Divines, the people were enlightened to discern the errors of popery; they were taught that the pope was antickrist; enquiry

[&]quot; See Perrin's Hift. of the Waldenses.

quiry and private judgment were promoted, fovereign princes were perswaded to abandon the romish church, and patronize the cause of reformation—a glorious resormation was accomplished; and a deadly wound was given to papal power.

In the fourteenth century, about 130 years before the reformation of Luther, flourished that stout and valiant champion of the truth, John Wickliffe, by whom, the feeds of the reformation feem to have been fown in England. While professor of divinity at Oxford, he boldly published against transubstantiation, the infallibility of the pope, the pre-eminence of the church of Rome; teaching that the new testament is a perfect rule of faith and manners, and ought to be read, by the people : and further maintained most of the points, by which the Puritans were afterward distinguished; as, that there are but two orders in the ministry, viz. Presbyters or Bishops and Deacons; that all human traditions are useless; that mystical and significant ceremonies, in the worship of God, are unlawful; and that, to restrain men to a prescribed form of prayer, is contrary to the liberty granted them by God*. This Wickliffe was a wonderful man, for the times in which he lived. He was the first, that translated the new testament into English; he wrote near 200 volumes; and fuch was the kind providence of God, that, though his doctrines were condemned at Rome, and afterwards condemned, in a convocation at London, himself deprived of his professorship, his writings ordered to be burnt, and

^{*} Vid. Neal's Hift. of the Puritans. And if the reader would fee the principles of Wickliffe, he will find them; in the learned Mr. Pierce's vindication of the differences; p. 45; 46.

himself imprisoned, yet, he followed his ministry, and in an advanced age, quietly departed this life, 1384. His bones, with his works, were, however, ordered to be burnt, by the council of Constance, forey one years after his death: But his doctrines remained, the number of his disciples increased, which gave occasion to severe laws against heretics, his followers were vexed with a most greivous and cruel persecution, and some hundreds of them were put to death, before the grand reformation.

King Henry VIII, from the opposition he met with, in accomplishing the divorce of Queen Katherine, began and carried into execution a national seperation from the church of Rome.—He renounced the jurisdiction of the pope; assumed the ecclesiastical supremacy to himself, declared himself sole and supream head of the church of England, next and immediately under Christ; and, consequently, he assumed to himself all jurisdiction over the Clergy, with the whole power of reforming errors and heresies, in doctrine and worship; he suppressed the monasteries and religious houses, took away all authority of the pope, over the church of England, and established that seperation from Rome, which continues to this day.

Henry, in his younger life, was an obedient fon of the papacy, and, for writing against Luther, received, from his holiness, the title of defender of the faith. And still he was a papis, in the main, and persecuted papists and protestants, who did not fully comply with his own injunctions. Under him suffered holy Lambert, who was executed in Smithsfield, in a barbarous manner; crying out, in the slames, none but Christ, none but Christ. Nevertheless there were, in this reign, divers pious and learned

learned men, who longed for a real reformation is among whom was archbishop Cranmer, who took this opportunity to attempt a reformation in doctrine and worship. Books were printed, the bible again translated, and set up to be read in churches. But, by means of the rigid temper of the King; who would have nothing taught or maintained contrary to his own instructions, the reformation made but little progress in this reign. The most that the church legally obtained was, that the King was acknowledged head of the church, instead of the pope, and the fole right of reformation was vefted in the crown; royal proclamations had the force of laws, and the subject was obliged, under severe penalties, to believe, profess and obey according thereunto—as if the King had a right to judge for the whole nation, and impose upon them what religion he pleases, without their consent!

During the reign of Edward VI, who was a remarkably pious and learned prince, but dyed in the 16th year of his age, the reformation went on gloriously, under the direction of Cranmer, and other great and excellent reformers. The popish laws against heretics were repealed, by act of Parliament, and new ones enacted in favour of the reformation. Images were taken out of the chuches, and the rites and cerémonies of popery abolished—the sacrament was ordered in both kinds—private masses were put down—out of the roman Missals of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor and Lincoln, was composed the morning and evening service, almost in the same form it stands at present, only there was no confession or absolution; * from

Who adds "it would have obviated many objections, if

the same materials they composed the Litany, differing, in but one article, from that, which is now used—the mass-books were called in—the altars changed into communion tables—the doctrinal articles of the church of England were formed, being 42 in number, but fince reduced to 39.-The common prayer-book was, a fecond time, corrected, and established by act of Parliament. This was a great and glorious work! Although, it must be confessed, they were mistaken in using severities; and even Cranmer exposed himself to censure, by promoting or confenting to some executions. But yet, they were great and good men; valiant in the cause of truth, and made as quick advances, in restoring religion to its primitive simplicity, as the circumstances of the times would admit. These reformers, 'tis evident, would have gone farther, and did not defign this as the last standard of reformation; they left it under their hands, " that they had gone as far as they could, in re-" forming the church, considering the times they "lived in, and hoped that they that came after "them would, as they might, do more." * And the King himself lamented, that "he could not restore the primitive discipline, according to his heart's defire." +

King Edward was succeeded by Queen Mary, a biggoted papist; the work of reformation stoped, in an instant, a dark cloud hung over the glorious

[&]quot;the committee had thrown aside the mass book entired by, and composed an uniform service, in the language

of fcripture, - but this they were not aware of, or

[&]quot; the times would not bear it.

Vid. Pierce's vindication, p. 11. + Vid. p. 12.

rious reformers, who had done so much in the preceeding reign. The foreign protestants, who had taken shelter in England, from the storms of perfecution abroad, were driven out of the kingdom. Popery was again established, by act of Parliament. The popish ceremonies were established; the kingdom was reconciled to the see of Rome; several thousand protestant ministers were turned out of their livings. The penal laws against heretics were revived; multitudes fled from perfecution into foreign countrys. The bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. with Rogers, Bradford, and many others, who had been fuch glorious reformers, were cruelly burnt for herefy, and fealed their testimony to the reformation, with their blood. Two hundred and feventy seven persons * suffered death for religion; innumerable others were imprisoned, and preparing for execution, when God mercifully appeared for them, and the nation, delivering them from death, and the nation from popery and flavery, by the death of their merciles persecutor. -The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust to the day of judgment to be punished.

THE accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, gave new life to the reformation. Those, that had fled into other countrys, returned; and those, that had laid concealed, quickly appeared. She was, indeed, a favourer of the reformation, but thought it had been carried too far; she was fond of many of the old rites and ceremonies, in which she had been educated: She was naturally proud, affected much state, and, through all her life, set upon a uniformity

Of whom 5 were bishops, 21 ministers, 8 gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 husbandmen, 55 women, and 4 children.

uniformity in the worship of God. The supream ecclesialical power was vested in the Queen, by act of Parliament, which she did not fail to exercise, to vex and distress those, who could not, in conscience, conform to all the modes and habits of the established church. In the beginning of her reign, she established the court of bigh commission, which sported itself, in tyranny and oppression, until it became odious to the nation; at this time also passed that ast for the uniformity of common prayer, and service, in the church, and administration of the sacraments, which was the satal rock, on which, the peace of the church was dashed in pieces.

THERE were some, even before, as well as at that day, who conscientiously scrupled the romish babits, and multitudes, especially of those who had been exiles in Queen Mary's persecution, who disliked the common prayer, and could not conform to the terms imposed on them, by royal or episcopal authority.

THE Queen had no tenderness for scrupulous confciences, but proceeded, with vigour, to enforce a uniformity in the worship of God. Subscriptions. were required, promising conformity to the habits, and likewise to the rites of the common prayer, &c. under pain of being deprived, in three months: The consequence was, many were deprived, and, with their wives and children, laboured under great poverty; some were put in prison, and the poor men, who were just returned from exile, found themselves involved in a second persecution. proud prelate (A. B. Parker) who was the instrument of their sufferings, said, " he did not doubt, 55 when the ministers had felt the smart of poverty s and want, they would comply, for the wood is yet se but green."-But he found himself mistaken.

DURING

During almost the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, who died in 1602, the profecution of the nonconformists was carried on, with vigour. Subscriptions were required, not only to the doctrines and worship established by law, but to rules imposed, by meer ecclefiastical authority: Oaths were administred ex officio; the edge of the laws made against the papifts, was turned against the confcientious Puritans. Multitudes of pious, godly ministers were informed against, pursued, arraigned, suspended from their ministerial functions, turned out of their livings: and all, not for damnable errors in doctrine; not for immorality of life, but for a conscientious fcrupling to conform to impositions, of human authority. "A fourth part of all the preachers, in " England, were under suspension, at a time, when, " not one beneficed clergyman in fix was capable of " composing a fermon." * It would tire your patience, and too deeply affect your hearts to relate the many instances of cruel sufferings, in those days, under the lash of episcopal power.

Nor that there were wanting thousands, who effeemed and pitied them.—We are particularly told, that, when the ministers were filenced, their people earnestly beged for their restoration; many of the nobility and gentry received them into their families, as chaplains, and tutors to their children, not meerly out of compassion, but from a sense of their real worth. "For they were men of undissembled piety." and devotion, mighty in the scriptures, zealous for the protestant religion, of exemplary lives, and far removed from the liberties and fashonable vices of the times, and indefatigably industrious in instructing those committed to their care. Here they were covered from their oppressors, they preached

Vid. Neal's preface to his history, pag. 8.

"in the family, and catechized the children, which, without all question, had a considerable influence on the next generation." Divers of the nobles and gentry, petitioned on behalf of the unhappy sufferers: But crys and intreaties were to no purpose, these persecuting measures were pursued, by two hard-hearted prelates, * under the encouragement of a proud and unreasonable sovereign, through the greatest part of this reign.

WHENKing James I. ascended the throne, it was expected that he would put an end to these persecuting measures. His education in the church of Scotland, the high regard he had expressed for her worship and discipline, his subscribing the Jolemn league and covenans, and the intercession which he made in the former reign for the relief of the sufferers, raised the hopes of the nonconformists, that they should see better times. But they foon found themselves mistaken. It was not long before he published a proclamation to enforce uniformity; countenanced and encouraged the persecution of the puritans; and in the second year, after his coming into England, three bundred ministers were, either silenced, or deprived of their benefices; excommunicated, cast into prison, or forced to leave their country and go into banishment. "A more grievous persecution of the orthodox faith" (fays Mr. Calderwood) " is not to be met with in history, in any prince's reign."

THE violent proceedings of the bishops, in the latter end of the last reign, drove great numbers of nonconformasts into Hotland, where, by leave of the states, they erected churches, after their own mode; some of these were the people, who transplanted them selves into this country.—In 1604 the high abuse of church

^{*} A. B. Parker and Whitgift.

church power obliged many other learned ministers, and their followers, to leave the kingdom, and settle in Holland, where english churches were erected, after the presbyterian mode. But the greatest number of those who lest their country were the people called Brownists, who were rigid seperatists from the church. Mr. Robinson, a pastor of one of these churches at Leyden, first struck out the congregational form of church government, and part of his church in 1620, transported themselves and their form of government to this land.

IT was a most affectionate parting these adventurers, about 120 in number, took of their minister and the remainder of their friends, in Holland, when they embarked for this new world. With tender affection, their worthy pastor on his knees, with ferventprayer, committed them to the bleffing and protection of heaven. They arrived at Plymoush in the beginning of winter-fad was their condition, when they arrived in this howling wilderness. Winter immediately came upon them; they had no accommodation for their entertainment, and inexpressible were the hardships they underwent. A sad mortality raged among them, occasioned by the fatigues of a long voyage, the severity of winter, and the want of necessaries. The country was covered with woods, their little cottages were not sufficient to keep them warm; they had neither skilful physician, nor indeed wholesome food; so that, within two or three months, half their company found their graves .-However, the furvivors, as the fpring came on, being encouraged by the recovery of their health, and by supplys fent from their friends at home, profecuted their arduous undertaking, " and laid the foun-66 dation of one of the noblest settlements in America,

which, from that time, has proved an Afylum for the protestant nonconformists, under all their op-

It is needless to hint to you the character of King Charles I, whose arbitrary measures bro't his head to the block His prime minister was William Land, first bishop of London, and afterwards A. B. of Canterbury. He was the adviser of most arbitrary measures, and a furious and cruel perfecutor of the Puritans. Soon after his advancement, he proceeded against the nonconformists with great severity. One or other of the puritan ministers was, every week, suspended or deprived, and their families driven to diffress: there was no liberty of conscience, nor any prospect of relief; the clouds gathered thicker over their heads, and threatned a dreadful storm. This put our fathers, on projecting a settlement in this Province, where they might be delivered from the hand of oppression, and enjoy the liberty of their consciences. They arrived first at Salem in 1629, and afterwards, (viz. in 1630.) in much greater numbers in this neighbourhood, and laid the foundation of these flourishing churches; in which liberty of conscience hath, bleffed be God, been enjoyed these 137 years.

WNEN our fathers left their native country, they did not mean to excommunicate the established church. They called its members their reverend fathers and brethren, and servently asked their prayers for themselves; promising to temember them "when" (say they) "we shall be in our poor cottages in the wil"derness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplica"tion,

^{*} A particular account of the first adventurers to Plymouth, with the characters of several of their leading men, the reader will find in Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson's appendix to his history of the Massachusetts-Bay.

which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably, befall us." But they found their confciences oppressed, and the worship of God burdened with unscriptural ceremonies. For want of conformity to human impositions, they found themselves so hunted and perplexed that they had no rest. Therefore they quietly withdrew themselves into this land, where was granted them free liberty of conscience to worship God in their own way; where they could set up the worship of God, on what, they believed, the scripture plan, and enjoyed his ordinances, free from useless ceremonies and the impositions of men.

Our fathers were truly a distressed people, and fled hither from the hand of persecution. - It is no fmall thing to forfake our native country, our dear friends, our pleafant houses and delightful accommodations—to adventure over a wide ocean,— to fettle in a wild, howling, uncultivated wilderness, - a country destitute of every desirable accommodation, and filled with numerous nations of barbarous favages. And yet, all these our fathers did. Though they were perfons of good rank and circumstances in life, yet they bid a final adieu to all the delights of their native country; exposed themselves, with their wives and children to the dangers of a long voyage; and to all the distresses which they could not expect to avoid when cast on a desolate shore, destitute of any kind of covering from the rage of the elements, and of most forts of the food on which they fed, in the garden of the world; and all that they might ferve God in his ordinances, agreable to conscience, free from unscriptural impositions.

Our fathers were not the four of the nation, a fet of indigent wretches, that could not subsist in their own country, but many of them persons of figure and fortune.

fortune. They left a fair inheritance, or spent plentiful estates to plant themselves in a desolate country, Neither were they an ignorant rabble, but many of them gentlemen, of liberal education; men of good abilities, well acquainted with the scriptures, and the discipline of God's house. Among them were divers excellent ministers, educated in the universities, and greatly esteemed for their labours in the best parts of England. * Their undertaking was bold and hazardous, and they passed through innumerable fatigues in this glorious work. But the good hand of their God was upon them; he wonderfully succeeded their undertaking; and we bless God, at this day, who made tyranny and oppression the cause of liberty and religion; the Lord thy God turned the curse into a bleffing unto thee, because the Lord thy God loved thee.

THE Laudean perfecution of the nonconformists proceeded in England, after the first settlements here. They were harrised in the star chamber, the high commission courts, and at the council table. This engaged many to follow their brethren hither, and several of

See the characters and circumstances of the principal adventurers, in the Lieut. Governour's Hist. of Massachufetts-Bay, vol. 1. p. 14. margin. As also the lives of the ministers, who came over in the early days of the country, in Dr. Mather's Magnalia. Of the latter Mr. Neal fays, they were "the chief leaders of the people "into these parts"—"I have before me a list of 77 divines, who became pastors of fundry little churches and con-" gregations in that country, before the year 1640, all of whom were in orders in the church of England - and I must say, though they were not all of the first rank; "for deep and extensive learning, yet they had a better " share of it than most of the neighbouring clergy; and, which is of more consequence, they were men of strict " fobriety and vi-tue; plain, serious, affectionate preach-" ers-and took a great deal of pains to promote chriftian knowledge, and a reformation of manners, in their several parishes." Hist, of Puritans vol. 1.p. 546:

the great champions of the british liberties, such as Pym, Hampden, Sir Arthur Hasterigg, Oliver Cromwel, Dr. Owen, were on the point of transplanting themfelves into this wilderness, but were detained, in providence, for a greater work; and, in the succeeding twelve years of Laud's administration, 4000 planters came over to people these American desarts.—These violent proceedings did but open the eyes of the people, increase the number of the puritans, create an aversion to prelatical government, arouse the patrons of liberty: And at length issued in the violent death of Laud, and his royal master the King, the abolishing of episcopacy, and the establishment of another form of church government, under the protection of Oliver Cromwel.

Upon the restoration of Charles II, episcopacy was restored also. - The terms of conformity were carried higher than before the civil war, +-conformity was required under the penalty of being deprived of their livings. On the black Bartholomew-day 1662, about 2000 were obliged in conscience to relinquish their, livings and ministry in the church; "an example " hardly to be paralleled in the christian world. It " raifed a grievous cry over the nation; for here were "many men much valued (fays bishop Burnett) and "diftinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out " ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, and pro-" voked by most spiteful language." Mr. Lork calls them "worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines. § A nobler fet of ministers there never were in any nation. Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these unhappy sufferers, who, with their families, might have perished, had it not been for the charities of the people, to multitudes of whom they were ex-

^{*} Vid. Neal's Hift. of the Puritans vol. 1. p. 622, and vol. 2. p. 739. † Vid. Neal, vol. 1. p. 546. * Neal, vol. 2. p. 628. § Neal, vol. 2. p. 632.

ceeding dear. "Many hundreds of them" (fays Mr. Baxter) " with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread; the people they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they if they had been able, because it would have been called a maintenance of schism or faction." Ministers, of gravity and years were rallied in the pulpits, exposed in the play bout and insulted by ignorant mob .- And, as if all these sufferings were not enough, a severe act was made, by which all nonconformist ministers, who would not by a certain day swear, "not at any time to endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state, should not, unless in passing the road, come or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, that fends burgeffes to Parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they have, fince the act of oblivion, been parson, vicar or lecturer, &c. or where they have or preached in any conventicle, on any pretence whatever, under fevere penalties. Thus were they cut off from the affistance of their friends, and exposed to the lash of a barbarous law, which was, in abundance of instances, inbumanly executed.

Your patience will not hold out, while I trace the persecution of the nonconformists through the remaining part of Charles's reign. In consequence of cruel acts, great numbers of pious ministers and people were laid in prisons, among thieves and common malefactors, where they suffered the greatest hardships and indignities; "an estimate was published of near eight thousand protestant distences, who had perished in prison, in the reign only of Charles II. By severe penalties inflicted on them, for assembling to worship God, they suffered in their trade and estates, in the compass of a few years, at least, two millions; and a list of suty thousand persons, was taken, who had suffered, on a religious account, between the restoration

restoration and the revolution;" * i. e. in 28 years. It was by the glorious revolution in 1688, an æra ever to be mentioned with joy, when William and Mary, of glorious memory, ascended the throne, that a period was put to the exorbitant exercise of episcopal power.

King William earnestly desired the union of all his protestant subjects; he was for taking of the test, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to protestant dissenters; but could not accomplish his desire. However, the act for toleration of protestant dissenters, was passed, in the beginning of his reign; and it was impossible to hurt the dissenters, while he lived. The defigns formed against their liberties in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, + were happily frustrated, by the accession of George I; and, since the dominion of the royal house of Hangver, the toleration hath been religiously maintained.

IT is frequently faid the times are grown better, the principles of religious liberty, and the rights of private judgment are better understood, and a full toleration is, generally, agreed to be best; to be sure the wanton exercise of prelatical power hath, for some years been restrained.—Blessed be God that, on this account, we

live

Wid. Discenting gentleman's answer to Mr. White, p. 77.

and Neal, vol. 2. p. 759.

+ I mean the act against occasional conformity, which was formed with defign to cramp the toloration, and keep under the diffenters : And the act to prevent the growth of. schism, in which the education of children is taken out of the hands of nonconformists, and entrusted only with fuch as are full and intire conformists; and if any schoolmaster or tutor should be willingly present at any conventicle of dissenters for religious worship, he was to suffer three months imprisonment, and be disqualified from teaching a school for the suture. This last act was to take place, on the very day that the Queen died; but King George, being sensible these hardships were bro't on the dissenters, for their steady adherence to the protestant succession, in the house of Hanover, procured the repeal, of these acts, in the fifth year of his reign.

live in better times.—Bleffed be God for the writing of Lock, and other learned men, who have so effectually exposed the iniquity and absurdity of persecution for religious opinions. But can it yet be faid that the diffenters at home are not subjected to temporal inconveniencies, on account of their religious opinions? To fay nothing of their being held to support the established worship; as an additional charge to the maintenance of the ministry and worship of God, agreable to their consciences, which, perhaps, the members of the church of England would think an unreafonable imposition here. * To say nothing of this, yet the test act; + which requires a receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, as the condition of ferving their King and Country, in places of honour and profit, cannot be looked upon, by judicious men, otherwise than

* This was accounted a grievance among us, and, some years ago, an act of the government was made, with universal approbation, releasing the members of the church of England, who statedly attend the worship of God in that way, from any obligation to support the public worship as legally established here. The like liberty was also granted to people of other denominations. Such is the regard we generally have to liberty of congscience!

This act was made in 25th of Charles II, and obliges, under very fevere penalties, "all persons bearing any "office or place of trust or profit—to receive the sacra-"ment of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of "the church of England, in some parish church, on a "Lord's day, immediately after divine service and ser-"mon, and to deliver a certificate of having so received it, under the hands of the respective ministers and "church Wardens, proved by two credible witnesses, "upon oath, to be recorded in the court." This act is complained of as a grievance by the most judicious part of the nation. And though it is respented with, in many instances, yet why is it kept in being, unless that it may prove an instrument of oppression, when the times will permit?

as a degree of legal imposition; it is, at least, depriving a great number of legal subjects, of the common priviledges of british subjects, for acting up to their own consciences. And, for what, do they deserve this hardship?—Have they not ever been steady to the government, as established at the revolution? Have they not a natural claim to the priviledges of Englishmen? When, therefore, they are, by law, excluded from all places of honour and trust, unless, upon such conditions as they cannot in conscience comply with, what is this, but a striping them of the priviledges of society, and keeping them, to a certain degree, in a state of oppression and persecution?

IT is not without pain at heart, that I review the fufferings of the conscientious nonconformists through a long course of years. Some of the best men-many of the best christians—hundreds of the best ministers, that ever were in the nation, have felt the rigors of persecution for conscience sake. They endured silencing, fines, imprisonments, and lingering deaths. Who can read, without a bleeding heart, the unrelenting cruelties of Parker, Whitgift, Bancroft and Laud, under whom, bundreds of godly ministers, were either loaded with fines or shut up in filthy jails, or obliged to fly their countries. What mistaken zeal was it that ejected 2000 ministers in one day, excellent pious divines, whose writings will be highly esteemed, as long as there is real piety in the nation?—Abandoned to poverty and death; inhumanly banished from the places of their ministry, least those, who had tasted the sweet of their labours, should afford them any relief?-May God forgive this mistaken zeal, and let not the fin be found charged upon them in the great day.

My Brethren, I say not these things to raise your unchristian resentment, but to enlarge your gratitude;

that you live in a better age, and in a land of liberty. Thousands in former days, doubtless, abhorred those persecuting measures, and thousands of their successors, in the church, abhor them in the present day. Much of the blame was owing to the times, as well as the men. Liberty of conscience, the rights of private judgment, and the abfurdity of advancing the kingdom of Christ, by penal laws, were not so well underflood, among any denominations of christians, as they have been fince. It feems to have been, through the special interposition of heaven, that our fathers obtained, from the Crown, a grant of this country, with fuch full liberty of conscience; and what a kind providence is it, which, through all the changes and revolutions of our mother country, in the 130 years past, hath suffered no durable change in our religious liberties. Here we dwell in a land of light, a region of liberty: We worship God according to the order of his fanctuary; a happiness, that thousands of the best men have not enjoyed.

THESE things, to men wholly indifferent to religion, and strangers to serious impressions, may seem to be trifles. One way of worship is to them as good as another, any or none may be, to them, alike; but to men who are ferioufly concerned to fecure the divine acceptance, and enjoy the word and ordinances in gofpel fimplicity, religious liberty is one of the most precious jewels on earth. The rights of conscience are facred; and what is there worth enjoying here, if we are deprived of the free enjoyment of the word, ordinances, and worship of God, in conformity to our own consciences? Let it become an article in your daily thanksgivings; let this be a principal subject of our unfeigned praise on this anniversary and joyful Happy is the people that is in such a case, yea bappy is that people whose GOD is the LORD.

DISCOURSE



Religious Liberty an invaluable Blessing.

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DISCOURSE II.

III. I PROCEED, as was proposed, to consider the nature of that liberty wherewith, we apprehend, Christ hath made us free; the religious liberty which we, through the wonderful providence of God, do enjoy, in this land. And

In general: It is the liberty of worshipping God, in his ordinances, in gospel simplicity, without the unscriptural impositions of men. This is the liberty for which our fathers came into this land, and this is the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

It may not be amiss, now we are upon this subject, nor unprofitable, especially to our youth, to shew particularly what were the unscriptural impositions, under which our fathers groaned; what were the things, with which they could not comply; and, for the non-compliance with which, they drew on themselves those difficulties, which occasioned their remove to this land. And here,

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THOUGH I will not pretend to relate every thing that was matter of grievance, yet I will give you the principal exceptions they made to the established government, worship and discipline; and that, very much, in the manner, in which, I find them summed up, by an able and faithful historian.*

They complained of the bisheps affecting to be thought an order superior to prestyters; and claiming the sole right of ordination, and the sole exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, as having no foundation in scripture, nor primitive antiquity; and being contrary to the judgment and example of all the protestant churches abroad.

They also distiked the temporal dignities annexed to their office, and their engaging in fecular employments, as tending to exalt them above their brethren, as not agreable to their character, as minifters of Christ, not consistent with the due discharge of the facred ministry.

THEY excepted to the titles and offices of Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters, and other officials, belonging to cathedrals, as having no foundation in scripture, or primitive antiquity.

THEY complained of the cruel unreasonable exercise of church-power; and that the highest centures in the church were in the hands of laymen, and not in the spiritual officers of the church.

They also lamented the want of a godly discipline, and were grieved at the promiscuous access of all forts of persons to the Lord's supper, when the church, in her own articles, is described to be "a congregation of faithful persons."

ALTHOUGH

Neal's Hift, of the Puritans vol. 1. p. 1576

ALTHOUGH they did not dispute the lawfulness of set forms of prayer, yet they defired a liberty for prayers of their own composure, in the public worship; and they disliked some things in the public liturgy. As, the frequent repetition of the Lord's prayer; the interruption of the prayers, by the responses of the people, which is practiled in no other protestant church in the world. They also excepted to some passages in the offices of burial and marriage; as thee with my body I shee worship, in the former; and thee, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to everlasting life, to be pronounced over the worst of men, except in a few cases.

THEY likewise disliked the reading the apocryphab books, in the church, while some parts of canonical scripture were omitted; they also thought no man ought to be ordained a minister in the church, who was incapable of preaching and expounding the scripture. This was a frequent grievance in those One of their common complaints was, that there were so many unpreaching ministers, pluralists and non-residents; and that men were presented to livings in the church, by royal authority, bishops, and lay patrons, when they ought to arife from the election of the people.

They also disapproved of the observation of funding of the festivals and bolidays of the church, as having no foundation in scripture, or primitive antiquity.

THEY disallowed of the cathedral mode of worship, of singing their prayers, and of the Antiphone, or chanting the pfalms by turns; nor did they approve of instrumental music in the church, which was not in ule in the church for above 1200 years

after Christ, but was, consequently, brought in, in the depths of popery

THEY also scrupled conformity to certain rites and ceremonies which were enjoyned by the rubrick, or the royal authority: And would not be despensed with, in compliance with tender consciences. As,

THE fign of the cross in baptism, which is no part of the institution in scripture, and of whole use, in baptism, there is no express mention made, until the 5th century; and had been abused to superstition by the church of Rome. They also disallowed of the baptism by midwives; and of the manner of churching women, which they thought look'd too much like jewish purification.

THEY also excepted to the use of god-fathers and god-mothers, to the exclusion of parents, from being fureties for the education of their own children. To giving beathenish names—and the answer given in the name of the child. They likewise disapproved the time and manner of confirmation. They excepted to the injunction of kneeling at the facrament of the Lord's supper, as not agreable to the example of Christ, and his Apostles; which, they believed, hath no foundation in a tiquity, for many hundred years after Christ, and hath been practited by the papists in their worship of the elements: At least, they thought, kneeling at the communion ought to be left indifferent. They disliked the bowing, at the name of Jesus, as grounded upon a false interpretation of scripture, and favouring of superstition. As also, the giving the ring in marriage, derived from the papifts, who make marriage a fa-

See Dr. Edwards's, a divine of the church of England,
Theologia reformata, vol. 1. p. 658. —Pierce's vindication, p. 391, &c. — Hamily 2. of the place and time of prayer.

crament, and the ring a facred fign or symbol: As also the forbidding of marriage at certain seasons.

They also disliked the wearing the surplice, and other ceremonies in divine service, of which the church says, in the presace to her liturgy, that, tho they were devised by men, yet they are reserved for decency, order and ediscation; but our fathers saw no decency in these vestments, and, as they had been abused to popery, they thought them absolutely unlawful, and supposed the use of them a giving encouragement to the church of Rome, and that there were no foundation for them, in scripture or primitive antiquity.*

THESE were the things imposed on our fathers, by human authority, contrary to the judgment of their own consciences: These grievances they laboured for the redress of, many years; but, all that time, could obtain no relief. They saw the reformation stand still, and could obtain no nearer approach to the simplicity of gospel worship and discipline—at length, as it were, guided by a divine direction, they resolved on transporting themselves

And if we add but one article more, though indeed that is a capital and fundamental one, we have the chief heads of controversy, between the church of England and the protestant dissenters, at this day; and that is our exception to that part of the 20th article of the church, viz. that the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies; and authority in matters of faith. We know of no authority that Christ hath delegated to his church to add to, or diminish from the form of worship, which is already given us, in the new Testament. And if the church of England hath fuch a power, we see not why the church of Rome hath not the same priviledge. Instead of the churches having authority in matters of faith, we believe, the natural right every man hath to judge for himself, without being determined, by the laws of the civil magistrate, or the judgment of any church under heaven.

to this new world; where they founded churches, and fet up God's worship, in a nearer conformity to the gospel of Christ, and carried the reformation from popery to a much greater perfection. The form of worship and discipline, on which they erected churches bere, was the same, in substance, which we preferve unto this day. A form approaching, as we believe, very near to the plan of the new testament, which we are not ashamed of; but glory in, and hope in God will be the order of the New England churches, until the head of the church shall appear.

But some may demand, wherein consistent the real valuable liberty, and perfection of our churches; wherein consists our nearer approach to gospel order, and the liberty with which Christ hath, in his providence, made us free?

I ANSWER: In the first place we disclaim all buman authority, in matters of faith and worship: We
regard neither pope nor prince as bead of the church;
nor acknowledge that any parliaments have power to
enact articles of doctrine, or forms of discipline, or
modes of worship, or terms of church communion.
We utterly deny the power of any national church,
or even of the church universal, to decree rites and
ceremonies, in the worship of God, or to have authority in matters of faith. Or to make new terms
of ministerial or lay communion, which are not already made, in the new testament. We utterly
disclaim.

See the iniquity of requiring subscriptions to articles, of human composition, sully exposed in a book intituled The confessional. Said to be written by a dignified clergyman, of the church of England. It is an absurd, I had almost said, an impious representation, that Christ and his apostles settled no determinate form of worship and discipling

disclaim, and enjoy a liberty from all civil and ecclefiastical authority in matters of faith and worship. Christ, and Christ alone, we acknowledge and submit to, as fole head, king, and lawgiver, in his church; as alone having authority, by himself, and by his inspired Apostles, to give us articles of faith, and to institute rites and forms of worship and difcipline, in the church which is the house of the living God. We bere affert, maintain, and enjoy the liberty of judging and acting for ourselves, in matters of religion; God alone being the Lord of conscience, and his people accountable to him alone as their only fovereign: These churches are founded on the natural right of private judgment; they are voluntary focieties of the faithful, for the worship of God, in the manner, that they find prescribed in God's word; without the least impositions of human authority, temporal or spiritual. Liberty is the fundamental principle of our establishment; we are accountable to none but Christ. This liberty, blessed be God, we have fully enjoyed, from the beginning: It is a darling priviledge, which we cannot be too unwilling to give up. While we retain this liberty; we hold the door fast shut against spiritual tyranny and impositions on conscience. Indeed our churches, on important occasions, ask advice and direction of their brethren, but even here all authority & coercive power is wifely guarded against -to their own mafter every church, and every christian, standeth or falleth. Christ alone is head of the church; to his injunctions we pay an implicit obedience, but from every other spiritual jurisdiction, whether in popes,

discipline in the church, but lest these things to the civil magistrate; as if Christ lest his church a weak and help-less infant, to be nursed, and formed by human authority; which seems to be the sense of a late essay on establishments. Wrote in answer to the Consessional.

in kings, in parliaments, fynods or councils, we claim and actually enjoy a total exemption: Oh bleffed priviledge!

WE enjoy a liberty from the power of unscriptural officers and ministers, in the church of God; we have but two orders of the ministry, elders or pastors, or presbyters or bishops, or overseers, (for, by all these names, are the ordinary ministers of Christ called, in the new testament, from the several views of the nature of their office) and deacons. As for arch and diocesan bishops, arch-deacons, deans, chancellors and other officers; we, after the example of the protestant churches abroad, reckon them quite unscriptural, and useless, and a vast and needless charge to the people of God; a yoke of bondage, that neither we nor our fathers were able to bear; we see no ecclefiastical tribunals erected among us: This we take to be an invaluable liberty; may God enable us to stand fast in this liberty, that this yoke of bondage may hever be imposed upon us !

ANOTHER of our ecclefiaftical priviledges, is the liberty of choosing our own ministers. This is a right founded in reason, in scripture, and the undoubted practice of the church, in the primitive ages. When an apostle was to be chosen, the whole number of disciples were applied to, who appointed two as candidates for the office. The church was likewise directed to look out among them feven men for deacons. The primitive bishops, or pastors, were undoubtedly eletted by the suffrages of the churches, to which they ministered. This liberty is yet preferved in these churches, and is one of the best means of preferving a pious and painful, laborious and heavenly ministry; and of making a religious people. Our ministers are never imposed upon us by royal authority, by bishops or lay patrons. We call to

the ministry-men that, we know, are approved of God; furnished with gifts and graces for this work. Nor can it be supposed that the people, who have so much regard for christianity as to desire a ministry at all, will become ever so corrupt, as to prefer vicious and immoral men to take the care of their souls. This is a liberty of inestimable worth. Again,

THE ordination of our ministers by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, or ordinary pastors of the church, is another part of the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. And if any should, on this account, reproach us, with the want of a regular and valid administration of the word and ordinances, they would do well to consider, that the ministers of almost all the foreign protestant churches receive no other than presbyterian ordination. The illustrious protestant churches of Scotland, France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Hungary and Denmark, have had only this ordination. They who object a want of valid administrations to us, on that account, would, therefore, do well to remember, that thereby, they do virtually excommunicate, almost all the foreign churches in the world, except the church of Rome, that mother of harlots and abo. minations of the earth. * Besides,

* "The Danish church is at this time governed by bishops,

[&]quot;but they look on episcopacy as only an human institution; and the first protestant prelates of that kingdom "were ordained by Bugenhagius, a meer presbyter—"see the differting gentleman's answer, p. 84.

It is incontestably evident, that the sirst reformers in England held the identity of scripture presbyters and bishops; and looked on episcopacy in England only, as a meer civil appointment.— Dr. Bancrost, in a sermon in 1588, first maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them sure divinos

When our ministers are ordained, and take upon them the overlight of the flock of Christ, they do not spend their time at a distance; in secular employments, in the courts of princes, in parliaments; or in foreign embassys; but they constantly reside. among the flock; and, as far as their circumstances permit, they give themselves to reading, to meditation and prayer; preach the word, visit the fick, comfort the forrowful, and diligently employ themfelves in those holy ministrations, which may edify and comfort the people of their charge. We have no example of a non-resident minister, or of several ecclesiastical livings given to one man, to enrich him, while he is living at ease! A practice loudly complained of by the best men, and scrupled by the best ministers at home, and doubtless an awful hindrance to the falvation of fouls.

THE discipline and censures of our church are not in the hands of bishops, or lay chancellors, or other officers, and the admonitions and censures of the church administred by them; but every church, according

and directly from God. "This was new and strange doct-" rine to the churchmen of these times. It had been always faid, that the superiority of the order of bishops, above se presbyters had been a politic human appointment, for the more orderly government of the church, begun about the 3d or 4th century; but Bancroft was one of the first; es who, by the arch-bishop's direction, advanced it into " a divine right." His sermon gave great offence; but this doctrine was afterward promoted by Laud; and others, as fixing the episcopacy on the surest foundation. However, it is doubtful, whether there has been in England, to this day; properly any public express affertion of the divine right of prelacy, either by parliament or convocation. Can any fuch thing be found in the 39 articles, or in the Homilies, or in the form of ordination, or in the common prayer-book?—Vid. Neal, vol. 1. p. 330and Dr. Chauncy's excellent discourse on the validity of ordination by presbyters.

according to apostolic example, claims it, as a gospel appointment to maintain the holy discipline of Christ in his church. As members one of another, they maintain a holy watch over one another; reprove, admonish or cast out from their communion, according to the power given his churches, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

The communion of the body and blood of Christ is not, in our churches, enjoyned by civil authority, to be given or received as a qualification for secular offices; our ministers are not obliged to administer the elements to any that come. We are not obliged to see wicked and profligate men around the Lord's table, demanding the holy supper as a qualification for the profitable employments of this world. *

The government and censures of our churches are not carnal, but spiritual. Our Saviour declared that his kingdom was not of this world: Agreably, we disclaim all right to inslict corporal pains and punishments; or to deprive men of their money or estates. When we excommunicate an unworthy member, and cut him off as a rotten branch, we only judge him unworthy of fellowship with us in holy ordinances. We dare not pretend to the sword, lest we perish by the sword. We know no such thing here as an ecclesiastical censure's, disabling a man from afferting his natural rights, from being a witness, bringing an action against a trepasser, or making him liable to imprisonment for non-compliance; the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but spiritual.

We are not confined in the worship of God to set forms of prayer, established by human authority; but according to the example of Christ and his apostles, and

Vid. Diffenting gen'leman's answer, pag. 21.

and the primitive church, we offer our religious fervices in a more free and liberal manner; in a language expressive of the fulness of our hearts, and suited to the various occasions and subjects of prayer; by which we find our hearts affected, and our spiritual edification promoted.

WE do not observe days and times; the fasts, festivals and bolidays in honour of Christ, or the saints, which have no foundation in the new testament, nor in apostolic antiquity; but were invented in the times of popely. The Lord's day alone we esteem as sacred, and, this day, after the example of the apostles, we religiously observe, in honour of our Lord Christ:—The rest, though they have a shew of humility and piety, yet, not being the institutions of Christ, but the inventions of superstitious ages, we dare not impose or observe.

A DECENT and reverend order we observe in our public worship, but the nearer we come to the simplicity of gospel times, we account it the better: We allow to no man, or body of men, nor to any authority, civil or facred, any power to decree rites, or ceremonies, or forms of worthip, or administration of facraments, which are not found in the gospel. It is enough to engage us to reject them, not that they are not expresly forbidden, but that they are pot enjoyned. We have no power to add, or observe the inventions of men, for decency, or ornament, let the pretence be ever so plausible. Hence our administration of the word facraments and prayers is, fript of all human adornings; of those ceremonies, &c. which we account the relicks of superstition, and which were once subservient to that idolatry, which deformed the house of God.

In fine: We claim and exercise the liberty of a still further reformation, and a nearer approach to gospel order, when we shall receive further light. We do not pretend that our churches are perfect, and that no change could, in any respect, be made in our discipline, for the better: In some respects, I am perswaded, we might come nearer to gospol order. But where is there perfection, in this world? Where is the church, in this world, that is perfectly, in all points, conformed to the gospel? Some things needed to be fet in order, in the churches planted by the apostles, and watered under their eye. We pretend not to infallibility; we feek further direction, and nothing hinders our improvement in the worship and discipline of God's house. We are not obliged to ask the liberty, or wait the motion of our superiors whether we shall reform what is amiss. We are not liable to an interdiction from authority, civil or ecclefiaftical, when we would embrace what, appears to us, agreable to the will of Christ, and for spiritual edification.

THESE are the facred liberties in which we glory; we are not ashamed of our profession, or afraid to defend our gospel order. In the peaceful enjoyment of these liberties, and the maintenance of our gospel order, for several generations past, we have experienced the spiritual presence of Christ, in his ordinances. God hath bleffed his word and ordinances, to the edification and comfort of thousands, already, as we believe, gone to glory. And though no church can boast of universal piety in its members, yet, bleffed be God, we have great multitudes obedient to the faith; our churches have rest and are edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, they are multiplied. And, while the purity of divine worship is maintained, maintained, we doubt not of the fulfilment of the glorious promise of the head of the church: Low am with you alway, even to the end of the world. Amen. Be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

THERE are not wanting, even in our day, those, who adventure to represent the planters of these colonies, and their posterity, in the very worst light; as though they had lost their native religion, abandoned the worship and lost the knowledge of God, are become heathens themselves, are found living in many places in dissolute wickedness, and the most brutal prostigacy of manners, and laughing at the bible.*

But

* Reference is here had to the two last sermons preached before the incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel, in foreign parts: In the former of which, preached by the bishop of Gloucester, is this unkind, and we think, injurious reflection upon us. "Thus it came to pass, "that the very people, whose fathers were driven for conscience take into the waste and howling wilderness, "is now as ready to laugh at that bible, the most pre"cious relict of their ruined fortunes, as at their russs" and collar bands."

In the latter of these discourses, preached this very year, by the bishop of Landaff, are such expressions as these: To the adventurers, what reproach could be cast hea-"vier than they deserved? Who, with their native soil, se abandoned their native manners and religion, and e'er, "long were found, in many parts, living without re-" membrance or knowledge of God, without divine wor-66 ship, in dissolute wickedness, and the most brutal profil-"gacy of manners. Instead of civilizing and converting 66 barbarous infidels, as they undertook to do, they became " themselves infidels and barbarians," &c .- The injustices and cruelty of fuch reflections, as pointed at the New-England colonies, are judiciously exposed by Dr. Chauncy, in a letter to a friend, published since the preaching of these (MY) discourses. Nor

But God knows how unjustly these things are said of us, in this land. More was never done by a people, according to their ability, to uphold religion: Our churches are numerous; scarce any part of these settlements is destitute of a settled ministry; our churches are adorned with worthy and respectable pastors, who seed the people with knowledge and understanding: And as much of the form of religion is found amongst us, as in any part of Christendom. We are obliged to such as are not ashamed to vindicate our reputation, and plead for our facred liberties.

We freely confess, that, however uninviting a worship, quite simple in its nature, a ministry stript, like ours, of secular honours and emoluments, may appear to others, yet to us, who embrace religion as the way to heaven, and not to the great things of this world, our gospel order and worship is exteeding dear.* We rejoice; we bless God for these liberties.

Nor can we comprehend what can be the design of such repeated misrepresentations of us, unless it be to shew the necessity, and to help forward the great design of extending episcopacy over the colonies; which business accomplished, his Lordship (of Landaff) declares, "then the business of this society will have been brought to the happy issue intended."

The general regard; that this people have to our prefent religious liberty, is justly set forth by Dr. Chaunty, in his asoresaid remarks on the bishop of Landaff's sermon.—
"We (says he) in these parts, not only know the errand of our fore-fathers into this country, but have been well indoctrinated in the principles of christian liberty. We prefer our own mode of worship and discipline, to that of the English church; and we do it upon principle, as really believing that it comes nearer to the purity and simplicity of gospel direction. And, as

IV. THAT it highly becomes us to understand and be thankful for our priviledges, and to stand fast in the LIBERTY wherewith Christ bath made us free. God, my brethren, bath called us to liberty—in a wonderful manner did he bring our fathers into this land of liberty, and now, for more than an hundred

these are the generally prevailing sentiments in New-England, and their conduct has all along been generally conformable hereto, we have no fearful appreshensions of a departure herefrom; but are rather sully perswaded, they will stand fast to their principles, and closely adhere to that mode of worship, which has hitherto been in use among them, whatever attempts may be made to turn them aside," p. 53.

And again, p. 47. "It may be relied on, our people would "not be easy, if restrained in the exercise of that liberty "wherewith Christ hath made them free; yea, they would "hazard every thing dear to them, their estates, their very lives, rather than suffer their necks to be put under that yoke of bondage, which was so sadly gall—ing to their sathers, and occasioned their retreat into this distant land, that they might enjoy the freedom of men and christians."

deed years, hath he continued us in the full and perfect enjoyment of our religious liberties—no weapon formed against us hath prospered. Let us understand our liberty, let us prize it, as one of the greatest blessings; let us improve it to the noblest purposes, and stand fast therein.

FAR be it from me to encourage a spirit of bitterness, or censoriousness towards such as differ from us; the religion of our common master forbids all anger, malice, judging, and censuring one another. We should walk in love with all that call on the Lord Jesus Christ with a pure heart. Among all denominations of christians, there are to be found ferious men and women, the true children of God. We are not to wonder that persons commonly prefer the mode of worship in which they were educated. The church of England we honour as an illustrious branch of the reformation (altho) we think there is room for a still further reformation). of her ministers of this, as well as of former ages, we honour, as divines of great learning and piety; and many of her members we fincerely respect, as perfons of fincere piety, goodness, candour and moderation. Religion is never a proper occasion of strife and angry contention. We should do good to all; wish grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, to all that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

IT seems to be an infelicity, inseperable from our present impersect state, that wise and good men cannot always think alike. This is doubtless permitted, that there may be place for the exercise of mutual candour and forbearance: It is an unhappiness that God's children deeply lament; hereby their longing desires are led forth after that land of light & love.

where the mists of ignorance and mistake will be done away; where they shall be of one mind, and unitedly worship the Father, in that bouse not made with bands, eternal in the heavens.—In the mean time, it is greatly to be wished, that good men of all denominations, might rightly consider the infirmity of the present life, love as brethren, living in the exercise of candour and forgiveness. Whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing. But this notwithstanding, we may know and esteem our priviledges; we may hold them fast as one of the richest gifts of God: Oh! liberty of conscience; the purity of God's worship and ordinances, is one of the greatest blessings on earth.

PARENTS, aged persons, and persons of superior understanding, should be particularly careful to recommend our sacred liberties.—It might be of great service, to tell your children of the great design of our fathers coming over the wide atlantic—the difficulties which brought them from their native land—the hardships they underwent in settling this howling wilderness—the patience with which they endured them, while they had rest and freedom in the worship of God—with the excellency of our worship and discipline, and its agreement with the word of God.

Our young people also should learn to know our liberty. The pure worship of God, for which your fathers gave up their native land—abandoned the land of their fathers sepulchres—ventured over a tempestuous ocean—expended their substance—settled themselves amidst savages and wild beasts, and maintained dreadful wars with the natives—the pure worship and gospel liberty, for which our fathers did these things, doth, at least, deserve a serious regard. Should we, or any succeeding age, despise our liberty,

fo dearly bought, what do we, but trample upon our fathers dust, and disturb the ashes of our godly ancestors, who purchased this land for us at so great expence? Surely, the religious liberty, and gospel order, which they purchased for us, at so dear a price, deserves our serious respect, and is not, vainly and inconsiderately to be given away.

THESE churches, from the beginning, have been furnished with as able and useful ministers, as any churches in the world; and fuch, I hope in God, they are supplied with at this day. It will therefore be one means of retaining our liberties, to encourage their hearts & strengthen their hands. they labour in the word and doctrine, it is the wifdom of the churches to esteem them highly in love, and to make their circumstances easy unto them. Under the present ecclesiastical constitution, your ministers have not the prospects of rich benefices; of amassing riches; of sumptuous tables and stately equipage; -our stations are not places of ease and profit; but of labour and diligence. We feek not the great things of this world; we gladly renounce all hopes of these temporal emoluments, that our ministry may be useful to your souls, and your liberty may be preserved. All we expect, all we defire for ourselves, and families, is a decent support, a freedom to attend the duties of our office, and the means of making fuch provision for our families, as our neighbours, in common, are able to do, in fecular life. It would be cruel hard to deny this, and more we do not expect nor defire. Some other establishment might make us rich and independent, but we desire no other, we seek no other; we seek not yours, but you; you find none more follicitous. to preserve your sacred priviledges than your ministers, who alone could form expectations from a change. Gratitude and love will then engage the people of this land, to comfort their ministers hearts's to afford them a respectful subsistence; to place them out of circumstances of distress, that they may make full proof of their ministry; save their own souls, and them that hear them.

MAY I be allowed, with all humility to add ;-that it highly becomes our vivil rulers, especially the representatives of this people, to watch over our facred, as well as our civil liberties. Far be it from me to defire that the civil arm should be stretched out to punish heretics; human decrees are not the means to propagate the religion of Jesus: For this, we defire but the weapons of light and truth, the sword of the spirit, and the liberty of free enquiry. But yet the majestrate is to be the minister of God for good; by upholding mankind in their christian liberty; by defending christians from exterior violence, by supporting schools and colleges for training up our youth for the work of the ministry; and by giving due encouragement for men of ability to undertake the facred employment." We wish never to find authority invested in men, unfriendly to the facred liberties of their country; that would difcourage a ferious ministry, or would meanly facrifice our facred rights for any temporal advantages to themselves. *

STAND.

May I be permitted to add; It was an evidence of the noble and liberal spirit of our fathers, not only that they so early sounded a seminary of learning, for the education of youth for the ministry; but also that they, by a law, obliged every town to keep a grammer school. This hath proved of excellent service, not only for fitting children for the college, with very little expence, by which means

STAND fast, may brethren, stand fast in your safered liberties: Understand your freedom; honour your noble ancestors, keep close to Christ, and preferve his institutions in their purity: Be discreet and steady in the exercise of your liberty. Brethren, be perfest, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

Our liberties, both civil and facred, are truly our own; they are what our fathers dearly bought; they descend to us as a patrimony purchased at their expence. They were driven by spiritual tyranny from the land of their fathers sepulchres. Encouraged by the Royal Grant of full liberty, of conscience, at a vast expence they transplanted themselves and families over the extended ocean, they subdued the wilderness, built them houses, planted them orchards, defended themselves against the savages, and widely extended the British dominions, at their ownexpence, without any charge to the country, from which they came. They for more than an bundred years, defended their own fettlements, and waged defensive wars with the barbarous Indians, in which, tome thousands of our brave innabitants have perished.

means a greater number have been educated; but also as it hath afforded a suitable employment for young men, after they have passed through the college; and they have been able to maintain themselves, while following their studies for the ministry. And without this provision the churches would never have had the services of many, who have been burning and shining lights in this country. If therefore any of our people do, or shall, desire to obtain a repeal of this excellent law, we must either suppose them to be deceived by the artful infinuations of ill designing men, or they betray an insensibility of the interest of their country, and an illiberal spirit, quite unworthy of their noble ancellars.

ed. It is computed, by an author of superior station. and abilities among us, * " that from 1675, when " Phillip's war began, to 1713, five or fix thousand of the youth of the country had perished, by the "enemy, or by distempers contracted in the ser-"vice; nine in ten of these would have been fathers 56 of families, and, in the course of forty years, have " multiplied to near an bundred thousand souls." And in our own days, two or three thousand young men perished at, and after, the siege of Louisbourg, in 1745. And perhaps the loss of the New-England colonies, during the last war, in battles, sieges, and by fickness; could not fall much short of ten thousand men; yea the aforementioned Historian supposes, it is probable, there would have been two bundred thousand souls more, than there are, at this time, in New-England, if the French had been driven from Canada an bundred years ago."

To God almighty we have forfeited every bleffing: But of man we hold our liberties as an bereditary right; as the inheritance of our dear ancestors, dearly obtained with their blood and treasure. We have ever been a loyal people; we think our feves happy under the British government; we have never forfeited our priviledges; we have enlarged the kingdom, and are yearly enriching our mother-country; and should any attempt be made to restrain us in the exercise of our liberty, we should be deeply grieved, and think ourselves very hardly dealt by: Despised be the base soul who shall, like Esau, for one morsel of bread, sell his birthright.

As our numbers increase, it may be expected they will increase, who are indifferent to things of a spiritual

See Lieut. Governor Hutchinson's hist. of Massachusetts-Bay, vol. 2. p. 201, and 202. margin.

spiritual nature, and liberty of conscience will proportionably be despised: But it is with the greatest pleasure, we see, at this time, our numbers increase, numerous churches rising in the wilderness, firmly united, with us, in the same mind and judgment, and our Colleges supplying them with able and promising Pastors; so that to them is applicable that of the Prophet, Isai. 35. 1, 2. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing. The glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Sharon and Carmel; they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.

This is one of the first Towns, which our fathers planted in the wilderness; it hath ever enjoyed a safe protection from the barbarians. The preaching of the word, and administration of ordinances was early set up, on this spot of ground. No churches have enjoyed more excellent advantages than this, under the able and long ministry of the renowned Eliot and Walter, affished by the worthy Weld, Danforth and others.. * Under their long and

* The church in Roxbury was gathered in July 1632, and then the Rev. Thomas Weld, invested with the pastoral office; but in 1639, he returned to England.

In Nov. 1632, the Rev. John Eliot, was made a teacher of

this church— he died may 20, 1690.

Sept. 24, 1650, the Rev. Samuel Danforth, was ordained paftor; and died Nov. 19, 1674.

Oct. 17, 1688, the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, was ordained pastor; and died Sept. 17, 1750.

Oct. 19, 1718, the Rev. Thomas Walter, was ordained co-

pastor; and died Jan. 10, 1725.

Nov. 7, 1750, the Rev. Oliver Peabody, was ordained pastor; he died May 29, 1752;

and eminent ministry, we believe, many were made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light; whom we expect to meet in heaven. To their instructive ministry it is, under God, to be ascribed, in some measure, that this people have been so remarkably steady to the principles of our puritan fathers, and that we walk in gospel order, with so much unity and love; behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

Our fathers where are they, and the prophets, do they live for ever? They are long fince fallen on fleep, and gone to Christ, and have left their fair inheritance to us their children. Let us not forfake the God of our fathers, now the wilderness is become a fruitful field. They had their failings, but their virtues were eminent; they loved God, they loved his ordinances, here they found rest and pleasure. A new country, the bare necessaries of life, a land full of favages, where they had undiffurbed communion in gospel ordinances, was dearer to them than the garden of the world, while they wanted the food for their fouls. Thus faith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine epousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not fown. Oh let us remember from whence we are fallen, and repent and do our first works. Let us love the word and the ordinances of Christ, as they loved them. Let us strive to revive primitive religion, and approve ourselves the worthy children of fuch virtuous ancestors. The Lord is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek bim be will be found of you; but if ye for (ake him, be will for sake you.

BRTHREN, ye are called unto liberty, only abuse not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve

ferve one another. Let us, by no means, turn the grace of God into licentiousness; let us steadily attend the word of God; devoutly observe his institutions.—Let us abound in the fruits of righteousness; in that piety, honesty, love and goodness, which will recommend our worship to all that behold our good conversation in Christ. Let us not rest in the form of godliness, denying the power thereof. Let us see that we have that heart-purity, which is more than any external form; for unless we are real, hearty, devout christians, who worship God in the spirit, we may perish from the purest church in the world, and all these sacred liberties will avail us nothing to our salvation.

BLESSED be the Lord, that hath given rest unto his people—the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers, let him not leave us, nor forsake us.

A M E N.



The contraction Lieux Windows and Contraction

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The HYMN, fung after Sermon.

RISE, O King of grace, arife,

"and enter to thy rest,

"Lo! thy church waits with longing eyes

"thus to be own'd and blest.

e in the second second

Enter with all thy glorious train,

% All that the ark did once contain % could no fuch grace afford.

"Here, mighty God, accept our yows, "here let thy praise be spread;

"Rless the provisions of thy house, "and fill thy poor with bread."









