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*Rare Books*

The Pope called for Pooles Legation power & declared  
Pooles his Legate for England, & writ to the Q. to receive  
him. but the Q. ordered, as the matter was, when uncer-  
tainable bills were sent over the Bills & profits to be laid  
up without opening them. & sent word to Pooles if he  
came over she would find him & all yt owned him in a  
procurator. Pope Paul 4 ambitious, voracious, foolish,  
the Pope complained much because the King of France had set  
out Edict, annulling marriages without consent of parents,  
& requiring Churchmen to resign their benefices, as  
superiors in the spiritual authority.

1615. 7. Calais with the English had kept 240 years was  
lost also Guines which had 1100 men. also Harwich &  
the French took Savoy a little Island in the Channel  
but it was retaken by a Fleming who desired, a friend  
yt dyed aboard his ship might be buried on y<sup>e</sup> Island &  
the French feared yt they had no army about them  
but did not look into the coffin which was full of arms.  
& when they thought the French were Burgundy their  
friend, they saved their shew & took all the French.  
The reason of y<sup>e</sup> taking of Calais was a judge  
- out on the nation for glorifying the King's K<sup>th</sup>. but  
the papists yt it was because heretics had too much  
skill & pertinence.

1608. 32 were burnt for K<sup>th</sup>. in all 284 this reign  
& bodys in prison some say 800 were burnt.  
This year the Q. dyed: aged 73. having reigned 5 year  
This year the Pope fell out a deed confirming all  
canons and statutes, Jarlow yt first prince as fell  
into heresy did thereby forfeit their rights, without any  
special sentence. & any might seiz on their dominions  
but was a learned, humble, prudent, moderate man  
but the Q. being a melancholy, violent, jealous, zealous  
Papist, professed the bloody counsels of Gardner  
& Bonner. & no wonder for Parish Bys at their re-  
consecrations take an oath to persecute heretics w<sup>th</sup>  
all their might.

next day the Chancellor acquainted the lords & after  
yt the coronation of Q. M. death & yt the crown was  
now devolved on Q. Eliz: & yt they were resolved  
to proclaim her. & the Proclamation was read, &  
with such repeated acclamations & transports  
of joy as made priests fear a rebellion.

And of their forgotten altars, were like to be found  
into remembrance tables, the clergy were hated for  
their cruelty. yet the greater part of the people  
loved the tomes of the old Ceremonies.  
sr w. Cecil & sr nicholas Bacon were made privy  
Councillors, he was father to the great sr Francis Bacon  
one of the chief glories of the English nation, these  
two gave a high Character of Dr Parker as fitted for  
the see of Canterbury, but he refused it, & used all  
arguments he possibly could, yet it stood out long.  
but at last was consented by four Bishops, & after  
of his consecration the other Bps, with conference, the  
independent controversies, & fables of the nays heads  
ordination. . sr N. Bacon was made a Bp.

Jan: 25. 1559 a philt let to whom Dr Baron made:  
a long speech, desiring they would examine the  
former klt without heat or partiall affection, avoiding  
all reproches & extremes, & false things so, yt all might  
agree in an uniformity of divine worship, then the  
necessity of the present affairs made the Q. resolve  
a peace with France, on the best terms yf could be  
obtained. . they received all acts made by the  
Popes power in that time. & swarmed on oath for  
acknowledging the Q. for soverain governor, in all things  
& over all yfours. & the Q. was impowred to give  
commissions, for judges & reforming ecclesiasticall  
matters. & the Com:tees were limited to Bishops  
nothing to be heretical, but it was so by force, &  
on the first four generall Councells. & from hence  
was the high Commission Court founded.

A public conference about klt was appointed. the  
ps of the the worship in a known tongue had been  
appointed in scriptre, yet the chh had power to  
change it, as she changed the sabbath, & had appointed  
the lawant to be received fasting, tho it was with-  
-tuled after supper. It shd to eat blood was forbid,  
& a remembrance of goods was set up by the dyostles,  
yet the chh altered it. vulgar tongues shd be, changed  
daily. but latter is the same, & spread over many  
countries. & yf the people might reap profit from  
prayers they understood not, as well as about yfours  
the Q. of Ethiopia summe word say the he ur:  
= Deafhood him holi & Philip was sent to explain it.  
- the Reformers argued yf st Paul enjoined us to

to pray with understanding of so the unbearned might  
say Amen. & forbid some strange tongues, where their  
was not an understanding. & of things so deeply enjoyed  
that not so indifferent, nor fall under the power of  
the Ch. the Jews & all others had their worship in the  
 vulgar tongue.

The Ps of the faith of the Ch ought not to be unanimous  
in a synod of divines, & it gave too great in  
-consequence to heretics, to dispute with them: & of the  
2: her Councell deferred to be promulgated for full  
-time them to argue against the Catholic faith, before an  
unbearned multitude. For if they were sent to the tower  
Ps of the auditors was proposed, & the conference  
was appointed only to make why for change.

The Roman prayer was revised & again set up: & Ps of  
it was a novelty, & of the antiquity, authority & comfort  
of the Catholic Ch ought to be ~~3~~ 2. But Reformers  
to every Ch had power to reform it felt with they word  
from the epistles of St Paul to the particular Chs. & St Johns  
to the church of the seven Chs. & if in the 3 last ages,  
there were no general Councils, but every Bp in his  
diocese, or some few Bps of round assemblies together  
-determined heretics, or determined matters in council, also  
to the orthodox Bps, when christianity had so overpowered  
the world of down the sea of Rome was defiled with it, & as  
Heretic, & Jewish had reformed the clergy in their  
time, so might St. 2. by her own authority.

Some papist Bps & some gentlemen, & all the nuns  
went out of Engd, & the 2. denyed none of liberty  
at all ~~of~~ it.

The 2. was still inclined to keep images in Chs, but  
the King desired her to consider the 2<sup>d</sup> remainder. St. John  
charged to beware of idols, & not only of worshipping  
them. the book of wisdom calls them a snare for the feet  
of the ignorant. the use of them leads superstition, ends  
in idolatry & were not allowed in Chs, till the 7<sup>th</sup>  
century. It bred great contests in the Eastern Empire  
& made way for its ruin. the the 2. put them down.

2<sup>d</sup>. declared of by supremacy she did not intend any  
authority for ministry, divine service, but only her  
sovereignty over all estates, & of no foreign power  
was to be acknowledged, & for a while she might  
declare they took it in of sense.

now the doctrines of the Ch<sup>h</sup> were published. but where  
in P. E. D. articles, its p<sup>r</sup> x when he ascended made his body  
immortal, but took not from it the nature of a body, for  
conspicuous joy, he still retains a true human body, which  
must be always in one definite place, & cannot be pre-  
sented into many, or all places at once, & it is to wonder  
in Heaven to the end of the world, & to come from thence  
to judge the quick & the dead. Therefore the real, or  
corporall presence of his flesh & blood in the sacrament  
is not to be believed. . . . but the S. cleared J<sup>h</sup> J<sup>h</sup>  
willing to unite the nation, left out this, & thought it  
enough to affirm the spiritual presence of the body of  
X was given & received in a spiritual manner, & of the  
means by which it was received was faith.

next. the bible was translated. several books were  
given to severall Bys, who were ordered each Divinity  
should be translated as were learned in Greek & Hebrew  
& by their assistance they were to translate it pt of pt  
to their share, & to attend to the correction of those  
if were appointed to translate the other y<sup>t</sup>s. & after  
every book had thus past the review of all y<sup>e</sup> were  
employed, then it was approved offe in two or three  
y<sup>e</sup>ares this important work was finished.

they still wanted the establishing the govern<sup>t</sup> of the  
Ch<sup>h</sup> to be established in ecclesiastical hands, & the taking  
it out of lay hands, who have opposed the authority  
of the Ch<sup>h</sup>, & the censures of it, chiefly excommunication,  
to contempt, & is now frowned & despised. but indeed  
the reason whys is, not to put too much power into  
the cleriques hands, to excommunicate Bys. & so to  
make them equal to the Pope. & so to impair or  
them, to overturn govern<sup>t</sup>s under pretence of R<sup>l</sup>.

now. d<sup>o</sup> 1659. the reformation began in Scot<sup>l</sup>, the  
nobility & gentry were for it, but the Q. of Scot<sup>l</sup> op-  
posed it. & gathered her feudal followers; & the R<sup>l</sup>s  
got 700 men together, who made the Q. pass an act  
of oblivion. but when they were dissolved the R<sup>l</sup>s no  
promising saying prince was not to be trusted, &  
especially to heretics, it was no sin to kill them, &  
then & then execute it as well as they could. but  
the people did so universally, w<sup>h</sup> of the Q. was  
forced to retire to Dunbar castle, & her French came  
over to assist her, & was to follow. but she being  
but. 2. to go out in the vicinity of Q. was deposed -  
turn over and leaf.

# Richard Baxter's ANSWER

TO  
D<sup>r</sup> EDWARD STILLINGELEE'S  
CHARGE of SEPARATION

Containing

- I. Some *QUERIES* necessary for the understanding of his *ACCUSATION*.
- II. A Reply to his Letter which denyeth a Solution.
- III. An Answer to his Printed *SERMON*.

Humbly tendred, I. To Himself; II. To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen, III. To the Readers of his Accusation: the *Forum* where we are Accused.

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Acts 15: 28. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things. Rom. 14. 17, 18. Him that is weak in the Faith receive, but not to doubtful Disputations. For the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men.*

Phil: 3. 16. *Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us mind the same things.— 15. If in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.*

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LONDON, Printed for Nevil Simmons, at the Three Cocks at the West-end of S. Paul's, and Thomas Simmons, at the Prince's Arms in Ludgate-Street, MDC LXXX.

Then a new supply came from France, so if  
she had 4000 foot, & by her having this foreign  
force the whole nation united at her, & raised in the  
English with 2000 horse & 6000 foot; shortly after  
she dyed, & a peace was concluded, a confession  
of faith was sent by Knox, & by the Parliament order  
was inserted among their acts. & the King of France  
dying, their young Prince came over, & governed so as  
the nation was pleased to submit, & afterwards  
she was sent to take sanctuary in England,  
where it was resolved to restore her to her throne, but the  
frequent plots of the Papists, & the 2<sup>d</sup> E. life.  
The Pope's threats, & the death of her mother, made the council infer  
for the King as yet partly had hopes of her to succeed, the  
2<sup>d</sup> life was not safe, nor his government secure.

3<sup>d</sup> life: Wolfgangus 2<sup>d</sup> E. had two maxims of  
state. 1. not to form confederations. 2. not to let factions  
practice go unpunished, because they were covered by  
the pretence of religion. At first she did not  
with the laws of her father; but upon the Pope's  
demanding her we raised the rebellion in the  
north, she made laws against bringing over Balle, & sending  
clerics & divers other laws to persons sent from Rome, &  
when in the 20. year of her reign, it appeared, if the  
King of Spain designed to invade her dominions, & if  
she sent order from Dominicos made on the  
part beyond sea, to corrupt her subjects by with her  
she was refused shortly in confessions, then the 2<sup>d</sup>  
inflicted penitential punishment on such as came not to  
the laws above rigorous.

The Puritans insisted against pluralities, non-residence,  
& refused to comply with ordinances, & questioned the  
superiority of Bps, declaring for a democracy in the  
Chh they affected popularity, & took dangerous me-  
thods, making use of the abolition, the nation had to  
popery, if they were in hazard of running from  
one opinion to another, falling up a new model  
of Chh discipline dangerous to the peace of the  
King, & to the liberties of the people, yet these  
were born with. yet afterwards when they entered into  
congregations, & defamed the government by ridiculous  
passages, & boasted of their number & strength, & broke  
out into tumults, with war factions & not zeal; then  
the 2<sup>d</sup> saw it fit to restrain them with moderation



E  
T.R.  
B355A

THE  
P R E F A C E.

Readers,

I. **I**F you would be truly informed of the Case of the Nonconformists, and the meaning of this Defence, you must know  
1. That the meer Nonconformists of this age take not up their Judgment in trust from any party of men, and therefore take not themselves obliged to be for or against any thing, because men were so that were called Nonconformists heretofore. As the Scripture is their Rule and objective Religion, so they reverence the judgment of the Primitive Church above the judgment of any party; And indeed are so far against Sects and Parties as such, as that their judgment is that the Church will never be well restored to desirable Concord, till our Union be Catholick, upon the terms that Christ appointed, and which all good Christians have agreed in, and may agree in.

2. That what the meer Nonconformists of this age desired for Concord and Reformation, as to the old Liturgy and Conformity, is best known by their common Proposals 1660, all the Ministers of London being by Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash and Dr. Reynolds, invited to Sion-Colledg freely to give their judgments: who offered nothing for Church-Government but Bishop Usher's Primitive form, and nothing for Worship but the Reforming of the Liturgy, and the free use of additional formes: Their exceptions against passages in the Liturgy being not thought absolutely necessary to Communion. And it must be remembered that they offered then, 1. A Defence of those Exceptions, 2. A Reformed Liturgy or Additions, 3. A Petition for Peace and preventing Schism, to the Bishops, which they never answered to this day, that we know of.

3. You must know that the Change of the Liturgy on pretense

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of easing us, and the Act of Uniformity, have made Conformity now quite another thing than it was before, and to us far more intollerable; I am past doubt that Ri. Hooker, Bish. Bilson, Bish. Usher and such others were they now alive would be Nonconformists; yea, I can prove it, as well as I can prove that they were honest men, and would hold to what they wrote.

4. You must know that we had never leave to give our Reasons against the New Conformity; nor allowed to be once heard speak for our selves, before about two thousand Ministers were silenced; when our Judicatures will hear a single Malefactor. We have been silent about eighteen years, while men have call'd to us [What is it that you would have?] while they would not give us leave to tell them.

5. And when the Press was somewhat open, they spread it abroad that [our silence now plainly shewed that we had nothing to say, but kept up a Schism against our own Consciences.]

6. At last, though my Friends had long told me that our Lives must be our best Defence, and that our Accusers would but be inflamed by an Apology, and could not endure to hear our Reasons, I durst forbear no longer, but yet ventured no farther than to write a bare Narrative of the Matter of our Nonconformity, lest arguing should exasperate: But that very naming of the things which we deny, hath much displeas'd them that differ from us, supposing that it implyeth an accusation of them, which I renounced.

7. The Reader then that will understand our Case, must not look to find it here, but be at the labour to read what is already written of it, which we must not repeat as oft as any will write against us; that is, 1. In the said unanswered writings of 1661. 2. In the Kings Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, for which the London Ministers subscribed and printed a Thanksgiving. 3. In my first Plea for Peace, describing our Nonconformity. 4. In the Defence of it against Mr. Cheyny's Answer. 5. In my second Plea for Peace, describing our Judgment of Government and Obedience, and what our Nonconformity is not, and divers other points. 6. In my True and only way of Universal Concord,

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cord, on which the Churches must agree, if ever. 7. In my Moral Prognostication. 8. In my Abridgment of Church-History of Bishops and Councils, shewing what hath divided the Churches heretofore.

8. You must know that I write not to justify every man that is called a Nonconformist, but to give an Answer to the publick Accusation of my self, and a Reason of the Preaching of the meer Nonconformists.

9. But that the fuller Justification of our Preaching is intended in another Treatise, called Their Apology, or Third Plea for Peace.

II. And as to the prosecution of the debate with this Reverend Doctor, it is not likely that I shall trouble him with any Rejoinder if he Reply, unless he will take another course, and first explain our terms; and state the question to be disputed. Much less shall I contend with any substitute who shall avoid the way of Love and Reason, which from the Doctor I may expect.

There is one sort of Disputants that are too strong for me, Those that have a better Cause; Truth will overcome; Light will appear through narrow crannies. Of these I shall be glad to be overcome: I protest, that to my knowledg, I never managed a Dispute, in which I trusted not to the Goodness of my Cause, more than to wit or words or humane advantage.

But there are above twenty sorts of other Disputants, too hard for me to overcome.

1. Those that will Dispute before they agree of the sense of their terms or state the question, and then quarrel for not being understood.

2. Those that will not read or answer our fullest Defence already written, but think I should still begin anew. *thus doth non conf*

3. Universallists, that can prove me to be an Ass, because I am an Animal.

4. Equivocaters, that can prove me a Separatist because I sit not at their feet, or read not in their Book or with their Spectacles. *so. doth*

5. A Pope that taketh it for a Heresie or Crime to question his word, or suppose him fallible.

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6. A proud meer Grammarian, who can confute Aristotle and the School-men with a scorn, and taketh it for a disgrace to have any more Logick than simple terms; or taketh Rhetorick for the purest fruit of Reason.

7. A Nominal, who contracteth all his Syllogisms into simple terms of art, and can confute any Adversary, by calling him a Fool, or a Rogue, or a Heretick, or a Schismatick.

8. One that standeth so high that he thinks men below him to be little things like walking Crows.

9. A one-eyed man that can see nothing but on his own side.

10. A galled person that smarteth if the wind blow on him: And a melancholly man that thinketh that all that you think and say is against him, and would kill him.

11. I cannot dispute against Canons and Organs, that speak so loud that none can be heard but themselves. Nor against ringing Bells, that have loud tongues and no ears: and go on, on, on, and take no heed to what is answered.

12. Nor against such as Isa. 48. 4. Iron is too stiff for me to bow, and I can make no impression upon brass.

13. Nor can I deal with such as are described, Psal. 7. 4, 6, 7. Such an Oven hath too wide a mouth and too hot a breath for me to contend with.

*Plus de*  
*n. C. when*  
*regard*  
14. Nor such as Psal 59. 7. and 55. 21. that speak swords, or dispute with hands and not with tongues: and fetch their arguments from the Prison, or the Lyons, and speak not to the ear, but to the flesh and bones. Nor such as 2 Sam. 23. 6. Isa. 27. 4. Mic. 7. 4. Thorns and Bryers speak too feelingly. If I must dispute with stings, I had rather it were with Bees that will recompence me, than with Wasps or Hornets.

15. I am too weak for men over valient that can venture upon any thing, and easily prove that the Snow is black.

16. And my voice is too low for the dead and deaf and sleepy and drunken, that when I have spoken know not what I said.

17. I am loath to enter the Lists with those Women that never want time, or heat, or words, and seldom foul ones, [Nam si cum stercore certo, vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor.]

18. Nor

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18. *Nor am I able to deal with a Crowd or Multitude, where they follow the Leader, and cry, Away with him, when few know whom or what they are against.*

19. *Nor yet with Lads that are too quick for me, and value Mercury above Gold, that have quick Trade but little stock, and think age and experience to be the Characters of dull declining Wits.*

20. *And I am too weak to dispute a man out of Love with his Life, or his Pleasure, Wealth or Honour. All Church-History tells me how rarely any ever scrupled the Lawfulness of being made Pope or Patriarch, or hath been argued out of a Bishoprick or Dominion. I am not strong enough to answer an hundred pound a year, much less a thousand (though Grace and Conscience is.)*

21. *But though all this be not the Case of the Reverend Doctor, yet one advantage (though uncertain) he hath: He is like to over-live me, and so may have the last word; And that is a certain Victory with the sequacious multitude. But yet Truth will triumph, and fraud will vanish, and secret things shall be brought to light, and that which is crooked by the Judgment of men shall be set strait by the infallible final judgment.*

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*The thing being y<sup>t</sup> of the rebellious  
plint w<sup>ch</sup> was left after the forbidden  
numbers (viz all y<sup>t</sup> would not art  
they did) were turned out. voted out the  
house of W<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>t</sup> of supream authority  
in the common or people (y<sup>t</sup> swi  
w<sup>ch</sup> had by supream y<sup>t</sup> the <sup>For</sup> people  
clergy about y<sup>t</sup> swore allegiance  
it — 1648- & 1649 tho' it was y<sup>t</sup> some  
blank ag<sup>t</sup> the Covenant w<sup>ch</sup> they  
taken w<sup>ch</sup> long before.*

*For the Reverend Doctor Stillingfleet,  
Dean of St. Pauls.*

*Reverend Sir,*

**A**S you have told the Magistrates and the World what you think of me as guilty of sinful Separation, I have reason to hope that you will not deny me your help for my own conviction: For it concerneth no man so nearly to know my sin as my self: and being so near my day of Judgment, I were a most inexcusable wretch if I were unwilling to know it. You knew their capacity it's like, for whom you Preacht and wrote; but I, that best know my own, finding it impossible to understand you and your accusation without further help, presume to intreat your speedy Answer to these Questions, which are the stop of my Conviction.

I. Q. I intreat you to tell me more plainly, *which is the constitutive Regent part of a National Church?* Whether the King, or a Sacerdotal Head? For that you know, that a Church as well as a Kingdom, is essentiated by a *pars regens*, and *pars subdita*, I long ago found in your *Irenicon*. I have opened the state of the Question in my first *Plea*, Page 251, 252, &c. Of which I crave your Solution: For to hear of [*One Head*,] and not know who it is, is no satisfaction to me.

II. Q. I intreat you to tell me more plainly what the [*One Rule*] meant in your Text was, which was then extant, and all that had attained to be true Christians were then and are now to agree in and walk by. For I perceive you truly judge that it was somewhat then known to them; and yet in your application one would think you meant some late humane Laws.

Was it a Divine Rule or a Humane? If Humane, how to know it.

III. Q. I beseech you tell me plainly, what is the *definition* or *formal reason* of that sinful separation which you mention as mine. For I cannot perceive it by your Book: unless you take *preaching without the Magistrates Leave*, and *Worshiping in a manner different from that appointed by Law*, and forbidden, to be it. But I suppose you take not all Disobedience to be Separation, nor all different Modes of Worship. I would fain know what you mean.

IV. Q. I intreat you tell me plainly, what you would have the many score thousands do on the Lords days, who cannot hear in the Parish Churches? For the matter of Fact is past dispute, that in your Parish of *St. Andrews*, *Sepulchres*, *Giles Cripple-gate*, *Giles in the Fields*, *Martins*,

sins, Clements and many others, there are in some 10000, in some 20000, in some 30000, in some, the Parishoners say, 60000 Inhabitants more than can come into the Church and hear the Ministers Voice; which seldom can be heard by more than 3000 or 4000. How would you have all these score thousands spend the Lords day?

V. Q. Are you not conscious that the true pastoral Office is not Performed in your own Parish to the third part of the people according to their need, and *Pauls* example *Act. 20.* by reason of the number of them? Prudent peaceable Men of your Parish tell me, that not one of five of their Neighbours ever use to go to any Church: And out of the Church never here a word from the Pastor, unless at the Baptizing of a Child: but live like Heathens without any Publick Worship of God: And the worst men that most need help least desire it, and therefore easiliest take the excuse that at the Parish Church there is no room, and if they go to others they are called Sapatatists; but not if they play, work or drink at home.

VI. Q. I am confident you know the need of many Curates in your own Parish; (for my Part, I profess, I am so far from thinking myself capable of a Bishops work, that I would not take many 1000. *l.* a Year to take the Pastoral Charge of your Parish without many Assistants (seeing that you and I) as I see by your Treat. of Satisfaction, and other Doctrinal Books) do Preach the same Doctrin, and I perform but the Part of a Curate or Assistant to you for nothing, Why think you that it is worse than that so many be untaught?

VII. Q. Do you not think that culpably to alienate an Ordained Minister, Vowed to the Sacred Office, is far worse sacrilege than to steal Church Plate or moneys And that it must needs be so culpable, either in our selves for not Conforming, or for ceasing our works, or else in those that hinder us.

VIII. Q. What then is it that you would have us do, when after our best endeavours we are no more able to see the Lawfulness of Conforming or forsaking our Calling, than of many great notorious sins?

IX. Q. Do you think that for qualification and number there are so many better than the silenced Ministers in the Land, as may so far supply the Peoples wants, as that 2000 such as we may better be spared, than employed, unless we can Conform?

X. Q. Are none of our Hearers more competent Judges; then their Accusers, what profiteth their own Souls? And if they are, what is the great harm that such as I do that weighs down the Peoples profit? while all your Power is for edification, and all your Churches that I come in are full?

XI. Q. What is it in us that warranteth a humble Conformist to

think, that his Ministerial duty is so much better than ours, that in comparison of his Ministry, ours is unnecessary and we unsufferable in the Land : Is it *ignorance* or our *wickedness* that makes the difference so great ? I have studied many years longer than you, though perhaps with less advantage : We know nothing in the world that we prefer before the pleasing of God and edifying his Church? Though you excel us, do all others so? My meaning is, would you have none tolerated in *England* that are as *ignorant* and as *bad as I, Consideratis considerandis*. Doth bare Conforming make all this difference ?

XII. Q. And as I ask all these Questions for my self (and earnestly intreat your Answer) pardon me while in true love to you, I put this Question to you for your self; Whether doe you think, if you lived in the pain, and as near the Grave as I do, and by the sentence of death had the lively apprehensions of your account, should you not tremble to think of becoming a Preacher against our preaching, and justifying or owning the silencing and ruining of so many hundred devoted Ministers of Christ, who are no worse, and for no worse Cause? Such as truly desire to serve God as faithfully and diligently as your self, and with as little respect to preferment, riches, applause, or any worldly end? And whether you will never wish that you had never put your hand to such a work, as to argue with the Magistrate and harden others against the enduring of such Mens labours even on the hard terms that we willingly perform them.

Sir, Many importune me to publish an Answer to your Sermon : 1. As to my self, I am more concerned to crave your help for my conviction, if I live in sin at so dear a rate, even to my flesh : 2. And as to you, you have deserved so well of this Land, especially for so stoutly opposing Popery at such a time, and are so much loved and valued by us all, that I would take the least provoking way, as knowing what contention and exasperation tendeth to, and how glad the Papists will be to turn your Pen from themselves, and leave you and such as I together in a fruitless conflict : waiting your Answer, I rest.

Your unworthy fellow-Servant,

Ri. Baxter.

May 26.

1680.



## Dr. Stillingfleet's Answer to Mr. Baxter's Letter.

S I R,

I Lately received a Letter from you, wherein you complain of my exposing §. 1.  
 you to the Magistrates and the world, as one guilty of sinfull Separati-  
 on, whereas I never mentioned your name when I Preached, and when I  
 Printed the Sermon, I have quoted it several times against Separation. §. 2.  
 But if your meaning be, that you think your self concerned in those pra- §. 2.  
 ctises which I charge with that guilt, I should have been very glad to  
 have found in your Letter an Answer to those Reasons in my Sermon which §. 3.  
 moved me to judg as I then did, and still do concerning them, Which in my  
 opinion had been a far more likely way for your Conviction, which you seem  
 to desire in your Letter, than my Answering those Queries you propose &  
 many of which do very little relate to the matter in debate between us, What  
 you mean by knowing their capacity for whom I Preached and wrote, I  
 am not willing to understand; but if I have any, the single Question be- §. 4.  
 tween you and me, as to this matter, is, Whether the upholding Separate  
 Meetings for Divine Worship, where the Doctrine established, and the sub- §. 6.  
 stantial parts of Worship are acknowledged to be agreeable to the Word of  
 God, be a sinful separation, or not?

By separate Meetings I mean such as pretend to a purer way of Worship,  
 and are kept up in opposition to the legal establishment of Religion among us.  
 And now Sir, I pray consider,

First, To what purpose I should resolve the Queries you make concerning §. 7.  
 our great Parishes, since,

1. The separate Meetings are kept up in the City, and adjoining Places, §. 8.  
 as Hackny, Newington, &c. without any regard to the greatness of  
 Parishes, or capacity of Churches.

2. You cannot but know, that the People do not go to them, because they §. 9.  
 cannot find room in Churches, but because they look upon the Worship of  
 God as purer there, than in our Parochial Churches, and most of those  
 who frequent them, would not come to the publick Worship, were our Chur-  
 ches never so great, or our Parishes never so small.

3. The Preaching in them is forbidden by Law, which the greatness or §. 10  
 smallness of our Parishes doth not make more or less lawful to be done; un-  
 less those who preach in them do Conform to the Laws established; and so  
 I grant you, the Tabernacle in St. Martin's Parish, is now a help to the

§. 11. *Parish-Church, which before was a separate Meeting. And I wonder a Person of your Sagacity should think to satisfy your self, or others, by such slight evasions as these; which scarce any of my Auditors or Readers, how mean soever their capacities were, but could discern the weakness of them.*

§. 12. *Secondly, Others of your Queries relate to the Qualifications and number of the ejected Ministers, and comparing their Gifts with Ours.*

*But what is all this to the business of Separation? unless you suppose that the Gospel is not preached by Us; or whether it be or not, that you are bound to preach it still, and so much seems to be implied in your 7th Question, viz. That it is a Sacrilege culpably to alienate an Ordained Minister. vowed to the sacred Office. And because this comes nearest to the matter in hand, and seems very much to stick with you, I shall desire you to resolve these Queries.*

1. *Whether it be not in the power of those who give Orders in a Christian Church to limit and suspend the Exercise of the Ministerial Function without Sacrilege? If not, how could the Christian Church in its best and purest times, pretend to reduce Bishops and Presbyters to a Lay-Communion? of which you may read so often in St. Cyprian's Epistles. Nay what Church is there to be named, that doth not assume this power to it self, without the least suspicion of Sacrilege? And it would be very strange, that this Notion of Sacrilege should never be understood before.*

§. 13. 2. *Whether Christian Magistrates may not justly restrain those Ministers from Preaching, who, after the experience of former Troubles, do refuse to renounce those Principles which they judge do naturally tend to involve us again in the like Troubles?*

3. *To what purpose any such Authority is either in Church or State, if those who are legally silenced may go on to preach publicly in opposition to the established Laws; only on supposition that they were wrongfully ejected?*

§. 14. *This I am certain is contrary to the Doctrine of all the Non-conformists of former times, as you may see in the Book published in their Name by Mr. Rathband, A. D. 1644. p. 41. (besides what you may find in my Sermon, p. 51. only the Testimony of Dr. Gouge ought to be corrected thus, p. 513, 514.) Their words are, if a guiltless Person put out of his Charge by the Churches Authority, may yet continue in it, what proceedings can there be against guilty persons who in their own conceit are always guiltless, or will at least pretend so to be; seeing they also will be always ready to object against the Churches judgment, that they are called of God, and may not therefore give over the execution of their Ministry at the Will of Man.*

§. 15. 4. *Whether there be the same obligation now lying upon Ministers to preach the Gospel, in a Nation where the Gospel is confessed to be truly preached, when they are forbidden to do it by the Laws of the Land; as there was upon the Apostles to preach it first to the World, notwithstanding the prohibitions of men?*

The disparity seems so obvious to me, that I could hardly believe men of understanding would alledge the Apostles words to justify their present practices, had I not so often seen it done. But that the old Non-conformists did truly understand the disparity of the case, you may see it in 3 instances in the former Book, which I shall refer you to.

But you ask one material Question in behalf of the People, viz. Are none of our Hearers more competent Judges than their Accusers what profiteth their own Souls? And is this in your judgment, a tolerable Plea for Separation? Then there can be no such thing as an unjustifiable or sinful separation, since the People are left to be their own Judges. For where was any separation made but upon such a pretence? And upon this ground the people may leave you to morrow, and go to Doctor O. and leave him next week, and go to the Anabaptists, and from them to the Quakers; and still plead that they are more competent Judges than their Accusers, what profiteth their own souls? No one would think by such Questions as these, that ever you had written so much against Separation, and spoken so freely of the mischief of it. Thus I have pickt out those Queries, which come nearest to the matter of Separation, and given a sufficient Answer to them. But as to the other remaining, concerning the constituent regent part of a National Church; the One Rule mentioned by the Apostle, and whether you or I have studied longer or to better purpose, I have in civility passed them over, as no more relating to our business, than determining the Principle of Individuation is, to the keeping of the sixth Commandment. And I am resolved in debates of this nature not to be drawn off by any by-Queries from the main thing in Controversie. I do not press you to any speedy Answer, but I desire you rather to weigh and consider things impartially, than to give too hasty a Reply. I am neither fond of Controversie, nor can I desert so just and clear a Cause as I take this against Separation to be; from which I shall not be moved by the noise and censures of weak and injudicious people, who I find (as you formerly observed) can least endure to be touched in this matter. If you please at your leasure to return an Answer to this paper, it shall be thankfully received by,

SIR,

Your faithful Friend  
and Servant

EDWARD STILLINGFLEET.

My suddain removal into the Country upon the receipt of yours, must excuse my sending this no sooner.

## *A Reply to Dr. Stillingfleet's Letter ; being the sum of our Controversie.*

§. 1. **I** Confess I was so well assured of the Divine Obligations which lay on me, to do these things which you judge my sin, that my expectations from your return were very low : But yet I thought it my duty to try whether you had more than I knew of to say for my Conviction, before I ventur'd on a Defence : But your refusal to convince and satisfie me, increaseth my confidence that it is my great Duty which you account my Sin.

§. 2. Did you not write to be understood? Or must I only not understand you ; must I trouble the Reader by gathering all the passages, where you expressly speak to me, viz. As *One of them* ; and as going *beyond the Independants*, and preaching *unlawfully* to them that *unlawfully* hear ; and as dealing *more disingeniously* and *less fairly* than the old Separatists, and so almost from end to end.

§. 3. Seeing you should have been very glad to have found an Answer to your Sermon, an Answer you shall have.

§. 4. Seeing you will no further explain your great word [*Separation*] I will answer it where I find it in your Sermon : And if the Case must be no more intelligibly stated, I must take it as you will do it.

§. 5. To sum up all, as far as I am able to understand you, your Sermon containeth, 1. The Grounds supposed on which you build. 2. Your Accusation of us on those grounds. 3. The Penalties which you justifie. 4. And the Cure which you desire.

1. As far as you are intelligible to me, your supposed grounds are, that [*God hath authorized the Magistrate 1. To choose what Persons every man in his dominions shall entrust his soul to, as the Pastor, whose Conduct he is bound in Conscience to obey: 2. And also to choose and command in what words only every Pastor shall publicly pray to God; and what Books and words of men he shall profess assent and consent to; and what dedicating Symbols of Christianity he shall use as engaging in the Christian Covenant, and to command Ceremonies and Modes, for dissent wherein he shall deny Baptism, and Church-Communion to all dissenters, though the things be taken to be indifferent by the Magistrate, and great sins by the Dissenters.*

3. And that all that obey not in all these, but preach when forbidden, or use other accidents or modes, and choose other Pastors to be their Guides, are Separatists and sin against God.

II. On these grounds you judge me and such others sinful Separatists.

III. You justify the executing of the Laws upon us and would have us silenced, and such Dissenters not endured.

It is our (Conformity, or our) ceasing to Preach which you Plead for as the Cure.

§. 6. L. As to your supposed ground, 1. You know, it's like, that in my first *Plea for peace*, I largely confuted it: And could you think that without any reply your bare saying over the thing confuted, could be any satisfaction, to one of any sense or conscience.

2. You cannot but know that the judgment and practice of the Universal Church in *East and West* hath been against you, not only for the first 300 years but for many hundred after. Father *Paul Sarpi* after cited, in his History of Church Revenues truly testifieth it: I have Proved it by many Canons and Histories in my Church History, that he was to be taken as no Bishop that was chosen by Magistrates, Prelates or any without the *Clergies Election*, and the *Peoples Election or Consent*: Christians then took not this to be any Part of the Princes trust: but only to countenance the things that furthered Learning and Godlyness, and encourage the Clergy and People to choose the best, and to protect and encourage and Govern them by the sword when they were chosen. This being past doubt, were the Universal Church Separatists? *Is our Consent* with the Universal Church, or *your Singularity* from it, liker to Schism or Separation?

3. I know that there are inconveniences in the Peoples consenting Power, and so there are in all humane affairs? but not to be cured by Pernicious mischiefs. You will not tell me, because you cannot tell me, how we shall know what Magistrates they be that have this trust? Whether Heathens, Infidels, Mahometans, Socinians, Arians, Macedonians, Eutchians, Monothelites, Image-Worshippers, Papists, Anabaptists, or who? and who must judge of their qualifications? Yea, were we sure that the Prince were Orthodox, if he were but wicked, debauched, an enemy to serious Practical Piety, as all wicked men naturally are inclined to be, will not all such choose Bishops and Pastors like themselves? what more natural than to Propagate our like? And will not wicked Bishops make wicked Priests; And you know the Patron hath the choice with us and it's a slender qualification which the Bishops hath power to require, without a *quare impedit*: An Atheist, a Fornicator, a *Drunkeard*, a *Hater of holiness*, hath nevertheless the choice of a Priest for the Parish, to whom all the People must intrust their Souls. What a sad Case were the Christian World in, if we may lawfully have no other Pastors than Gentlemen and Princes choose for us? When Christ tells us how hard it is for the Rich to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven?

and

and how few of the Noble are called, and [*in uno annulo, &c.*] is become a Proverb. What a Case were *Hungary, Poland, France, Germany,* and the *Greek Churches* in, if this were true?

4. *Personal Power* in man is the first: *Family Power* is the next: *City and Kingdom Power* supposeth these and cannot destroy them: Hence subjects that are not meer Slaves, stand up to Plead for their *Personal and Domestick property, liberty and Power.* If my Money and Limbs and Life be not at the Patrons or the Princes will, much less my Soul. He is trusted with my Estate and Life; but I am first and more trusted with them. He may keep out ill Physicians from the Land, and encourage the good; but he hath no power to tie me to an ill Physician, nor to an ill Diet, nor to ill Servants, &c. The choice of these belongeth to my self; Much less can he on pretence of Parish-order tie me to an ignorant drunken, Maglignant, or an unexperienced sapless Teacher, that is to my Soul as a silly Emperick to my health. Scripture, the World, and Experience tell how much God morally giveth his light and grace, according to the aptitude of means: *Habitus infusi se habent ad modum acquisitorum,* is common in the Schools. Twenty sinners are usally sooner brought to repentance under skillful fit Teachers, than under unskillful or ungodly Men. And no man hath Power from God to damn my Soul; or forbid me the needful means of my salvation. No man is so much concerned as my self what becometh of me for ever, and I will not believe that the Patron loveth me and all the Parish better than we love our selves.

*England* hath been blest with better Rulers than other Lands: But one Rule must in this be held to by all the Churches. And if you would even here appeal to Experience, I will not here stay to tell you the names of 8 or 6 or 10 ignorant Readers, most Drunkards, some rarely, half never Preaching, that I was bred under, nor what a flock of such our Country had, and how very thin pious tolerable Preachers were: nor what worthy men *Aldermanbury, Black-fryers,* the *Inns-of-Courts,* and most places have had where the People chose.

But reason signifieth little with most, who are on his side that talketh to them with the best advantage: I insist on this, You go against all the ancient Fathers and Churches for many hundred Years, and are so far a Separatist from more than one Parish Priest.

II. And therefore your accusation of us thus grounded is Shismatical and unjust, and recoileth on your self, who instead of *Gods Rule* that *all should walk by,* accuse them that walk not by your novel crooked Rules, which may make as many Modish Religions as there are Princes.

III. And your desire of our *silencing* and not being *tolerated,* I will only here lament, and after speak to.

IV. And

IV. And as your Cure by our *Conformity* is impossible; so that by *silencing* will be none, but increase the disease.

§. 7. Is it not a very uncharitable thing of you, that when it's I whom you have called to account, you flatly deny or shun to give me an Answer to my Case, and to the Case of all others that preach only in Parishes where few of the People can hear in the Church. Why ask you [*To what purpose should you resolve those Queries?*] I Answer, to shew me whether my preaching be my Sin, or Duty: And whether you justly, or unjustly accused me, and all such others; was it not to this purpose that I craved your Answer.

2. And do you not know, that in the Bills of Mortality it appeareth that the Parishes within the Walls are but about the seventh part of the whole; and the outer Parishes, which are thus great, are about six parts: And in these Parishes it is not the tenth part in some, and the sixth in most that can come within the Church to hear. And it is pity that one half, or two or three parts of such a City as London should be left like the *Indians* without any publick Teaching and Worship, and such as you say so much for it.

§. 8. You say, *the Separate Meetings are kept in the City, Hackney, Newington, &c.*

*Ans.* 1. What's that to me, and all such other? 2. I can tell that some City Churches are yet unbuilt, and the Tabernacles will not hold the People (as Christ-Church, and others.) 3. And divers keep Meetings *within the Walls*, where they found most peace, for the reception of those without the Walls, that cannot come into their own Churches. 4. What's done at *Newington* I know not; But at *Hackney* I know of two Meetings, where the Ministers so preach out of the time of Publick Worship, that none may be hindred from going to it, and deny not Communion with the Parish-Churches, And they tell me, that as the Incumbent Officiateth by another, so the Parish is so great, and the preachers voice so low, that a great part cannot hear him.

5. Why do you say *they are separate Meetings*, when you know that you have cast them out: The Preachers had rather Preach in your Temples, and they cannot be suffered: Preachers and People that are professed Nonconformists but in Opinion, are by the Canon *ipso facto Excommunicate*.

§. 9. As to what you say of the Reason of their Meetings; I Answer, 1. I think (as far as I can Judge) the most of my Hearers, (I think ten or twenty to one) do also hear in the Parish-Churches: So that your Charge of Separation against them is but for hearing both: And I believe it is so with many others. 2. Every one that preferreth better, doth not separate from all the rest: Your Church alloweth any free Man to forsake and change his Bishop and Parish Priest as oft as he will; so he will but

change his dwelling: And in *London*, Lodgers may change frequently. If I know those called Puritans better than you, I must profess that I believe of the two it is more the *Preacher* and his *Preaching* which maketh the difference with them than the *Liturgy*. For my part I seldom hear any but very good well studied Sermons in the Parish Churches in *London* where I have been; But most of them are more fitted to well-bred Schollars, or judicious Hearers, than to such as need more *Practical* Subjects, and a more plain familiar easie mode: And it is not your Reasoning that will bring all Appetites to the same Food; nor make the same Books serve every Form. I have alwaies found that such Conformable Preachers, as were Mr. *Bolton*, Mr. *Fenner*, Mr. *Whately*, Bishop *Usher*, &c. Were flockt after by those called *Puritans*, as much as the Non-conformists. But when they find all together, 1. That the Worship and the Preaching is more suitable to their good, 2. And that their Souls have need of much other Pastoral help than publick. 3. And doubt of the calling of obtruded men, no wonder if they prefer the other.

§. 10. But you lay the stress on the *Prohibition of the Law, which the greatness or smallness of the Parish doth not make more or less Lawful.*

*Answ.* God hath commanded all Christians ordinarily to Learn and Worship him under the Conduct of his Institution, all Christians grant this. No man hath Power to forbid this: All Law that forbiddeth it is of no Obligation. In a Parish where 10000, 20000, 40000, can not come within the Church to hear; if they have no other place to go to, they must forbear all publick Learning and Worship: So that the *English* of your Words is, that if the Law forbid the most of the People all Publick Learning and Worship of God, it is there as unlawful for any to Congregate against that Law as where there is no such need. But, 1. I again tell you, Councils, Doctors and the Universal Church thought otherwise, and abhor'd this Doctrine. 2. Why will you not give us one word of proof, but your naked Authority to prove such Authority in the Magistrate, and to satisfie us what Rulers have it, and how far it reacheth: Hath the King enabled Justices to depose him, or cast down his Honour or Prerogative? Hath God given Magistrates Authority to damn as many Souls as they will, by keeping them from the means of Knowledge, Faith and Holiness; and to forbid his Subjects to worship God? Did *Robert Groshead* of *Lincoln* take this to be the greatest Sin save Antichrists, and do you take it for an Act Authoriz'd? It is unlawful to preach when forbidden, or worship God when forbidden, at *Japan*, *Idostan*, *China*, *Turkie*, *France*, &c. or only in *England*? and where?

§. 11. Yet do you conclude [*I wonder a Person of our sagicity should think to satisfie your self or others, by such slight Evasions as these, which scarce any of my Auditors, or Readers how mean so ever their Capacities were, but could discern the weakness of them.*

*Answ.*



*Answ.* 1. O pity then the frailty of humane understanding! I get nothing by it if I err, but my great labour and the hazard of my Salvation by Sin! It must needs be then against my will; and is none of my size to be endured? How few Congregations are so happy as yours, if all your Auditors are so much wiser? but, 1. Be the thousands of your Parish as wise that *hear you not*? 2. How come some that I thought the wisest that I know of your Auditors to say as I say, and lament your Case?

Reader, you see here that it must be somewhat better than the confidence of Teachers, that must guide and secure the Peoples Faith. This Reverend Man you see is most confident of the strength of his Reasons, and the slightness of mine: And I am so far past doubt on the other side, as that I think he overthroweth all Religion, and setteth up Man in open Rebellion against God: He may as well wonder that I take any thing to be of Divine command: If all publick Worship is sinful, when forbidden, all Private may be so too; *Daniel* may go to the Lyons: The Martyrs, Fathers, Councils, the Universal Church are all foolisher than the meanest of his Auditors. It's strange that he can be sure God's Word is true; and yet be so sure that Mens Laws are above it, and may suspend it; when yet Mens Laws have no more strength than God's Laws gave them.

1. I believe that the Spirit of God hath said, *For sake not the Assembling of your selves together*; know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and esteem them very highly in Love for their work sake, 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. That have spoken to you the word of God, that watch for your Souls, Heb. 13. 17, 24. How shall they hear without a Preacher, &c. Rom. 10.

2. I believe that where the Gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost: And without knowledge the Heart is not good, and without Faith there is no Salvation; and that it is Life Eternal to know God in Christ.

3. Therefore they that forbid Men to hear and worship God Publickly forbid what God commandeth; and what is ordinarily needful to Salvation.

4. I believe that God is Almighty, the highest Universal King, and we are all his Subjects; and the Scripture is his Law.

5. I believe that there is no Power but from him, and that he hath given none against him, or his Laws, nor above him; and that Man is not God; and that we must obey God rather than man, when they Contradict.

6. I believe that we must Love, Fear, and Serve God above all, and Worship him according to his Word, and Honour his Name, and keep Holy his Day whoever forbid it: And that we must Love our Neighbour as our selves, and help to save him as we may.

7. I believe that I must love my self, and seek the saving of my Soul, though the Law forbid me.

8. I believe, that a Father must be honoured, and having care of his Childrens Life and Soul, he must command them necessary Food and Means for Body and Soul, and they must obey him, if the Law forbād it.

9. I believe that murdering Souls privatively or positively is a sin, as well as murdering Bodies, as many undertaking and not performing Pastors will find.

10. I believe that he that obeyeth not a Law which was made against Gods Law, or without Authority given by him, sinneth not against Authority.

11. I think in such cases, he that submitteth to the Penalty of a Penal Law, doth enough.

12. I conjecture, that the multitude of Casuists, Politick Writers, and Lawyers, [who say that *Because the Common Good is the End of Government, and all Power is for Edification, no Law obligeth which is against the Common Good, or at least that is destructive of it,*] are like to be near as knowing in such matter, as the *meanest* of the Doctors Hearers and Readers.

13. And I am past doubt, that he that denieth these Principles, will shortly have no cause to glory of his Wisdom.

And O what cause have we that are Teachers, in stead of proving those intollerable that differ from us in such matters as our Conformity to consider that an Errour in us, especially so Practical and momentous, is far more dangerous than in the People. If all my Neighbours mistake my Disease and the Remedy, it may not hurt me; but if my Physician mistake it, it may be my death. Bishop *Usher* and many Protestants do except a Learned Papist much more than the unlearned from the hopes of Salvation.

§. 12. I will readily Answer your Queries, though you refuse to Answer mine.

To your first, Those who rightfully give Orders, must give such Orders as God hath instituted, and may not limit or suspend contrary to his Institution or Laws. As he that marrieth Persons may not except the Husbands Power of Government, nor may unmarry them again, save for Adultery. None may silence Ministers that forfeit not their Office. On just cause to pull down Churches, and alienate the Church Goods, (as some Bishops of old did for the Poor) is no Sacriledge: nor to silence an intollerable Teacher: But to silence Ministers unjustly, is another matter.

If men will cant over still, *Who shall be Judge?* We still repeat, 1. Whoever is Judge, he hath no Power to cast out Faithful Ministers: and if he misjudge them, it justifieth not his act. And every man is the *discerning Judge of his own Duty.*

§. 13. To your Second Query, Christian Magistrates may justly preserve the publick Peace by all just means, and may repress all Rebellious Practices and Principles: but if they should *misjudge* any Principles to be such that are not, and for not renouncing those should silence Ministers, if they

they have fitter means than silencing to correct them ; silencing them, when their Ministry is needful, is a sin.

But seeing these words are significant of your mind for silencing us, and the Reasons of it, why would you not tell me, what those Principles are which we refuse to renounce, and so deserve silencing. Either you lay the stress on the guiltiness of our Principles, or on the Magistrates judging them so. You cannot think, that if he mis-judge, it will justify his silencing men: Else *Valens, Hunnicherichs*, that cut out the Preachers Tongues, those that silenced the Preachers in *Germany* on one side for not swearing for the *Pope*, and on the other for not swearing for the *Emperor*, &c. all did well. Seeing then you speak as an Accuser of us, as guilty of refusing to renounce such Principles, and subscribe your implied consent to our silencing for it: O that you would be so charitable as to help our Conversion, and tell us what those Principles are. I have told the World at large my own and many other Principles of Government and Obedience in my second Plea for Peace: I crave your discovery of my Errors therein: Yea, I provoke also such as more fiercely accuse us as Plotters, or cherishing Principles of Rebellion, to name that Principle which I have not there renounced. If all that's there be not enough, I know not what will be enough.

§. 14. To your 3d. I answer, 1. It followeth not, That Authority to silence justly is to no purpose, unless all unjustly silencing must be obeyed: The Apostles, the old Bishops, the most of the Churches have disobeyed such as did the *Waldenses, Bohemians, German-Protestants, the French, Belgians, Remonstrants, and Contraremonstrants, &c.* You say greatness of Parishes makes no difference: What if the King turned all *London* into one Parish, and so forbid all Preaching and Publick Worship to all save a few thousands; Is Authority vain, unless all the rest turn like to *Atheists*? No good Christian should obey the *Popes Interdicts* of whole Kingdoms, though he had as much Authority as the King: A power to damn Souls is a frightfull word.

2. Either the supposition that is unjust, is true or false: If false, it will not justify their Preaching: If true, either his preaching is necessary or unnecessary. If it be necessary, we must obey God, and disobey man (as *Groffthead* saith) by an obedient disobedience: If it be unnecessary, though the Magistrate sin, I must forbear there, and go to some place where I may preach without doing more hurt than good: So that all our Controversie lieth but in this, Whether the preaching of the 2000 silenced Ministers was unnecessary, and tended to do more hurt than good? And this is all that *Mr. Rathband*, or any sober Nonconformist meant: And this is plain truth, though the best of your Hearers, and Readers, or your Self, contradict it.

§. 15. And, whereas you say, This I am certain is contrary to the Doctrine of all the Nonconformists of former times; your Assertion is so rash and false in matters of notorious Fact, that it weakneth my reverence of your Judgment

ment in matter of right. I have told you what Bishop *Bancroft* saith of the old Nonconformists forming Churches and Discipline: The Canon against Conventicles, thence occasioned, confuteth you: I have heard old Nonconformists preach constantly publickly and privately against Law: I was familiar with many of them: I never knew one of the mind you mention. Most of them did preach themselves that ever I heard of. If Mr. *Rashband* had denied this, it had been no proof. Mr. *Ash* that is one of them there, and Mr. *Slator*, both Preached at *Bremcham* long, Mr. *Pateman* at *Moseley*, &c. Multitudes I could name. And yet a man that knew them not [*is certain that all the Nonconformists of former times had contrary Doctrine.*] I was in 1638 and 1639 accounted one of them, though I used the Liturgie, which most of them did not. I knew them better than you did. I have named many in my first Plea, whose Practice proveth your great Error in that History where you say you are certain.

§. 16. To your fourth Question, An Obligation may be called [*the same,*] 1. *Quoad terminum.* 2. *Quoad gradum.* 3. *Quoad modum obligandi.* 4. *Quoad realitatem.*

1. The Apostles had an obligation to assert *Christs Resurrection*, as eye-witnesses, and to record his *Doctrine and Laws infallibly in Scripture*, and to many things proper to them, which we have not; But we are obliged to the work of our proper Office.

2. The Apostles had greater obligations than we, by more immediate Call, and special gift of the Spirit, and special Commission and Commands when ours are lower, but firmly binding us.

3. The Apostles were obliged by *Christs immediate Mission*, and *Commission*; and we but by his *ordinary instituted means*. But we are as truly bound to our Duty, as they to theirs.

2. And our Duty is to preach the Gospel to those without, and those within, according to our Power and opportunity, and to do the rest of our Office when we can. And though we are called to this without supernatural Inspiration, Vision, or Miracle; *being called*, we are as truly obliged as Parents, Husbands, Princes are to their Duties. It is not lawful to look back when we have put our hands to *Christs Plow*, nor perfidiously to break our Ordination Vow, nor to be negligent or treacherous Non-residents, Pluralists, slothful, nor to obey men more than God, though we were not called immediately, or by miracle.

3. If the Magistrate appoint 20000 or 1000, or one half a Parish to be excluded for want of Room and Teachers, it's ill supposed that the Gospel is truly and sufficiently preached to them, to whom it is not preached at all. And that it is preached to others, proveth it not unnecessary to them.

4. He that only readeth the Gospel truly preacheth it: But Souls have need of more Pastoral help than bare true preaching.

5. Ignorant wicked men in *England* can no more be saved than Heathens, and

and have need of convincing, skilful serious Preaching as well as they.

Your wondring at our allegation of the Apostle's words, and great confidence in so sad a Cause, sets me almost above wondring at any thing that you say, *Timothy* was not called immediately by *Christ*, who had that dreadful Charge to preach *in season and out of season*. The Universal Church long judged otherwise of this case than you do: And not only Bishop *Bilson*, but I think almost all Christian Writers, Protestants and Papists, herein follow the ancient Church against you. The Nonconformists and others easily grant what I said before, That no one *Apostle might be silenced* by man; but *deserving Ministers, that do more hurt than good by their Ministry*, may be silenced by Christian Magistrates: But not the Churches Edification oppugned, and 2000 faithful men silenced for not sinning on pretence of a power to judge or execute.

§. 17 My Question implieth, 1. That every man is most concerned for his own Soul, and hath a *prior* obligation to secure it, which the King cannot dispense with. 2. And, That every man hath nearer helps to know what is good or hurtful to his Soul in doubtful Cases, than the King that never saw him hath. 3. And every man is like to love himself more than the King loveth him. 4. And that the King can no more bind him to hurt, or famish, or endanger his Soul than his Health in Diet.

But the King must give men all the helps that he can: and set up and maintaine sufficient publick Teachers, and drive the ignorant and profane to hear and learn, and promote Order and Concord, and hinder Unpeaceableness and Disorder by just means. But I have so fully declared the Magistrate's Work in my Book of Concord, that I will not repeat it on this slight occasion. Separations must be prevented by right means. I had no Separatist in a great Congregation for fourteen years, though many Sects strongly and often tempted them; no not one Separate meeting all that time, and this without force. What harm will it do me, or them, if my Hearers go from me (as you say) to Dr. O? Our whole Country where I lived almost kept Concord and kept out Separation without the Magistrates constraint: Experience is not easily confuted. Why then do you tell me of *what I have written against Separation?* when you may see that I contradict none of this; and when that *writing*, with my other Endeavours, served without the Rulers Sword. I had three Justices always at hand that would have done for me what they could at any time: I never desired one act of force from them. I allowed Quakers and Anabaptists Publick Disputes half a day together: They never won one Man or Woman by it. Mr. *Tombes* his great Parts, and Interest with his Flock and Kindred, could get but about twenty four, or less then thirty Anabaptists at *Bowdely*; almost all the rest of the Country was free, save a few inconsiderable Quakers at *Worcester*, and a small Village or two. The like was then done without force in many other Counties.

§. 13. I told you how *necessary* the resolving of the *Questions* which I sent you was to my *Conviction*: And I will *not* provoke you, by giving that Name to *your denial of an Answer to them*, which I think *impartial Readers* will give it.

I. Will other men believe that he doth well to deny me the *Definition* of that *National Church* which he writeth of, or to tell me *whether he speak of a Lay or a Clergie Government*, who writes his wonder that I should say, I know not what they mean by the *National Church*? How can I know whom to obey, or when I separate from the Form of Government, if I know not what it is? Is this nothing to our Case? I take my self to be more bound to obey the King, than some *Bishops*, You knew that you are here divided as for two Church-For ms among your selves.

II. Would any man that ever knew you have believed that ever you, *even you*, should have so *Preached* and *written* for walking by the same Rule, and accused the *Nonconformists* as worthy of silencing and as intollerable for *swarving* from that Rule, and when you have done, will by no intreaty be prevailed with so much as to tell me *what that Rule is, Divine or Humane, the Statutes or the Canons*, or what? yea, and think this impertinent to the business?

III. Was it not almost incredible, that when all this was said and *written* against our *Separation*, that I cannot intreat you to tell me what *Separation is*, even what is the formal *Reason* from whence you so name it, and whether you make it not to be the same with [*Disobedience*], contrary to the *common Sence* of Church Writers?

III. Is it not hard to have been believed, that when I and others are so loudly accused of *Preaching* (though I never gathered a *Church*) to some of many thousands that cannot come into the *Temples*, (many of which never heard a *Sermon* of many years) that I cannot intreat you to tell me what all those thousands should do on the *Lords day*, and how you would have them spend the time: And that this should be taken as *impertinent*: The *Canon* commandeth the spending of the *Sunday* and *Holidays* in hearing *Gods Word*, &c. Doth he keep this better that goeth to no *Church*, or he that heareth such as I?

Let the Reader also peruse the rest, and see whether they are *impertinent*.

§. 19. Before you desired me I have long *weighed* with my most serious and *impartial* thoughts, the matter of this *Controversie*: And I had great *Reason* so to do, when for the *labour* which you account my sin, I wear my *Health* and *Flesh*, I suffer *reproach*, and many a thousand Pounds Loss and Dammage, in these *nineteen years*; and being weary of a burdensome Body, do bear it and live *especially* for that *Work*. And if I do and suffer all this for sin, to the wrong of the Church, and the hazard of my Soul, alas, what a case am I in! when no Study, no Prayer, no resolved contempt

tempt of all Mens censure, and of worldly Interests, in twenty years time, yea in *forty one*, (for so long I have been partly a Nonconformist) can change my Judgment, or make me doubt? Lord, shew me thy Truth, and make me true to it, whatever it cost me; and teach us all to know what manner of Spirit we are of, and acquaint us with the true way of Christian Piety, Love, and Peace. *June 17. 1680.*

*To the Reverend Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Pauls, &c.*

Richard Baxter returneth this Account of his Doctrine and Practice, which by his published Sermon, preached before the Lord Mayor, May 2. 1680. he often calleth me to; and the Lord Mayor's and Court of Aldermen's earnest desire of his printing it, add to my Obligation.

§. 1. **S**IR, I apprehend much reason for my rendring you this following Account, and some against it: And it was not easy to me quickly to resolve which did preponderate. It is easy to foresee, that the Papists will be glad that your Pen be turned from them, against those whom they are most against, and will laugh to see you diverted by such a Scuffle. And Satan, knowing our frailty, will hope to persuade you, that all that is said against the weakness and error of your Writings, is against your *Interest* and *You*, and so to stir up in you Passions and Thoughts directly contrary to Love and Concord, and your own and the Publick Good: For with some he hath unhappily succeeded to carry them from one Error to another, till he hath brought them to the bitter hatred of their Confuters. And though I am not so considerable as you, the Tempter disdaineth not so low a Game, as to try whether he can make your erroneous opposition a snare to me. When I saw that you had begun this contentious way, it was easy to foresee that Satan's Cause was like to gain by it, and therefore I fear that he was much the cause.

§. 2. And I remembered *Prov. 17. 14. The beginning of Strife is as when one letteth out Water; therefore leave off Contention before it be meddled with.* And if you could not forbear beginning, you will hardly forbear when a necessary Confutation seemeth to dishonour you *Interest*, you tell me, *is strong*; and it is easier to speak against selfish Partiality than to overcome it. I never personally provoked you, unless it was by confuting your Opinion, [*That no Form of Church-Government is of Divine Institution*] in my *Christian Directory*: But as I named you not unless with honour, so your own accusing of that *Irenicon* of yours, (otherwise a very laudable Book) doth seem to justify what I said

§. 3. And I truly fear, lest the opening of your Misdoings should rejoyce the Papists, and encourage them to say, *This is the Champion against the Catho-*

*licks.* For I speak from my heart in my usual saying to them that mention you, That this Kingdom is greatly beholden to you, for your seasonable and open defence of the Protestant Cause, at a time when ————  
And I am glad that you blame them that accuse the Conformable Clergy of yeildingness to Popery; which implieth, that no Bribe shall tempt you, directly or indirectly to serve that Cause, how strongly soever it shall seem supported by the Arm of Flesh.

§. 4. But yet in so publick a Cause, to be by your Accusations so loudly called to be accountable for my Doctrine and Practice, and that to the Magistrate, and to an End easily discernable; and to refuse to tender you or the Magistrate any just satisfaction, when refusing may make me and thousands more taken for *Guilty*, as by our (silent) Confession, and consequently the Magistrate and you to incur a far greater Guilt, if you should mistake, this seemeth to me a Crime not to be ventured on. When you have made Answering necessary, I must answer: Else I should have imitated *Melancthon*, who oft boasteth how much he had profited in Philosophy, so that he could silently let *Illiricus*, *Osiander*, and such others write and talk against him. If possible, and as much as in us lieth, we should live peaceably with all Men; but when that which Men make impossible to us is no Duty, nor the want of it a Sin, though an Affliction, the Aggressor doth make Defence a Duty. And indeed I must be guilty of Scandal against you and others, if I deny you satisfaction. Either I or you live in no small Sin: Though Mr. *Cheney* think otherwise, your words, and many such others, shew, that you take our Course to be a Sin intolerable. And if it should prove that the Sin is yours, it could not be small, not only to do what we fear would be so bad in us, but also to accuse us so publickly to Magistrates, for not forbearing to preach the Gospel when we were solemnly devoted to it; and pleading against the toleration of it, when Non-toleration must be by Imprisonment, Banishment, or Death, or such Disablement, against such as believe they are bound to preach while they are able.

§. 5. Yet you can tell that they are *ill Men* that reported you stir up Magistrates to Persecution. If that much will prove it, it's like they will be emboldened to call you [*an ill Man*] too; for such faults are so common, that we may say as *Seneca*, [*Quid ulcus leviter tangam omnes mali sumus.*] Indeed they do not well that use that word, *Persecution*; when your words are but against *Toleration*, and the Church of England's endeavour after *Uniformity*; which are publickly known.

§. 6. And no wonder if they are *ill Men*; when you are but finding out a certain Foundation for a lasting Union, which is impossible to be attained, till Men are convinced of the evil and danger of the present Separation, &c. That is, you are but proving our Union impossible; for I have elsewhere proved, that the Conviction which you speak of is morally impossible, to become the



the terms of a common Union. It is impossible that we should all be convinced that none of the Particulars imposed are sinful, which I have named in my first Plea. And secondly, 'tis as impossible that we should all be convinced, that it is any more lawful for us to forsake our Ministry, to which we were vowed in our Ordination, than to break our Oath of Allegiance, and deny our Duty to the King. So that you do no worse, than for Union, to prove our Union impossible: and who is it that makes it so?

§. 7. And this Impossibility you infer from this Principle, [*That it is lawful to separate on a pretence of greater Purity, where there is an agreement in Doctrine, and the substantial parts of Worship.*]

*Ans.* 1. Was there not this Agreement in the case of *Cyprian* and the Council, who persuaded the People to separate from *Martial* and *Basilides*? And is not Union possible with such as *Cyprian* and the *Carthage-Bishops*?

2. We that are accused by you do not say that [*we differ not from you in Doctrine absolutely:*] viz. in the Doctrine about *Diocesan Church-Forms*, or their imposing Power, we never denied this difference. But we say, [*in the Doctrine of the 39 Articles,*] as distinct from the Form of Government, and imposed Abuses, we agree. And suppose that we agreed in such Doctrine and Worship with a Church, that yet held, only that the *Pope is jure divino the Constitutive Vicarious Head of the Universal Church*, and would take none that confess it not, for Christians; were it a Sin to separate from that Church?

3. Suppose that Usurpers should thrust out the Bishops and you, and make themselves our Pastors against our wills, is it unlawful to separate from them, though they agree with us in Doctrine and Worship? And if the Churches and Councils have been in the right, which for 700 yea 1000 years held that the calling of a Bishop was null that had not the Clergies Election, and the Peoples Election or Consent. I need not tell you how far this will reach.

4. What if a Church that you agree with in Doctrine and Worship will not receive you, unless you will deliberately profess or subscribe an Untruth, or covenant against some Duty, or commit a known Sin; is it intolerable for you rather to separate from them than to sin? And must we have no Union till we can in all things think as you do?

§. 8. I think you need not expect the Censures of the chief makers of our Divisions: And as to the inferior Sectaries, if you are a Sacrifice, it will be an unbloody one. You well admonish us in the end, not to complain too much when we are silenc'd, impoverished, and imprisoned: The counsel is good; But for the Dean of *Pauls*, &c. that is deservedly loved and honoured by us all whom you thus deal with, and by those great Men whose esteem he deservedly more valueth, while he liveth in this Plenty and Honour, to call himself [*a Sacrifice*] if a few poor Men say, *He wrongeth them*, when he plead-

eth against the Magistrates enduring them, or against their Judgment that think they should be endured, Dorth not this seem to another greater tendency, than for me only to say *de facto*, *I was laid in the Common Gaol, and fain to make away my Goods and Library to save them from Distress?*] But so much to your Epistle: The Sermon followeth.

§. 9. And what could a Man have desired more to end the main differences among us, than the serious consideration of your Text in its very plain import and drift.

1. That the Text speaketh for Unity and Concord is past question. 2. And that it speaketh both to the Pastors and the Flocks. 3. And that it speaketh to *all Christians*, though of various degrees of Attainment: And therefore requireth all to live in Concord that are Christians; notwithstanding other differences. 4. All the doubt is, what is meant by the *same Canon or Rule*? And there are these several Expositions pleaded for.

1. That by *the same Rule* is meant only the General Concord, *idem. velle & nolle*; to agree, and live in Peace, and *to mind the same things*.

2. That by the *same Rule* is meant the Essentials of Christianity received by all Christians; which they should have concordantly practised, notwithstanding other differences.

3. That by the *same Rule* is meant the Doctrine which the Apostles had concordantly delivered to all the Churches.

4. That it was the Churches Creed which is supposed then to be in use, as the Symbol of Christians.

5. That it is the Canonical Scriptures, in the times that they were written and delivered to the Churches.

6. That it is the Example of *S. Paul* before described, or the matter of it; that is, to hold fast what he had attained, and press forwards towards the heavenly perfection, by desire, hope, diligence, and patience.

7. Some take the [*one Rule*] to be [*the end* as it is to be attained by the *means*;] that is, the *common good* of the Church, and furtherance of the Gospel and our Salvation: *Let all be done to edification*.

8. Some say, that it is the great Duty of Love which is made the Rule for our undetermined actions; or, that the fundamental duties are made a Canon to the Superstructures, as it seemeth to be meant, *Gal. 6. 15, 16*. And by Christ, *Go learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not Sacrifice*. To tell you *which* and *how many* of these I take to be meant in the Text, and *why*, is none of the work which you call me to; but to tell you, that which-ever of these it is, or if all these, we fully consent: All these Canons we must all walk by.

9. But some say, that by the *same Rule* is meant the *Tradition* and *Customs* of the *Universal Church*.

10. And

10. And some, that it is the Canons of the Bishops in General Councils; and under them, in National or Provincial Councils.

11: And some tell us, that the Rule of Christian concord is [*Obedience to the Bishops of all the World* (or Universal Church) *who are a College Governing* (not only *divisim & per partes*, in their several Precincts, but) unitedly as *One*. Regent College, ordinarily *per literas formatas*, and by General Councils when they sit.

12. And some tell us, that it is the Law or Will of the Civil Christian Magistrate which is this Rule.

As to these four last Rules we must put in our Exceptions. As to the 9th, the Traditions and Customs then in use were Apostolical Institutions, and so are coincident with some of the former: But other Traditions and Customs we take not for this Rule.

And as to the tenth, we give Councils, though wrongfully called *General*, their due honour; as we do to inferiour Councils, and every particular Pastor in his place: but take not this for the Rule here-mentioned.

And as to the 11th, we know of no such Government in being.

And as to the 12th, it was not then existent, and therefore could not be that meant in the Text: But we take our selves bound to obey Magistrates, as we have elsewhere at large explained and professed.

In short, either you think it is a *Divine* or a *Humane Rule or Law* which is here meant, or both: If a *Divine*, we shall not differ from you of any thing, unless it be of the meaning of it. If a *Humane*, either it is an act of true Power received from God, or not: If not, you will grant us that it obligeth us not as this Rule in question: If yea, then we agree that we are to obey it: So that all that will be useful to our Conviction will be, 1. That you prove the Persons authorized to their Office (and of our Magistrates there is no doubt) 2. And that they have authority to make all the Canons and Laws, which you call the Rule. And without this your labour is all lost to us.

§. 10. But which of all these it is that you take for the Rule meant in your Text, we must conjecture: 1. You well say, p. 11. [*It was such a Rule which they very well knew, which they had given them before.*] Therefore it was none that was not then in being, but to be made by Bishops afterward. And, p. 14. you seem to include the Canon made *Acts 15.* whatever the sense of this Text is, we willingly also stand to that; and to the Holy Ghosts decision, that nothing be imposed but *necessary things*: And, p. 15. I find you say [*that the preserving the Peace of the Church, and preventing Separation, was the great measure according to which the Apostle gave his directions.*] And this is all that I can find of your determination *what is that Rule.* And if *Peace* be the Rule, we all agree with you in declaiming against the violation of it. But is there no more in your Application?

§. 11. I remember it is said in the Life of *Job. Bugenbazius Pomeranus* (the

Pastor of the Church in *Wittenberge*, and the Presbyter that ordained the Bishops and Presbyters of *Denmark*, and many other places) how much *John Frederick* the Elector of *Saxony* was pleased to hear him open the Reasons why Magistrates have power to make Laws, but not Pastors [*armatum esse potestatem politicam auctoritate condendi leges, non pugnantis cum Decalogo; & de his traditam se verissimum præceptum; necesse est obedire propter conscientiam: sed pastoribus expresse prohiberi condere proprias leges, cum dicatur, Nemo vos arguat in cibo, in potu nec posse hanc libertatem ullius creature auctoritate tolli.*] But I had rather stretch my Obedience to the utmost consistent with Conscience and Obedience to God, than speak for any needless Liberty.

§. 12. It is certain, that by [*the same Rule*] is not meant, 1. Any Rule that tied Christians to subscribe or declare that there is nothing in our three Books, (Liturgy, Ordination, and Articles) contrary to the Word of God: For none of them were then extant; nor are they 200 years old. 2. Nor any Rule that tied them to any one humane Liturgy which all the Churches in the Nation must agree in: For there was none such. 3. Nor was it any Rule that imposed on them any dubious unnecessary Opinions, Covenants, or Practices; nor, in a word, our *Conformity*, or any like it.

This is easily proved: 1. Because the Rule which they were all to walk by, was somewhat then existent. 2. It was a Divine Rule. 3. It was that which all Christians were to have concord in: But experience telleth us, that all *Christians* (that is, that consent to the Essentials of Christianity) never had, nor can have their Concord in any of the fore-mentioned Conformity, as I have proved in my Book of Concord.

§. 13. We will go therefore no further than your Text for the Terms of our Agreement, and for our Defence against your Accusation: *Whatever you will prove to us, by any such evidence as should convince a Man of reason and impartiality, to have been THE RULE which the Apostle did here mean, and bid all that are Christians walk by, we earnestly desire to agree thereto:* And we will joyn with you against any that refuse it. It will be a way more congruous to your Function, and cheaper to your Consciences, to condescend to these Terms, and prove to us what this *same Rule* was, than to tell the Magistrates that it is no sin not to endure us.

§. 14. *Pag. 16, 17, 18, 19.* you come to tell us what Separation it is not which you speak of; *viz. not of the Separation or distinct Communion of whole Churches from each other, &c.* *Answ.* You know it's like your self what you mean by these words; if you would have us know it, I must crave your Answer to these Questions.

Qu. 1. *Do you make Separation and distinct Communion the same thing, or divers?*

Qu. 2. *What distinction of Communion is it that you mean? When there are so many things which may distinguish?* 1. *Communion in distinct places you take not for*

for Separation. 2. Nor Communion under distinct Presbyters or Bishops. 3. Therefore I suppose neither under distinct Princes, or Aristocracies in Cities, as such. 4. Nor under distinct Laws (meerly as such) of the same Prince. 5. Nor distinct in allowed or indifferent accidents. Why any of these should be called Separation I know not, unless as the word doth signifie but Diversity or Distance.

Q. 3. Do you take Separation here in the same sence as before and after; or Equivocally? If Equivocally, why did you not tell us what you here meant; besides the difference of Subjects: If univocally, then

Q. 4. Is not the Separation of whole Churches much worse than of single Persons from one Church, when it is upon unwarrantable cause or reasons? If one Church unjustly renounce Communion with another whole Church, as no true Church, or as Heretical; I think that it is done by a whole Church against a whole Church, makes it worse.

But perhaps you mean, that for two National Churches to have two Kings is not unlawful. No doubt of that: But to what purpose is it? Or is it that two National Churches may have different Accidents of Worship or Discipline? And so may two *Diocesan* or *Parish-Churches* in our Nation, if the King please at least.

§. 15. You add: Which according to the Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason, have a just Right and Power to govern and reform themselves. Ans. Have not all *Diocesan Churches* power to govern and reform themselves?

Government is of various species: Only the King, or *summa Potestas Civilis*, hath Power to govern and reform by his Species of Government: But every Bishop may govern and reform his Church, as a Bishop; as every Master may his Family as a Master, and every Man himself as a Man. It's a strange Man, Family, or Church, that hath not power to govern and reform it self, though not Regal Power. Though Kings have Power, they have not God's Power; and all Power that is *Humane*, is not *Regal*.

§. 16. *Serm.* [By whole Churches I mean the Churches of such Nations, which upon the decay of the Roman Empire resumed their Right of Government to themselves, and upon their owning Christianity, incorporated into one Christian Society, under the same common Ties and Rules of Order and Government.]

Ans. 1. And had not those as good right that were not under the Roman Empire? (as *Abasia*, &c.) 2. Did the Churches under the Roman Power exercise their great diversity in Liturgies and other accidents of Worship without right? Had not they a right to govern and reform themselves variously as they did? 3. *Christian Societies* are of divers species: Do you mean Christian Civil Societies, Kingdoms, free Cities, &c. or Churches? Or do you take a Christian Kingdom and a Christian Church for the same, as the *Erastians* do? If so, I suppose half the Conformists will be against you, as well as I. At least you must confess, that if *de nomine* a Christian Kingdom *quasi tale* may be called a Church, it is equivocally; and that there is a sort of

*Christian*

*Christian Churches* which are of another Constitution. Far were the Christian Bishops for 1300 years from believing that a Prince or Civil Power was essential to a Christian Church, or that a Church in the common sense was not constituted of another sort of Regent part, that had the Power of the Keyes. Two *species* of Governours make two *species* of the Societies; if they are not subordinate, but prime constitutive Parts: But the Prince and the Pastor are two *species*, well opened among many by Bishop *Bilson* of Subjection. And verily if you Conformists be divided among your selves about the very Constitutive Rector of a Christian Church, you differ more from each other than we do from the generality of you. 4. And what be the *common Tyes* and *Rules of Order* which you mean? Are these notifying Terms for a Definition? 1. There are divine unalterable Rules of Order and Government, and there are humane Rules about alterable Accidents. 2. There are Rules made by Contract (such as *Grotius* thinks Canons are), and Rules made by Governours, which are binding Commands or Laws. 3. There are Rules made by Civil Governours to be enforced by the Sword, and Rules made only by Ecclesiastical Pastors to be executed only by the Power of the *Word* and *Keys*. Do you mean all these? Or which of them?

1. All Christian Churches are tied by the common Divine Rule; and is not consent to that enough to make a Church? 2. Churches of various Nations may be under one Humane Rule of Agreement or Contract. 3. The same Princes may give divers Rules about Accidents to the Churches of one Kingdom, and also the same Rule for some Accidents to divers Churches under them, who differ in other great things: And doth agreement in those Accidents do more to make them *One Church*, than their difference in Integrals to make them many? 4. Princes may do as the *Roman* Emperours long did; leave the Bishops in Councils to make their own Rules by consent, and make no common Imperial Rule for them: Are they ever the less *One Church*? 5. The *Roman* Empire and Councils both left the several Bishops to make Rules for Liturgies and other Accidents for their several Churches: Were they therefore the less one National Church?

So that I am no more acquainted by your Words what you mean by a *whole Church*, than if you had said nothing. There is a *whole Diocesan Church*, and a *whole Parish Church*, as well as a *whole National Church*: And what the Power is, and what the Rule of Order must be, whether the Laws of Princes or Prelates, and whether about Essential, or Integrals, or Accidents, and what Accidents, whether all, or many, or few, and which, that must make a Church to be *One whole Church*, you never tell us. An Inidel Prince or a Heretick Prince may give the same

Rule

Rule of Order to his Christian Subjects in a whole Kingdom; Is he therefore the constitutive Church-Head? Or will you say, as your Mr. Rich. Hooker doth, *That if he be the Head of a Christian Church, it is necessary that he be a Christian?* To tell us of [Common Ties and Rules of Order] and never tell us what those Ties and Rules are, may serve your Ends, but not my Edification.

§. 17. But I remember your *Irenicum* learnedly maintaineth, that God hath instituted no one Form of Church-Government as necessary: And if so, then not a National Church-Form. And is it not a *whole Church, if it be without a Form*, which not God but Man is the Authour of? Then God made or instituted no such thing as a *whole Church*. Then it is a humane Creature. Then why may not Man make yet more Forms; and multiply, and make and unmake, as he seeth cause? and several Countries have several Forms. And, *forma dat nomen & esse*. And if God made not any *whole Church*, we should be acquainted who they be (that were not a Church) that had Power to make a first Church-Form? and who hath the Power ever since? and how it is proved? and how it cometh to be any great matter to separate from a Church-Form which God never made? and whether humane Church-Forms be not essential and constitutive Causes of the Churches? and whether every commanded Oath, Subscription, Declaration, Office or Ceremony, be an essential part of this Church-Form? And there be as many Church-Forms and Species, as there be Orders, Liturgies and Ceremonies. And all these Differences in the same Kingdom constitute so many Schisms and Separations.

§. 18. Do you take all the Christians in the *Turkish* Empire to be one National Church, or not? If not, then one Head or Humane Law is not necessary to the being or Government of a Church, nor is it necessary that it be National. And do you think that the *Greek* Churches have not Power to govern and reform themselves, though they be not a National Church? Why did *Paul* write to *Corinth* (as *Clemens* also did) and to the *Galatians*, &c. and *John* to *Ephesus*, and the other six, *Rev. 2. & 3.* to reform themselves, if they had not Power to do it? But if all the Christians under the *Turk* be one National Church; then it is either because they have one Civil Head, or one Ecclesiastical Head. Not the latter, for they have none such; though the Bishops of *Constantinople* have some *Primacy* by their old Canons and Customs. Not the former; for an Infidel cannot be an essential part of a Christian Church (as a constituted Head is.)

§. 19. And the Churches in the *Roman* Empire before *Constantine*, were true

true Churches of Christ's Institution, and they had power to govern and reform themselves; and yet they had no humane Constitutive Head, Regal or Sacerdotal, though they had a Civil Heathen Governour, which was an extrinſick accidental Head.

It is ſo contrary to all Senſe and Religion, that either a Man as a Man, or a Family, or a Church as ſuch, ſhould have no power to govern and reform it ſelf, that I muſt needs judge that while you ſpeak confuſedly, you meant only a Regal or Supreme Civil Power, which yet is *totâ ſpecie* diſtinct from that which is properly Eccleſiaſtical.

ſ. 20. Serm. p. 17. [*And ſo the ſeveral Churches of the Lydian or Proconſular Aſia, if they had been united in one Kingdom, and governed by the ſame Authority, under the ſame Rules, might have bin truly called the Lydian Church.*]

*Anſw.* 1. And is the Controverſy *de nomine*, Whether they might be called the Lydian Church, when we expected a ſatisfactory explication *de re*? No doubt but a Church is ſo equivocal a word, that many ſort of Aſſemblies or Societies may be ſo called: I have told you of divers Senſes, in which we are called a Church National, firſt *Plea*, pag. 251. &c. Either a *Chriſtian Kingdom*, or elſe the Churches of an Heathen or a Chriſtian King, as aſſociated by agreement, may be called a *National Church*.

2. What if they be united in one Kingdom, of a Heathen, *Mabometan*, or *Arrian* King, and governed by his Regal Authority, under the ſame Rules which he ſets them? Is this that which you mean in your Deſcription? A King as ſuch is not an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, and therefore is not an eſſential part of a Church, unleſs as it is equivocally ſo called. And is it his Civil Laws for Church-Government that you mean, or the Clergies Canons, or God's Laws? The *Greeks* under the *Turk* are under one Prince, and governed by the ſame Civil Authority and Laws, and alſo are under one Patriarch, and by the Princes toleration are governed by the Eccleſiaſtick Authority, and Laws of another Species: If you confound theſe two Species, or tell us not which you mean in your Definition, it tendeth not to Edification.

3. And what if they be under divers Kings (as the *Bulgarians* and *Greeks* were) and yet ruled by one Eccleſiaſtical Authority and Law? why may not they alſo be called *One Church*, as the *Moscovits* are now called part of the *Greek Church*?

4. And why might it not be called the *Lydian Church* while it was a part of the Empire, as the *African* and other Countries were? But what is all this *de nomine* to the Controverſie? All grant that the Civil Power muſt be obeyed in their place, and the Church-power in theirs.

5. But here you grant that *they are ſeveral Churches* before their Union in one Kingdom. And I ſuppoſe they were Churches, 1. of another Species than



than the *National* described by you, 2. and were of *Divine* Institution; 3. and continue so after their Union in one Kingdom; 4. and have power to govern and reform themselves still, though not Regal Power.

§. 21. Sermon. [*Just as several Families united, make one Kingdom, which at first had a distinct and independent power: but it would make strange confusion in the World to reduce Kingdoms back again to Families, because at first they were made all of them.*]

*Ans.* And are they not several Families still? and have they not still a distinct Family-power to govern and reform themselves, tho' not a Regal Power? Doth making a City or Kingdom dissolve Families? You cannot mean it. What mean you then by *reducing these Kingdoms back to Families*, when they are united? Had you said, that *dissolving Kingdoms or Cities, and reducing them to be only Families*, is confusion, it's undeniable. But still as Families in a Kingdom retain Family-Power, so particular Churches in a Kingdom retain the Church-power which God by his Institution gave them. And this is that we desire.

§. 22. Sermon. [*Thus National Churches are National Societies of Christians under the same Laws of Government and Rules of Worship.*]

*Ans.* 1. All Christians are under the same *Divine Laws* and Rules. 2. Some Princes make no Church-Laws to Christians, but their Civil Laws for the common Peace. And some make various Laws for various sorts of Christians under them.

§. 23. Sermon. [*For the true Nation of a Church, is no more than a Society of Men, united together for their Order and Government according to the Rules of the Christian Religion.*]

*Ans.* 1. There be many true Notions of such an equivocal word as a [Church] is. 2. The *Generical Notion* sure is not enough for the definition of each species: There must be more. The Universal Church is a *Society of Men so united*; and so may the Churches of divers Kingdoms; and so is a Christian Kingdom as such; and so is a *Provincial Church*, and a *Diocesan Church*, and a particular *Parochial Church*: yet all these are not of the same species, for they have different *terminos in specie*. 3. This is a very defective Definition, where 1. [Men] are made the qualified Subject, when it should have bin [Christians]. 2. The two constitutive essential Relations of *Pastor* and *Flock* are not mentioned, as if a Kingdom were defined without the mention of *King* and *Subjects*. 3. They are said to be *united* in general, without telling us what uniting is meant, whether only by *force, command, or consent*, whereas most take even the *Mode of Investiture (Baptism)* as well as *Consent*, to be necessary *ad esse*, as to the *Visible Church*. 4. It is said they are united [for

Order and Government, ] as if these were but the *Terminus*; and so may those by agreement *de futuro*, that yet have no Government: whereas the Government is the *constitutive* Form. 5. This Definition leaving out the *specifick Form* and *Terminus*, maketh an Army a Navy, a Ship, a Company of *Christian Merchants*, or *Corporation*, &c. to be a Church: for all these may be *Societies of Men united together for their Order and Government, according to the Rules of the Christian Religion*: For the *Christian Religion* giveth Rules to all sorts of *Christian Societies*. These are not the usual ways of defining, nor give me any true notice of your sense. 6. And you make it not intelligible, whether by the *Rules of the Christian Religion* you mean only the *Divine Rule*? and whether you mention it as the *uniting Bond*, or only as a *Rule to some humane Rule*? But though the application look this way, yet your words speak no more then what is common to the *Churches* which you accuse. that ar [*united for Order and Government according to the Rules of the Christian Religion.*] If this will serve, those are thus united that take the Bible for their Rule of Order, &c. But is not this against those *Churches*, that take not the *Bible*, but *Canons*, or other humane Laws for the bound of their *Church-Union*, or their Rule? If it be *uniting for Order and Government according to the Rules of the Christian Religion*, which maketh a *Church*, let us then try which *Societies* are so united, and let that be the matter of our Dispute.

§. 24. Serm. p. 13. [*And it is a great mistake to make the Notion of a Church barely to relate to Acts of Worship and consequently that an adequate Notion of a Church is an Assembly for Divine Worship; by which means they appropriate the Name of Churches to particular Congregations: whereas if this held true, the Church must be dissolved as soon as the Congregation is broken up. But if they retain the nature of a Church when they do not meet together for Worship, then there is some other Bond that uniteth them; and what ever that is, it constitutes the Church.*]

Ans. 1. Did you write this as a *Confutation* of any body? If so, you should have told them who are your *Adversaries*. I never met with one to my remembrance that saith, the *Church is no longer a Church than they are congregate*, but Mr. Cheney, who writeth against my *Plea for Peace*. And so the two first who now write against me, write against one another, and I must please them both. When you so far differ among your selves, you should bear with them that less differ from you.

2. What mean you by the [*Notion of a Church*] which all Men know is an equivocal word? Do you mean that a [*Church*] hath but one *Notion*? I pray you tell us, whether the *Notion* be the same as it is used, *Mat. 16. 18. & 18. 17. 1 Cor. 11. 18, 22. Act. 19. 32, — 39, 40. 1 Cor. 14. 34. Psal. 26. 5. Ephes. 5. 27. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Act. 5. 11. Act. 20. 28. Rev. 2. 12, 18. Rom. 16. 5.*  
Phil.

*Phil.* 2. 10. *Acts* 8. 1, 3. *Ephes.* 5. 23. *Col.* 1. 18. *Ephes.* 1. 22. & 5. 23. Doth any Man believe that it is in all these Texts taken in the same Notion (or sense)? I am sure I need not ask this of you as to the sense of prophane Authors, who use the word for any sort of *Concilium. casus, contio, congregatio, convivium*, as in *Lucian, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Thucydides, &c.*

3. If you will pardon me for telling Men in Print so often, that a Church is constituted not only for *Communion in Worship*; but also in *Doctrine*, and *holy Living*, I will not ask you, why you dissembled this? nor why you would intimate the contrary to your Readers? Repetition is not the least fault of my Writings, and all will not prevent the mis-intimations even of such worthy Men as you. *Ad nauseam usq.* I have repeated, that the Office of the Ministry standeth in a subordination to the three parts of Christ's Office, Propheticall or Teaching, Priestly or Worshiping Kingly or Ruling; and that a particular Church is associated for the use and benefit of all three conjunctly. Were you not willing to take notice of this? or not willing that others should take notice of it?

4. How many Writings of ours have told the World, that *we appropriate not the Notion of the Church to a particular Congregation*. Do not my Books which you cite, copiously express the contrary? Do we not over and over tell Men, that the word [*Church*] must be considered as *equivocal, genericall, and specificall*? Do we take [*the Holy Catholick Church*] in the Creed for a particular Congregation? Worthy Sir, this is unworthy dealing, whether it be by ignorance, negligence, rashness or wilfulness. We distinguish between Churches of God's Institution, and of Man's Invention. And of the first sort, what Independent is there that holdeth not an Universal Church at least, beside particular Congregations? And of Man's making, who can number the sorts that are and may be made?

5. Did you ever know Man, (save such Conformists as he that answered my Plea) whether Greek, Papist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent; or Anabaptist, who denieth a Church Bond, that uniteth them when the Congregation is dismiss'd? All confess, that the Union of the *pars regens* and *pars subdita* for Church-ends doth make it a Church. And who doth not distinguish between the Constitution and Administration, the Status and the Exercitium?

6. How then could you say, [*If this be true, the Church must be dissolved as soon as the Congregation is broken up*]? What shew is there of such a consequence? What if we held that the Church were so called barely in relation to Publick Worship? doth it follow that this Relation ceaseth as soon as the severall Acts of Worship cease? Their mutual consent, and the union of the Worshippers, Priest and People associated for that use, may continue

sinue when the Act of Worship is intermitted. May it not continue a School, when the Boys go home, or play? May it not be a Parliament when the House is risen, tho it be only for the work of assembled Men that they are related and denominated?

7. But Sir, do you not confess, even in your *Irenicon*, where you maintain that no Form of Church-Government is of Divine command; 1. That God hath commanded that there be *Assemblies* ordinarily used for his Worship. 2dly, And that Pastors are to be the Guides and chief Managers of this Worship. 3dly, And that they should be also their Teachers. 4thly, And that they govern them by their Keys. And if all this be true, then such *Assemblies* are of Divine Institution; not such as are associated only for Worship, but for *Doctrine, Worship, and holy Living*, under the Teaching and Conduct of their Pastors. If you deny that such *Churches* as we call *Particular*, are of Divine Institution, we have often proved it, though few Christians deny it, or need any proof.

And it is so oft repeated in the Books which you cite, that I must suppose you know it, though you seem to dissemble it, that the Definition which I give of such a Church doth make the *Terminus* to be (not the whole Church meeting at one time and place, but) *personal, presential Communion* in Doctrine, Worship, and Holy Conversation, as distinct from absent Communion by Delegates or Letters only. Your Parish is associated for such *personal presential Communion*, and yet they meet not all at once, but some one day, and some another, and some not at all, which is a fault *in exercitio*, but overthroweth not the being of the Church, while it is *personal present Communion* which they associate for and profess, and that states the *Church-relation*. And they meet not all in one place, but some in the Bishop of Ely's Chappel, (and it is pity but you had many more); and yet Chappels of Ease consist with some Obligations on the whole Parish ordinarily, to have *per vices* sometime *personal Communion* in the Parish Church.

If you would have told us plainly, that Parish Churches are no Churches, or that God never ordained such single Churches as are associated for *personal Communion* in Presence, in Doctrine, Worship, and Conversation, which have their proper Pastors, we should have known what to say to you. But if you deny not such, (which we undertake fully to prove) plainly confess their *Constitution, Worth, and Privileges*, and we shall readily next debate the Case with you, how far Men may associate these into larger Churches of another *species*. But still we say, that as *Families* cease not to be Families, when they are combined into a *Village, or City*; no more do *particular Churches* lose their Constitution or Administration by being associated into any lawful larger Churches.

§. 25. Sermon. [ *And if there be one Catholick Church consisting of multitudes of particular Churches, consenting in one Faith; then why may there not be one National Church from consent in the same Articles? &c.* ]

Ans. 1. I pray confesse first, that your *National* doth consist of a multitude of such *particular Churches* of God's Institution, and cannot destroy them or their Power and Privileges: Secondly; And once tell us what you mean by a *National Church*, whether Regal or Sacerdotal. If you mean a *Christian Kingdom*, who denies it: If you mean all the Churches of a Kingdom associated for Concord as Equals, we deny it not. If you mean that the Nation must be one Church, as united in one Sacerdotal Head, personal or collective, Monarchical or Aristocratical, we must have further satisfaction about this: First, whether it be of Divine or of Humane Institution? Secondly, whether (if humane) its Power be from the Prince, or from the *consent* of the particular Churches? Thirdly, what it is empowered to do? 1. Not to make necessary Laws for the Churches of the same sort with Christ's already made. 2. Not to cross any of his Laws. 3. Not to destroy any Privilege of the particular Churches instituted by Christ. 4. But if it be only to determine of such Circumstances as the Christian Prince may determine of, we shall obey them as his Officers.

And now to your [ *Why not?* ] I answer. Man is not God. God made the Form of the *Universal Church*, of which the particular are parts; whose Form also is of his making: And if God hath made *National Regent Churches* as distinct from *Christian Kingdoms* and *Commonwealths*, we will obey them; if not, we must know what Men made them, and by what authority, and whether God authorized them thereto; if not, your [ *Why not* ] is answered.

§. 26. Sermon, p. 18. [ *Nay, if it be mutual Consent and Agreement which make a Church, then why may not National Societies agreeing together in the same Faith, and under the same Government and Discipline, be as truly and properly a Church as any particular Congregation?* ]

Ans. 1. It is only *de nomine* or *de re* that you ask? If *de nomine*, we grant you, that a Parliament, an Army may be truly called *Ecclesia*; if *de re*, we grant you that it is truly a Church of another kind. 2. Mutual Consent makes a Church, but *God's Consent* or *Institution* must go first to warrant that Consent; and make it a Church which he will own: Else mutual Consent may make it but *Jeroboam's Church*, or a false and sinful Policy. Prove, if you can, that God hath authorized Men to make as many new Church-Species, Policies or Forms as they please; or any against, or above, or equal to those of his Institution, besides *Mogitray*.

§. 27. Serm. p. 19. *Why many of these Cities, united under one civil Government, and the same Rules of other Religion, should not be called one National Church, I cannot understand: which makes me wonder at those who say they cannot tell what we mean by the Church of England: Sacreleg. Desert. p. 35.*

Ans. 1. *Admiratio est ignorantia*: I am as ignorant of you, as you are of me; therefore may answer wondering with wondering; 1. That such a Man should not know the reason, when I so plainly and distinctly wrote it down. 2. And that while you wonder, you should not vouchsafe to give me the least means of Satisfaction. For I suppose few will think that you do so much as attempt it here. 3. You make still as if the Controversie were *de nomine*, what it *may be called*; when I only spake *de re*, and bid you call it *what you will*, if you will but tell us your meaning. 4. Yea in my Plea sect. 4, 5. and in the Addition: I fully shewed what we grant *de re*, & *de nomine*; and what we deny; and what the state of our Controversie is: and do you think to satisfy us, after all this with *Wondering* that we understand not what you mean?

§. 28. Serm. [In short, we mean, that Society of Christian People, which in this Nation are united under the same Profession of Faith, the same Laws of Government, and Rules of Divine Worship.]

Ans. And will not they, that know not your Heart any otherwise than by such Words, deride us, if we should pretend by these Words, to be ever the nearer understanding your Resolution of the Controversie?

1. The essential constitutive Parts of a political Society are the *Par regens* & *par subdita*: (as is aforesaid.) And here is no mention of the *Regent part* at all; can any Man tell by this whether it be the King, or a *Clergy Head*, that you take to be the Constitutive Head?

2. *Laws and Rules* are part of the *Administration*, and our question is of the *Constitution*. Is this then any satisfying Definition?

3. The Papists by this Definition are the National Church [They are a Society of Christian People, which in this Nation are united under the same Profession of Faith, the same Laws of Government, and Rules of Divine Worship] viz. *Papal*. If you say, They are not all the Nation. I answer, 1. nor doth your Definition require it. 2. You are not all.

If you say that they are not the major part. I answer, 1. Whether you are I know not. 2. In *Ireland* they are, and so are there the National Church by your Definition.

If you say that you mean the Laws of *Lawful Governours*. I answer, 1. The Papists take the Pope for their *Lawful Governour*: 2. If a *Usurper* get Possession (as *K. Stephen*, and many others) is the National Church then dead or null? 3. There is no mention of *lawful* in your Definition.

4. But though you will not tell us whether you mean *Divine* or *Humane Laws*

*Laws and Rules*, yet I may confidently conjecture that it is *Humane* you mean: for else, 1. I am of the same National Church that you are; yea if I prove that I am more conformable to God's Laws than you, and such as you, I shall prove that it will be a harder question whether you are of the Church of *Eng.* than whether I am. 2. And you might know that such a Church we no more deny than you do (at least) 3. But then it can be but *sincere* (not perfect) Obedience to God's Laws and Rules, which must prove one to be of this Church; or else no Man is of it. And then you must shew us whether a mistake in as small a matter as Meat and Drink, or a Ceremony, or Liturgick Form, or Diocesan order, do cut one off from that Church. If yea, than how much more would such Conformity to sin do it? which we fear.

But supposing that you mean *Humane Laws*. 5. Why may not *Divine Laws* make a Church? If *Humane Laws* were necessary *ad bene esse*, the Christians that I have read and convers't with, think that they are not necessary to the *Being* of a Church *in sensu famoso*; why then should they be in the Definition, and only they?

6. But the difficulty recurrcth as to *Humane Laws*, which of them are necessary to the *Being* of the Church: For your Definition distinguished not: The King hath great and excellent Laws which we all conform to: Doth not our Conformity to these seem to prove us of the National Church, though we conform not to your Formalities and Oaths and Ceremonies? Imperfect Obedience serveth to continue men Subjects to the King: It is not every Drunkeness, or Oath, or Fornication. much less the miss of a Complement or Ceremony, that makes a Man a Rebel or an Outlaw: Why then should the refusal of a Prelates Subscription or Formality unchurch a sound and honest Christian?

7. And if the humane Laws and Rules which you mentioned (what ever you mean by them) be subordinate to God's Laws, and so be honest, good and obligatory, why should they cut off those from the Church which *Christ's Laws* cut not off; yea which *Christ* receiveth and commandeth us to receive? *Receive him, for God receiveth him*: and, *receive him as Christ receiveth us*, (notwithstanding our Infirmities) were good reasonings in *St. Paul's* Judgment, which I prefer before any Bishops that I know.

8. And a Man of less Acquaintance or Wit than you, cannot be ignorant, what abundance of Differences there are among your selves. I have named you no small number in my 2d Plea: some of you are hot against that which is called *Arminianism*, and some hot for it: some are for Bishops and Presbyters being of one Order, and some of divers: all are not of the mind of the Bishop of *Hereford* that wrote *Naked Truth*: some (even Bishops) think that the damnatory part of *Athanasius's* Creed is not approved by Conformity: others, think that it is all to be approved: A multitude such

differences there are among your selves: And why should not this as much unchurch some of you, if it be [*being under the same Laws*] that maketh you one Church, as the forbearing of a Declaration of Assent and Consent, or of a Surplice, &c.

9. Especially tell us, whether the Conformist's difference about the *Constitutive Regent Part* of the Church of *England*, some being for *one Species*, and some for *another*, do not plainly make them to be of *two distinct Churches* of *England*, and further different from each other than we are from any part. We justly say the Papists, who are for *two Species* of Sovereigns, some for the *Pope*, and some for a general Council, are plainly of two Churches: for the regent part is essential. And I am sure that one part of the most Eminent Disputers for the Church of *England* and Conformity, say that the King is the *Extraneous Civil Governour*, but the Bishops are the *Constitutive Essential Internal Governours* of the Church as a Church; and that if the Bishops command the use of one Translation, Version, Metre, Liturgie, and the King another, we are to obey the Bishops, and not the King: And that the efficient cause of a National Church, is the Bishops Agreement among themselves to associate into such a Church. And others say, that it is the King and his Laws, that are the efficient of such a Church, and are to be obeyed in matter of the Circumstances of Worship, &c. before the Bishops. Can you prove that this difference between the Conformists, about the very Constitutive Regent Power, is not greater than Mens differences about a Ceremony or Form? and doth not more to make them to be of two Churches?

10. If all this confused stir be but about a *Christian Kingdom*, be it known to you, that we take such to be of *Divine Command*: And if you know it not, or dissemble it, after I have said so much of it, in the first Plea, and elsewhere, I cannot help that, *viz.* if you will talk publickly against what you know, or know not when told, because you will not know. But I have there largely told you, what the Power of Princes about Church matters is, which if you will not read, I will not repeat.

11. Your Words [*Laws and Rules*] would induce one to think that you joynd the *Kings Laws* and the *Bishop's Canons* together in your meaning, as the bond of Unity. If so, is it two sorts of Governours, (by the Sword, and by the Word, Magistrates and Pastors) which you take for the constitutive regent parts of the Church? If so, then either in Coordination and Coalition, or in Subordination. The first cannot be, that the two Species in Coalition should make one Head, unless both were in the King as *Persona Mixta*, both Lay and Clergie, as some affirm him to be like *Melchizedeck*: But this both King and Clergie disown. Nor can the second be, because a subordinate Power is not essential to the whole body politic, but only the supreme. And the Magistracy and Ministry are coordinate Species



Species, both depending immediately on God, and Subordinate Mutually only *Secundum quid*: Nor is the Legislative power in *England* any other than one, which is in the *King* and *Parliament* conjunct. The *Bishops Cannons* are not *Laws Ejusdem Speciei*; till the *King* and *Parliament* make them such. If this be your Judgment, there are I think but few *Confermists* of your mind.

12. I must Conjecture therefore by your words, That the *Laws* and *Rules* which you define the Church by, are the *Laws* of the *King* and *Parliament*; and that it is the Civil Christian Sovereign that you take for the Constitutive Head of that National Church which you plead for; or else I know not what to Conjecture. And if this be your Meaning, I add to what is said:

1. *Eraستians* have hitherto been distasted by the *Bishops*, and I doubt they will by this take you for somewhat worse.

2. What doth your *National Church* differ from a *Christian Kingdom*, which we deny not?

3. Do you think there is no other Species of a *Church*, besides that which is Constituted by the Christian Magistrate as Head.

1. All the Christian World, as far as I can learn by History (no considerable part excepted) have been in all Ages, and to this Day are of another mind. And who then is the great *Nonconformist* and *Separatist*, You or I; if this be your mind?

2. The Magistracy, and Pastoral Office are of different Species: Therefore the Churches Constituted by their Regency are of different Species.

3. *Constantines* words have hitherto been commonly received, That He (and so Christian *Kings*) was *Bishop* without the *Church*, and the proper *Bishop* within: that is, That he was the Governour of the Church, by the Sword, as the *King* is of all Schollars, Physicians, Families, &c. but not the Governour by the Word and Keys? as the *King* is not a School-Master, Physician, or the formal Specifying Governour of School. Colledge, Family, as such. *Bishop Bilson*, of *Subjection*, most clearly openeth the difference, and I think Christians commonly agree to it; between the Office of Governing by the *Sword*, and by the *Word*, even about the Church it self.

4. Christ settled immediately the Pastoral Office, and did not leave it to Princes to make it: And He settled Churches under the Pastors, when there were no Christian Princes; And when the *Emperours* became Christians, they never took themselves to be the intrinseck Constitutive Rectors of the Churches, but

Accidental Heads, as is aforesaid. And all the Councils, and their Canons fully shew, that the *Bishops* were still of this mind. And our greatest Defenders of the Power of Princes, *Bilson*, *Andrews*, *Buckeridge*, *Spalatensis*, &c. were of the same mind, and ascribe to them no more.

5. Else Heathen. and infidel Princes might be Essential to the Church in the Gospel-Notion: For they are the Governours of it by the Sword, and may possibly by the Council of Christians, make them as good Laws as many Christian Princes do. *Julian* made no great Change of the Church-Laws.

But I Labour in vain, in proving that there is a *Sacerdotal* or *Clergy-Church Form* or *Species*; for I suppose you cannot deny it; and if you do, few others will. I suppose it is only the *National-Form*, which you take to be Constituted by a Lay-Head. But few Christians will deny, That the Sacerdotal or Clergy-form of a particular Church, is of Divine institution; and that Men have not power to destroy that Form; or change the Office there, Instituted by the *Holy Ghost*. Though the Forms of *Associated Churches*, *Diocesan*, *Metropolitan*, *Provincial*, *Patriarchal*, are judged by very many, to be of Humane Invention: And what Man may make, Man on good Reason may unmake or alter. But if you grant us the Divine form before mentioned; I shall Grant you that a *National Church* is also of Divine Command; if you mean but a Christian Kingdom. But when one Form is Denominated from the *Pastoral Office* related to the Flock, and the other from the *Magistrates Office*: What hath a Man that can understand the State of the Controversy, to do here; but to shew what is the *Pastoral Office* towards the Church, and what is the *Magistrates*? For sure they are not the same. And yet because that it is the *Pastoral Form* which the word [*Church*] denoteth in the strict and usual Christian Sence: Our Sovereignes in *England*, to avoid the *Papists* Exceptions, have forsaken the Title of [*Head of the Church*] lest they should seem to claim a Constitutive Headship of a Church strictly taken, and use only the Term [*Governour*.] Even as *Christ* is said by *St. Paul*, *Eph. 1.* to be *Head over all things, To the Church* [*Over and To*] much differ.

And I yet see not why on the same Reason that we call a Christian Kingdom, or Republick a *National Church*; we may not also call *London*, *York*, &c. a *City-Church*, as Headed by the *Mayor*, as the Christian Magistrate, and so talk of *Provincial*,

*cial, Consular, and Proconsular Churches, Monarchical, Aristocratical, Democratical Churches;* and make all the Controversies [which Church-Form is best] as Politicks do what Form of a *Common-Wealth* is best.

And thus they that chide the *Independents* for making the *People Governours* of their little Congregations (which I think yet most of them disclaim) do this way quite exceed them in Popularity, and in *Democraties*, will make the *People Governours* of all the *Churches*, even National including the particulars. For I suppose they will not say, that *Democratical, Civil Government* is unlawfull.

And whereas *Cyprian* saith: *Ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia*; you will say, *Where the Mayor or Bayliff is, there is the Church*, But I trow the *Bishop of London* beleiveth that there is another sort of *London-Church-Form*, besides my *Lord-Mayors Relation* to them. But what abundance of *Church-Forms*; *Supream* and *Subordinate* may diversity of *Magistracy* make?

§. 29. Serm p. 19. [I do not intend to speak of the Terms upon which Persons are to be admitted among us to the Exercise of the function of the Ministry; but of the Terms of Lay-Communion, i. e. those which are necessary for Persons to joyn in our Prayers and Sacraments, and other Offices of Divine Worship.]

Ans. 1. But your work would have been done more effectually if you had begun at the part which you intend not to speak of: I suppose it is not for want of *Charity*, nor *Concern*, that you intend it not; and therefore, suppose that somebody else will do it at last. I have heard of some above your order, than could better spare the *Nonconforming Ministers* than the *People*; and said plainly, that they increased the *Impositions*, because they could do better without us, than with us: And some have said, If this will not cast them out, more shall do it. I take it for granted, that this pretermitted part of your Work, is indeed, the All that you have to do, in the Works of *Accusing*, and *Afflicting* the *Nonconformists*; and till this be done, the rest of your *Accusations* will confute themselves; and I doubt not but it will be attempted; and if it be truly, and satisfactory, I will give you thanks.

2. Your Term of [*Lay-Communion*] remembreth me, that if (as you seem) you *Essentiate* your *Church of England* by a *Lay-Ruler*, and his *Laws*, viz. the *King*, and the *Laws* made by him for *Religious Government*; the *People* that you accuse are no *Separatists*, though they *Separate* from the *Diocefans*?

because they hold this *Lay-Communion*; that is, though they are not perfectly Obedient, they are subjects of the *Lay-Government*, and so Members of the Kingdom, which is the *National-Church*.

3. And as to your *Lay-Communion* here spoken of, *So far as it is Lawful*, where you have Preach'd or Written for it once, I think, I have done it many times: I shall be far from Contradicting you in that.

§. 30. Sermon p. 20. [*I will not say, there hath been a great deal of Art used to confound these two (and it is easy to discern to what purpose it is.)*]

*Ans.* 1. I have not Art enough well to reconcile your *Negative*, and your *Parenthesis*, which intimateth an *Affirmation*: If you will not say such Art *was used*; how can you intimate [*to what purpose it's used.*] Can you tell so easily *why it was done*, and not tell that indeed it *was done* at all? But perhaps you *can tell*, though you *will not*. I would fain know why: No man that Reads your words, can well believe that it is through the redundancy of your kindness.

2. Forgive this Truth: Of all Men that have Written against *Nonconformity*, I remember few that may, worse than you speak against *CONFOUNDING*; as I shall further prove.

3. If I be one of those that you speak of, *Confounding* is not the greatest fault of your words; while it is visible that in my first *Plea* I distinctly enumerated the Case of the *Nonconformity* of the Laity and the Clergy. And I speak by consent for many of my acquaintance. And I am likest to be meant by you, because divers others, that go farther from you, take *Lay-conformity* to be unlawful, and largely give their reasons for it. How then did you expect to be believed when our Books are in so many hands?

4. None are fitter Judges of Arts, than the most exercised Artificers: If you are skill'd and exercised in such *Arts* your self, you may the easier discern both the Art and purpose. And yet we are so neer our selves that I cannot easily believe that you know my Arts or purposes so well as I do my self.

§ 31. Sermon. [*I dare say the People's not understanding the difference of these two Cases hath been a great occasion of the present [Separation]*]

*Ans.* No doubt but there is a great difference between the Ministers Case of Conformity, and the peoples, which makes some of them think much worse of a Conforming Minister, than of a Conforming Lay-man: which sheweth that the difference is not wholly

wholly unknown to them. But I think I have done more to acquaint them with the difference, than you or any of your tribe have done.

§ 32. Sermon. [*For in the Judgment of the most impartial men of the Dissenters at this day, though they think the Case of the Ministers very hard on the account of Subscriptions and Declarations required of them, yet they confess, very little is to be said on the behalf of the People, from whom none of those things are required.*]

*Ans.* 1. This is but such Confusion as constituteth this Sermon. We think that nothing of truth can be said for any of the People's errors; no more than for the [*very hard*] and sinful case of our selves if we should Conform: If any go one step too far from you, they are unjustifiable therein: But we have shewed those that will see, that much may be said on the People's behalf for much of their Nonconformity, and also for such assembling as you call separation.

2. And surely if you had the due sense of your *Brethrens Case*, of your *Own Case*, and of the *Kingdoms Case*, you would perceive how necessary the forbearing of the imposition of those *very hard* things is to the healing of that which doth offend you; and to greater ends than that.

§ 33. Sermon. [*So that the People are condemned in their separation by their own teachers; But how they can preach lawfully to a People who commit a fault in hearing them, I do not understand.*]

*Ans.* 1. The People that are guilty of any sinful separation are reproved by us; but not those that separate no further than is their duty. In my first *Plea* I described no less than 30 Cases in which separation is a sin; and neer 40 Instances in which some separation is a duty or no sin: And of all this you here take no notice, and toss the bare confounding name of *Separation*, as if the Sound ought to affright men from all that you are against; sure you could never think that we had Brains or Consciences, if such dealing should pass for satisfactory with us: Can any man tell by this bare *Name*, or any thing in your Book, what that Separation is which you condemn. The word *Heresie* with a Papist, and the word [*Separation*] and [*Schism*] with some Conformists, seem to be terms of Art: But what art is it? Sure it is not the Cartesian nor the Epicurean Philosophy, which layeth so much on *Atomes and Motion*: I cannot Imagine what Contexture of *Atomes* should cause the Sound of the word [*Separation*] or [*Schism*] to make such a motion as should drive men out of their Religion and Wits. I am not so happy as to be an Academical Graduate; but I have long ago read *Lullius* and many of his Com-

Commentators; and I find no Philosophy more likely, to lay much on the Power of words; except that which we call Magick or Charming. For my part, I was born with a Disease (if it be such) that hateth Confusion and Deceit, and inclineth me to bring things into light, and to discern between things that differ. And if you Doctors have learned the Art of Reducing a *Syllogism* into a *Simple terme* or *Name*, it is quite above my kind of Learning: I suppose it is such a Logical contracted Syllogism that you intend: But as *short writing* called *Characters* though expeditious, is hard to be read by others; so your contracted Syllogism, in the name [*Separation*] and [*Schism*] will be more useful to you and yours, than to strangers that never saw your heart. If *Usefulness* and *Usefulness*, even by some of the Reverend, may afford us a Prognostick, I may conjecture that even Lying (and other necessary arts) are ascending in hope to be placed among the Cardinal virtues, and those that scruple it, may be numbred with Schismatics, Separatists, and Rogues.

§. 34. If I would here again tell you what Separation I take to be lawful, and what unlawful, and desire you to define that which you accuse me of, I may expect that in your Reply you will dissembles it; But I will trie you with a few instances of one sort, and desire you to tell me which it is that you mean.

I. Do you think that he is a *Separatist* that meeteth not in the same Parish-Church with you? No sure: For then you are one to others, and other Parishes such to you.

II. Is he a Separatist that liveth in your Parish, and ordinarily meeteth not in your Temple, but another allowed place? If so, the Bishop of *Eli* is a Separatist in your Parish, that keepeth a Meeting in his Chappel when you Preach. If not so, when we had the Kings License at least, the *place* made Us not Separatists.

III. Is every one a Separatist that differeth from you in Doctrine, in publick Preaching? If so, are you not Separatists one from another, when one Preacheth for that which is called, Absolute Election, Reprobation, Universal Redemption, Free-will, Falling from justification, the morality of the Sabbath, &c. and others against these? If not; Is not difference in such Doctrines as great a difference, as using and not using some of your Liturgick Forms and Ceremonies?

IV. Are all different modes of Worship enough to make our Party *Separatists*? Then the *French* and *Dutch* Churches are Separatists, and either the Cathedrals or the Parish-Churches, as to their Vestments, Organs, Chore, mode of Singing, &c. And the allowed private Baptismes and Communion with the sick, are Separations.

V. Doth

V. Doth every disobedience to the King, and Laws, and Canons in matters of Religion, Government and Worship, make men Separatists? If so, then when ever a Conformist disobediently shortneth his Common-Prayer, or leaveth off his Surplice, or giveth the Sacrament to one that kneeleth not, or receiveth one of another Parish to Communion, &c. he is a Separatist. Yea, a Man then is not a Separatist sometimes.

VI. If the Diocesane be the lowest political Church and a Parish but a part of a Church, as they hold that take a Bishop to be a Constitutive part; how is he said to separate from the Church that owneth his Diocesane and the Diocess, what ever place in that Diocess he meet in, seeing he separateth not from the Kingdom that stayeth in it, and owneth the King, though in some acts he disobey? Nor doth every Boy that is faulty, separate from the School.

VII. Is he a greater Separatist that confesseth you to be a true Church, and your Communion lawful, but preferreth another as fitter for him; or he that denieth Communion with true worshipping assemblies as unlawful to be Communicated with, when it is not so. If the former, then Condemning you as no Church is a diminution or no aggravation of Separation, and the Local presence of an Infidel or a Scornor would be a less separate state, than the absence of your Friends. If the latter (which is certain) then if I can prove the Assemblies lawful which you condemn, you are the true Separatists that condemn them, and deny Communion with them, and declare such Communion to be unlawful. I Communicate with your Assemblies, and you utterly shun, refuse and condemn Communion with ours; which then is the Separatist, if I prove ours to be as good as yours?

VIII. Many English Doctors say, *Rome* is a true Church, as a Knave or Thief is a true man, and we separated not from It, but they cast Us out for doing our duty, and not sinning as they do. I say not as they (for as the Pope claimeth the Headship of the Church Univerfally, that form of Policy is not of God, and we separate from that essential form of their pretended Church:) But *ad hominem* if the Diocesane also be a true Church, and we cast out of it for not sinning, are We separatists, or are our Ejectors such?

IX. I have shewed you that the *Canons* Excommunicate *ipso facto* all that say the imposed Conformity is unlawful. If this be unjust, is it Separation to be so Excommunicated? and who is the Schismatick here? And what shall be thought of such Church men as will first *ipso facto* Excommunicate us for our duty, and then, as

you do call us Separatists. Would you have Excommunicate Men, Communicate with you? I (and many) do so, because you shall be the Executioners of your own sentence, and not I: But with what face can men cast Men out by Canon *ipso facto*, and then revile them for not coming in. You can mean no other in common sense, but that we are Schismaticks or separatists, because we are not of the Conformist's judgment: And that is not in our power: And you differ more in judgment in greater matters from each other; and yet call it not Schisme or Separation. Yea you differ about the very essential form of your National Church, one part taking it to be the Kings supremacy, and another to be the Bishops or Clergy's Power: And therefore you cannot be truly of one National Church, that are not for one essential Form.

X. If men be wrongfully Excommunicate, are they thereby absolved from all publick Worshipping of God? or do they lose their Right to all Church-Communion? I have else-where cited you Canons enow that say the contrary, and that *Clave Errante* the Excommunication hurteth none but the Excommunicator: And I have Cited Bishop *Taylor's* Full Consent. Must we not then Meet and Worship as we can, when you wrongfully Excommunicate us?

XI. Are not the *Laity*, by your Canon, forbidden to Receive the *Sacrament* in another Parish? or, any other to receive them, if they dare not Receive it from a Non-Preaching Minister at Home? And if the People judge, that he that is unable or unwilling to Preach, or that is a *Heretick*, or that liveth in such heinous Sins, or Preacheth Malignantly, as to do more Harm than Good, may not lawfully be owned by them for *Christ's* Ministers, nor their Souls be Committed to their Pastoral Trust; Must they therefore be without a Pastors Care, or all Publick Worship and Communion, and be Condemned for being Wronged?

XII Were all those Councils *Separatists*, that Decreed, That none shall hear Mass from a Fornicating Priest? And, Were the Canons called the *Apostles*, and the *Greek-Church* that used them, for Separation, that said, [*Episcopus ignorantia aut malo animo oppletus, non est Episcopus, sed falsus Episcopus, non a Deo, sed ab hominibus promotus.*] Was *Guildas* a Separatist that told the *Brittish* Wicked Priests, That they were not *Christ's* Ministers, but *Traitours*? and that he was not *Eximus Christianus*, that would call them Priests, or Ministers of *Christ*? Were *Cyprian*, and all the *Carthage-Council*, Separatists, that wrote:



wrote the Epistle about *Martial*, and *Basilides*, which I Translated; and told the People, It was their Duty to Separate from *Peccatore Praposto*, a Scandalous Prelate? and that the Chief Power was in them, to Choose the Worthy, or Refuse the Unworthy? and that they were guilty of Sin, if they joyned with such Sinners? Who made *You* a more Reverend and Credible Judge of Separation, than *Cyprian*, and this *Council*? At least, Who will think, that you may Judge them *Separatists*, or guilty of *Schism*?

XIII. Are not the *Laiety*, by your Canon to be denied the *Sacrament*, if they be not willing of your *Episcopal Confirmation*? And when *Imposition of Hands* is made the *Sign* by which *Confirming* or *Assuring Grace* is conveyed, and some Bishops assign no less to it; they fear, lest it be made a *Sacrament*. Be their Doubts just or not, they cannot overcome them. And, Must they therefore Live without *Sacramental Communion*? By what Law?

XIV. Are not the *Laiety*, that dare not Receive the *Sacrament* Kneeling, for the Reasons else-where mentioned, to be denied the *Sacrament* by your Rule? And though herein they fear Sin more than they have cause. Must they that cannot Change their own Judgments, live all their Days without the *Sacrament*? When as *General Councils* Decreed, That none should Adore Kneeling on any Lord's Day, and the *Church* for a *Thousand Years*, practised accordingly; Are all *Separatists*, that dare not do that in such an Instant, which they judge to be flat Sin; nor yet did cast off *Sacramental Communion*?

XV. When the *Laiety* cannot have their Children Baptized; without such Use of the Transient Dedicating Image of the Cross, and such Use of Entituling and Covenanting *God-Fathers*; which, on the Reasons largely given by me, they take to be no small sin; Is it Separation to joyn with Pastors, that will otherwise Baptize them? Are they bound to sin against their Consciences, or to leave their Children Unbaptized? or, Prefer such Pastors as Refuse them?

XVI. Is it Separation for men to Refuse Pastors that are Usurpers, and have no true Power over them? Sure it is not to Refuse an Usurper of the Kingly Power? and, Why then of the Church-Power? Which of the Bishops thought it any Sin, in the Dayes of Usurpation, to forsake their Parish-Churches? And in my *Abridgement of Church-History*, I have cited many Canons, which prove it the Common Judgment of the Church for *One Thousand Years*, or near; That he was no Bishop,

that was not Chosen, by the Clergy, and the People; or came in, without the Peoples Consent. And if you will Read a late Treatise of Father *Paul Servita* of *Venice* (a very Venerable Author) you will see this at large Confirmed. And, If this be true, Is it Schism to take such for none of our Pastors? And Patrons choose Pastors for the peoples Souls, who too often care not for their own: Yea, though they believe not that Man hath an Immortal Soul, their Power of Electing those that Men must take for the Guides of their Souls, is nevertheless for their Infidelity. What Law of God bindeth all Men to stand to their Choice? How many Hundred Congregations have Incumbents, whom the People never consented to; but take them for their Hinderers and Burden?

XVII. *Dispositio materia necessaria est ad Receptionem formæ: non ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius.* If a Person be incapable of the Ministerial Office, it is no Sin to Judge him no Minister. Those are Uncapable, 1. Who have not tolerable Ministerial Knowledge and Utterance. 2. Who are *Hercuicks*. 3. Who malignantly Oppose serious Religion as Hypocrisie, or a needless Thing. 4. Who, by their wicked lives, do more Hurt than they do Good. From such, *St. Paul* bids Men *Turn away*; that have a Form of Godliness, but deny the Power. Is it *Schism*, to Obey such Commands? And how great a Number of such Cases there are, I need not tell the People.

XVIII. I am loth to displease you; and I write not to Accuse You, or other *Conformists*. But as *Paul* was constrained by Accusers, to speak sharply of them, and like a Fool (though not Foolishly) of himself: So you constrain us to say that in our own Defence, which will exasperate you; and, I doubt, you cannot easily bear. And God saith, *Thou shalt not Hate thy Brother in thy Heart: Thou shalt in any wise Rebuke thy Neighbour, and not suffer Sin upon him.* I have told you only, how many and heinous the Sins are, which we fear we should be Guilty of, should we Conform. The *Thirty* Aggravations named *Sc. 16.* are Tremendous. We have yet heard from none of you, any thing which should excuse us from such Guilt, if we did Conform. And if the People think, (though they should mistake) that all the *Conformists* are Guilty of the like: Can ye wonder, that they Prefer less Guilty Pastors, to trust the Conduct of their Souls with? when *Heb. 13.* they are Commanded to be Followers of their Guides? If they mistake, [*1 Cor. 5. With such not to Eat,*] and, [*From such turn away*] Is it Intolerable?

But

But bear with needful Truth, as to your self. You here would dissuade the *Nonconformists* from their Publick Ministry, and Plead it to be their Sin; By this you own the Silencing and Alienation of about *Two Thousand* such Ministers, till they Conform. I ask't you formerly, is it not Sacrilege, to Alienate (unjustly) Devoted, Consecrated Persons, and worse than to Alienate Lands or Monies? And, is it not a *Hindring of God's Word*? for which the *Liturgy* dissuadeth Men from the *Sacrament*, lest the *Devil enter into them*. I only say, *If Men be Guilty of this*, (which *You* think, the *Nonconformists* are, by not Conforming; and *They* think, *Others* are.) If you had Robbed *Thousand Churches* of the Communion-Plate, or the Glebe-Land, or Consented to the Doing of it: were it Separation and Shism for your Parish to prefer another Pastor of their own Choice? And when you Publish your Consent to the Alienating or Silencing about *Two Thousand* such Ministers, *If Men* think that you do much worse than a *Thousand Church Robbers*, though they should mistake, Is not their Trusting another Pastor with the Conduct of their Souls, a tolerable Thing? Dear Brother, Try to take off the Byass of your Judgment, and bear with necessary Truth, though rough. Though your *Logical Faculty* run lamentably Low in this your Accusing Sermon, I impute it to the Badness of your Cause. Undoubtedly, you have Learning enough, to know that ye must Die! and that after *Death*, *Judgment* must be expected; and that the Time is short; and the Fashion of these deceiving Worldly Things, doth pass away. And, Can you think, that your Approbation and Endeavours to Silence so many such Ministers while your own Experience might tell you, That *even You* do need much Help in such a Charge as you undertake, will be the Matter of a Comfortable Account? If you think so, I must say, That a little sober, impartial, believing Consideration, will make a Man Wiser, than the Reading of many Books with an unhumbl'd, byass'd Mind. The Day is coming, when you shall see, that ye were in a better, safer way; when with peaceable Dr. Tillotson, you seem'd to Consent to the Plot-form of an Act for our Concord and Restoration? which made me tell many Parliament-Men, [*Refer our Cause to the Council of Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet, and we shall presently be Healed.*] But, What is Man? And, What need have we to pray, *Lead us not into Temptation*?

XIX. If Men know the need of the full Use of the *Pastoral Office* for their Souls, and cannot spare it, and yet live where-

where they cannot Enjoy one Half or Quarter of it; Is it Schism for them to seek to Enjoy the rest? Dr. Hammond, in his *Annotations*, oft tells us, *That the Office of a Bishop, was, To Preach, To Direct Mens Consciences, To Visit and Pray with the Sick, To take Care of all the Poor, and the Moneys gathered for them, To be their Guide in Publick Worship, To Exercise Christ's Discipline, Admonishing, Rejecting the Obstinate, Restoring the Penitent, Strengthening the Weak, Comforting the Afflicted, Resolving the Doubtful, Convincing Gain-sayers, &c.* Some of your most Peaceable Conformable Hearers tell me, [We have need of a Frequent Help, by the Company and Council of a Pastor.] But we never see him, but in the Pulpit. And if we should all go to seek him in another Parish where he dwells, when ever we need a Pastor's Council, were he at Leisure and willing, he could not have time to speak to one of an Hundred, that might (at once) wait to speak with him: So that, we have none of this necessary Pastoral Help, when we greatly need it. Yea, not the Sixth, or Tenth Part of the Parish can come to Hear him in the Church. And when We that most desire it get in, it troubleth us to think, that we thereby keep out those that least desire it, but most need it: who knowing the Difficulty of getting Room, do stay at Home, and never seek it: So that, Five Parts of Six of our Neighbours, use not to go to any Church at all, no more than Infidels. And if in pity we perswade them to go to any *Nonconformist's* Meeting, they say the Clergy will Damn them as *Schismatics*. The Question now is, Whether *Ten Thousand, or Twenty Thousand* in a Parish, are bound to live without all Private Pastoral Help and Council; yea, and to forbear all Publick Worshipping of God, and Hearing of his Word? And, if they seek Relief of *Nonconforming* Ministers, Publickly and Privately, Whether it be Sinful Separation? If Men can spare the Ministry, Why are they Maintained? If they are needful for the Safety of Mens Souls, Must so many *Thousands* hazard their Souls for want of needful Help, lest they be called *Separatists*? If the Dean of *St. Pauls* be called the *Parson of the Parish*, and Preach to others that can Hear him, Will that serve the Needs of all the rest?

XX. In *Moscovie*, where a Christian Prince, and the Laws forbid all Preaching, and Publick Worship, save the Reading of *Homilies* and *Liturgies*; Is it Separation, and Sinful Schism, to Disobey this, and otherwise to Preach and Worship God?

XXI. Is it Schism in *France*, and such other Countries, for the

the *Protestants* to Meet to Preach and Worship God, against the Will, of the *King* and *Bishops*? It's true, that great Sin is necessarily thus avoided by *them*, which are not Imposed upon *us*. But if it prove, that *any Sin* is made necessary to Communion, the Degree will not much vary the Case, as to the Point of Separation.

XXII. In divers Countries, the *Prince* is of one Religion, or Mode of Religion, and the *Bishops* of another: The Question is, Who are the Schismaticks, the People that in their Assemblies, and Mode of Worship, do follow the *Prince*, or they that follow the *Bishops*? Some great Writers for Conformity tell me, That if the *King* Command one *Liturgy*, *Translation*, *Version*, *Ceremony*, &c. and the *Bishop* another, I must obey the *Bishop* before the *King*: Others say, I must Obey the *King* before the *Bishop*, (of which before.) Bishop Goodman of *Glocester* (a *Papist*) complaineth of the *King*, that would not consent that Clergy-Men should be Chancellours: And I speak with no *Bishop*, that disowneth not *Lay-Chancellours* Use of the Keys. The *Helvetian* Magistrates are *Frastrians*, against the Clergie's Power of Excommunication: Many of the Pastors are of the Contrary Judgment. The Duke of *Brandenburg* is a *Calvinist*: His *Bishops* and Clergy are *Lutherans*. Which Party are the Schismatick?

XXIII. Were all those Separating Schismaticks, who, from the Apostles Dayes, did Meet, Preach, and Worship God against the Will and Laws of Princes; sometimes of *Heathen Princes*, and sometimes of *Christians*; (*Constantine*, *Valens*, *Theodosius* the Second, *Anastasius*, *Zeno*, *Justinian*, &c.) If so, most Christian *Bishops* have been such Separatists. I have in my *First Plea*, and my *Church-History*, given Instances enough.

XXIV. Is it Schism, or Sinful Separation, to Disobey a Command about Religion, which no Man hath true Authority to Give? Authority is the Objectum Formale of Obedience; and where there is no Authority, there is no Disobedience, in a formal Sense, or privative. Most Politicks say, That Princes have no Authority against the Common Good: All Power of Princes and Pastors is of God, and is for Edification, and not for Destruction. God giveth no Power against Himself, or his Laws, nor the Souls of Men. If the *King* should Command me to Marry a Wife, whom I know to be intolerably unmeet for me; or to Feed my self, and Family with Food, which I find to be against our Health; or to use a Physician, whose Ignorance or Negligence, or Untrustiness, would endanger my Life: I am

not bound to Obey him, both because it is a Matter that is without the Verge of his Governing Authority, and because it is against the End of Government. *Regal Power* destroyeth not *Family-Power*, nor *Personal-Interest* and *Self-Government*: No Man hath Power to Destroy or Endanger the Souls of Men, nor forbid them seeking their own Edification and Salvation. I Repeat Bishop *Bilson's* Words, p. 236 of Subjection: [*Princes have no Right to Call or Confirm Preachers; but to Receive such as be Sent of God, and give them Liberty for their Preaching, and Security for their Persons. And if Princes Refuse so to do, God's Labourers must go forward with that which is Commanded them from Heaven: Not by Disturbing Princes from their Thrones, nor Invading their Realms, as your Father doth, and defendeth he may do; but by mildly Submitting themselves to the Powers on Earth, and meekly Suffering for the Defence of the Truth, what they shall Infrict.* — Pag. 399. *The Election of Bishops in those Dayes, belonged to the People, and not to the Prince: And though by plain Force, he plac'd Lucius there; yet might the People lawfully Reject him as no Bishop, and cleave to Peter, their Right Pastor.*] On this, I further ask,

XXV. If the Nonconforming People can prove, That (notwithstanding the times of Civil Usurpation, and *Bishops* Removal) their *Pastors* had a Lawful Call and Title to their Office over them, and they were truly obliged to them, as in that just Relation, Whether the Magistrates or *Bishops* Acts, have made those Relations, and Obligations Null? That the Temples and Tythes are in the Magistrates Power, we doubt not: But more than Bishop *Bilson*, even many Councils deny it of the *Office*, and *Pastoral Relation*. Yea, the Universal Church was of the same mind. And if so, how prove you, e. g. that the Relation of the Ejected *London* Ministers, and their Flocks was Dissolved, and that the Succeeders were true Pastors to the Non-consenting Flocks?

XXVI. That there are (Alas) Multitudes of Young, Raw, Injudicious, besides Scandalous *Priests*, no Man can deny that knoweth *England*, and hath any Modesty. If then honest People, that are not willing to be Damned, shall say: [*We best know what is suitable to our Needs, and what Teachers profit us, and what not. And we find that some are so Ignorant that they are unmeet as Plowmen, to resolve the most concerning Cases of Conscience; and their Conversation savoureth not of any serious belief of Christianity, and the World to come; and they do*  
but

but Read a few dry words, like School-Boys, saying a Weak Oration, without Life or Seriousness, and we can but little profit by them.] How prove you that it is lawful for such to use more suitable helps, though Men forbid it? A Soul is precious: God Worketh by means, and according to the suitability of Means: That agreeth not to some, which others can make shift with: Two or Three words from a *Conformist*, that saith: [*God can Bless the weakest Means to you; or, the Fault is in your self*] will not serve instead of needful Helps. The *King* or *Bishop* have not Authority to tie a Sick Man to Eat that which he cannot Digest, or Hurteth him. Every Man is neerliest concerned for his own Soul, and most Entrusted with it. Parish-Order it self, is but a humane alterable Circumstance; which I am not bound to observe at the hazard of my Edification and Salvation.

XXVII. What if the Magistrate grant a Toleration of divers Modes of Worship, as the *French*, and *Dutch* Churches are her Toleraed, and many in *Holland*, and in many other Countries? Are these separating *Schismatics*, that differ from each other? If so, it is not because they disobey the Magistrate; for he Toleraeth them all: if not, then meer diversity of Modes of Worship maketh not *Schismatics*.

XXVIII. If it be no true Political Church (in the strict sense as an Organized Society,) which hath not true Authorized Pastors, and if any Parish have either *Uncapable Persons*, or such as were never Consented to by the Flocks, and so have no *True Pastor*; and if the Bishops hold, that Parishes are not proper Political Churches, but parts of Churches, having no Pastors that have the Power of the Keyes, or the whole Essence of the Pastoral Office; but only Half-Pastors, that want an Essential Part of the Power. If on any such Account, any Parishes are no true Pastoral Churches: *Query*, Whether to separate from such a Parish, be to Separate from a Church in the sense in question?

XXIX. The mutual Condemnations in the times of the *Novations*, *Donatists*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, *Monothelites*, *Pharisaists*, *Image-Patrons*, &c. tell the World how needful, mutual forbearance is, to prevent worse Divisions and Confusions: And the *Papists* take themselves to be all of one Church, though they differ even in Doctrines of Morality, as dangerously as the *Jansenists* against the *Jesuits* have shewed; and though many Sects and Orders be permitted to Live and Worship God with very great diversity in their several sorts of Monasteries:

Why then should the little differences of our questioned Assemblies, be thought to be so great as maketh us not to be of one Church.

XXX. Some good Christians think, That though an undisciplined Church may be Communicated with, occasionally, yea, and constantly, while there is a hopeful Tryal of its Reformation; yet when there is no hope after Patient Tryal, a better Course and Communion should be chosen, where it may be had: And they think, that Multitudes whom they know to be profane Swearers, Cursers, Drunkards, Fornicators, Haters of serious Piety, Hobbists, Infidels, Atheists, Sadduces, &c. are continued in the Church of England: And they say, they scarce ever heard one Man of all these Excommunicated; nor one Man of them all, ever brought to Publick Confession and Repentance. And they think, Lay-Chancellours, having not rightfully the Power of the Keys, there is no ordinary Means of hopeful Reformation, and Exercise of Discipline; especially, the Largeness of the Diocesses making it impossible to be used to One of an Hundred, that (according to the Law of *Christ*) it should be used on. And they think, That the Church-Discipline is not only *None*, as to the Right Use, and made Impossible; but worse than *None*, while it is used most to Excommunicate from *Christ's* Church, the True and Conscionable Members of *Christ*, that dare not Conform; and so to lead to their Imprisonment, and utter Ruin. And they think, That no Man hath true Authority, to confine them to such an Undisciplined, and Ill-disciplined Church; and forbid them the Use of better, where *Christ's* Discipline may be used. Whether these Men be in the Right, or in the Wrong, if the Matter of Fact be true, I should desire rather the Reformation of such a Church, than the Reproach or Afflicting of Men, as *Separatists* and *Schismatics*, that choose another sort of Communion, as to their more Ordinary Practise; not denying this to be a true Diseased Church.

And so much in these *Thirty* Instances, about that which I think deserveth not the Reproach of any dangerous Separation. I told you *Thirty* Instances also of Unlawful Separation, which I named. And now you may judge, whether you spake to Edification, when you said, That [*the People are Condemned by their own Teachers*;] without telling, whom, and for what; and how far they Condemn them, and how far not.

§. 34. And, Did you think the Consequence good, That because we think it *Lawful to Hear you*, yea, and to many a *Duty*;



ty ; therefore we Condemn them, for *Hearing any one else*, that Conformeth not? As if they that have Communion with your Diocesan-Church, must have Communion with no other? So far am I from your Opinion, that I take it to be wofully Separating and Schismatical : And will never be a Member of a Particular Church, which will forbid me Communion with all others that differ from them; yea, that do not hold its Communion in Unity with all the True Christian Churches on Earth. Though a Schismatical Disputer for Prelacy, tells me, *That though I communicate with the Church of England, I am a Schismatick for communicating with Non-conformists, who (saith he) are Schismaticks.* But he, that will communicate with no Church that hath any Guilt of Schism, when the Christian World is broke into so many Sects, I doubt, will be the greatest Schismatick; and will Communicate with few on Earth. And as *Smith* Baptized himself, not liking any other Baptism, this man may become a Church unto himself.

And indeed, the word [*Condemn them*] sounds Harsh; when it signifieth no more than that we *Judge them to be Mistaken and Culpable.* if I *Condemn* every Man, or every Church, which I judge to be Sinners, I must *Condemn* all Mankind. I use not so harsh a Phrase of your Self, as to say, *I Condemn You*: When yet I judge your Book to be more Schismatical, than the Meetings of most that I am acquainted with; which you Accuse.

§. 35. But yet, your Mistake is Greater than I have hitherto mentioned. I know not *many* (if *any*) that use to Hear Me, who Separate from You: Many of them are *Episcopal*, and for your *Liturgie* and *Ceremonies.* I think, most of them go to the Parish-Churches; and *few* (if *any*) that I know, do deny it to be Lawful. How then can you prove it True, that we *Condemn* them? What is it for? Is it because they neither Separate from the *Conformists*, or *Nonconformists*? This is it, that we Exhort them to. It was an ill Slip, to put our *Condemning* them, for *Commending* them: But a fair Exposition will make it Lawfull.

§. 26. But you say [*How they can Preach lawfully to a people that commit a fault in hearing them, I do not understand.*]

*Ans.* Now you come to your business: But 1. What if you by Calumny call my ordinary hearers Separatists, and they are not such? 2. What if we prove it to be their duty to hear both you and us in season, if they need it, or lawful at least; and so do commend them, and not condemn them? may we then lawfully

Preach to them? What if the fault which we blame some for, be their judging it *unlawful to hear such as you*? Will your Logick prove that we call it their *fault to hear us*; as if *hearing us*, and not *hearing you*, were words of the same signification?

And is all necessary which is *lawful*? Do we condemn men that do not all that is *lawful* to do? And because you after infer, that *if it be lawful, it is a Duty*; I would you had told us, whether you take this univerſally, that [*Whatever is lawful is a Duty,*] or only in this caſe for ſome ſpecial reaſon, and what that is. I ſuppoſe it is, becauſe it is commanded: as if every *lawful* thing commanded were a duty: But we think otherwiſe, unleſs the Command be an Act which God Authorizeth the Commander to do. All mens Authority is limited by God: and they have none but from him. For inſtance, it is lawful to eat brown Bread, and drink Water, (or Wine;) But if the King or Biſhop forbid me to eat better, when my health requireth it, I am not bound to obey them; it is lawful to wear Sackcloth, but none have power to forbid me fitter cloathing: It is lawful to ſet a Son Apprentice to a *Chimney-ſweeper*, or to an *Ale-ſeller*, or *Vintner*; but if the Biſhop or any other forbid one to place him better, it obligeth not: It is lawful to marry a *Blackmore*, or an ugly Scold, or Beggar: But the Biſhop or King cannot oblige men to chuſe no better, becauſe it is out of the Verge of their jurisdiction, and belongeth to perſonal and family power. It is lawful to put my ſelf into the Hoſpital, and care of an unſkilful Phyſician, till my health require better: But when my health requireth it, I will uſe a better if I can, whoever forbids it. For it is uſurpation in them, that ſhall take the neceſſary care of my health and life out of my own hands. It is lawful to give the King our eſtates: But Lawyers ſay we are bound to do it, meerly becauſe He or the Biſhop commandeth it.

But perhaps you think, that men may do more againſt our ſouls than againſt our bodies; and have more power in Religion than in civil and bodily things: But we are not bound to think ſo if you do. It is lawful for men to hear one that only readeth the Scripture and Liturgy, and never preacheth: But when my needs requireth more, I will uſe it if I can, whoever forbids me. It is lawful to hear an ignorant raw Lad, that ſaith over a dry Sermon as a Boy ſaith his Leſſon, and hath neither Spiritual Life nor Light, nor is fit to take a Charge of Souls: And it is lawful to hear ſuch a Sermon as yours, or one that preacheth againſt other mens preaching: Yea, we rejoyce, and will rejoyce that Chriſt is preached, though by ſuch as do it in ſtriſe and contention

to add affliction to the afflicted, and not sincerely: But wise men that believe a life to come, and love their souls, will choose better if they can, whoever forbiddeth them. Men have no power to hurt our souls, nor to deprive us of the help which God affordeth us, nor to make themselves the only Judges, what is profitable or hurtful to our souls or bodies, or what is best for our edification.

§ 37. But [ *To commit a fault in hearing us* ] is of doubtful signification. In the manner of hearing, all commit faults; by some defect of attention, faith or application: But that's not it that you mean: But that *it is their sin to hear us*. And indeed, if this were true; is it above your learning to understand, that it is lawful to preach to them that commit a fault in hearing them.

1. What if culpably they would hear no other? Is it better let them hear none at all, than that we preach to them? If peevishness or sickness make a Child refuse the Food or Physick which he should take by his parents command; will you say, that it is better that he famish or die, than that you give him any other? Men may be saved that hear not you: But how can they believe, unless they hear, or hear without a Preacher? The means is for the End: *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, is a Lesson which I perceive more than the *Pharisees* are to learn. Order is for the thing Ordered: Parish Order is not so needful as Faith and Salvation. It may be, such a mans Sin, that he will not hear such as he should hear; and so by Consequence that he heareth me, and yet also Consequently his Duty to hear me, supposing that his fault hath blinded him, to think that he may hear no other, till his Error be Cured: Or at least, it is my Duty to take him as I find him, and Preach to him in his own mistake.

2. The Canon forbids going out of our own Parishes: suppose *twenty or five Hundred* Infidels, or Papists of the next Parish resolved, we will hear no Protestant but Dr. *Stillingfleet*; were it unlawful for you to Preach to them?

3. If I should Preach to them all against separation, and for Prelacy, were it unlawful? One of the Doctors at the *Savoy*, 1661. motioned, that he and I might go up and down *England* to Preach for Conformity: and if any ask us why we do not, we may tell them, Dr. *Stillingfleet* taketh it for unlawful: If it be a Sin to preach to them, it is a sin to preach to them against Separation, or for Conformity.

4. It is ordinary for men of other Parishes to hear you, and Dr. *Tillotson*, and others, such as you esteem: And I suppose

most weekly Lectures are Preached most to men of other Parishes, and yet you take it not for sin to preach to them.

5. It is ordinary for many Protestants to go hear and Communicate with the *French* or *Dutch* Churches which differ from you in the Mode of Worship: And yet I never heard it proved, that it is a sin for the Preachers thus to preach to them.

6. What if your Children as Prodigals over-run you, or the Kings Subjects causelessly fly into another Land: They ought not to be there. Is it therefore unlawful, for any to teach them there, or receive them to publick Worship?

7. Almost all the Christian World, is so tainted with some degree of Errour and Partiality, that men will hear none but those of their own mind, for their Errour sake. The *Armenians*, *Abassims*, *Greeks*, *Papists*, *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Lutherans*, *Arminians*, *Calvinists*, *Anabaptists*, &c. It is unlawful for any of these, to refuse sounder Teachers than their own, and to Confine themselves to their own only meerly for their singular Opinions: And yet it will be hard for you to prove, that all the Preachers on Earth, must give over Preaching to any such as these. What shame, Blood, and odious Schisms, followed this Schismatical Principle, while in doubtful Disputations, or tolerable differences, each party Condemned and Curfed the other, I have fully manifested in my Abridgment of Church-History. While by one Emperour and Council all the Orthodox were Deposed; and by another, all the *Nestorians*; and by another, all the *Eutichians*; and by another, all the *Monothelites*; and by another, the *Corrupticole*; and by another, the *Iconoclasts*; and so on; How few were there un-Curfed, and un-Condemned in the Roman World? And this keepeth the Churches in Schism to this day.

8. Do not you thus teach the Non-conformists to requite you with the like; and by your own Rule to judge it unlawful for you to Preach. They judg indeed, that it is lawful to hear you;  
 1. When better cannot be had, without greater hurt than benefit. 2. To shew their judgment by their Practise, *viz.* that they separate not from you as no Church, nor take it for simply-unlawful to have Communion with you: But they that think Conformity as great a sin as they have told you, they fear it would be to them, must needs think that it is a fault in those that choose your Assemblies, when *ceteris paribus*, and without greater hurt than good, they might have better. And must we therefore conclude, that it is unlawful for you to Preach. Suppose it were but, when we had the Kings Licence. Or, if in the times of Usurpation

Usurpation, any thought to leave the Parish Churches tended culpably to Division: It followeth not, that is was unlawful for a Bishop to preach in private, though when you, under the Usurpers, kept the Parish Church, he had preacht to some of your Flock.

But here you shew what your Labour tendeth to, *viz.* To prove it Unlawful for us to Preach, that you may perswade Us to give over. If God will, I shall elsewhere give you an Account of the Reasons of our Preaching; and Answer what You, and Others say against it: And therefore, shall say but little of it here. But I am heartily sorry, that you are come to such a Desire: That you had rather so many *Hundred* such Ministers were Silenced, than suffered to Preach without your Covenants and Ceremonies! That you no more regard the Needs of the People, that abound in Ignorance, Carelesness, and Vice; nor observe no more the Power of Sin, nor the great Want of Help to such Parishes, as your own, and too many in the Land, that have need on other Accounts.

O! How dreadful and unsearchable are the Judgments of God? That when so many *Hundreds* were Forbidden to Preach the Gospel, the Plague must first give them some Degree of Liberty, and the Flames continue it the next Year, and the King's Clemency after, and Horrid *Popish* Treason next divert their Prosecutors; while the Laws and Bishops all the while forbad them: Even when the Parish-Preachers fled from the Plague, and it was dying Men that the *Non-Conformists* Preach't to. And when the Churches were Burnt down, and the People had no Priest, or Place to go to for their own way of Worship; yet neither Laws nor Bishops consented to our Preaching: And such Men as Dr *Stillingfleet* also, come in to engage their Wit, Reputation, Industry, and Conscience, in the Silencing Design. O! What Cause have we all to Watch and Pray, That *We enter not into Temptation?* and to dread the Spiritual Judgments of God? Remember *Lo's Wife*, was a needful Warning. A *Solomon*, that is Numbred with the Wisest Men, may be set up as a Frightful Monument, to bid us *Take heed, lest we Revolt.*

And I take it for a greater injury to us, to perswade us to Silence our selves; than to perswade the Magistrate only, to Silence, Banish, or Imprison us: For so to Suffer from another, is not our Sin. But Sacrilegiously to break our Ministerial Vow, and forsake the Calling, which we were Solemnly Vowed to, and  
this

this while the Necessity of Souls for Help ; is a Sin, which few Men are so bad, as to persuade us to with open Face, without some pious fraudulent Pretence.

§. 38. Serm. p. 20. [*I do not confound bare Suspending Communion, in some particular Rites, which Persons do modestly Scruple, and using it in what they judge to be Lawful ; with either total, or ordinary Forbearance of Communion, in what they judge to be Lawful ; and proceeding to the Forming of Separate Congregations, i. e. under other Teachers, and by other Rules, than what the Established Religion alloweth. And this is the present Case of Separation, which I intend to consider, and to make the Sinfulness, and the Mischievousness appear.*]

*Ansiv.* I am sure, I am one that you expressly Charge, as of this Number ; and I can best speak for my self and those of my Acquaintance. 1. Is it true, that I totally or ordinarily forbear ?

2. What mean you by [*Forming*] a Congregation ? If their Presence be my *Forming* them, it is but because I speak to them : For, I neither Perswade nor Drive them to be there. But if you mean, *Forming* them into a *Distinct Church*, and becoming their *Pastor*, I was never Related as a *Pastor*, to any Church, but *Kidderminster* ; nor have these Twenty Years, been a *Pastor* to any ; but borrowed other Mens Pulpits, to Preach a Lecture to such as say they need it.

3. Your word [*Separate,*] I have Examined before. You Separate from My Auditory, and more than Separate ; and I Separate not from Yours : Who then is the *Separatist* ?

4. All the Parishes about you, and the Bishop of *Ely* in your Parish, that judge it Lawful to Hear you, yet are Absent from you ; and so are some *Non-Conformists*, that think they must Preach themselves ; and cannot be in two Places at once. Is that Separating ?

5. The *French* and *Dutch* Churches do all that, which you here describe, as *Sinful* and *Mischievous* ; only they have more Leave, than we.

6. Is all the matter, that *We are Teachers, which the Law alloweth not* ? So were the *Orthodox* under the *Nestorian*, *Eutychian*, *Monotelite*, &c. Princes. And so I have proved That the Christian Religion hath been much propagated in the World.

7. What are the *Rules* which we go by, which the Established Religion alloweth not ? Doth it not allow the *Sacred Scriptures* ?

Scriptures? Or, Have you proved, That I go by any other Rule? If the *Act of Uniformity*, or the *Canons* be your Religion, Do not they allow *God's Word*? Or, if they be your *Rules*, omitting that, Is not *Using another*? Yet, those that do joyn in Churches under Chosen Pastors, when I do not, I shall not Condemn till I hear their Reasons: They may have more Cause than I have.

§. 39. Serm. p. 21. [*They Unanimously confess they find no fault with the Doctrine of our Church.*]

*Ans.* 1. And yet are you one that would have them all Silenced? But this is not true: You name *Four* or *Five*, and then say [*Unanimously*]; and this because they offer to Subscribe the Doctrine of the *Thirty Nine* Articles; and yet I suppose you know, they more Unanimously dissent from the Doctrinal Article in the Liturgy of *Baptized Infants*, certain *undoubted Salvation* without Exception, and some of them to the *Doctrinal Damnation* of all Condemned in *Athanasius* Creed; And some of your selves, as well as Mr. *Humphrey* could wish the Article against *Free-will*, and that which Dam-neth all the Heathens, and some others, had been otherwise than they are.

§. 40. [*They generally yield, that our Parochial Churches are true Churches; and it is with these that Communion is required.*]

Say you so? 1. The *Diocesans* are little beholden to you, if this be all! Do you require no Communion with them?

2. I think I shall shew you anon, that you take your Parishes for no true Churches your self: At least your chief Brethren do not, who make them but parts of a Church, the *Diocesan* being the lowest proper Church.

3. Are you sure, that the *Independents* take your Parishes for true Churches? I cannot tell. But I know *John Goodwin* and Mr. *Brown* have Writ to the Contrary.

4. And for my self, how oft have I told you, that I distinguish, and take those for true Churches, that have true Pastors (but that is, because I judge of their office by Gods Word, and not by the Rule which depriveth them of an essential part of the Office of a Pastor of a true Church.) But I take those for no true Churches, that have. 1. Men incapable of the Pastoral office. 2. Or not truly called to it. 3. Or that deny themselves to have the Power essential to a Pastor. Such Congregations I can joyn with, as Chappels or Oratories: But they are

not Churches of the political organized form which we speak of, as wanting an essential part.

§. 41. Next you tell men, what I said in print, of our *Conclusion, that communion with you was lawful.* ] *Answ.* This is true: and when said we otherwise? Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Pool* and others were there! I told you before, how *far* *lawful*.

§. 42. Serm. p. 22. [*Who could have Imagined, but they should have all joyned with us, in what themselves judged to be lawful, and in many Cases a duty. But instead of this, we have rather since that time, found them more inclinable to courses of separation, &c.* ]

*Answ.* If this be not true, I take it not for sinless. Since that time  
1. Mr. *Pool*, Mr. *Humphrey*, my self and others, that took our selves to be no Pastors to any particular Church, have usually joyned in your assemblies; and I usually keep to my Parish Church.

2. Since that time, in a Treaty set on foot by the Lord-keeper *Bridgman*, we agreed *in terminis*, with Bishop *Wilkins*, and Dr. *Burton*; and Judge *Hale* drew up our Agreement into the form of an Act.

3. Since that time, at your own motion, we treated with honest Dr. *Tillotson* and you, and the same men and more, consented to the form and words of an agreeing Act, and you both seemed to consent.

4. Where you read my words, you might have read the Reason, why no more Communicated with you. And it is not like a lover of Truth to dissemble them; 1. I told you, that even at the present, new heats arising against Dissenters, we thought it our duty; till they were over, to forbear a lawful thing; which was like to occasion the sufferings of such as in that were not satisfied as we were. Marriage is lawful: But if it be not necessary, one may forbear it, if it would ruine another, though the Bishop command it him. 2. I told you, that the *Oxford* Act of confinement, came out when we were intending to come to your Churches: and then had we been seen there in the City or Corporations, we had been sent to Jayle: but many in the Countries came to your Churches. This is your Cathedral Justice; The Law is [*come to Church in London, &c. and you shall go to Jayle six Months.*] And if we do not, such as you tell the World, that we are Separatists. 3. I told you, men cannot preach to others, and hear you both at once. Must we repeat these things as oft as you accuse us?



§. 43. In the charge are joyned Dr. Owen and my self, my error is [p. 24. *Serm.*] *That to devise new Species of Churches (beyond Parochial or Congregational without Gods authority, and to impose them on the world yea in his name) and call all dissenters Schismaticke, is a far worse usurpation than to make or impose new Ceremonies or Liturgies*]

*Ans.* A man would think that this doctrine should justify it self and confute the Accuser. 1. Will you own your Churches *de Specie* to be new, and yet appeal to antiquity? 2. Will you own them to be *devised without Gods authority*, and yet to be preferred to those that he instituted? 3. Will you own that yet *they may in his name be imposed on the World*? 4. And will you own that for these, *dissenters* may be called *Schismatics*? 5. And is not this a worse usurpation than to make new Ceremonies? If you will plead for so much presumption, profanation of Gods name, usurpation, uncharitableness, and Schism, I will leave you to fight against the Light, and not labour in vain in a needless confutation. 2. But, Sir, you should have told your Reader the full truth. 1. That I never denied but largely asserted the Magistrates power of the Sword over all persons and causes Ecclesiastical, much less *Christian Kingdoms*, or *Cities de re*. 2. And that I maintained that Magistrates make officers to judge of the *Circa sacra*; or undetermined accidents of Religion. 3. And if you will equivocally call these Churches, I quarrel not *de nomine*. 4. Nor yet at the thing or name of the Association of many Churches for Concord. 5. But I say (in the Page cited by you) that as humane forms should not be pretended falsely to be Divine, so neither have they authority against those that are Divine, to change them and destroy their priviledges: Unless you will fight for man against God, you must reverse this Accusation.

§. 44. As to your case, of the extent of the first Churches, I have so much to say of it elsewhere, if God will, that I shall not here stay on so short a touch. Only you put me to repeat, *If God make families, and men make Cities*, do but consider the different efficientes, and usurp not a power to destroy the power instituted by God, and we shall not much differ.

§. 45. You greatly strengthen my Cause by the testimony of so well Read a man [Serm. p. 27.] *Though when the Churches increased, the occasional meetings were frequent in several places; yet still there was but one Church, one Altar, and one Baptism, and one Bishop, with many Presbyters assisting him: And this is so very plain in Antiquity, as to the Churches planted by the Apostles themselves in several parts, that none but a great stranger to the History of the Church, can ever call in question.*]

*Ans.* Bishop Gunning will give you no thanks for this, It seems after all the anger we are much agreed. I never denied Chapels to a Church, nor thought they must all meet at once. If they all meet

*per vices at one Altar*, they are associated for *presential Communion*, and not *distant* only, and this is that *I* am for. Make it but such a Church that meet at one Altar, and that can know one another, and are associated for such personal Communion in presence, and (though *I* could wish it neither too small nor too great) it is of the *Species* which *I* plead for as of God. There is certainly a Specificque difference between a Church that hath a Constitutive formal Governour, who hath the whole Pastoral power, and is associated for presential mutual help in faith, worship, and holy living, and one that either hath but a half Pastor without the power of the Keyes, or that is associated only for distant Communion, and never see each other; even for another Sort of Communion. Conformists hold that Bishops and Presbyters are distinct orders: Therefore Churches differing in the very Order or Species of the Constitutive Governours, and in the Trinitus or end, and the nature of the Communion, are certainly of distinct Species, and not only of distinct degrees in the same Species: But such are our *Parochial* and *Diocesan* Churches. Just such a Church as you here describe is it that *I* would have, and yet if the Chapels also have Altars, and there be more than one to the Church, as long as they are under the same Bishop and Presbyters, associate for Communion in presence, it alters not the Species.

§. 46. *I* thank you also for adding p. 28. [*And yet this distribution even in Creet was so uncommon in those Elder times, that Epiphanius takes notice of it as an extraordinary thing at Alexandria and therefore it is probably supposed that there was no such thing in all the Cities in his time.*]

*Ans.* 1. It's true of *Creet*, which had an hundred Cities: But your [therefore] makes me think, you put *Creet* for *Cyprus*. For there it was that *Epiphanius* was a Bishop. 2. But you grant me the foundation of all my cause. Let the Diocess or Parish or Church (call it what you will) be no bigger than that the same Bishop may perform the true Pastoral office to them in *present* Communion, and not only by writs, and delegates, rule men that have no personal present Communion, nor ever intend it as the end of their relation, and *I* have my desire as to the Species of the lowest sort of Churches. 1 *Thef.* 5. 12, 13. *Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you.* But such are not those whom we never saw nor heard, and never laboured among or admonished the twentieth or fortieth or hundredth Congregation in their Diocess, and whom the People cannot know.

*Heb.* 13.7. *Remember them which have rule over you, who have spoken to you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation*

Richard Baxter's *Answer to Dr. S.*

*sation.* 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you and submit your selves for they watch for your Souls as those that must give account.* But such are not they that the people never heard the word of God from, nor knew their conversation nor the men: And Bishop Taylor saith, *No man can give account of those that he knoweth not*; that is, Pastors account. Make Parishes true Churches, and restore them Church discipline, and we are satisfied.

‘§ 47. *Serm. p. 29.* [If we look over the ancient Canons of the Church, we shall find two things very plain in them: 1. That the notion of a Church was the same with that of a Diocess; or such a number of Christians as were under the inspection of a Bishop.]

*Ans.* 1. Very true; and the Bishop was their ordinary Preacher, and only pronounced the blessing, &c. Therefore till the Species was altered it was like a School, whose Schollars lived in City and Country, but were under a Bishop that Governed them personally in presence. But after they were like many score or hundred Schools that had Teaching Ushers, and one absent Governour (to the most.) To Govern as a Schoolmaster in presence specifically differs from Governing as Princes or visitors, by Laws, or extraordinary inspection.

2. I pray you forget not that by this measure (if you hold to it) you unchurch all our Parish Churches: Every Church then had a Bishop, no Parish now hath a Bishop (proper to it self), or at least not many: Therefore no Parish (by this rule) is a Church. *Ecclesia est plebs Episcopo adunata.* You make no Church below a Diocess.

‘§ 48. *Serm.* [2. That those Presbyters who rejected the authority of their Bishop or affected Seperate meetings, where no fault could be found with the Doctrine of a Church, were condemned of Schism.]

*Ans.* Good still: They were not to set up *altare contra altare*, but joyn with the Bishop in Governing the same Church in present Communion at least *per vices*: But if a Bishop then had put down a hundred or a thousand Bishops and Churches about him, and said, you shall be all but one Church in another sort of Communion, and I will be your only Bishop, Christians then would have abhorred him: Now we have hundreds of Altars locally separated from the Bishop.

2. But yet if then the Doctrine of Faith had been never so sound, Christians would have Separated. 1. From unlawful Worship (specially Idolatry). 2. And from wicked Bishops; as the fore-mentioned Epistle of *Cyprian* and the *Carthage* Council sheweth.

‘§ 49. You Confess *Martin* and *Theognostus* Separation from the

Synods and Communion of the neighbour Bishops : And if it were not lawful for neighbours to communicate with them, I shall believe as *Cyprian*, that the same reason would at least warrant the people to forsake them, till you shew reason to the contrary. And you confess the *Joannites* separation, and only say that after they returned. It's true : But did they do well or ill before ? they returned not till gentleness and honouring *Chrysofome* reduced them : and though *Cyri Alex.* called them Schismatics and said it was fitter the Church Canons should be kept, than such refractory Non-conformists gratified by restoring the honour of their ejected Pastor, yet *Atticus* had more wit and honesty then to follow his Counsel or be moved by his Threatning : Our Case hath ten times more to be said for it, than the *Joannites* had, who were not cast out, but departed, nor had any Impositions forced on them, which they took to be many hainous sins. Had you been impartial, you had easily seen this : But as *Cyri* and others accusation of the *Joannites*, as Separatists and Schismatics, did not finally attain his ends against the *Joannites*, no more shall yours against the more excusable. In an Ale-house or Crowd of the debauched or ignorant [*They are Puritans, Presbyterians, Fanatics, Separatists, Schismatics, Hereticks, Rogues*] is effectual arguing and convincing, and some Preachers it seems take their hearers for such Judges ; But men will be men, and reason will be reason, and truth will be truth, and innocency will be innocency, and pride, and slander will shame their Authors more than the slandered, when you and I are dead and gone.

‘S 50. Serim. p. 30. [*But suppose the first Churches were barely Congregational by reason of the small number of Believers at that time, yet what Obligation lies upon us to disturb the peace of the Church we live in, to reduce Churches to their infant State.*] And here is mentioned ‘the Community of Goods, washing Feet, and then [*They believe that the first Civil Government was appointed by God himself over families : Do they therefore think themselves bound to overthrow Kingdoms to bring things back to their first institution, &c.*]

*Ans.* 1. We call them not [*barely Congregational*] but [*associated for personal Communion*] If all the Kingdom had but one Bishop, that were another Species of Government and Communion than Parochial.

2. If one like you should plead for turning all the families in *London* into one, and making only one Common Father or Master of all families, who should send Stewards to every house, of his own making, to give them their vituals, he only being the proper Governour, and this man should plead as you do, that it is *disturbing the Peace of the great family*, to reduce them to their Infant State, by restoring

storing particular families, more wit or reputation than yours would not keep his cause from shame. Or if he pleaded that all the Schools in a Diocese, or many 100 or 1000, should have but one Schoolmaster with Ushers that have no power to take in or put out or use the Rod, and that to retrieve this to the Infant state is seditious, the reason of mankind would shame his reasoning. And when men know *what Pastoral Guidance* is, the case here will be as plain.

3. Our Reason for desiring (not the Primitive paucity of Christians, but) the Primitive form of Christ is. 1. Because Christ by his Apostles instituted it: (Mr. *Thorndike* once spake well to that.) 2. Because we can prove that he was faithful in forming his house and Church, as *Moses* was in forming that of the Jews. 3. Because we never heard it proved that man had power to alter what Christ by his Spirit in the Apostles founded: neither having their infallibility nor commission. 4. At least we think it is the surest way to hold to that which we are sure God settled, till we can prove that men have power to change the very form.

4. Teach us what to say to the Papists, when they shall accordingly say to us ‘[ *What though there was no Universal Pastor in the Primitive times? what though many things in discipline and worship be changed since? Why must you disturb the peace of the Church by reducing things to the infant State? What though there were no Cardinals, nor General Councils of Prelates to make universal Lawes for the Churches, what though the Sacrament was given in both kinds, and there were no private Masses, or prayers for the dead? must the Church be still in infancy? What though the Apostles instituted the Lords day for publick worship and holy Communion, may not the Church put that down, and set up one day of her making once a month or year instead of it?* ]

But I will not be one of those that will fight for man against God; for I know who will overcome. If you can prove that Christ gave your Church authority to pull down the Church Offices and form which he appointed, and set up another, and call it the *Churches growth*, or emendation, I will obey them.

But I have elsewhere asked who they were that made your new Church form. If the first Church (of Gods making) it was only the *universal* headed by Christ, and particular Churches for personal Communion, if these made the new forms, tell us who, when, and by what power, and why they may not unmake them, if there be cause: and whether the efficient Church be not better then the effected: as the Parent than the Child. If you say that Bishops of Parishes did it by consent in *Asia* or elsewhere above a thousand years ago, how come we in *England* to be bound by them? If you say that Princes were the

makers of the new *Church Species*. 1. Heathen Princes did it not. 2. The Bishops will give you little thanks, if you grant not that it was *done* before there were any Christian Princes to do it. 3. One Prince cannot make Laws for anothers Country. 4. Prove that ever Christ authorized Princes to change the Constitution of the Churches instituted by him, and make new ones above his form; except making officers for the *Circa Sacra* or variable accidents. 5. And what Princes do, they have power to undo.

And it concerneth us to enquire (much more then about ceremonies) how far this power of man extendeth. May they make as many new Church *Species* as they please? Why then may they not make as many forms as there are Kingdoms, if not an universal Pope by the consent of most?

5. But that which the Papists take for the Churches growth from Infancy, the Protestants take for its gradual depravation; And have written many treatises to shew when and how such corruptions were introduced: And the fore-mentioned book of *Paulus Sarpi Servita* lately translated, tells us by what degrees much of that evil did spring up, which some take to be the Churches Man-hood, and the amending of the defects of Christs institutions.

6. And you that wonder that I know not what you mean by [*the Church of England*] may next wonder that I know not what it is that you call [*the Protestant Religion*] In my [*Full Satisfaction*] I have told you that I mean by it, *simple Christianity expressed in the sacred Scriptures as the Recorded rule, with the rejection of all humane additions which suppose the Scriptures imperfect as to their regulating use*: But if you suppose that men may, without any Scripture proof of authority, take down and change the Church Species, which Christ by his Apostles made, and make new ones instead, and thus add to Christs Laws, equal, yea superior and derogating Laws of their own, this is not that *Protestant Religion* which I am of, and therefore I intreat you to define what it is you so call.

7. When you have as well proved the very essential form of the first Churches to have been instituted but *pro tempore* as a mutable thing, as we can prove the like of *washing Feet*, and *community of Goods*, we will submit. And so we will when you have proved that God that *made families* made not Cities or Republicks; that is, did not institute civil Government of many families; or that men who diversifie the forms of Republicks, may overthrow families or their proper power: Yea and that God hath left men as much power to make new *Species* of Churches, as to diversifie the Forms of Common-wealth.

8. And as to our [*disturbing your peace*] if you had built your frame on Christs foundation, and laid your peace on the unity of the spirit, and the seven particulars named *Eph. 4. 45. 6.* and had not built it on uncharitableness, on imperious usurpation, nor that love of the world, which *Paul Servita* saith brought in the Church corruptions, you would not have been so tender, nor your peace like an aspen leaf in the wind, as that your Brethren, who, you say, agree in Doctrine and the substance of worship with you, cannot quietly joyn near you in the worship of God, without your imposed words, and ceremonies, but they become disturbers of your peace. Its a sickly peace that is so easily disturbed by so small dissent. As *Rome* thinketh that all wrong her that do not obey her, and pleadeth for *Empire* under the name of Communion, so do some others; and will enter a suite against them as *Schismaticks*, that will not let them ride and lash them without complaint. If you have the humility and Charity of a Christian, without envy, &c. What harm doth it do you that I and such others worship God in another room, without your book, while your Church is as full as it can well hold? Do you not differ much more among your selves, as I before shewed? And the Papists yet more among themselves? and yet are in one Church, and tollerated. But so their *Power* and *Wills* may be obeyed, some men can bear with much more against God. Who heareth such out-cries against ten thousand or twenty thousands in a Parish that come not to any Church at all, as against a few Christians that pray and preach without your book? what Informers, what indictments, what prosecutions, what invectives are equally against all these aforesaid?

‘§. 51. Sermon. p. 31. [*It is very uncertain whether the Primitive form were such as they fancy, &c. but it is certainly our duty to preserve peace and unity amongst Christians*].

*Ans. 1.* Then it is certainly a sin to make racks to tear them, and make concord impossible, and say, none shall have Communion with us, that will not say and Swear what we bid them, and that think any thing sin which we impose; and to shut men out by Canonical Excommunication, and then call them *Schismaticks* in Prefs and Pulpit not for coming in.

2. If it be *uncertain whether that which we desire be the Primitive form*, it is uncertain then whether you oppose not and fight not against the Primitive form.

3. What you say is uncertain I shall God willing prove certain elsewhere (and have done). All is not uncertain to others which is so to you.

4. Mark this, you that are for the *Divine right of Episcopacy as the Primitive form instituted by Christ*; As he taketh it for *uncertain* (as beyond Congregational forms), so were it so, if the Church should cast it out, he seemeth to hold your endeavours, to reduce it, to be a sinful breaking of the Churches peace. You are disturbers if in *Holland, Geneva, Helvetia*, you would reduce them to that which you suppose to be the Primitive form. *It may be it was but from the circumstances of the times*: And so the head of the Church hath made no particular Church *Species*, but left all to the better wit of men (who knows to whom).

‘§ 52. Sermon. [*It is impossible so to do, if men break all orders in pieces, for the fancy they have taken up of a Primitive Platform*].

*Ans. Anglice*, [It is impossible to preserve Peace and unity among Christians, if men will not suppose that Christ never instituted his own Church forms, or will not forsake his Institutions, but fancy that they must be conformable thereto, and will not prefer the wills and commands of Bishops to whom they never consented, and take it to be a breaking of all orders in pieces, not to do all that they enjoin us, though we take it to be heynous sin, and will not give over Gods worship and our Ministry when they forbid us. *Dan. 6. We shall find no fault against this Daniel, except it be concerning the Law of his God*, but if he pray openly when forbidden, away with him to the Lyons for the Laws of the Medes and Persians are more inflexible than Gods.

§ 53. As to what you say of *preferring Morals* and the *ends* it is more truly than prudently mentioned as to your cause: For the *very* naming of it will make the Readers think, *whether your subscription and declaration and oaths* and imposed practices, which the Nonconformists judge unlawful, be greater matters than their preaching the Gospel, avoiding great sins. the concord and strength of the Protestant Churches, and the avoiding temptations to wrath, and persecution and divisions which will be bitter in the latter end. *Go learn what this meaneth I will have mercy and not Sacrifice*; (or needless Ceremony).

‘§. 34. Sermon. p. 42. [*Men may please themselves in talking of preserving peace and Love under separate Communion: But our own sad experience shews the contrary: For as nothing tends more to unite mens hearts than joyning together in the same Prayer and Sacraments; so nothing doth more alienate mens affections, than withdrawing from each other into separate Congregations*].

*Ans. 1.* But do all separate from you that are in other Parish Churches than yours? if not, do all separate that differ, as Cathedrals from



from Parish Churches, or as conforming *Preachers* do from one another? If not, do they separate that omit a form or ceremony of yours?

2. I am sorry, if you have experience of the *alienating of your affections* from your neighbours, that quietly worship God by you: but its like you know what you say: For my part many of them have said and written more against me, then against you, and, I thank God, I love them heartily; yea and that your own party from whom I have suffered far more. It is mens diseases that make them impatient of a cross opinion or word or censure, and then they cry out of mens unpeaceableness: As *Seneca* saith, *They that are sore complain if they but think their sore is touched.*

3. Let the Magistrates keep Peace and punish all that abuse their bretheren.

4. But we easily grant to you, that when men do not only differ, but fly from each others Communion as unlawful, it hath a great tendency to the alienations and evils which you mention. Had we not thought so, we had never stoopt, and pleaded, and begg'd of the Bishops to prevent or heal it as we did 1650, and 1661. And wo to the impenitent that are the cause of all, and to this day will not be persuaded by all the sad experience that they complain of.

Sir, instead of all your accusations and reasonings, it would have better dispatched all the business, would you but consider, *who it is that must cure the distance which you complain of?* I have fully proved to you in my book of *Concord* that we are utterly unable to remedy it. If you will not know, who can make you know. Do you think, that when you say to all the Land [*say and do all that is imposed, or you shall not be admitted to our Communion*] that it is morally possible to make all good Christians agree in believing that it is all lawful? or to make them all do that which they think to be unlawful; I must freely tell you, that he that thinks that his own or any others reasonings will ever so far change all the truly honest Christians in the Land, knoweth to little of matters, men or Conscience, as that he is unmeet to be a Bishop or a Priest.

But is the remedy impossible to the *Imposers*? I am ashamed to debate the Question: But some men are so learned and wise, that they will not quench the fire in a City, nor save the Ship from sinking, nor forbear silencing Christs Ministers and scattering the Flocks, as long as they can: but say, *There will such or such an inconvenience follow.* It would cost you *nothing* to cure all this, which it is impossible for us to cure. Therefore all your just aggravations of the mischiefs of schism or separation fall where it concerneth some of you to look to it, if you believe that there is a future Judgment; rather than to call your selves Schismaticks under the name of others, and put God and man to say, *Thou art the man.*

§ 55. Pag. 33. You come to me, for denying that I separate causelessly from the *Communion of true Churches*, or set up *Antichurches*, [though (say you) they Preach when and where it is forbidden by Law, and administer Sacraments by other Rules and after a different manner than what our Church requireth: This is not dealing with us w<sup>th</sup> that fairness, and ingenuity which our former bretheren used — they deny the fact which is evident to all persons: For do they not the very same things and in the same manner that the others do? How comes it to be then separation in some and not in others? They are very unwilling to confess a separation because they have formerly condemned it with great severity, and yet they do the same things for which they charged others as guilty of a sinful separation.] And I am cited.

Ans. 1. This is like *H. Fowlis*; *The Puritans are the worst men on earth: The Papists, are far prefer'd before them, because the Papists differ in fundamentals, but the Puritans take mass for a Ceremony.* So we are the most *disingenuous* and not *fair dealers*, that own them to be true Churches and Ministers and hold Communion with them; and yet deny that we are Schismatics or separate: We leave you therefore, to treat with the lesser *disingenuous* and the *fair dealers*, that say you are no true Ministers, nor is it lawful to have Comunion with men that openly avow such hainous sin, and covenant against ever endeavouring to reform notorious Church corruptions: because with such we are forbid even to eat, and commanded from such to turn away; It's well you have some more ingenuous and fair dealers than I am.

But the *disingenuity* is my denying your accusation: I heard of a Gentleman that could silence any man: and his way was, he would accuse him (of Murther, Adultery, Theft or what his cause required) and if he denied it he would say; [what will you make me a Lyar? To give me the Lie deserveth a stab.] It is not only a crime if we do not *oto peccatore telum recipere*, or with *Camero* unbutton our selves and say *feri miser*, or when ever we are beaten, confess that we deserved it: It's an odd kind of suit for a man that calleth an innocent man *traytor*, to bring his action against him, for saying, *you slander me*. But it is the name or thing that we must not deny. We will gratifie you in the first: I do separate from your Church, by half a miles distance, and by going to my own Parish, and by preaching my self, and so do most of the Parish Preachers, that will not sit hearing you when they should Preach. But it is *de re*. And what is it, First I must tell the matter of fact: I never took any pastoral charge these twenty years; I had heretofore no Church: I never baptized one person: I never administered the Lords Supper once, in about eighteen or nineteen years; but of late seldom to some few, since aged weak persons who were in my house

house, and near, who gave me special reason for it; and the Liturgy alloweth it to the sick and all their friends that joyn with them: while I lived at *Aïon* and *Toteridge* I went twice each Lords day to the publick Church, even to the beginning: Here I go when I am able usually once a day to hear the Parson of the Parish; and I communicate with them in the Sacrament: I preach twice a week in anothers Pulpit (borrowed) most to strangers that I have no more to do with: My gain I thank them, the accuser put me not to excuse: I write and preach against Schism and all unjust separation, and persuade all to go no further from any than they go from Christ, or than they drive us away, or than we needs must, to avoid actual sin. Well; now what is the crime of separation?

1. I preach (you say) when and where it is forbidden by Law.] *Ans.* Is this the formal reason of separation? Then disobedience and separation are all one. I suppose you mean the Law of the King and the Parliament, and not the Canons, save as by them made Laws: when I had given you so many Historical instances of the ancient Bishops and Christians, doing the like, and justified commonly by the Church: did you think while you silently pass all that over, and all the rest that I said for my justification, that two lines of your saying was enough to confute all? Certainly it was not me that you meant to satisfie, nor any impartial man that had read my books. This dealing becometh, not so weighty a Cause. You seem to say [*All preaching when and where it is forbidden by Law, is sinful separation: But, &c.* I deny the Major. The Primitive Preachers did so for three hundred years: The Orthodox did so afterwards under *Constantius Valens*, *Theodosius junior*, *Anastasius*, *Philipicus*, *Justinian* and many more: The *Albigenses*, *Waldenses* and *Bohemians* did so: The Reformers did so: The Protestants when the Interim was imposed did so: *Episcopius* justifieth it at large, and the *Arminians* in *Belgia*, did so: The Martyrs in *England* and elsewhere did so. The Jesuits in the *East Indies* did so. But what if the Law forbid you to preach at a certain hour ---- do you separate from the Church, if you miss your hour? They that Preacht Afternoon Sermons when forbidden were taken for disobedient, but not for separatists. And what if when the Churches here were burnt the Ministers had read the Liturgy and preacht in a place forbidden by the Law: Had that been separation?

And how cometh [*when*] and [*where*] to be in, When we are forbidden *everytime* and in *every place*, to preach to more than four? Is any *time* or *place* allowed us to preach in? You mean [*He is a separatist who preacheth being forbidden by Law*: But I am ready to give you a fuller proof than is now to be offered on this occasion, *that no man*

hath authority to forbid a faithful Minister of Christ, who forfeiteth not his Office-power, to perform the office to which he is ordained. And, Secondly, that we remain under a Divine obligation to it, which such a Law cannot dissolve. As Bishop Bilson, before saith] if Princes forbid us, we must go on with our work: what if the King had turned against Episcopacy and Liturgy, and torbad all the Episcopal to preach, Would you think it sinful separation to preach? By this you shew how easily you would lay down the work you are Vowed to, if the Law did but forbid you. How much than are Papist and Protestant Casuists mistaken, that say the Law is null that is against the common good, and that all power is only to edification.

And what limitations do you set to this? Till you tell us, how can we judge of our separation: what if an interdict silence all the Ministers in a Kingdom, must all obey? What if it be most, must most obey? What if it be more then can be spared without the Churches wrong? And whose Laws be they that so binds us? Is it Infidel Princes or only Christians? Is it Papists, Arrians, Eutychians, &c. or only the Orthodox? And do you set the people all to judge whether the King be Orthodox, as the rule of their obedience to his Laws? If I prove not that God bindeth me to preach, call me disobedient, but yet that will not prove me a separatist.

By this rule you may be a separatist, as oft as the Law changeth, if you will not change as fast as it. Yea though you Judge the Laws impositions to be hainous sins, yet you must dothem all, or give over your Ministry: And so God must ask leave of the Rulers to be worshipped as God. If he were a God of their making, they might put him down.

And, I think, it will prove confusion and worse disobedience than our preaching is, to lay all the peoples obedience herein on their opinion of the Rulers Orthodoxncis: no doubt, but the heathen and heretical Rulers are Governours even of the Church, though none hath power for destruction or against God. The Duke of *Brandenburgs* Subjects judge him not Orthodox: Are they therefore absolved from obeying him in matters of Religion? *Calvenist* Subjects think *Lutherane* Princes not Orthodox; and Protestants, in *France, Hungary, Poland*, judge their Papist Kings not Orthodox: Yea, what if we judge the Bishops not Orthodox that made the Cannons or Liturgy, are we absolved from obeying them? And what if any Subjects think that the King is not Orthodox? And Parliaments, who also make our Laws, contain men of many minds: And the Parliament of 1640. is said by the Bishops to have been far from Orthodox, even to have been *Presbyterians* and *Errastians*; and even for Rebellion; and yet they made

made divers Laws which the King consented to and ratified: Were not men obliged by those Laws? And indeed if the Law-makers being not Orthodox null his Laws about Religion, why not all his other Laws?

But it may be you will say, that it is not all the people that must judge whether the King and Parliament be Orthodox, but the Bishops for them. *Ans.* But who shall judge whether the Bishops be Orthodox? And if all be resolved into the implicite belief of the Bishops, why not of the civil Rulers as well? Or why not as the Papiſts on Pope and Councils?

I suppose to avoid all this you will not say, that he is a separatist that preacheth when forbidden by any Prince whatsoever, Turk, Heathen, Arrian, Eutychian, Idolater, Papiſt. Where then will you fix the notifying Character? All men are heterodox in some degree. How shall we know the degree which absolveth us from our obedience?

And how cometh an Orthodox man to be authorized to do mischiefes and forbid the needful preaching of the Gospel any more than a heretick? or a Christian more than a Heathen? I think he is bound to do more good then they, and not authorized to do more hurt. God never made him a judge whether the Gospel shall be preacht or not, nor whether the people shall be saved, or left to perish in their ignorance and sin.

Either then all are separatists that preach against the Laws of Heathens, Hereticks or Papiſts: And so the Orthodox Churches have in many or most Ages and places been separatists: Or else we are cast upon confounding impossibilities to know who the separatist is.

Especially in *Aristocracies* and *Democracies*, where the Rulers are of many minds, and the people can never know them all, nor when the Orthodox, have the *Major Vote*.

And I would know, whether it be only Rightful Princes or also Usurpers, whose Laws are the bond of the Churches Unity. If of Usurpers, then all the Prelates that conformed not in the times of the late Usurpation were Schismatical separatists by your definition: But to do them right, few of my acquaintance that could by conformity stay in, did then refuse conformity: I hear that you were then no separatist. But Bishop *Gunning*, *Dr. Wild*, *Dr. Hide* and a great many more, took another course; and will not thank you if you stigmatize them with us. But if it be not the Laws of Usurpers in the Roman Empire by your measure; How few were the Emperours that came not in by meer conquest, or by killing, putting out the eyes, or ejecting

ing their predecessors, or without any justifiable right? And what a case Rome, Italy, Spain and Africa were in after the first conquests of the Gothes and Vandals, and all the Western Empire in the days of the Henries, Frederick and many others, while men were fighting for the Empire, and Popes claimed the making and unmaking of them all? And even in France ever since the days of Chilperic for many Ages, especially among the progeny of Charles the great, it is not to be hid: This way you destroy or confound the Churches.

I cannot imagine what you will reply to this? Unless you say that, [it is neither the Title, nor the Orthodoxness of Princes, which is necessary to make their Lawes the bond of Church unity: but it is the goodness of their Lawes: at least that they impose no sin upon us]. *Ans.* 1. Then if the Usurpers imposed no sin, they were Schismatics that obeyed them not. 2. Let that be the rule: who shall be judged whether it be sin or not? If I be a discernor for my self, I have told you how much and great sin I fear, till you are displeas'd with the intimation: And when you have proved all those particulars named, to be no sins, you have done more than yet is done: And if you think you can or do prove it, must none have Christian Communion who think your proof invalid, and that you do it worse than Bishop Taylor that maintained hurtless lying?

§. 56. But the other half of the definition of a separatistis [they administer Sacraments by other Rules and after a different manner than what the Church requireth.

*Ans.* 1. Why will you so reproach your Church? we do it by no other rule but the Scriptures and doth not the Church require that the Scripture be a Rule? You know Polydore Virgil and other Papists, ordinarily make the signal difference of Protestants and Papists, that the Protestants make the Scripture the only Rule of their Religion: On which supposition Francis Peron formed his act of disputing against them. And are not the Church of England Protestants? If you add another rule, it followeth not that we have another than you have, though you have another besides what we have.

2. You say [we deny the fact which is evident to all persons] and you speak of me: Is this true? What Sacraments do you mean? I never ordained any: I never confirmed any: I have married very few, if those be Sacraments: I have baptis'd no one these twenty years: I gave the Lords supper to none for about eighteen years. and rarely since as I told you. *But, others do?* *Ans.* And if they have no better reason to justify the forsaking of their Ministry than you give, well may they go on to do it.

3. Do you mean here by [Rulers] the same as before by [Laws]

or what mean you? I suppose it's the Canon and Liturgy that you mean. And if by the [*Church*] you mean any thing but the *King and Parliament* you are unintelligible: For the Church hath but two visible essential parts, the Regent and the *Subject* parts. And of the Regent only the supream is essential, the rest being also subjects, and but Integrals: And it is a [*Requiring*] Church which you mention. And so it seemeth that it is but a *lay Church*: And nothing but a *Christi-an Kingdom*.

4 I have told you that the *French and Dutch* Churches here administer the Sacraments by another rule than your Liturgy, and yet are no Schismaticks.

5. And your rule hath many parts: It requireth Preaching, praying, reading the Psalms and two Chapters, and delivering baptism and the Lords Supper in Christs words, and repeating the Creed, the Lords Prayer and the Decalogue. And all that I do when I officiate for any man (for I have no Church,) and others do it with whom I converse. But if it be omitting *any thing* else in your rule that maketh a separation, what is it? I oft hear Conformists omit divers prayers. I have seen Dr. *Horton* give the Lords Supper, I think, to the greater part that sate. I doubt most Parishes sepearte, if every omission make a separatist.

6. But thus far you satisfy me, that you judge all for separatists [that preach without all your Assent, consent, subscriptions, that the Covenant bindeth no man living, no not the Parliament men that took it, to endeavour any alteration of Church Government, that it is not lawful to resist any commissioned by the King, (without exception) and much more such: That all are separatists that administer not Sacraments according to your rule, which pronounceth baptized Infants saved so dying, without excepting *Atheists, Infidels*, or any, and this as undoubted and certain by Gods word; which requireth the Minister to refuse Baptism and Christendom, where the dedicating In age of the Cross is not submitted to, when the Parent or adult judge it an unlawful Sacrament: And where Baptism must be denied to all that will not make Godfathers and Godmothers the Sole Covenanting undertakers for their Children, without speaking a Covenanting word themselves: And when your rule requireth all Ministers to deny Sacramental Communion to all that scruple kneeling in the reception, and yet excommunicateth them and ruineth them for not Communicating when they are rejected: And also *ipso facto* Excommunicate: To omit much more such, this is your rule, which he that swerjeth from it, is a separatist.

7. But I had thought that we had not been like those late cavilling Papists that will not distinguish *fundamentals* from any little points, lest it lose them a paultry advantage of abusing men. Doth not every good Law and Rule distinguish between *Essentials*, *Integrals*, and *Accidents*, and make more Accidents than are *Integrals*, and *Integrals*, than are *Essentials*? And doth your rule do otherwise? If not, tell us what *parts* of your rule are necessary to one, and what to the other, or you say nothing to resolve the case. Is every line and Ceremony Essential to the Church, and to each member? If not, how cometh our omitting a form of Ceremony to cut us off as a separated Church any more than every breach of Law cuts off a man from the Commonwealth?

Yea, if your Church be but a *Christian Kingdome*, do not you cut off all from that Kingdom too, that refuse your Forms or Ceremonies or Subscriptions?

8. But Sir, to be short with you, *I will yet believe that Christ is the Institutor of the Church*; and that he hath himself made Laws which are sufficient to be at least the bond of their unity, yea for more than *Essentials*, even the *Integrals*, and many Accidents; and hath given Laws to regulate all mens Laws that determine of needful undetermined accidents: And that no man should be cut off from the Church or taken as separated that breaketh no Law of God, yea those that are necessary to Church unity and Communion: And that the grand Schismatics of the world, are the Engineers that fabricate needless, impossible dividing terms and conditions of unity and Communion.

§. 57. But you tell me that [*we do the same things in the same manner as the separatists*: Ergo we are disingenuous for denying your accusation.]

*Ans.* 1. Judge of the fact by what is said.

2. We do not say, 1. That you are no true Ministers or Churches. 2. Nor that it is unlawful to communicate with you: Ergo it is not true that we do the same things.

3. But it is the *External action* [*the whole same*] that maketh a separatist. A Parson in the Ale-house, lost his Common-Prayer book: When he came to Church, he told them his mishap, and only read what was in the Bible, *Query* whether his flock and he were separatists? An old Parson that I was bred under, could scarce see, but could say most of the Prayers without book: He said what he could remember, and got a day Labourer one year, and a Taylor another to read the Chapters: *Query*, Whether we were all separatists?



§ 58. But you undertake to tell the Reason why I am unwilling to confess a separation, because we have formerly severely condemned it in others, and yet do the same things for which we charged others as guilty of a sinful separation.

Ans<sup>w</sup>. If this be not true, it is not well; shew me where, and prove, when I ever condemned any for the same that I do, or else take more heed what you write hereafter.

§ 59. Serm. p. 33 [For the Assembly of Divines urged their dissenting Brethren to comply with the Rules of Government, and charged them with Schism, if they did not, &c.]

Ans<sup>w</sup>. 1. It's a foul mistake in matter of Fact, if you think that I was of that Assembly, or any one of them; or that what they did, I did: or those of my acquaintance did it. And it is not much better to pretend that I or they were in all things of their mind: doth the Assemblys judgement concern me any more than you? Did not you conform to them as much as I did?

2. Put what mean you to wrong your Hearers by such gross confusion, to joyn in your Application Dr. Owen and me, (and Mr. Corbet I think) with the Assembly, when it is publickly known that in those matters we were of three several opinions: (And who are they that differ not in as great matters?)

(1.) It's known that except seven or eight, the Assembly men were all Conformists when they came thither: And either they were suddenly changed, or not: if not, they were Conformists still, and then no wonder that they were of your mind.

And indeed, I know, that they were not all of one mind: Most of them were moderate Conformists that thought it lawful, but that were much better be without it, than make it a snare to silence Ministers, and divide the Church, and therefore were glad that it was laid by: Such were Mr. Vines, Mr. Burgess, and, I think, most. Some were for Dr. Stillingfleet's way, that no one form of Church Government was of Christs command, but all left to prudence as civil Government is: Such was Dr. Edward Reynolds and some others; some were for the sole Government of the Magistracy, called *Eraſtians*: Such was Mr. Thomas Coleman, and how many more I know not. Many of the Parliament liked these Men best: And these were also for an indifferency of the Clergy term: And when Mr. Coleman was chosen to give the Covenant to the house of Lords, they took it on his Exposition, that it meant not the Exclusion of the Primitive Episcopacy: some were more tenacious of the *Primitive Episcopacy*, and about to enter a protestation for it; but that it was declared that *only the English form as described in the Concatenation was excluded*: These were Dr. Cornel. Burges, the ex-

cellent *Thom. Gataker*, and many more; And some few were for the *Divine right of Presbytery* (and after more;) And the five dissenters and *Mr. Philips* were Independents. But take them as *Conformists*, as *Erastians*, and as Indifferent, and judge whether they were not more of your judgment, then of *Dr. Owen's* or *Mine*, and it's no dishonour to you: for I think I have not read of many Assemblies of worthier men since the *Apostles* days: But they were but men.

But if indeed they were all suddenly changed from Conformity to *Presbytery*, when they came to *Westminster*; what a dishonour is such mutability to *Conformists*? And how little hold is there of them; if so many of the best of them will so easily change with the times, What wonder if you shall do so?

2. And as for *Dr. Owen*, he was known to joyn with the Independents: And sure you will not interests him in the Assemblies Judgment.

3. And *Mr. Corbet* and I are of one mind; And I thought that the truth was divided between the three parties, and that all of them wanted necessary skill and diligence for the healing of those divisions and the concord of the faithful: And the event excused me in that censure. And now, is the *Synods* Judgment more ours or yours?

(2.) But either this *Synod* were in the right or not: If not, why then will you follow them, or plead their testimony; If yea, then they did well in being against the Liberty of the *Prelatists* also.

(3.) But is it possible that you can expect that men should believe, that *their Case* and *ours* are the same, or that either *All* must be tolerated or *none* that conform not; and that the bare talking for or against Toleration, without distinguishing the Tolerable from the Intolerable, doth tend to mens Edification? He that will tolerate all, is bad; and he that will tolerate none that differ, is mad. As it's an ill argument, *Vespe habent favos, & apes habent favos; Ergo vespe sunt apes*: So it is not a good one to say, *Wasps Nests should be destroyed; Ergo Bee-hives should be destroyed.*

§ 60. But wherein lay the different Cases?

*Ans.* In many things and great, however you untruly make them like.

First the Assembly never endeavoured to turn the Independents out of the Parish Churches, and benefices, nor to silence them, forbidding them publick preaching, as you do us; but only would hinder them from gathering Churches out of other mens Parishes.

2. The Assembly put on the Independants, no Oath, no Declaration, Profession, Subscription, or Covenant as necessary to their Ministry, which both sides confessed not to be lawful; and so would have

imposed no positive bond which they scrupled, but only the said Omission of their promiscuous unlimited Church-gathering.

3. They imposed no Liturgy, no one Ceremony, no practice on them, contrary to their Consciences.

4. They urged them to declare but what Limits they would allow to their Church-gathering Liberty; that it might not extend to Hereticks and the intolerable, and could not prevail; Judge now whether these Cases are of any kin? Save in the *genus* of not allowing unlimited Toleration, which we hold to as well as they. Grant us leave to Preach in the Publick Churches, and to be capable of guiding reformed Parish Churches, yea, or but to Preach or Officiate Publickly for nothing, though we live on Alms and beg our Bread, and we will thank you: Yea, though you hold us to all the termes and concessions in the Kings Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs: And is this like the Case of the Assembly, that never offered either to silence an Independent, or forbid him Parsonages, Lectures, Colledg preferments, or impose on him any one scrupled promise, profession or practice?

And yet I again say, both sides were faultily wanting in the knowledge and use of the terms of Peace.

§ 61. Serm. p. 35. [*So that whatever false colours and pretences some men make use of to justify their present practices, if the judgement of their own Brethren may be taken, 'tis no better than plain and down-right separation.*]

*Ans.* 1. Were they not as much your Brethren as mine, and nearer to your Judgment?

2. Let the Reader judge, whether it be half so great separation or distance, as the *Conformists* have among themselves, while one part say that their Church is but Lay in the Essential Head, and the other half say, *It is Clergy*, and so are really of two Churches: And when one party saith, if the King and the Bishops Command contrary Translations, Versions, Times, Places, Liturgies, and modes of worship, the Bishops are to be obeyed before the King, and the other saith the King is to be obeyed before the Bishops. To omit abundance of greater differences than some would persuade men is between us and them.

§ 62. Serm. [*And I must needs say, I never saw any Cause more weakly defended, no not that of Polygamy and Anabaptisme, than that of those who allow it to be Lawful to joyn in Communion with us, and yet go about to vindicate the separate Meetings among us from the guilt of a sinful Separation.*]

*Ans.* 1. I have long observed, when some men pass a sentence on others

others, and call them by reproachful names, it ordinarily more truly sheweth what the *speaker is*, than what the Person or Cause is that he speaks of: For it is so natural for the streams to be like the Spring, and the fruit like the Tree, and the mouth to speak from the abundance of the heart, that one may much conjecture what the *Speaker is* by his words: But what the Cause and Man is that he speaketh of, you can little know, while the speaker oft little knoweth it himself, or would not have another know it. Neither your confidence nor mine will determine a wise Reader.

§ 63. To pag. 36 I Answer, 1. Your Text is so clear and full a Confutation of your Sermon, that it's hard to know how a mind not strongly prejudiced could have preached such a Sermon, or pleaded for the silencing of so many such Ministers from such a text; Yea or can need any more to confute you than to read your Text: 1. It is supposed that it was All that had attained to the truth of Christianity that must walk by the same rule. 2. It was a Divine Rule then known. 3. They were to bear with each other in loving Communion while they grew up to more. If this condemn not *making and imposing* new humane unnecessary Rules, containing that which multitudes of impartial Conscionable men as wise as their Reproaches cannot excuse from such heynous sin, and silencing and excommunicating all that obey them not, and when they forbid them Communion, call them Separatists; I do despair of understanding sense.

And to pag. 37. We come as near you as we can in Conscience, and we know our own Consciences better than you do. But whether you condemn not your selves as Separatists in denying communion where we preach as if you only were the Church, and any that want but your Liturgy were none. Yea when we had the License of the King; unbiassed men will be able to discern.

§ 64. Sermon, pag. 37. [*But why then is this kept as such a mighty secret in the Breasts of their Teachers? Why do they not Preach it to them in their Congregations? Is it for fear they should have none left to Preach to? That is not to be imagined of Mortified and Conscientious men: Is it lest they should seem to condemn themselves while they Preach against Separation in a Separate Congregation? This, I confess, looks oddly; and the tenderness of a mans mind in such a Case, may out of meer shamefacedness keep him from declaring a truth which flies in his face while he speaks it.*]

Ans. 1. Alas, you shew us; that some men perceive not when it flyeth in their faces. [Reader, hence take heed of Believing words of Reproach against Adversaries, when Interit and Siding hath made men partial. Would you think that all this *intimated* silence were

were an untruth against *publick Testimony.*

1. I have many and many times declared in print what he intimateth that we dare not Preach. And is not *Printing* a far more Publick declaration, than speaking it in one Room?

2. When I began to Preach at St. James's, I read a Profession to the Congregation openly, that I preacht not there as to a separate Church, but as in concord with all Christs Church on Earth, for the necessity of the People that had not many of th in heard a Sermon many a year, the Parish having 40000 if not 60000 Souls more than could hear in the Parish Church.

3. I built a Chappel by money partly begg'd, and partly to my greater los than I will mention, that I might but have helpt those needy Souls for nothing: For the second Sermon, one that Preacht for me (that had suffered imprisonment for the Kings Cause) was sent to Gaol, to my great Trouble and Charge. And when I might not use it (said One in Power *Though you would use the Common Prayer there*) I gave up to the use of the Parish, and take it thankfully of Dr. Loyd that he will there teach his People.

4. I have many and many a time in the Pulpit openly Preacht against Separation, even what he now desireth.

5. Not past a Fortnight before his Sermon, I Preacht near him (at the Verge of his Parish in my Lecture) two whole Sermons of it, on Luk. 15. the Case of the two Sons; shewing that there are three notable sorts of Separation. 1. The *Persecutors* that forcibly scatter the Flock, as the Papiests by dividing, sinful impositions. 2. The *Profane Separatist* like the Prodigal, who had rather be at the Tavern, the Play-houte, the Whore-house, &c. than at Church. 3. The *passionate peevish honest Christian*, as in the Text, [*He was hungry and would not come in.*] Here I shewed by many reasons, how faulty and hurtful this mistaking passionate Separation is: And I took that occasion to give them many *Reasons why I communicate with the Parish Church my self, and Separate not from them*; and I told them my judgment, that they that *suffer meerly for not-hearing, or not-communicating thrice a year* as the Law requireth, cannot justifie their Cause without some extraordinary reason, if they live in a Parish that hath a Minister capable of that Office. But I did not malignantly equal the Son that had long *served his Father, and not transgressed his Commandment, with his Brother* in his Prodigal desertion of his Father: But on the next words [*His Father went out to him and intreated him to come in*;] I shewed that Gods Condescension, and Method in satysfying his mistaken passionate Children, should direct Ministers and others how they also should deal with such. And that violence instead of loving Con-

descension.

descension, reasoning and necessary forbearance of such infirmities, sheweth, 1. That such consider not the corruption of Humane Nature, and how bad all men are. 2. They know not what need of Forbearance they have themselves; nor how liable they are to Error and to Sin. 3. They imitate not God our Father and Saviour, and know not what manner of Spirit they are of. 4. They have not due acquaintance with the preciousness of Gods Grace and Image, that cannot perceive it, if there be but such an Error or Passion to obscure it. 5. They consider not that they also may be Tempted, and what Temptation may do even with upright Souls. 6. They are strangers to the Pastoral office; They should excel in Love and Tenderness as much as in Knowledge, and as mothers quiet crying Children, and not therefore cast them out of doors. 7. They Cross the ends of the Ministry, if they take the Converting of Souls to be any of its end: For as Generation so Regeneration maketh *Infants and Children* before they are grown Men; and Children will be weak and troublesome: And he that would have no such Children, must not endeavour mens Conversion. 8. Yea, they greatly increase the Disease which they would cure: Men will not love those that hurt them so easily as others: And when they are displeas'd with you, they are the hardlier pleas'd with your Doctrine. 9. Driving men into the Church, maketh it like a Prison and corrupteth it as composed of involuntary Members. 10. Yea, they must destroy the Church, if they will suffer none in it that have as great weakneses as these. Thus I declared both the evil of passionate Separation, and of mistaking the way of Cure. I would repeat the Sermons, were it not for fear of being tedious.

6. I have Printed in my second *Plea for Peace*, what our *Non-conformity is not*, containing as much in this point as he can reasonably desire, as it was approved by many others, (named in our Judgment about the Interest of Reason in Religion) so that he cannot say that I speak but of my self.

7. I suppose he believeth that I am acquainted with more Non-conformable Ministers than he is (or else he will not think that I am any such *Antesignanus* as Bishop Morley calleth me:) And I meet with few or none that contradict what in this case of Separation I have Published; They are commonly for Reformed Parish Churches (not taking all in the Parish for the Church, but bounding Churches in Parishes for Orders) and Preach elsewhere but on necessity and as Assistants and not as Adversaries.

8. Doth not our Practice (who go to the Parish Churches) shew our Judgments to the People if we said nothing?

9. I could not have drawn the People so much from too great distance if I had not preached to them. At *Acton* I constantly heard Dr. *Rieves*, and his Curate, and I preached only in my house between his Sermons, and then led the People to the Church, which Judge *Hales* my neighbour thought was good service to the Church. And the very Sermon that I was sent to the Common Gaol for, was on *Matth. 5. Blessed are the meek*, perswading to submissive peace and patience.

10. When Bishop *Morley* forbid me to preach in his Diocess, and I could not get leave at my departure to Preach to my hearers one farewell Sermon in publick; I Preacht in a private House to them on *David's* words [*Bring back the Ark of God into the City, if I have found favour, &c.*] purposely to perswade them as my last advice, not to depart from the publick Parish Assembly, though the Liturgy be there the publick worship. But if the Minister that is there should be intolerable. 1. As utterly unable. 2. Or a Heretick. 3. Or so malicious an Enemy of Godliness as to do more hurt than good; I advised them not to own any such Minister, nor encourage him in his Usurpation. And it was on that account that they long forbore, till the *Vicar* was dead and a better succeeded him.

11. Since then I have written to my old Flock, to perswade them to joyn in the Parish Assembly, and I hear not of three that do refuse it And all this I have said as to that matter of fact, to shew you how farr to believe this Reverend Doctor's intimated ironical accusation.

If he say, that *Other Preachers do not so.*

I Answer First, How knoweth he the Negative that never heareth them, but like a separatist avoideth it as unlawful?

2. Is it not likely that in season they preach *their judgment*?

3. But I confess they may find more profitable work than to preach over all the suspected passages in the *Liturgy*, and other parts of Conformity, and answer all the Peoples objections against them. The Builders and Owners of the houses are the fittest to do such offices to maintain it.

§. 65. *Is it that they fear the Reproaches of the People; which some few of the most eminent Persons among them, have found they must undergo if they touch upon this subject?*

*Ans.* 1. So farr as your accusation is untrue as to the fact, it's but a further ill intimation to ask, why they *do not* that which they *do*?

2. If they that should better know what their auditors most need, must preach what you appoint that know them less, you may make their Sermons for them as well as their prayers.

3. Those few Persons it seems at least *toucht* on what you say they preach not: And for my part, whom I know you mean for one, I never

felt my self much tempted to grudge at the Dissenters that therefore will not hear me: If they hear others more suitable to them by whom they can more profit, as more esteeming them, what hurt is that to me? Would I have none taught the knowledge of Christ, but by my self? While we have all one Faith, it's some convenience for men to assemble and hear, where they do it with unprejudiced, undisturbed minds.

4. If those persons you mention have before and since such censures as you intimate, done what you would persuade men that they do not, your self-contradiction is most palpable.

§. 66. *Serm.* [*For I know not how it cometh to pass that the most Godly people among them, can least endure to be told of their faults.*]

*Ans.* 1. Did you not intend [*the Most Godly*] for a scorn, you would confess it false.

2. If you mean those that we esteem most Godly, it is not true neither.

3. If you mean those that think themselves so, it's no wonder if they mistake; if not, it's not true.

2. I pray you take warning by them, or by your own reproof, and do not now shew that you are one of the most Godly by less enduring to be told of your faults. If otherwise, you have fore-condemned your own impatience.

3. Verily they have dealt much more patiently with me than the Bishops and Canoneers have done: Though some have spoken their dislike of me, none of them (even when they were in power) did ever silence or imprison me, nor ever forbid me to Preach (save once at an Assizes.) How can you think that we can feel their censures, when we have so much worse to feel from the Canoneers? And when you ask, [*Is it for fear they should have none left to preach to?*] If you separated not from us, you would see that such have some left still.

§. 67. *Serm.* p. 42. [*Whence we see the Church of Englands endeavour after Uniformity, is acquitted from Tyranny over the Consciences of men, by the Judgment of the most Learned of the Assembly, &c.*]

*Ans.* 1. Of the Assembly I have said enough.

2. If you think the Assemblies Uniformity, or their endeavours for it, were the same with the Church of Englands, none that know the case will be of your mind.

3. If you are intelligible we must suppose that you cite them to defend this as the conclusion which you own. The word [*Tyranny*] is too harsh to be used without need: But I suppose you include that the said Endeavours for Uniformity have no culpable severity in them.

That is, that the Acts for Uniformity, the Canons, the executing of



of them in Declarations, Subscriptions, Oaths, Practices, Punishments Corporal and Spiritual; are no Sin, but Lawful. In your Epistle you say *They* are ill men that say This is *stirring* up to persecution: All that *I* will say is, that if you own these *Endeavours* for *Uniformity*, *I* do not: and the judge is at the door.

§. 68. Serm. p. 44. [*If they form their judgments rather by prejudice and passion and interest, than from the Laws of God, or just Rules of Conscience, &c.*]

*Ans.* 1. This is true and good: If we make not Gods Laws the Rule of Conscience, no wonder if we err: God preserve us from all corrupting prejudice, passion, interest and Canons.

2. But when you compare our temptation from *interest* with yours, *I* hope you will not say as Dr. *Asheton*, that *as going to the Bar of God he undertakes to make good, that it's through Pride and Covetousness that we conform not*; that is, that we choose the contempt of high and low, and to live on Alms, and multitudes in pinching poverty.

§. 69. Serm. p. 46. [*We find Uniformity and Order condemned as Tyrannical, till men come into power themselves; and then the very same things and arguments are used and thought very good and substantial, which before were weak and sophistical.*]

*Ans.* A true and sad confession; when *I* read your *Irenicon* and this Sermon, *I* the more believe you: Therefore it hath been my happiness that *I* was never in Power, no nor ever on the uppermost side unless as *I* am for the King. *I* remember Dr. *Rieves* told us in the Pulpit that the reason why we were against Diocesan Bishops, was because we could not be Bishops our selves: And many others have said the like.

§. 70. Serm. [*Those that now plead for Toleration, did once think it the Mother of Confusion, the nurse of Atheism, &c.*]

*Ans.* 1. Sure though you often cite Dr. *Owen*, you mean not the Independents.

2. If they spake either for or against Toleration as you do without distinction, and were for all or against all, and distinguished not the tolerable from the intolerable, it's no great heed to be taken what they say. If there were but one false word imposed on you, which you could not assent to, and on 2000 such as you, should you be no more tolerated than a *Mahometan*?

§. 71. As to your advice to us p. 47. 48. 1. Did you think that because we must bear with much that is amiss in the Church, that therefore we must either consent to it, or praise it, and Covenant against all endeavours of amending it, or prefer it before better.

The man you talk of out of Mr. *Ball*, was near *Bremicham*, and was Melancholy to a kind of madness.

To your second I answer, It followeth not, that because we must not judge too hardly of Impositions, therefore we must *say, swear and do* all that is now imposed on us. Or that he that dares not do it, is unpeaceable. *I* would we knew in what cases only you would deny Obedience and Conformity your self. Doubtful passages and undoubted evils somewhat differ. A *fault-finding disposition*, and the *Roman* art that *Boccaline* mentions, to swallow a Pumpion, have a mean between them. *Papists, Socinians* or any that are uppermost, may call for Conformity under the names of Unity and Peace.

To the Third, *separation* was not the same thing in the mouth of the old *Non-conformists* as in your: They took it first for unchurching the Parish Churches. 2. Or holding it a sin to communicate with them, if they might be excused as to Kuceling, Crossing, &c. You take it for [*preaching when forbidden.*] *I* have named to you the old *Non-Conformists* that preached when they could. And half of them *I* think got into small privileged places, exempt from the Bishops power, and there preached most of them without the Liturgy, and all without the Ceremonies: And was not this against Law? Sure Bishop *Bancroft* that describeth their attempts to set up new Churches and Discipline was not of your mind concerning the *Non-Conformists* judgment. We had but two in all *Shropshire*, and Dr. *Allestree* when a boy, was the Catechiz'd Auditor of one of them, being his next Neighbour (in a peculiar Chapel, without the Liturgy, &c.) And yet *I* think not that his Father and all that Assembly were separatists for hearing him. *Badshaw* thought we should submit to a silencing Law, where our Ministry was unnecessary, and so do I. Dr. *Gouge* was a *Conformist* when he wrote the Book which you cite.

To your Fourth; Wo to them that believe our divisions indanger the Land and let in Popery, and yet will cause them, and no intreaty can procure them to forbear dividing us, when they may; and then revile them that have no way to remedy it, unless wilful heinous sinning be the way.

§. 72 That it is diseases (that love not their own names) in mens hearts, that make the trouble more than our different judgments and Assemblings, experience telleth us: *I* was never a settled Teacher, but in two places (saving a Lecture at *Coventry* in the War,) viz. An Assistant at *Budgnorth*, and a Pastor at *Kidderminster*: And in both places there is an honest Conformable and a Non-Conformable Minister: And the People go to the publick Assembly, and many hear the Non-conformist privately between the publick Meetings: And both parties

parties (as *I* hear) live in very much love and peace, and why might it not be so in other places, if there were the like Ministers and People, without all this envious clamour and bugbear words of (*Antichristian*) on one side, or (*Separatists and Scismaticks* on the other.

§ 73. As to your next advices p. 53, 54. First *Qui monet ut facias, &c.* We speak so much against rash ignorant Zeal, that you commend us against your purpose.

2. We thank you for the admonition [*not to be always complaining of hardships and persecutions.*] Doubtless our mercies are so great as forbid us to be over querulous; nay leave us unexcusable, if we are not very thankful. For my own part my sufferings have been very small from man, in comparison of what *I* endure in Soul and Body from my self. They are few days in which *I* am not a heavier burden to my self, than all my Enemies are. But First, *I* may not be senceless of the case of many better men, who have great families and no bread but what they have by Alms in poor Countreys where the people are fitter to receive than to give. And if they remove to bigger Towns the Clergy tell them it is for gain, and they that have one, two, three or more preferments, reproach them as covetous that will rather beg than sin or famish, yet your Mr. *Hickeringil* on the contrary proclaimeth *how little they get*: Were it my case as it is very many *Non-Conformists*, to be in other mens debts, and have nothing to pay house rent, for cloaths, for bread, &c. and to have a Wife and many Children to pacifie, and to live on bread and water, or little more, and be offered plenty if *I* would but do that which *I* take to be the hazard of my Soul, *I* should be sensible of the Temptation

2. And alas all this is nothing to the suffering of thousands of Souls to perish for lack of knowledge, whose case it is lawful to compassionate and lament.

3. And nature maketh it lawful to feel when one is hurt, and to confess that feeling.

4. And methinks if *Julian* that abuseth the Christians should say, your *Master* bid you turn the other Cheek, his scorn would but aggravate his Sin: Patience is our duty; But if they call us to it who Preach and Print, and call out for the Execution of the Laws against us (as many of the most eminent of the Clergy have long done) as you said in another case, *It will look but odly*: To preach to the Parliament, to put Fire to the Faggot, to accuse the King for his Licences and Clemency, to tell the Magistrates and the World, that our Schisms are because they execute not the Laws, even the Laws that fine us forty pound a Sermon, and lay us in the Common Gaol with Malefactors,

and banish us from Cities and Corporations, *I* say for these men to say [*complain not,*] is a smart accusation of themselves. For from good men good is to be expected; but if *I* meet with Gentlemen on the Road that take away my Money, clothes and horse, and wound me, and tell me how much *I* am beholden to them, because they did not cut my throat, it's lawful to know what they are, though *I* must be patient. And *I* told you before, when you talk of *being made a Sacrifice*, if a few despised men censure you, while you have all your Honour, Reputation, Riches and many preferments to arm you against their thoughts and breath, methinks sheweth that this Counsel is as seasonable to your self as to the suffering *Non-conformists*.

§. 74. Serm. 54. [*Where are the Priscillians that have been put to death by their instigation? What do such insinuations mean, but that our Bishops are the followers of Ithacius and Idacius in their cruelty; and they of the good and meek Bishop St. Martin, who refused communion with them on that account? If men entertain such kind thoughts of themselves, and such hard thoughts of their Superiours, whatever they plead for, they have no inclination to Peace.*]

*Answer* 1. That is, to your Terms of Peace, and you being Judge.  
 2. Knowledg is oft constrained: It is no sin to know History, much less Publick matter of present fact, and least of all, that which we see and feel. Is it a sin to know when a man is in prison, or when his goods or books are distrained, &c? *I* the rather speak to this, because a Reverend Bishop tells me also of this wrong, as if those Bishops case were unlike to his; and citeth the words of the Historian that mentioneth the suffering of the Churches in *Spain* on that account, as if *Maximus* had but taken advantage of the Bishops spleen to Tyrannize, and prey upon the Churches. *I* desire not to make any men seem worse then they are, nor causelessly to open the faults of any. *I* profess to the world that it is not in an impatient aggravating of any sufferings of my own (which are small,) that *I* write this, but as the true stating of the case between us. If the matter of fact be not truly stated, the matter of *right* cannot be well determined. *I* hate false History.

1. It is agreed on by many of the best Historians of that Age, beside *Beda*, that *Maximus* wanted nothing but a good Title to make him one of the best of *Emperours*: That he was said to be made *Emperour* by the *British* Souldiers, against his will, and being once in, could not go back. His usurpation was wicked, but a way too common in the Empire. He was of a pious life, and great zeal for the Bishops and the Orthodox Religion; what he did was to please the Bishops and to suppress Heresie and Schisme: And it's like enough he thought by their friendship to strengthen himself. He rescued *Ambrose*.

*brose* at *Milan* from the *Arrians*, and by his threats deterred *Valentinian* (provoked by his Wife) from persecuting him, and so preserved the Church of *Milan* and many others.

2. I read not of any of the Bishops in all his Countreys that complied not with this Usurper, save *Martin*, *Theognestus*, and *Ambrose*, (that was preserved by him.)

3. It was not *Ibaicus* and *Idacius* only, but all the Synod of the Bishops, that were guilty, and that *Martin* separated from.

4. The *Priscillians* were down-right *Gnosticks*, and so are not the Nonconformists, who you say agree with you in Doctrine, &c.

5. It is but the death of *Priscillian* and a very few more that the Bishops were said to have procured; and they were ashamed of it when they had done, and denied that it was their doing. You force me for Historical Verity to tell you, that they did not silence about 2000 Ministers, which is worse than many bodily afflictions; nor did they desire *Maximus* to make a Law that all that did not such things as ours, should be ruined by Fines, Imprisoned, &c. Make them not worse than they were. Our Quakers are much like the *Priscillianists*. Had it been but twice as many of them that had dyed in prison, as were put to death of the *Priscillianists*, the cases had not been much unlike. But Mr. *Thomson* that dyed in Prison at *Bristol*, Mr. *Field* that dyed in Prison here; Mr. *Hughes* that in Prison catcht his mortal sickness; Mr. *Joseph Allen* that had the same Lot, and many more such, were none of them like the *Priscillianists*; but men of whom I and such as I come far short.

6. The great mischief that those Bishops did was by suspecting men that Fasted and Prayed much, to be *Priscillians*; they brought reproach by unjust suspicions in all Countreys on the most strict Religious men; and *Martin* was called by them a *Priscillianist* for being against the Bishops Persecution of them. Let not me, but publick knowledge here make the comparison: How small was this reproach, for extent and continuance, in comparison of that which by occasion of Non-conformity hath been cast on men in *England*? My memory serveth me from 1623 or 24; Commonly in the Countreys, if a man did but pray in his family, and spend the Lords day in Religious Exercises, reading the Scripture, or repeating a Sermon, or reading a good book, or singing a Psalm, and was against swearing and drunkenness, he was made the common scorn, as a *Puritan*; and the Bishops Articles, and their reproach of Non-conformists, occasioned all this in the Rabble against those that were no Non-conformists. If you believe not me, believe a Conformist *Robert Bolton*, that saith more of the horrid abuse of Piety by the name of *Puritan*. And since then the same spirit hath used the Name of *Presbyterian*,

*byterian, Schismatick, Separatist, Fanatick,* to the like reproach of seriousness and diligence in Religion, though not so universally as the name *Puritan* was; Yea if a man had but been for Lectures, and such like helps as Arch-Bishop *Grindall* was for (to his cost) or for afternoon Sermons, or would not read the book for Sunday dancing, &c. he was worse than suspected and reproached. My neighbours that I once was a Teacher to, did never presume to preach nor invade the ministerial Office, nor do any thing but the work of private Christians, that is to pray, and to repeat the Sermon, and sing a Psalm, but because many ignorant Families that could not read, could not do any of this in their houses, they joyned with the Neighbours that performed it, and this not at time of Publick worship: yet because that more than four such met, they were restrained on and laid in Gaols. Compare all this (and the removal of many hundred families out of the Land heretofore) with the consequents of the Bishops zeal against the *Priscillians*.

But remember that it is not in my thoughts to lay any of this upon the Bishops that came in since the Impositions and actions aforesaid; and had no hand in them, and cry not to Magistrates to execute the Laws, much less on men of such known moderation as divers of them are, nor on the Peaceable Conformists that own none of this.

7. And it must be remembred that *Martin* was but an odd man, and seemed singular against the Synods of all the Bishops, and a man of little Learning, like one of our Trades-men that is Religious. And therefore I have wondred that *Baronius* and *Binnius*, and our *Rich. Hooker*, did so openly decry the faults of the Bishops here, and take part with *Martin*, and not rather turn the reproach on him, as an unlearned Separatist, and Fanatick: But his Miracles silenced all reproaches; with the rooted esteem which serious Christians will still have for serious Piety, when the Reproachers have said and done their worst; Else one unlearned *Man* that went in sordid attire, and lived in a small thatcht Cottage, and lay on the Ground, and eat worse than our beggars do, and pleaded for the *Gnosticks* persons, was liker to have been born down as a mad Fanatick, than such men as *Dr. Twisse, Thomas Gataker, Richard Vines, Anthony Burges, Mr. Hughes, Joseph Allen*, and about 2000 more.

8. Lastly, Let it be noted that the Cause of *St. Martin* was his judgement that *Heresie and Schism*, even as bad as the *Gnosticks* was not to be punished by the sword, but only by Church censures; and therefore that the Bishops did wickedly, in calling for the Magistrates sword against them for t<sup>e</sup>n if the Herctick can get the Magistrate to be for him, the same sword may be drawn against the Orthodox: And so the *Priscillianists* once

once got a great Courtier to be for them, and a while turned the sword against their adversaries, which occasioned sufferings in *Spain* and other parts. And I wonder how *Baronius*, *Binnius*, or you that plead for the silencing and other afflicting of Non-conformists, under the name of [*Non-toleration*] and the *Churches endeavours* for *Uniformity* can possibly keep out the light which would tell you that we may give you twenty to one in weighing your case and ours with *Ithacius* and *Martins*, if any impartial hand do hold the ballance. Is not your whole cause, who cry out for the execution of the Laws, and against our Toleration, (that is, that we are not to be endured) clean contrary to *Martins* cause?

§. 75. As to your 3d. Advice, pag. 55. [*Not to condemn others for that which themselves have practised*]

*I Answer*, 1. Prove that I or any of my Acquaintance ever practised Ejecting, Silencing, Ruining men for things unnecessary, yea, or for greater things. Whom did we ever forbid to Preach the truth? Whom did we cast out of all Church maintenance? Whom did we imprison?

2. If any in *New-England* had done it, is that our doing? They that are against Christs Righteousness imputed, I hope will not joyn with you in imputing to us the sins of those that were no Kin to us, and we never saw.

3. What a pitiful Case is Mankind in, if such an Harangue of confounding words can make them believe, that Tolrating or not-Tolrating in causes vastly different, are the same? Is it all one to deny men Liberty to seduce men from the Essentials of the Faith, and to forbid many hundreds to preach Christs Gospel, unless they will openly profess that they Assent and Consent to three Books, and Covenant never to endeavour the Reforming of the Government of the Church, &c? Might not the Papists have said to us just as you do [*it is the same thing* for us to burn Protestants as Hereticks, as for you to expel the Subverters of the Faith.] But you that are for silencing us all, for not consenting to, *You know what*, have less excuse for calling it [*the same thing*] unless you think *Christ and a Liturgy* to be same.

It is therefore sitter to be answered with Compassionate Tears than Words, when you say pag. 56. that [*every one of them would practise the same where it is in their Power, and think it very justifiable so to do*] *Ans.* O whether may he rowl that is tumbling down the Hill! I was never in Power: The *Independents* once were: They used it not as I would have had them: But did they or the *Presbyterians* Eject or Silence one another? Is it a good consequence [you would silence a *Quaker* that denieth the Essentials of Christianity: Ergo, every one of you, were it in

*Your power, would Silence, Imprison, and Ruine them, that differ from you in Ceremony, Form, or Subscription like ours?]* O how incredible are the words of some applauded men!

I remember that at the *Savoy* when it was said how some had used the Episcopal, Bishop *Walton* excused and reprov'd me, and said, that [*indeed I had then written against Ejecting or Troubling any honest worthy man for being Episcopal or against the Parliament, but that the incompetent and vicious of all sorts equally should be Ejected But* (saith he) *did not you write that if the Sword interposed not, but meer liberty to Volunteers were granted to all parties, the Prelatical Liturgick Church would be like a Tavern or Inne where many sober Persons come, but so many others also, as would make it a place of no very great inviting Fame?*] I confess'd the truth, and still confess it.

§. 76. To your 4th. Advice, [*not to make our differences seem greater than they are.*]

I do consent. But 1. Did our 18 or 19 years Silencing them, do that? 2. Do not you do it, that make men believe that we are *Intolerable* and to be Silenced, and that Separate from our Congregations as if it were a sin to join with us? 3. We desire only a true stating of the Case.

The *honest dealing* which you demand, I and many others constantly perform; and it's ill to intimate that we do not. But you add,

§. 77. [*It's hard to understand if occasional Communion be lawful, that constant Communion should not be a Duty.*]

*Ans.* Some Truths are hard to men of great Wit. It's lawful to have communion in our Assemblies (as I am ready to prove) and yet you think not *any*, much less *constant*, Communion to be a Duty. It's lawful to have Communion with the *French, Dutch, or Greek Church*; must constant Communion be therefore a Duty? It's lawful to have Communion with an ignorant Reader, or a drunken Priest (at least in your Judgment;) Is it therefore a duty to seek no better?

§. 78. Serm. [*All understanding men will conclude that they prefer some little interests of their own, before the Honour of Christ and the Peace of the Church.*]

*Ans.* 1. The word [*Little*] came well in as to your sense: Truly *Poverty and Ruin* are little interests: I cannot imagine what you mean, unless it be *Reputation*. But is not your Reputation with the *Highest Persons*, and the multitude, a more tempting Interest than our Reputation with such as you much Contemn. 2. But do you understanding men know our hearts better than we? And are you sure that none are *understanding* that be not as partially Censorious as you? If we prefer our Little interest, why do we not Conform? If you take us all for Mad men, dispute not with us: if not, can we be ignorant that



*Carnal Interest* is on your side, and are none of us Capable of it? 3. I should have taken it as too sharp an intimation to say that *Your Greater Interest swayeth you*: No man that is a Christian taketh these vain vexatious World for his great Interest. And to make the *Little Interest* of Prosecuted, Beggared, Ruined Non-conformists to be that which beareth down, both all the Interest of Wealth, Ease and Worldly honours and the interest of the Churches Peace and the interest of their own Salvation, and all this by no other proof than a Supposition that your sagacity knoweth their hearts, and that all understanding men are of your mind] the naughtiness of this is so great that it will not suffer you to see it. Sir, as wise as you are, I know my own heart better than you do (and so do my Brethren know theirs.) If you would swear the contrary, I will not believe you. And I tell you, it is *no Little Interest* that moveth me; it is greater than a Deanery or a Bishoprick. I were worse than mad, if I consumed my small estate. 2. And my Health. 3. And denied my Ease. 4. And all wordly Wealth and Pleasure. 5. And exposed my self to be called a Schismatick and a Rogue, by the Conformists. 6. And lay my self under the ruining dangers of the Law. And 7. to be written against as doing all this by sin. 8. And all this under the languishings and pains of sickness, expecting when I am called to my account; I say I were worse than mad, if I chose all this for that which you call [*Little Interest*]. 9. And if *Reputation* with my poor despised party be that *Little interest*, you confute your self before, where you say how much I have undergone of their impatient Censures. Have I flattered them? Have I not said more against their faults than you have done, though not against their Duty? 10. Some of my heart-judges say, it is a *semel dixisse*, to avoid the imputation of mutability. But their Companions confute them who charge me with my retractions; who see by my writings that I left room for second thoughts, and have not silenced them to escape the Censure of any whomsoever. I have left my Reputation to God, and never was so thin Skin'd as to be unable to bear a Cholerick breath: I live not upon Air, or the thoughts of men, who will shortly with me be silent in the dust. They that know how many Books, perhaps scores, have been written against me, by Sectaries of many forts, and some by good and sober men, Presbyterians, Independants and Prelatical, and how little they have broke my peace, will not think *applause* is my *Little Interest*. Had I been as you, I would have left out this Charge of *Little Interest*, lest it should tempt men to compare your Case and ours.

§. 79. Your 5th. Advice is just: I hate Charging you or any with unjust suspicious of inclinations to Popery. I know some few men whom

whom I have reason to say, Defend *Grotius* as one of their Religion; who thought that the Protestants can never unite among themselves till they unite with *Rome* as the Mistress Church; and that the Councils even that of *Trent* are sound in the Faith, and that securing the rights of Kings and Bishops, and disowning the Schoolmens abuses and the Clergies evil lives, and reducing the Pope to rule us, not Arbitrarily but by the Canons, are enough to satisfie and reconcile us. But to charge this on all, or most, is unjust: We know what Bishop *Barlow*, Bishop *Crofts* and divers others have done to signifie their Faithfulness to the Protestant Cause. And if *Conzen's* way prevail not, to drill men they know not whither by degrees, I hope of the 9000 or 10000 Clergie men in *England*, one thousand will not turn to Popery. But I must say, that when some Prelates made it their great business to Silence, Shame and Ruin us, and drive us far enough from Persons of Power, undertaking to preserve the Protestant Religion better without us than with us, and after all, cry out themselves that we are in danger of Popery by their own Pupils and Disciples, whose instruction they undertook; men will have leave to think of this awake, and to judge of Causes by Effects.

§. 80. Your Counsel is good, [*Not to run the hazard of all for a show of greater Liberty to our selves.*] Should I tell you three stories of our hazarding our own Liberties because we would not do what you dissuade us from, one in 1660, and another 1662, and another about 1667, it would be a pair of Spectacles to some. 2. But will not all that have eyes see, who doth more for Toleration of Popery, they that say [*Popery and you shall stand and fall together, except you will say, subscribe and do all that is prescribed you;*] or they that say [*We cannot do that which we take to be hainous sin?*] Do you think the Papists had not rather (with you) that you were silenced, than that we Preach, who have been their greatest Adversaries? If you will rather let in Toleration of Popery, than you will Tolerate Protestants that fear the guilt of Lying, Perjury, and many other Evils, should they do that which you Confess *indifferent*; let God be judge between you and us.

of Sanguin & Japan by Edward  
all of Sanguin.

the Lingua is the Lingua in the  
of the learned, of Latin among us,  
with us, or are the same in Sanguin  
then in the adjacent country, & the people  
are more honest.

Sanguin presented to the emperor a jewel  
look a pair of small pistols, & two pictures  
of Europeans, with obliged the emperor, &  
& presented the King with a noble sword, the  
hilt & hilt on the end with Rubies & Emeralds,  
& pistols inside with silver a perfect  
sable & white embroidered with gold & silver  
pictures of Europeans. 3.

Sanguin was a part of China, & surrounded  
all other people by Barbarians. but now the  
and other people therefore Japan is now  
it had very kind & kind in Japan  
was it very kind & kind & fruitful  
on the sea at border upon China, on  
the south on Cochinchina.

they never have frost nor snow. 5.  
with great stones, or are not known their  
the wind blows from the north in the  
Feb: octob, novemb, Decemb, & from the  
south in Jan: Feb: March, April, May  
June & July. & in the first two last months  
it rains, & get over a fowling ground,  
they have (as in the west of the Indies)  
the wind blows from the north, yet  
winds from the south, by the rocks, yet  
they have a high tide about 24 hours, 6.  
if it rains 24 hours at sea, they sail  
down all their length. 6.

Tunguin is almost as big as France & hath  
above 20000 villes & townes, & besides  
the greatest pt of their Rivers are  
filled wth boats, wch serve them instead  
of houses, & are very neat, tho they keep  
their sold in the water. 6  
they have neither Corn nor wine, but a  
limited quantity of rice. 7  
they use Sunka of Rice, & have good  
age like our strong walley. 7

The Palm tree grows there in abundance &  
hath a nut as big, & the kernel is within it  
as good as Coco nut, tasting like almonds. 7  
many other pleasaunt fruits, not in Europe. 8  
there are trees like pines, whose leaves  
rot in the ground & breeded for, 300 years. 8  
it breed like a swallow builds a nest, wch is  
in warm water is found for all insects, holding  
the rest of all Indian goods together. 8  
there are many tortises, & wch sell shells. 9

they pick up great quantities of tortises. 10  
they have abundance of oranges, oranges, & citrons  
the flavor of their citrons is so sharp, it cannot  
be eat. but they whiten wch wth it, & found  
stones wth wch. & change rapparin & iron  
wch as we do wth asphaltis below wch gold. 10

Dutch carry much silk from here to Japon  
both with & wch in Tunguin wch are silk garments,  
they eat much sugar but cannot refine it. 10  
they have no Lions, chfres nor flees. but many  
kinds of Beasts, horses, hogs, hares, ducks,  
turtles, Tigers, harts & deers, & they have  
because they are troubled wth Rats & mice  
have no rats, they train up dogs wch wch  
& kill them. but gnats & white insects are  
very troublesome & numerous. Europeans  
will eat thro a bath of silk in a night. 11.

The Goats will raise children in people's houses, & it soon falls in weight in cold water. Their grows lighter also, some worth 1000 now & others three covens ago. 13. They have no coin (except Spanish Reals) but pay in species of gold or silver by weight. 14. For in Spanish Reals their gold & silver is brought from China & they have vast quantities of silk with other goods out of Tangain. We all might & lignum also are the chief riches of the Kingdom. 14.

When the King goes out of his palace he is conveyed by short officers of his household in his Palangum or other & musicians & trumpets follow his chair: after this an officer carries a basin full of water, or golden water & on it floats a brass bowl with a hole in the bottom, & shortly in an hour fills with water, & then sinks to the bottom two other officers strike the hour upon two golden brass platters, like our burning glass, a good diamond is set in a small & gives a great sound: when he hits the rap to float again. & if it strikes upon the hours, all the judges stand for clock and work in the rainy season, the year being so damp that it all from a short rain, without any possibility to get them without lying in mud. The further eastward to Calan the more rains begin. All sorts of quality see officers to attend this engine at their palaces, where it is ordinarily kept, & they right also keep the palace gate.

When the Javan goes aboard, six elephants know her & soon will take great like in windows, & six gentlemen on raven parapets to bear off the front rank for 15 officers walk next armed with firelocks. Six ladies of honor follow them, who hold her in Court of the Javan & another rank carries perfume & scents, another goes only the Javan will be served most every time that is about to drink for they all do as if to eat before it drink presents the roll of work they are very full of it when the Javan gets out of the Javan, eight men of quality drive her to any place where she has a mind to go. But before she appears they all who raise for it a crime to look upon her.

Jan. 1649. The King of Tunguin had an army of 8000 horse & 4000 foot & 22 elephants. 130 for the war & the rest to carry the tents & baggage. & 312 galleys & bark long narrow with oars & sails. The

their look is very fair. For when they  
are not on the guard they are obliged to attend  
their Capt. where ever they go. If their arms  
are not neat & bright they take off 3 dayes wages  
they receive, but at home & on shore two dayes  
a week. As if water the best that hath a month  
pay, & he if makes the worst that stands content  
double his time. & often the soldiers are sent  
on board the galleys, to burn to row, & they get  
now first and rewarded. their pay is so small  
it will not maintain their families, therefore their  
wives of all the manner find board, trade, & works  
to maintain their families.

the people are mild & peaceable, & are not curious  
of looking for main countries, tending to know  
their ancestors. they have good memories, & are no  
way inferior to the Chinese, for learning, & poetry  
of an other complexion much admiring the white-  
ness of Europeans. their limbs well proportioned  
their nose & ears are not so large, Chinese. their  
hair is black, they comb it, & take it in tresses with  
silk, & on the top of their heads, & others by their  
locks about their necks. all paint themselves black.  
Both men & women wear long robes down to their  
knees, bound about their necks with a girdle of silk  
interwoven with gold & silver, the soldiers wear  
only double his breeches, & their breeches to their mid-  
dle, without either hat or shoes. the vulgar  
are also without shoes, for they are obliged every  
year to work 3 months for the King, & 3 months  
for means, & are their months, to the merchants  
or good lord for no pay.

their wives attend the markets, are fair or white  
their countenances like milk. & off carry away towns.

their countenances like milk. & off carry away towns.  
the new man marry without consent of parents & of the  
Gods. men wear a neckband of coral or yellow  
amber, & beads to garnish their locks, w<sup>ch</sup> hang  
down upon their backs, counting the longest to  
be the fairest hair. at every wedding they  
fast 4. or 5. dayes. the man may put away his  
wife when he pleases, but the woman has not of privi-  
leges to oblige him to be responsible to their  
Kings. but then the man must support her portion  
if they have children she had to him.

Eastern people touch not their virginals with their hands,  
but with two little sticks, gilt & varnished, 6. inches long.  
If a woman commit adultery, she is cast on an elegant  
who throws her up to the air, then tramples her to death.  
page 19. the man also is executed by night



