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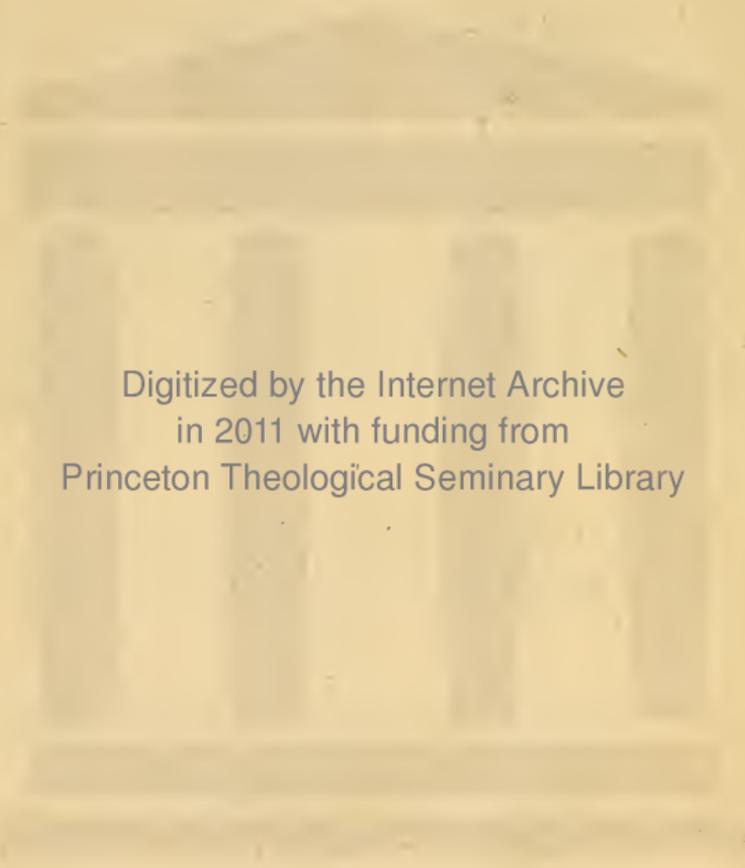
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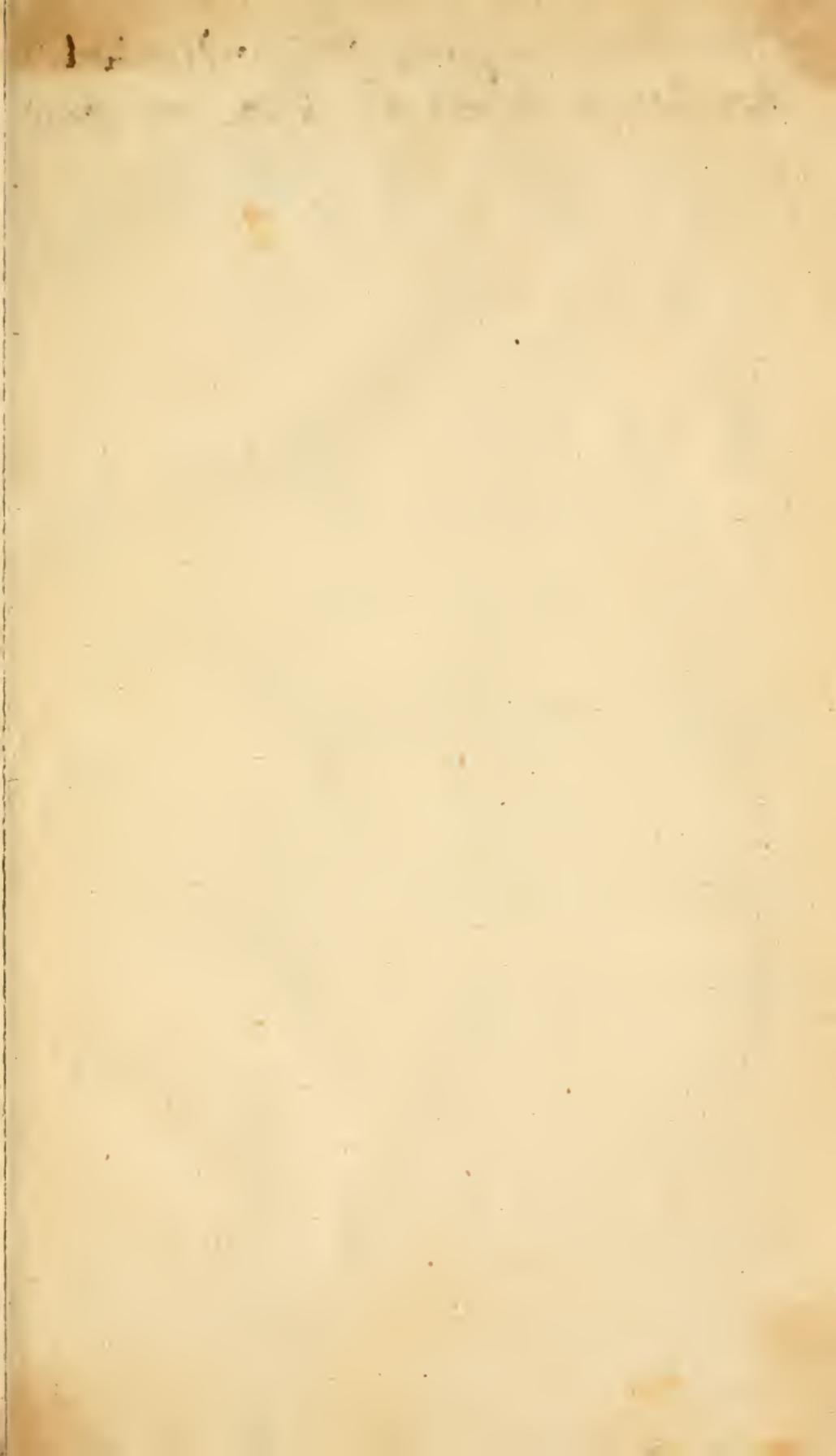
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The Non-conformists vindicated.
Answer to Baxter's plea for peace.

THE
Nonconformists
VINDICATED
FROM THE
ABUSES

Put upon them

By Mr. } DUREL
 } and
 } SCRIVENER.

Being some short Animadversions on their
Books soon after they came forth: In two Let-
ters to a Friend (who could not hitherto get
them Published).

Containing some Remarques upon the Celebrated
Conference at Hampton-Court.

William Barrett

By a Country Scholar.

L O N D O N
Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and
three Crowns in Cheap side, 1679.

THE
GREAT BRITAIN

1850

1851

1852

1853

1854

1855

1856

1857

THE
NONCONFORMISTS

Vindicated, &c.

S I R,

THough I have of late wholly addicted my self to the Study of Practical *Theology*, and spent all that time I could redeem from my necessary occasions, in Reading such Authors as make it their business to declare unto us the essentials of Christianity; yet it hath been some delight to me, from time to time, by your Letters, to understand what Books have been Printed about those (comparatively) Petit controversies that have of late years so miserably divided our British Churches. I heartily wish, you had still continued only to be my Intelligencer, then I had been at liberty, either not to send for the Authors you mentioned, or else when I had sent for them, to lay them aside as soon I had enough of them: but you were ambitious to be my Benefactor, and therefore lately sent me at your own cost Mr. Durells two Eristical Volumes, conjuring me, by all our friendship, to read them over, and to return you my thoughts

of them : and though I have again and again importuned you to excuse me from so unwelcome an employment, yet will you take no denial; wherefore that I may not seem finally obstinate, I do, herewith, send you some Animadversions, the fruit of a few leisure hours; in reading whereof, if you either encrease the itch of disputation, or be forced to abate of the esteem you as yet have of your Author, you know where to lay the blame. I assure you, I envy not unto him the Ecclesiastical dignities and benefices he enjoys: but I think he was as unmeet a person, as any could have been pitched on, to undertake the Cause of our Church, against the Nonconforming Ministers: for the grounds of this so severe censure, I refer you to what follows, and at present shall only lay before you three or four necessary qualifications of him that would plead for conformity with any success, or credit to our Church.

1. He had need to be free from all suspicion of ambition, and of that, which the Apostle calls, *the root of all evil*; else his adversaries will say, that in his pleadings for the Church, he seeks not *her*, but *hers*. The Writings of Mr. Hooker, Mr. *Sprint*, Dr. *Burges*, as they are in themselves sober, and learned, so they are by all, or most, read without any prejudice: because they contented themselves with such ordinary preferments, as they either had before they had written, or might have expected though they had never written for Ceremonies. Nay Dr. *Burges* professeth, that he lost more by conforming, than any did by not conforming, & by the way, whereas Dr. *Heylin* saith *Hist. of*

2. See more of *Heylin's* Errors Presby.

Intra p. 40, 15, 43, 65, 68

Presby. Pag. 327. That King James occasioned this Doctors preferring to the Rectory of Colshill in Warwickshire: the Reader may take notice that he was never Rector of Colshill, but of Sutton Goldfield, unto which the King occasioned not his preferment, for the presentation was given him without his seeking, by Mr. Shilton, after it had been first refused by Dr. Chetwind); I therefore doubt not but he did write for the lawfulness of Subscription, out of conscience, and that he would have continued in that opinion, though Authority had frowned upon it.

I dare not say so much concerning all that were, or would have been, more highly dignified. The first English man that grated hard upon the Presbyterian Government in the Latin tongue, was Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, in a Book entituled *de verâ, Catholicâ & Christianâ, Ecclesiâ*, this very man, whether discontented, because his Book against Mr. Mountague was suppressed; or angry that he missed some preferment he aimed at, or for some other reasons we know not of, before his death, professed his hearty sorrow that he had written so much against Presbytery, and for the power of the domineering Prelates, as may be seen in the *Jus divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*. Who professed a greater zeal for Hierarchy than Patrick Adamson? But Hierarchy not being able to pay its quarters in the worlds own coin, how poorly did he Recant all his aſtings for it? Confessing Presbyteries to be an ordinance of Christ, and craving Gods mercy that he had called them a foolish invention; bewailing his pride and covetousness, that had put

him upon undertaking the office of an Archbishop, as that wherewith justly the sincerest professors of the word have found fault, and condemned as impertinent to the office of a sincere pastor of Gods word; ingaging also that if he had health, he would write a confutation of Sutliffes Book. All which, and much more, is to be found in the Records of the Scottish Nation.

2. He that would, with any advantage to the Church, undertake to confute *Nonconformists*, must be one that hath seen and well considered, either all, or the chiefest of their Books, and well knows the Histories of the times in which they were written. Else, first he may commit such foul mistakes in Chronology, as will render him ridiculous and contemptible to all his Readers. Can the most mortified *Presbyterian* chuse but laugh, when he finds in Dr. Heylins History of *Presbyterians*, Pag. 264, that about 1570. Mr. Carthwrights grace for Doctor was denied him, by the major part of the University; which so displeased him, and his adherents, that, from that time, the degrees of Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters, were esteemed unlawful, and those that took them reckoned for the limbs of *Antichrist*, as appears by the *Genevian notes on the Revelations*. How can it appear from the *Geneva notes*, that from the time of denying Mr. Carthwrights grace, degrees were accounted unlawful? when every one knows, that many years before the denial of that grace, those notes had been both made, and published, perhaps by such as never saw or heard of Mr. Carthwright: Nor is that less ridiculous which occurs, Pag. 294. where
 mention

mention being made of a Pamphlet written by *Stubbes* of *Lincolns-Inne*, it is said, that *Stubbes* had married one of *Mr. Carthwrights* Sisters, and therefore may be thought to have done nothing without his privity. *Mr. Carthwright* indeed married one of *Mr. Stubbes* his Sisters, but that *Mr. Stubbes* married one of his Sisters is a falshood; and if it were supposed to be a truth, what ground is that, why a man should think that *Stubbes* did nothing without his privity? Do all writers make their Brothers-in-law privy to their designs? I acknowledge that *Thuanus* saith it was found out that *Mr. Carthwright* instigated him to write the *Libel*; but *Thuanus* is not to be relied on in matters relating to the *English Puritans*, because in such, he follows one who was their bitter adversary; as also because *Thuanus* himself was too too Antipuritanical, perfectly in Religion of the same mind with *Cassander* and *Baldwin*, whose Character need not be given. Doubtless had there been either clear proof, or vehement suspicion, that *Mr. Carthwright* was accessory to the compiling of the *gaping Gulph*, he had not escaped some signal token of the *Queens* displeasure; for her Majesty was so highly incensed against the Author, Printer, and Publisher of it, that nothing less would satisfy her, than arraignment of them upon the Statute of *Philip and Mary*, against the Authors and Dispersers of seditious writings; and because some of her chief Lawyers were of opinion, That that law was but temporary, and of no force in her reign, she imprisoneth one of them, and turns another out of his place, and prevailed so far, that both *Stubbes*,

and *Page* (who dispersed the Copies) had sentence passed upon them, to lose their right hands: which accordingly were cut off in the market-place of *Westminster*, with a Butchers knife and a Mallet; but it is observed by more than one of our Historians, that when *Stubbes* his right hand was cut off, he did pull off his Hat with his left hand, and cry out, *God save the Queen*: and the people by a general silence gave their Testimony, that the punishment was too severe. Nor did the Queen her self take much pleasure in reflecting on this penalty, but rather when the heat of passion was over, received *Stubbes* into some degree of favour, as is probable from the imployment that he had under *Peregrine Lord Willoughby*, sent by the Queen with four thousand Soldiers to assist the King of *Navar*, in which imployment he ended his days, but by a natural death.

Secondly, if our Writers for Conformity know not the State of the controversies, and the times, in which they were managed, they will go near to contradict one another; and will it not make the *Nonconformists* good sport, to see their adversaries at dissension among themselves? Could Mr. *Durells English Book* have been more effectually confuted by any writing, than by Dr. *Heylins History of Presbyterians*? Dr. *Stradling* licenseth a Book tending to prove that the *Presbyterians in England* are a singular sort of men, as contrary to the *Presbyterians* beyond the Seas, as to their own Bishops at home; the Vicechancellor of *Oxford* licenseth a Book designed to prove that all *Presbyterians*, all the reformed Churches over, are all

acted

*12. 1. 17. Dr. Durell may
show the same error in
his own Book p. 37*

acted by one spirit, equally prone to sedition and schisme, alike bent to destroy all Kingdoms and Churches into which they are received. Will not the *Presbyterians* say *Aha!* so would we have it? will they not even bless themselves in these contradictions of their adversaries? Dr. *Heylin* saith, *Lib. 7. Pag. 275.* “*Whitgift* dissected *Carthwrights* admonition, in a Book entituled, An answer to the Admonition. *Carthwright* sets out a reply in the year following, and *Whitgift* presently rejoyns in defence of his Answer; against which *Carthwright* never stirred, but left him Master of the field, possessd of all the signs of an absolute Victory. But Sir *George Paul* saith, Mr. *Carthwright* (glorying be-like to have the last word) published a second reply, fraught with no other stuff than had been before refuted, from answering of which *Whitgift* was dissuaded. Will not such sweet concord as this, make delicate Musick in the ears of the *Nonconformists*? Especially considering that the Letter of *Whitaker* mentioned by the Doctor, is pretended by the Knight to be one of the main inducements moving *Whitgift* not to rejoyn to the second reply. And let me admonish the *Conformists* not much to glory in *Whitakers* letter, reflecting so much disgrace on *Carthwrights* Book, seeing *Whitaker* was then,

1. Under thirty years of age.
2. Never dreamed that his Letter should be made publick.
3. Afterwards married the Widow of *Dudly Fennor*.
4. In those writings which were the product and issue of his more mature judgment and study, layeth down such principles as the *Nonconformists* think their

their conclusions do naturally and lineally descend from. 5. Died in over-straining his diligence to suppress the *Pelagian* notions of *Peter Baro*, so much now-adays applauded and admired. Certainly if they are to be accounted Victors who keep the field last, the *Nonconformists* have at least as many Victors as the *Conformists*, though we should grant that *Whitgift* had the last word of *Carthwright*, which yet is not to be granted. But doth not Mr. *Fuller* say in his *Ecclesiastical History*, he had? Answer, He doth; but I have been assured, that being before *Oliver's* triers for a living, he ingenuously acknowledged his error, and promised to certify it, if ever his Book came to a second Edition, which I therefore give notice of, that it may proceed no further, and that Mr. *Isaac Walton*, who is still alive, and hath fallen into the same mistake in his life of Mr. *Hooker*, Pag. 85. may disabuse his Reader. The which if he will vouchsafe to do, we shall have encouragement to try, whether we cannot acquaint him with some more of his mistakes, and misadventures. In the mean time I should be glad to understand, what assurance can be given us, that Bishop *Jewel* ever used such words concerning *Carthwright* as those mentioned by Dr. *Heylin*. Lib. 7. Pag. 274. and elsewhere, viz. *Stultitia nata est in corde pueri sed virga discipline fugabit eam*: for it seems improbable, that so grave a Prelate, should give so unhandsome a character of a very learned man, concerning whom he could make no estimation, but by a few scattered papers, designed for a Book that saw not the light till *Jewel* was entred into the chambers of Darknets.

All that I can see any ground to acknowledg, at present, is but this, that *Jewel* both in a Sermon at *Paul's*, and in a conference with some Brethren, had declared himself to be an approver of the *English* ceremonies; and that being ready to leave the world, he declared *that what he uttered in his Sermon, and conference, was designed neither to please any mortal, nor to embitter or trouble any party that thought otherwise than himself; but that neither party might prejudg the other, and that the love of God by the Holy spirit which is given to us, might be poured forth in the hearts of brethren.* See his life written by the *Nonconforming Dr. Humpred.* Pag. 255. edit. *Lond. an. 1573.* And if *Dr. Heylins* friends will please to consult, *Pag. 275.* They shall find *Jewel* died *september 23.* about three in the afternoon, not as the Doctor affirms, *Lib 6. Pag. 270. September the 22.* And then they may also consider whether he hath not erred in dating *Zanchies* Letter to *Queen Elizabeth*, *September the second;* for in my edition of *Zanchies* Letters put forth by his Heirs at *Hannoue 1609.* it bears date the tenth of *September, 1571.* These are small matters, it will be said; I confels they be; but if men will write Histories, they ought to be very exact, and publish nothing that need fear the severest examination.

Let me be excused if I here adventure to give two more instances, one of *Dr. Heylins* imaginary Victories; the other of his contrariety to other writers whom he sometimes quotes with applause. *Lib. 8. Pag. 283.* He acquaints us *that Dr. Bancroft made a most excellent and judicious Sermon* (let that

that pass) he gives us the heads of that Sermon, saying, pag. 284, *That they were all proved with such evidence of demonstration, such great variety of Learning, and strength of arguments, that none of all that party could be found to take arms against them in defence either of their leud doctrine, or more scandalous Uses.* All this with bitterness and malice more than enough; but with no regard to truth: for Dr. *John Reynolds* at the desire of Sir *Francis Knowles*, did attaque that so much applauded Sermon of Feb. 9th. at *St. Pauls Cross*, and pulled down two of the main pillars, viz. *The superiority which Bishops have among us over their Clergy, is Gods own ordinance.* 2. *Jerome and Calvin confess that Bishops have had superiority ever since the time of St. Mark the Evangelist.* The Letter of Dr. *Reynolds* in which he doth this, is in many mens hands, and the Historian doubtless had, if not seen, yet heard of it, and therefore was inexcusable in representing Dr. *Bancroft* to be so formidable an adversary, that none durst look him in the face. Let those who account Dr. *Bancrofts* Sermon unanswerable, reply to Dr. *Reynolds* his Letter, and if it be thought that Dr. *Reynolds* hath not refuted all the passages of the Sermon, let us know what the particulars be that still remain unanswered, and yet need an answer, and if after such notice given, such terror seize on *Presbyterians* that none dare appear, let the Sermon then be carried about in triumph; till then I hope it will be no presumption to say, that Dr. *Reynolds* as well understood the judgment of the Fathers, concerning *Episcopacy*, as Dr. *Bancroft*.

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The instance of his contradicting others, shall be part of the story concerning the infamous separatist *Browne*: Sir *George Paul* in the life of Archbishop *Whitgift*, Pag. 53, acquaints us, that *Brown* in the Archbishops time was changed from his fancies, and after obtained a benefice called *Achurch* in Northamptonshire where he became a painful Preacher. But Dr. *Heylin*, Lib. 7. Pag. 297. tells us, he was prevailed with to accept a place, *Achurch* in Northamptonshire, beneficed with cure of Souls; a benefice of good value, which might tempt him to it the rather, in regard that he was excused as well from Preaching as from performing any other part of the publick Ministry. Certainly, if he became a painful Preacher, there was no need of excusing him from Preaching.

But who is in the truth? I think neither the Knight nor the Doctor; painful Preacher to be sure *Brown* never was, after his presentation to *Achurch*; nor is it probable that he was excused from Preaching, any more than from living quietly with his Wife. Bishops have strained their power very high, but I am unwilling to believe that any Prelate since our Reformation would institute a man healthful and able to Preach, into a cure of Souls, and yet excuse him from all parts of the publick Ministry.

Now, thirdly, If men take the field against the *Nonconformists* before they have sufficiently tried their strength, they may chance to be mastered by these arguments they imagined themselves able to master; and so even face about in the day of battel, fighting against those from whom they received
their

their first pay. Mr. *Henry Jeanes* had never seen a *Nonconformist* using his own weapon, and therefore thought him contemptible, and adventured to defie him in a Printed Treatise upon *1 Thes. 5. 22.* But when he came to Read the very Books of the *Nonconformists* themselves, he found himself no longer able to withstand the dint of their arguments, but went over to them, and died their Convert, as all know who were his Neighbour Ministers: some *Papists* by reading Protestant Books, with an intent to confute them, have been converted by them; and therefore the Grandees in the *Roman Church*, will not give leave to one of a thousand, to Read all manner of Books; nay in some places they will scarcely permit *Bellarmines* works to be commonly sold, lest that little which is in them of *Calvin* should purge all *Catholicism* out of their young Students. I wish the Prelates of our Church would consider how far the prudence of *Papacy* is imitable; certainly every one who is willing to have a Prebendship from them, is not able to stand under the weight and burden that is laid upon *Episcopacy*. If our Church must be vindicated, let it be vindicated by another *Hooker*, made up of learning and modesty; as for Mr. *Durel*, if he have got a *lask*, and must needs ease himself in the Press, it may be worth consideration, whether he be not fit to succeed to *Tom. Nash*, whose scoffing Pen was not altogether useles in *Queen Elizabeths* days.

I had almost added, that he who will to purpose defend our Church, must not be a *Fersey* man; not only, because such a one can scarce be supposed

posed fully to know the intrigues of our differences; but also because it can scarce be thought, that he should be conscientiously a friend to our Hierarchy: for we are not now to be told, that the *Episcopal Government* settled here in *England*, could not get into *Jersey*, but by wile, if not force. *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, &c. are the only remainders of the *Crown of England* in the *Dukedom of Normandy*, and in former times belonged to the Jurisdiction of the *Bishop of Constance*, but were governed immediately by a subordinate Officer mixt of a Chancelor and Archdeacon; they entertained the Reformed Religion in *King Edwards* time, and some of their Inhabitants suffered for it in the time of *Queen Mary*; *Queen Elizabeth* reigning, by the help of some *French Ministers*, the generality were again brought to seek after Reformation; but withall Petition the Queen for an allowance of the *Presbyterian Discipline*, *Anno 1563*; and *Anno 1565*, obtain it for all, or some part of the *Islands*: on which allowance they adventure to put it in execution, and hold a *Synod* in the *Isle of Guernsey*, Sep. 2. 1567. Nor do I find that they had any considerable disturbance in it, till *Sir John Peiton* was made their Governour, who with the *Kings Attorney* protested against that choice of *Mr. Brevin*, which was made by the Colloquy, upon the decease of the Curate of *St. Johns*: the ground of the Protestation was the prejudicialness of such Elections to the Rights and Profits of the King, deprived thereby of *Vacancies*, and *first Fruits*. This Protestation, though over-ruled for a season, wrought so effectually, that about 1615,

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the Governour presented one Mr. *Messering* to the Parish of *St. Peters*; this *Messering* had been ordained Priest by Dr. *Bridges* Bishop of *Oxford*, but his presentation was so offensive to the Colloquy, that Governour and Ministers appear before King *James*, referring the whole concernment to his Majesties final Judgment; and the Ministers for ought I find, had continued in *Statu quo*, had they been unanimous; but Monsieur *De la Place* being brought into a golden dream, that if a Dean were again established in the *Isle*, he, and no other should be the man, betrayed his brethren, and violated the Oath he had before taken, so as it was at length ordered by the Council of *England*, That an Officer invested with the authority of the ancient Dean, should again be established in the *Isle of Jersey*, and that the Bishop of *Winchester* should by Commission under his seal give authority unto the said Dean, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the said *Isle*: but not Monsieur *Place*, but Mr. *Bandinell*, an *Italian*, is put into the Deanery; which Mr. *Places* high stomach not digesting, he retires into *Guernsey*, breathing out nothing but disgrace to the *English Liturgy*, and the Change of Government made in *Fersey*, by his own Treachery. The sum of all is: The *Islanders of Jersey* had the *English Liturgy* translated into their own Language in the reign of King *Edward the sixth*; in *Queen Elizabeths* reign, they forsook it, desired the *Presbyterial discipline*, and by Oath bound themselves to keep and observe it. The *Episcopal Government* was obtruded upon them, through the perjury of an *Ambitious Minister* who declaimed against it as soon as he saw he could

not

not serve his own ends by it. Doth any Law oblige us to believe that any Natives of this Isle heartily embrace it? I think it will be no uncharitableness to say——*Timeo Danaos, & dona ferentes.*

A fourth qualification required in him that will go a warfare for our Church, is a good knowledg of all the rules and forms of Argumentation; he that wants such knowledg, will no more be able to manage the Churches Arguments, than *David* was to use *Sauls* Armor; nay, he will be a stumbling-block and stone of offence to our young students. When *Dr. Heylin's Certamen Epistolare* came abroad, I had spent Three years and no more at *Cambridg*; yet I must needs buy the Book, because the Author was famed for his Geography, and had been represented to me as a very living Library; thought I,

*Si pergama dextra
Defendi possent, certe hac defensa videbo.*

But reading his Answer to *Mr. Baxter*, I found my self quite frustrated in my expectation; for whereas *Mr. Baxter* had made a conditional Syllogism, and instead of assuming the words of the antecedent at large, had used an allowed brevity, *But the antecedent is true*: The Dr. tells him Page 80. *That it was a strange piece of news* to him, to read any one making use of that brief form of conditional Syllogism. This startled me, for I was sure that almost every System of Logick, that fell into the mention of conditional Syllogisms, not only allowed, but commended it to us, for brevity

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fave,

sake, after a conditional *major* to proceed thus, *But the Antecedent is true, Ergo, so is the Consequent*; or, *but the Consequent is false, Ergo, so is the Antecedent*: I was as sure that those Schoolmen (in whose Logicks and Metaphysicks I had wasted too much time) did usually so argue, and I had read that long before them, the Stoicks were much pleased with this form of Argumentation, and called it *Λογιστικόν* $\text{\textcircled{D}}$; how then (said I within my self) comes it to pass, that an ancient Dr. in Divinity, who hath combated not only *Puritans*, but also Bishops and Heads of Houses, and sometimes nibbles at *Bellarmino* himself, should upon the reading of such a Syllogism fall into such a fit of admiration? What Answer I gave my self, is not material; but I resolved to lay aside my opinion of the Doctors abilities; but rather to hope that he would make known some mystery that was hid from *Duncan, Burgesdicus, Isendorne, &c.* till I came to his 81 Page, where I met with these words, *The Antecedent in all Hypothetical propositions being conditional, imperfect, and of no full sense, cannot be said to be either true or false.* When I had read them, I then concluded the Dr. was void of all rational learning, and perhaps did not know what *hypothetical* signified; for certainly every hypothetical Proposition is a compound Proposition; and if it be compound, it must consist of Two Propositions, and one of those Propositions must needs be the Antecedent: Now if the Antecedent be a Proposition, it must needs be either true or false. I know that sometimes the Antecedent, as well as the Consequent, is not formally

formally a Proposition; but it's evermore, at least virtually a Proposition, and therefore may be said to be true or false; if it could not, why do our Logicks so carefully tell us, *that we must not estimate the verity or falsity of a conditional, from the verity or falsity of its parts, but from the true or false connexion that is betwixt them?* It were perfectly needless to tell us, that we are not to estimate the verity of a conditional, from the verity of the Antecedent, if the Antecedent neither can be said to be true nor false. Besides, if there may be affirmation and negation in the Antecedent, then may the Antecedent be either true or false; but there may be affirmation or negation in the Antecedent, *Ergo.* The *minor* I prove from the common rule given for the right making of those conditional Syllogisms, in which the *major* only is Hypothetical; the Rule is, *That we must either proceed from the position of the Antecedent, to the position of the Consequent; or from the destruction of the Consequent to the destruction of the Antecedent;* if we proceed not thus, we may from true premises infer a false conclusion: Now what is it to put *ponere* the Antecedent? Why, it is to bring it into the *minor*, with the same quality it had in the *major*; That is, if it were affirmative in the *major*, it must be affirmative in the *minor*; if negative in the *major*, then negative in the *minor*: Ay, but whatever dull Logicians prate, is not the Antecedent in every Hypothetical, conditional, imperfect? *Ans.* Certainly it is not; for the [*if*] which is commonly prefixed to the Antecedent, is no part of the Antecedent;

dent; but it is the *copula* that converteth the Antecedent and the Consequent, just as the Verb [*is*] in a Categorical, coupleth the subject and predicate. Let this be the example, *if the Sun shineth, it is day*; here be two propositions, *the Sun shineth, it is day*, both are joined into one compound proposition by the Conjunction *if*; and the plain meaning is, if the first proposition be true, the second is also. No less ignorance doth the Dr. bewray, when he saith, *In every hypothetical Syllogism; the major proposition consisteth of two parts, or branches, whereof one is called the Antecedent, the other the consequent*: For I can make him an Hundred Hypothetical Syllogisms, in which the *minor* only and conclusion shall be Hypothetical, and the *major* a plain Categorical. It may be Mr. D. will say, this shakes not his Corn; and indeed it doth not: but he also might have done well, before he dabled in the Printers Ink, to read over some Compendiums; then would he have amended the Title of above Fifty Pages in his Book, not writing *The Conformity of the Reformed Churches, with the Reformed Church of England*; for this Enunciation, *There is a conformity betwixt the Reformed Churches, and the Reformed Church of England in the things of present controversie*, cannot be proved, but by an Induction, shewing, that all, or the most, or the most famous Reformed Churches, agree with the Church of *England* in all, or most, or the chiefest of those matters the present Nonconformists scruple. Hath he shewed this? he doth as good as confess he hath not; for Page 53. Sect. 63. giving us the *summa totalis* of his atchievements, he

he plainly says, it amounts but to thus much, *There is hardly one of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England that is not used in some one Reformed Church or other.* Which suppose he had proved (as he hath not) he is, many stages off from the conclusion he propounded to infer; if he deem he is not, let him write a Book to prove that the Language of the *Matachusfes* is conformable to the *English* Language, because there is some one word in which both languages do agree, and see whether he will not be laughed at to purpose.

But I will free my mind from all prejudices that may be taken against Mr. *D.* on the account of his Country; nor will I create him any odium from the high elogiums he bestows on the Earl of Clarendon, sentenced by King and Parliament to perpetual banishment, as unworthy to live in England, (though I wonder Mr. *D.* doth no where bewail his sin or misery in heaping so many praises on him who deserved so few) 'Tis not the man, but his Book I am to undertake; and in it I will shew,

1. Where there is a real controversy betwixt *Episcoparians* and *Presbyterians*, he quite mistakes it.
2. That he takes a great deal of pains to prove that which was never questioned by any sober man among us.
3. That he defiles his Paper with many untruths and falsehoods.
4. That he hath let fall not a few passages which are manifestly prejudicial and destructive

to the Church of *England*, as it is now established.

As to the real controversies now on foot, the principal of them may be reduced to three general Heads, *Episcopacy, Liturgy, Ceremonies.*

The *Presbyterians* lay, that if they conform, they must receive *Episcopacy as an order by Divine Law, superior to Presbytery, and invested with sole power of order and jurisdiction*: Search Mr. *Durell's* Book with Candles, and if there be in it any one Line tending to prove that either there is any such *Episcopacy* in any one reformed Church, or that any one Reformed Church, if her judgment were asked, would approve such an *Episcopacy*, and I will confess myself mistaken. He reckoneth himself most secure of the *Lutheran* Churches, and among the *Lutherans*, especially of such as are governed by a Monarchy, particularly he tells us, That in *Denmark* they have *Bishops, and Archbishops, name and thing*, Page 5. How much he is mistaken in this, will soon appear, if we consult the History of the Reformation of that Kingdom. About the year 1537, *Bugenbagius* is sent for into *Denmark*, where the Twelfth of *August*, he performed all the Ecclesiastical part of the Kings Coronation; and Fourteen days after that Coronation, he ordained Seven Superintendents, to be keepers and executors of all Ecclesiastical Ordination, and to do the office of Bishops: Now I ask, seeing *Bugenbagen* was but a *Presbyter*, whether he put the Superintendents into an order higher than his own? if he did, who gave him an authority so to do? If he did not, then are there no Bishops

*By the way, Bugenbagen was a
Presbyter of the Ministry of the Presbyteries
1 Jan. 14. 14*

Bishops properly so called in *Denmark*. *Melchior Adam*, who relates this of *Bugenbagius*, relates also in the life of *Luther*, that he, calling Three other *Presbyters* to join with him in laying on of hands, ordained *Nicholas Amdorf* Bishop, repudiating one chosen by the Colledg of Canons, and very dear to the Emperor; That is, he ordained one by the name of a Bishop, but he was only a *Presbyter*, and could not think himself to be of an higher Order, being ordained by *Luther* that was but a meer *Presbyter*.

Gerhard acquaints us, That the *Papists*, or at least some of them, did proclaim the Ordinations in their Churches to be void and null, because performed by *Luther* who was no Bishop; but that ever any *Lutheran* thought their Ordinations less valid on that account, will never be proved. I have read *Hunnus* his Demonstration of the *Lutheran* Ministry; and though he were himself a Superintendent, yet he so little magnifies his Office, that he sticks not to affirm, *That he who ordains, ordains only as the Officer of the Church; and that any one whatever that should by the Church be set to ordain, would ordain as validly as a Bishop doth.* And, if it will do Mr. D. any kindness, I can, and will on his desire, direct him to a *Lutheran*, who calls us *Anglos Papizantes*, for straining Episcopacy so high, and appropriating Ordination to that Order: *Chemnitius* had occasion to examine the Anathematizing Decrees of the Conventicle of *Trent*; one of them was, *If any one shall say that a Bishop is not superior to a Presbyter, let him be Anathema.* There he was necessitated to shew the

judgment of the *Lutheran* Churches, and yet he there delivereth nothing, but what the English *Presbyterians* can subscribe to; and though the incomparable *Philip Melancthon* was blamed for giving more to Bishops than was meet; yet he hath not given more to them, than what the English Nonconformists are ready to give them.

Thus of the *Lutheran* Churches. It will not be so difficult for me to find out the judgment of the Churches more strictly called Reformed, because I shall find the most famous of them, except the *Gallican*, meeting together at the Synod of *Dort*. Of the *Gallican* therefore by themselves; and I say, that the Writers of those Churches have done more against our English Hierarchy, than the Writers of any, or all Reformed Churches besides.

For,

1. Some of them have made it their business to overthrow the credit of *Ignatius* his Epistles, from which, more than from any writing whatever, our Hierarchy doth strengthen it self. Did not *Salmasius* and *Blondell* strain their diligence, to prove that even the most correct Copy of *Ignatius* is spurious? And when our learned *Hammond* had taken some pains to vindicate the Epistles, *Maresius* quarrels with *Blondell*, because he did not presently all other business laid aside) take the Doctor to task, and maintain against him the Apology he had made for *St. Hieroms* opinion; yet *Dally* tells us, that *Blondell* had intended to answer for himself, had he not been prevented by death. Because death did prevent him, therefore his friend *Monsieur Dally* hath done that work for him; and it is
said,

said, that Dr. *Pierſon* hath news ſent him, That if he think meet to reply upon *Dally*, he ſhall not long want a rejoinder.

2. Thoſe that have defended our English Hierarchy, have not been more uncivilly dealt with by any, than by learned *French*-men. I will not now (becauſe indeed I am aſhamed) tell what language *Danaus* gave *Saravia*, becauſe of his Book *De diverſis Miniſtrorum gradibus*. *Salmaſius* imagining himſelf diſparaged by a word never intended as a diſparagement, could not forbear calling Dr. *Hammond* Knave. *Mareſius* (in the firſt queſtion he handleth againſt Dr. *Prideaux*) not ſo bluntly, but more virulently, tells us, *That Dr. Hammond had proceeded to ſuch a degree of fury, as that he did professedly propugne the cauſe of the Pope*; not content to ſpit in a ſingle Doctors face, he thus cenſures all our Biſhops, *Melius ſua & ſoxn̄ conſuiffent Præſules Anglicani, ſi & moderatius in ea egiffent, & illam cum reliquis Proteſtantibus maluiſſent agnoſcere juris eccleſiaſtici, quam mordicus aſſerere juris Divini. Nam ut arcus nimia intenſione frangitur, ſic & illi nimium intendentes ſuam authoritatem, & dignitatem ea penitus exciderunt, inſtar Cameli in fabula, qui quod cornu affectaſſet, etiam auribus multatus fuit, page 68.* And then page 70, ſpeaking of ſome miſchiefs that had befallen the Biſhops, he thus expreſſeth himſelf, *Ipfmet Præſules Angli, fuiſſent ea declinaturi, ſi fortunam ſuam magis reverenter habuiſſent, neq; ex parte collimaſſent ad Papismi reſtitutionem, jure poſtliminii, licet majorem aut ſaltem meliorem partem eorum hac iniquitatis myſteria latuerint. Quare nobis*

nobis eminus hanc catastrophem spectantibus; id solum dicendum restat, domine justus es, & justa judicia tua. And then page 111, speaking of our Bishops arrogating to themselves temporal jurisdiction, he dreads not to let fall these Lines; *Hæc defensio Jurisdictionis temporalis pro Ecclesiæ Ministris portio aliqua est, illius fermenti Papistici, quo Hierarchie Anglicanæ massa, paulatim se infici passa fuit, dum majoris ambitu typhum sæculi, ut loquar cum patribus Africanis, quam humilitatem crucis meditatur: potuissent forte Episcopi Anglicani suam ἐποχὴν & sua rura retinuisse, nisi voluissent penitus suum Episcopatum ad modulum Romanum componere.*

3. But above all, let that be considered which is laid down by Peter Moulin in his Letter to the Bishop of Winchester, Where to excuse himself for not making the difference betwixt Bishops and Presbyters to be of Divine appointment, he pleads, that if he had laid the difference on that foundation, the French Churches would have silenced him.

-Will the French Churches silence him that should assert the *ius Divinum* of Episcopacy? and yet will Mr. Durell go about to perswade us, that they do not condemn our English Hierarchy, which asserts it self to be Divine, and cares not for being at all, if it be not such? The Two Archbishops in Dr. Bastwicks Case, did protest even in open Court, That if they could not prove their Episcopal Jurisdiction and Function, which they claimed and exercised over other Ministers, and themselves as they were Bishops, to be superior in power, dignity, and degree to other Ministers, *Jure Divino*, they

they would forthwith cast away their Rochets off their backs, lay down their Bishopricks at his Majesties feet, and not continue one hour longer Bishops. If therefore Mr. D. can bring any eminent French Divines that found Episcopacy, as distinct from, and superior to, Presbytery, on any Divine Law, he will do something to stop the mouths of Non-conformists; but such he will never be able to bring, unless he first cause the Golden Ball to run before them, or fill them with that which blindeth the eyes of the wise. Certain I am, that Dr. Andrew Rivet, in his *summa Controver.* Second Tract. 22. Quest. thus states the question: *We dispute not whether Bishops be, de facto, above Presbyters; but whether they be so, de jure; nor is the question of Humane, but Divine Law: We deny that Bishops by Divine Law have any pre-eminence above Presbyters.* This is the more considerable, because it is dedicated to four great Protestant Divines, Peter Moulin, William Rivet, John Maximilian Langle, Samuel Bochart; and because it is again repeated in Rivets Writings against Grotius. When some Ministers were by the Assembly employed to get foreign Divines, by some Letters, to signify their minds in the controversy of our *Episcopacy*; among others, the said Ministers went to this Dr. Rivet, then at the *Hague*, desiring him, that he would be pleased to signify his mind: He excused himself from Writing, because of his relation to — but took down one of his Books, in which he denied the Divine Right of *Episcopacy*; declaring, That was his judgment, which he would never deny. This I had from the mouth of a
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very Reuerend person still alive, who was one employed to discourse him.

But I have a later testimony; when the *Scots* went to *Breda* to treat with their King, *Dr. Rivet* put a Preface to *Bodius* his Comment on the *Ephesians*, commending it to the World; and I am iure in that, the English Hierarchy is sufficiently beaten down. I have said all that for the present I intend to say about the *French Churches*; of other Reformed Churches I may speak more briefly, because most of them met together in a Synod at *Dort*, to put an end to the differences about the five points: What was done in that Synod? Why, saith *Mr. Mountague* in his *Appeal*, page 70, *In it, and in other Dutch Synods, the Discipline of the Church of England is held unlawful.* At this *Mr. Durell* had need to bestir himself; for either *Mr. Mountague*, or he will be found to be a Liar: I shall not determine who is to blame; but by reading the Acts of that Synod, I do find, that Session 144, notice was given, That it was the will of the States, that the Confession of Faith of the *Belgick Churches*, should be read and examined by the Synod, the *Exteri* being also present. The One and thirtieth Article of that Confession, when it comes to speak particularly of the Ministers of the Word, saith, *That in what place soever they be, they have the same power and authority, as being all the Ministers of Christ, the only Universal Bishop, and only Head of the Church.* These words would not do down with our *British Divines*, because directly opposite to government by Archbishops and Bishops in *England*: Whereupon
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the Lord Bishop of Landaff, in his own name, and the name of his Brethren, *made open protestation, That whereas in the Confession there was inserted a strange conceit of the Parity of Ministers to be instituted by Christ, he declared his own and his brethrens utter dissent in that point.* Now hence, I thus argue, either the words in that Article do condemn our Government in *England*, or they do not; if they do not, why did our *British* Divines concern themselves to make *protestation, open protestation* against them? If they did, then all at once down falls the one half of Mr. *Durell's* Book: For then the *Holland* Churches in their very Confession of Faith condemn the Discipline of the Church of *England*; and if the *Holland* Churches do so, other Churches do so also: For by the Divines of no other Church besides the English, was any dislike shewn to those words, asserting the parity of all Ministers. As for the Deputies of the *Gallo-Belgick* Churches, they declared, That the *French* Churches, though not there present, had before, in a National Synod held in the City of *Vitriack* 1583, declared solemnly, *their approbation, not only of the Doctrine, but also of the Discipline of their Holland Brethren*: No wonder they so readily consented, for an Egg is not more like to an Egg, than is the *Gallican* Confession to the *Belgick*, in the matters of Ministers and Discipline; both of them are a note above the *Ela* of many, who have the ill hap to be called *Presbyterians*, and lose their livings here in *England*: both say, *That this is one part of the Polity taught in the word, that there should be in the Church of Christ, Pastors,*
Elders,

Elders, Deacons. To this it is like that Mr. Durell himself hath subscribed; for he somewhere tells us, That he had for some years a place among the *French Protestants*; and he tells us, page 54, *That no man is to be ordained a Minister, or admitted to any other office in the said Churches, but he must subscribe, besides the publick Confession of their Faith, the Canons and Constitutions agreed on at Paris, commonly known by the name of their Discipline.* Now if a man should go to him, and ask him whether he believes it to be any piece of Christs Polity, that there should be in his Church Elders, Ruling-Elders, distinct from Preaching-Elders or Pastors, he would either say *no*, or say *nothing*. Why did he with his hand subscribe to that which he did not with his heart believe? Perhaps he is a *Latitudinarian*, or hath a Sluce in his Conscience. But the simple Nonconformists in *England* dare not say they assent to all, and every thing, if there be something unto which they do not unfeignedly assent; they say, they can promise not publickly to contradict any thing delivered in the Liturgy or Book of Ordination; and some who are beneficed and dignified, tell them, they mean no more, by professing assent and consent. But Nonconformists cannot bring themselves to imagine, that form of words imports no more. What a misery it is, that so many Families should be ruined for want of a distinguishing faculty! *Episcopus* hath prescribed a Receipt, which if they can but take, may cure them of their scrupulosity; (but let them fear lest it purge them of their Conscience also:) For thus he, *What if the Magistrate require*

quire words and forms of speaking, by which an opinion directly contrary to our faith and opinion is wont to be expressed? Answ. As long as my opinion is not known, if those forms be such, or conceived in such words which admit a true sense, though a false be wont to be expressed by them, I allow them for peace sake. Respon. ad 64. Quest. Page 54.

My Lord of Landaff's Protestation hath set my Pen a running further and faster than I designed; yet I will not give it check, until I have also taken notice of something else, which his Lordship relates in his Book against Mountague, viz. That he told some Divines of the Synod, the cause of all their troubles was, because they had no Bishops amongst them, who by their authority might repress turbulent spirits, that broached novelty, every man having liberty to speak or write what they list. It seems his Lordship was of opinion, that if Holland had but been blessed with Bishops, Arminianism had never come to such an Head in the Low-Countries; and so the Papists tell us, That if we would but submit our selves to the Bishop of Rome, we should then have no differences about the sense of Scripture; yet never any Pope of Rome hath set out any infallible Commentary upon the Bible; nor hath any Episcopal authority in England proved sufficient to root up Arminianism among us. Mr. Mountague when he first sowed the seeds thereof, was of Bishop Carleton's own Diocels, why did he not prevent his innovations taking root? Why could he not keep his own Book against them from being suppressed? What was the matter that no Convocation ever decided so important a controversy? I find

I find indeed His Majesty (*Mountague* having been much vexed by the Commons) about the year 1626, commanding all the Bishops to come before him, reprehending such as appeared, for not making known to him what was meet to be done about the Five points that made such a noise: but Bishop *Andrews* and Bishop *Laud* laying their heads together, thought it was not safe to adventure the determining of those points to a Convocation, till they could get a Convocation more of their own minds; wherefore after all expectations, nothing came forth, but a Proclamation from His Majesty, *Charging his Divines not to vent their heats, by raising any doubts, or publishing and maintaining any new inventions or opinions concerning Religion*: Much like to an Order, the Remonstrants by means of *Barneveldt* procured from the States of *Holland*, on purpose to prevent the calling of a Synod. Of late indeed, I find *Arnold Poelenberg*, in a Preface to the 2d Volume of *Episcopius* his Works, boasting of the great favour that the Remonstrant opinions and Authors, find with our Prelates, and with the leading men in both Universities; but perhaps he *reckons*, as the Proverb is, *without his host*. All experience tells us, that *Episcopacy without the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate, will not put an end to our strifes and contentions; and with the assistance of the Civil Magistrate Presbytery may do it*. But I return to Mr. *D.* whom I opposed with an Argument drawn from the Synod of *Dort*; I must not forget that he also takes notice of the Synod of *Dort*, and from the civil and respectful language given in it by *Bogerman* to the

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the Bishop of *Landaff*, concludes, That *Holland* condemns not our *Hierarchy*. And look how many *Transmarine* Divines he finds dedicating Books to our Bishops or Archbishops, and giving them the titles by which they are commonly called among us; so many good mediums he conceives he hath found to prove that beyond the seas the office of a Bishop or Archbishop is liked and honoured. I only desire him, if he can, to be as good natured to our English-men, and to believe *Thomas Cartwright* was a Convert, because writing to the Archbishop he gives him his Titles; and that Mr. *Prynne* had no design to unbishop *Timothy* and *Titus*, because he dedicates his book to the right reverend Fathers in God, *William of Canterbury*, and *Richard of York*, *Primates of all England*, and *Metropolitans*. And if his heart do not fail him, let him also infer, That *Francis Mason* had no dislike of Popish Hierarchy, because in a Dedicatory to *Henry* Bishop of *Paris*, he calls him *Amplissimum Præsulem*, and *Antistitem Clarissimum*, and *Virum Reverendissimum*. Dr. *Heylin* was not Master of so much charitable Logick; for speaking (*Hist. of Pres. p. 282.*) of Bishop *Grindals* holding correspondence with *Calvin* and *Beza*, *Zanchy*, *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, and some other of the chief Divines among the *Switzers*, he concludes at length, That they all had their ends upon him, for the advancing of *Presbytery* and *Inconformity in the Church of England*. And really I have observed, that most of the Divines that have by their Letters stroaked our Bishops, have in some places of their Writings given a shrewd knock to the Cause defended by them. Mr. *Dürell*, p. 281, tells us,

That *Daneus* his calling the Archbishop *Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, &c.* is as much as can be wished to testifie his good liking of the Church of England as it is by Law established: And yet *John Canne* a very troublesome Separatist, makes use of a passage in *Daneus* to justifie his separation from the Church of England. Mr. *Ball* clearly proves that the passage doth not warrant separation; but yet *Daneus* might have written more moderately: for these are his words on 1 Tim. 5. *Ex his omnibus apparet quam nulla sit, vel non legitima eorum verbi Dei ministrorum vel Ecclesie pastorum vocatio, qui solius Regis, vel Reginae, vel Patroni vel Episcopi vel Archiepiscopi autoritate diplomate, bullis, jussu & judicio fiunt vel eliguntur. Id quod dolendum est, fieri adhuc in iis Ecclesiis, que tamen purum Dei verbum habent, & sequuntur, veluti in media Anglia. Nam Anglos homines alioqui sapientissimos, acutissimos, & pientissimos, in istis tamen Papisticae Idololatrie, & tyrannidis reliquiis agnoscendis, & tollendis, scientes prudentesque cacutire mirum est. Itaque praclare sentiunt, qui omnem illam chartulariam, & Episcopaticam Curionum & pastorum Ecclesie creandorum rationem, item ex solo Episcopi consensu & diplomate ministrorum verbi caelestis vocationem, approbationem, & inaugurationem damnant, tollendamque ex reformata ad Dei verbum Ecclesia censent: quod ordo Dei verbo praescriptus in ordinatione huiusmodi personarum sit praetermissus, ac violatus, sicut perspicue apparet. Denique & senatui Ecclesiastico, & populo Christiano insonne suum atque suffragium misere sit hac ratione, & in hoc genere vocationum Ecclesiasticarum ademptum, & in unum quendam Episcopum magna tyrannide*

atque;

atq; abusu translatum. Dominus Deus talibus corruptionibus, quæ adhuc in Ecclesiis ipsius supersunt, & defenduntur, mederi magna sua misericordia dignetur, & velit, quæ tandem certe magnam Ecclesiæ Dei ruinam secum trahent, & ipsum sacrosanctum verbi Ministerium reddent efficientq; vel mercenarium, vel omnino contemptibile & abjectum. Quod Dominus avertat.

Certainly this is not as much as can be wished to testify *Danaus* his good liking of the Church of *England* as it is by Law established. *Friderick Spanhem* is another whose complaisant Dedicatory to the great *Usher* seems to Mr. D. a sufficient argument to prove that the Reformed Church of *Geneva* is no enemy to the Bishops of the Church of *England*; and yet *Spanhem* in that very third part of his Evangelical Doubts, which he dedicates to the Archbishop, determines it lawful for the innocent person after divorce to marry another wife; quite contrary to Ecclesiastical Laws still unrepealed in the Church of *England*. Well, that is but a Peccadillo, because many of our own Conformable Divines are of the same mind, and as I suppose, some of our Bishops also. Dr. *Abbot* answering *Bishops* Second part, p. 315. saith, 'That the limitation of divorce which our Saviour giveth, maketh it lawful for the party innocent to marry again, the delinquent being left to the censure of the Church, until satisfaction be given of true repentance for so hainous a sin. The Church of *England* notwithstanding, for the preventing of some mischiefs that by the wickedness of men do arise by the abuse of the liberty of marriage upon divorce, useth a restraint of that liber-

ty, that the parties divorced shall put in caution not to marry again as long as they both live. As for the Authors of the reformation of our Ecclesiastical laws *de Adult. & divort. c. 6.* they determine plainly, *Cum alter conjux adulterii damnatus est, alteri licebit innocentium novum ad matrimonium (si volet) progredi: and c. 7. Judex quoties alterum conjugem ad adulterii condemnat, alteri sincera personae libertatem denunciare debet ad novum matrimonium transeundi.* And *cap. 19. Mensae societas & thori solebat in certis criminibus adimi conjugibus, salvo tamen inter illos reliquo matrimonii jure; quae constitutio cum à sacris literis aliena sit, & maximam perversitatem habeat, & malorum sentinam in matrimonium comportaverit, illud auctoritate nostra totum aboleri placet.* But this, it seems, is not current doctrine now, and so let it pass. The aforesaid *Friderick Spanhem* makes Ruling-Elders to be one of those orders of Officers that are designed by Christ for the ruling of his Church, and affirms them to be grounded on Scripture, *1 Cor. 12. 8. 1 Tim. 5. 17.* So I find him quoted by *Hornbeck Institut. Theol. p. 523, 524.* And it will be difficult for *Mr. Durell* to prove that he can approve the divine right of Episcopacy, who makes Lay-Elders (commonly so called) a divine institution.

Leaving Episcopacy, let us come to Liturgy, that we may see whether *Mr. Durell* be any more happy in managing that Controversie. I do easily grant, that he hath by a whole cloud of witnesses proved,

1. That set-forms of prayer are lawful.
2. That most Churches reformed do use set-forms of prayer.

3. That the old English Common prayer-book was

was

was not so corrupt, as that a man could not without defiling his conscience, joyn with those who made use of it in the service of God. But all these things had been proved many years before, by an old Non-conformist (who died about the beginning of the late Wars) Mr. *John Ball*, both in his tryal of the grounds tending to separation, and in his answer to Mr. *Cann* and others.

If Mr. *Durell* will do any thing to purpose in this Controversie relating to Liturgies, he must prove,

1. That it is lawful for any Church so strictly to tye up her Ministers to a form, as not to allow them to make any use of their own gifts in prayer in publick.

Or else, 2dly, That our Church hath not so tied up her Ministers, but that they may still, any Rubrick or Canon to the contrary notwithstanding, use their own prayer at some times, and upon some occasions in the publick.

If he will endeavour to prove the first, the *Presbyterians* will be concerned to answer him. If the second, there are many of his Conforming brethren will soon be upon his bones; but for ought I see or can find, Mr. *D.* never goes about either to prove the one or the other proposition; and therefore I might be excused if I did wholly dismiss him, and leave him to some of his friends to reconcile him to his own shadow; yet because he swaggers, and accounts that he hath by one thrust left the Assembly of Divines, and the two Houses of Parliament weltring in their blood, I will try *quid tanto dignum feret hic promissor hiatu.*

The things laid to the charge of the two Houses, and the Assembly chosen by them, are *manifest untruths, and those uttered in an Ordinance, and in a preface to a Directory for the publick Worship of God throughout the three kingdoms*, vid. p. 3. If any manifest untruths are delivered by them, let them (for me) lye down in their own sorrow and shame, till they have made reparation to the parties injured. But first, we must see whether this heavy charge can be made good against them, else the penance must be laid on him that brought in the charge. The first untruth is, *That the book of Common-prayer had proved an offence to the Reformed Churches abroad*. Is this an untruth, and a manifest untruth too? Why, are not the *Walachian Churches in Zealand*, Reformed Churches? and was not the Liturgy used in the Church of *England*, an offence to them? Let Mr. D. read what *Apollonius* in the name of the whole *Classis* hath written against it, and then tell us his mind; let him also read the several Letters written by *Calvin* and *Beza* touching our Liturgy, and it will be very evident, that some things in our English Liturgy were offensive at *Geneva*; and a man would think something in it was offensive to the Protestant Churches in *France*, or else certainly they would have used their interest with the *French Churches* here in *England* to receive it from *Bishop Laud*, who laboured with all his might for many years to impose it on them, but could not prevail at last. Lastly, for ought I know the *Scottish Churches* may properly enough be called Churches abroad, and Mr. D. will not sure deny but that our Liturgy was offensive to them.

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The second manifest untruth is, that *the two houses did take away the book of Common-prayer to answer the expectation of other Reformed Churches.* If there were other Reformed Churches besides those, for which the Directory was appointed, that expected the two Houses should take away the Common-prayer-book used in *England*, then was there no manifest untruth in the before-mentioned expression: Let us see whether there were not. The abolishing of the Common-prayer-book was for the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*. Can Mr. D. imagine that no other Churches reformed, expected the taking away of the *English* Liturgy? What thinks he of the Reformed Churches of *Scotland*? The Churches of *New England*? those *English* and *Scottish* Churches that were planted up and down the *Low-Countrys*, and other places of Traffick? Will he nullifie all these Churches? or had they not desires as well as expectations that the Liturgy should be removed? Did he never read with how great regret that Liturgy was obtruded upon those *English* that trafficked in foreign Nations? If he have not, let him vouchsafe to read over the History of Archbishop *Laud*, written by Dr. *Heylin*, and then tell us whether he was not too rash to give so many Nobles, Gentlemen, and Divines the lye. If that History bring him under no sense of his temerity, then I entreat him to enquire of the Assembly-men still alive, whether they cannot help him to a sight of the Answers of Foreign Churches, returned to the Latin Letter of the Assembly of Divines; and by most of them he will find, that the designed Reformation was not disgusted by them.

Till he have such an opportunity, it will be worth his while to bestow a little time in reading *Apolanius* his printed Epistle.

Mr. D. again falls upon the two Houses, p. 14. thither I will follow him; where conceiving wrath and fiery indignation against an expression in the Ordinance of the two Houses, he makes a Manifesto, *That there was never, nor is yet any one Reformed Church, that hath only a Directory, and not a book of Common-prayer for the publick worship of God.* To which Manifesto I say, That the Church of Scotland had, when the two Houses made that Ordinance, no Book of Common-prayer for the publick worship of God, but what was in the nature of a Directory; and that the Church of Scotland was principally in their eye in the management of their Reformation; and I also say, that the *Dutch* Liturgy is but in the nature of a Directory, for so I understand those words, cap. 11. art. 11. in the Harmony of the *Belgick* Synods, *Minister preces vel dictante spiritu, vel certa sibi proposita formula concipiet.* It may be Mr. D. will put another construction on them, for he seems to have used other Dictionaries than those we have opportunity to consult in *England*. In one of the *French* Rubricks it is said, that *upon Sundays in the morning the following form is commonly used*; he tells us, p. 17. the meaning is, *That that form is to be used always, and no other.* Could any *Presbyterian* have thought of such a meaning? or how can any one of them be convinced that *commonly* and *always* are all one? why, he may be convinced by *constant and uniform practice*, so he tells us, *ibid.* But I say, constant and

And uniform practice will never make *commonly*, to be *always*. I have been a member of the Church of *England* for these *Thirty* years, and my occasions have called me to be in most Counties of the Nation, and in all these years I never heard any Minister, whether *Prelatical* or *Presbyterian* read King *James* his Statute against Swearing, and yet the words of the Law are plain, That it shall be read twice every year, *were I not a wise man if I should say, the meaning of the Law is, that the Statute shall never be read, as constant and uniform practice doth shew?* Thus have I examined what Mr. *D.* had to say against the Two Houses, and the Assembly, and must now try *not the words, but the power of Ludovicus Capellus* a man of great Learning; but which in his later days especially, he made use of, to the disturbance of the Church: better had it been for the Christian world, that *Saumur* had never had a professor of *Hebrew*, than a Professor that took so much pains to make the *Hebrew* Points, or Vowels, and Accents, a late invention of the *Tiberian Massarites*, long after sundry Translations were extant in the World. All his *Theses* will not do so much good, as his *Arcanum punctationis revelatum*, and *Critica Sacra* have done hurt. Let us notwithstanding hear what he hath concerning Liturgies, Mr. *D.* himself being Translator.

‘ A Hundred and forty years ago, when the
 ‘ separation was made from the Church of *Rome*,
 ‘ and that the Christian people, coming out of
 ‘ *Babylon*, did cast off the Popes tyranny, the sa-
 ‘ cred Liturgy was purged of all that Popish su-
 ‘ perstition

'perstition and idolatry, and all such things as
 'were over-burdenfom, or which did little or no-
 'thing contribute towards the edification of the
 'Church; and fo were framed and prefcribed in
 'feveral places, divers fet forms of holy Liturgies
 'by the feveral Authors of the Reformation that
 'then was, and thofe fimple and pure in *Germany*,
 '*France, England, Scotland, the Netherlands, &c.*
 'differing as little as poffible from the ancient fet
 'forms of the Primitive Church: which fet forms
 'the Reformed have ufed hitherto with happinefs
 'and profit, each of them in their feveral Nations
 'and Diftricts: Till at laft of very late, there did
 'arife in *England*, a froward, fcrupulous and over-
 'nice (that I fay not altogether fuperftitious)
 'generation of men, unto whom it hath feemed
 'good for many Reafons, but thofe very light,
 'and almoft of no moment at all, not only to
 'blame, but to cafhier, and to abolifh wholly the
 'Liturgy ufed hitherto in their Church, (together
 'with the whole Hierarchical Government of their
 'Bifhops) inftead of which Liturgy they have
 'brought in their Directory as they call it.

Mr. *D.* tells us, pag. 15. That from hence the Reader may obferve Five things:

1. *That all reformed Churches have Liturgies;* but I fay, That from no words of *Capellus*, any fuch obfervation can be collected; if Mr. *D.* think otherwife, his Logick is his own, let him make ufe of it:

2. *That the Liturgy of the Church of England is judged by this great man, not only fimple, and pure, and free from all Popifh Superftition and Idolatry;*
but

but also from all such things as were over onerous and troublesome, or which did contribute but little to the edification of the Church. No such observation can be made from *Capellus* his words, for he only speaks of the Liturgies that were introduced by the first Authors of our Reformation, betwixt which and the present Liturgy there may be, for ought Mr. *Capell* saith to the Contrary, a vast difference: But I believe this great man commended he knew not what, and talked at an high rate of confidence concerning Liturgies of the first Reformers which he never saw. A Papist will not desire greater advantage against the *Preses* in *Saumur*, than to have it granted, that in the Liturgies made by the Authors of Reformation in all the places *Capell* mentioneth, nothing was contained onerous, or of little edification. The Divines of King *Henry* the 8th were Authors of a Reformation, their Liturgy had something in it superstitious, idolatrous, less profitable. So had also the first Liturgy made by our Divines in King *Edwards* time, else we must count it profitable to pray for the dead, and to commend our Prayers to be presented by the holy Angels, &c. And if we speak even of the present *Lutherans* Liturgies, every thing that hath little or nothing of profit in it, is not taken away; for what is the profit of *Latin* Cantions? or where is the advantage of Exorcisme? What good is to be got by the Doctrine of Consubstantiation? I might urge other questions which no friend of *Capellus* would much care for answering.

3. If Liturgies ought to recede as little as possible from that of the Primitive Church, as he doth intimate, undoubtedly the Liturgy of the Church of England is the best, and most perfect of them, all as coming nearest unto it. How the Reader should be able to observe this from any words of *Capellus* cannot I divine; it may be Mr. D. heartily thinks that our Liturgy cometh nearest to the Primitive Liturgies, and so is the most perfect, because *primum in unoquoq; genere est mensura reliquorum*: But *Capellus* neither did think so, nor could think so, without egregious contradiction to his own Principle; for he had said just before, That from the beginning the Formula's were most brief, and most simple, which without pomp and train, and manifold variety, consisted of a few Prayers, and Lessons out of the Psalms and other Scripture: Now certainly if our Liturgy be most simple, yet it is not most brief, nor doth it consist of but a few Prayers; let Mr. D. read all that by the Liturgy is appointed to be read without defalcation, and I will undertake he shall be under no temptation to make his Sermons tedious.

4. That of all men who call themselves Reformed, the Presbyterians are the first that ever left the use of set forms of Prayers. *Capellus* useth not the word *Presbyterians*, and if he had used it, it would have been a very blind. Mr. D. seems by *Presbyterians* to mean the major part of those Divines, who by vertue of an Ordinance of Parliament did meet to give advice, concerning Doctrine, Discipline, Worship: If *Capellus* say, that these were the first that left off the use of set forms of Prayer,

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he was much mistaken; set forms of Prayer had been long before laid aside and condemned as unlawful, by such as were as little in love with *Presbytery* as *Hierarchy*; he may know whom I mean, if he will enquire who they were that left old *England*. *Dr. Heylin* hath written the *History of Presbyterians*, under which name, he seems to bring all those Protestants who are not *Lutherans*, nor satisfied with the Reformation of the Church of *England*: This History his Son hath dedicated to the Two Houses of Parliament now sitting. In the 2^d Page of that Book it is said, ‘The *Zuinglian* Reformation was begun in defacing Images, decrying the established Fasts and appointed Festivals, abolishing set forms of worship, denying the old Catholick Doctrine of a Real Presence, and consequently all external reverence in the participation of the blessed Sacrament; which *Luther* seriously laboured to preserve in the same estate in which he found them at the present. And page 89: speaking of the *Palatine* Churches, he would have us take them for *Antilutherans* in defacing Images, abolishing all distinction of Fasts and Festivals, and utterly denying all set forms of publick Worship. I know a great deal of this is false, maliciously false, as is almost every thing in that Book which relates to the foreign Churches; and therefore I hope the Bishops, or others that have Authority, will either call in the Book, or some other way discover how much they abhor the design of it; in the mean time, here is work for *Mr. Durell’s* Pen, if he will not be partial, and respect persons; if he have any zeal left for *Zuinglius*,

lius, Calvin, Beza, let him wipe off the aspersions of Rebellion, Schism, *Aerianism* from their faces, or else let him know, that seeing *Dr. Heylins* Book came out last, his will be thought sufficiently confuted.

5. *Mr. D.* tells us, we may observe that the many reasons for which the Presbyterians have rejected the Book of Common-Prayer, are very light, and almost of no moment at all. *Capell* saith not so, but that the Reasons for which it seemed to some scrupulous men, that the Liturgy used by their Church was not only to be disapproved, but also to be plainly abrogated, and wholly to be abolished and obliterated, were light and almost of no moment; so that if any man do only, *improbare*, having no design plainly to abrogate, and wholly to obliterate the Liturgy composed by our first Reformers. he may have Reasons good enough, for ought *Capell* affirms to the contrary.

6. That as for the Presbyterians (who are the known Authors of the Directory) they are in *Capell's* judgment a froward, peevish and superstitious generation of men. *Capell* was indeed a man who was free enough in his censures, of any one whether Presbyterian or Episcopal that stood in his way, not fearing to throw dirt in the face of the great *Hooker* himself, as appears in his Theses about Feasts or Holy-days: But I would fain understand how the Presbyterians are the known Authors of the Directory; most of those who were called to give advice about the Directory, were when called to give their advice, Readers of the Liturgy, and had subscribed to the Three Articles in the

To said Bayle

36th Canon: When His Majesty was restored few of them were alive, of those few, some at this day are Conformists; let Mr. D. ask them whether they were *Presbyterians* when they consented to the laying aside of the Liturgy? and how they came to widen their Throats so, as to be able to swallow the present Declarations, much bigger than any heretofore enjoyed.

And now I will try whether I can make some truer observations upon *Capellus* his Theses about Liturgies; in doing which I shall follow the edition of *Saumur*, 1651.

1. He saith it is certain that the Apostles and Apostolical men had no prescript form of Liturgy, and that they never did write, and leave or prescribe to their successors any such; for the Apostles needed no such form, nor did those need any whom they made prebets of the Church, and that prescript Liturgies were not necessary, till persecution ceasing, the number of professors much increased, and Piety began to grow cold, and Teachers waxed lazy, so as there could not every where be had Pastors sufficiently learned, and Heresies began to multiply; and that the first prescript forms that were made, were made for the sake of unlearned and simple Pastors, page 706.

2. That Liturgies first began to be made in the more famous Metropolitan and Patriarchal Churches, and that in the Countries called by the name of *Gallia*, there were several Liturgies in almost every several famous Bishoprick, and that every several did contain something proper and singular, and different from the rest, until

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‘at last by the tyranny of the Pope, the *Roman*
 ‘Liturgy obtained through all the West. So that
 it seems, with him, Liturgies are no older than
 Metropolitan and Patriarchal Churches; how old
 such Churches were in his judgment, and upon
 what occasion first erected, is at large declared in
 his Theses, 337, 338, 339, &c. little as I suppose
 to the gust of Mr. D.

3. He doth, Page 707, plainly mistake the
 meaning of the *Directory*, and the Composers of
 it, when he suggests that by it, *'tis left free to*
Ministers to pray and administer the Sacraments in
what words they please; for the *Directory* tieth
 Ministers to a certain form in the administration
 of Baptism and the Lords-Supper, as also in the
 solemnization of Marriage. Throughout the
 whole *Directory* there are, though not Prayers
 prescribed to be used *totidem verbis*, without any
 variation, yet such Heads of Prayer, as that he
 who needs greater help and furniture to enable
 him for Confession, Petition, Thanksgiving, may
 well be thought unfit for the Office of a Pastor.
 And I observe, *That the Directory orders Mini-*
sters in Prayer before Sermon, to commend to Gods
 blessing the Parliament if sitting, and the Universi-
ties, and all Schools; and Religious Seminaries of
Church and Common-wealth, but in no Liturgy be-
 sides this last, was there any Prayer for the High
 Court of Parliament; nor in this last is there any
 Prayer for the Universities or Schools of Learning;
 yet in the Constitutions of 1603, *In all Colledges*
and Halls in both Universities, order, form, cere-
monies are to be observed, as they are set down,
 and

and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, without any omission or alteration. Is not this in effect to tie the Universities never publickly to pray for themselves? If any one should prescribe a Family a form of Prayer, in which was no mention of a Family, it would be thought a strange form.

The said *Capell*, page 708. tells us, *That sacred Sermons to the people, and exhortations, should be made and composed by the Pastors themselves, and recited to the people either by heart, or out of a Paper, if they can do no other. Postills and Homilies as much as may be are to be driven out of the Church; yet it is better, saith he, that men should hear one reading anothers Sermons, than hear none at all.* In this the Nonconformists throughly agree with him, but some of them will not stick to say, that if some in authority had been as zealous for Sermons as they might have been, we needed not before this time, have wanted for any Cure, a Minister able to make a Sermon of his own: And whereas *Capel* saith, That Homilies should not be read, lest they prove, *pulvinar ignavia & scordia, & fomes ignorantie*, they are wont to urge the same Argument against set forms of Prayer; he might have done well to shew that the Reason is not alike forcible in both.

He saith, *ibid.* Those he had to deal with, deny not but that Lessons, Psalms and Hymns may be read out of a Book to the people, recited and sung; only Hymns and Songs composed by others than men divinely inspired, he saith, they allow not to have any use in the publick Congregation. Therefore, say I, he did not intend to deal with the Presby-

terians, who will never be found any where to have said, that no Hymns may lawfully be sung, but such as are composed by men divinely inspired; I my self have heard some of them sing others, without blame from any of their brethren, nor is there any one tittle in the Directory to the contrary. Let me here enquire whether the *English Church* hath taken any care to have any *Psalms* sung in the Congregation; translation of the *Psalms* into meter we have none generally known, but only that composed by *Hopkins, Sternhold, &c.* 'Tis said that Translation is allowed (allowed, not enjoined) to be used in the Congregation; but *Dr. Heylin* again and again, denieth that ever there was any allowance of it given by any lawful authority; so that the whole service of God with us may be performed, it seems, without any singing at all; for though the *Common Prayer Book* hath sundry parts in it which may be sung, yet it hath nothing that is appointed to be sung, but indifferently, either sung or read. I believe in this we are a singular Church, there being no other that I ever heard, or read of, that hath not enjoined her Congregations to sing some *Psalms*. *Mr. D* certainly can either prove that our Church hath allowed, and enjoined us to sing *Psalms*, or else he can shew us some Reformed Church, that doth not enjoin *Psalmody*. But such is my weakness that I cannot.

6. *Capellus* asketh us, p. 709. Whether it were not better wisely to prescribe certain forms of Prayer, fit for the publick edification of the Church, than to permit them to the liberty of many Pastors, unlearn-

ed and unexercised, where others cannot be had? The Presbyterians will answer yes; but they think, in a wealthy Nation, where the King is a Protestant, there is no necessity to take any into the Church for Ministers, if they be unlearned, and unexercised.

7. Page 100. *He asketh whether in all the Prayers that are to be made in the Church, Pastors can perpetually vary them, or express themselves in divers Words and Phrases concerning the same Argument; yea, he asketh what Prophet or Apostle can do this with edification?* Sure he forgets himself, for he before told us, Apostles could and did do it, and I am sure we have had ordinary Pastors here in England that have done it, and we have still hundreds and thousands that can, and would do it, might they be permitted: Nor can I understand how it can be difficult to any one who hath well studied the Scriptures, and observeth the Providences of God, and is affected duly with his own and peoples wants and necessities. I in my Family find it not difficult to vary as I please.

8. Page 710, 711. *He contends that the Creeds are to be recited in a certain form of words; but adds, those whom he dealt with did bewray a manifest hatred against certain forms of Symbols, Confessions and Catechism.* Whence again I infer, that he dealt not with the Directorians, for they liked the use of Confessions and Catechisms in set forms.

9. Page 713. *He thinks the Apotomy and rigor of those men worthily to be condemned, who under pretext of certain and prescribed forms of Liturgy,*

do study to eliminate out of the Church all use of Prayers conceived by Ministers themselves. This will touch Mr. D's Copyhold, unless he can prove against Dr. Heylin and others, that some Prayers, besides those prescribed in the Liturgy, are allowed to Ministers in publick ministrations.

10. Page 716. He determines, that it is better by much, and more convenient and safe, that those writings only should be publickly read which are truly Canonical, and divinely inspired. What will the peremptory enjoyers of the Apocryphal Chapters say to this?

11. Page 719. Drawing up the sum of all his conceptions, he saith, 1. That forms are not simply and absolutely necessary. 2. That they are not commonly necessary, but only for order and decorum sake. 3. That they are plainly necessary, where we cannot have learned Ministers. 4. Where there are learned and skilful Pastors, a publick form of Liturgie is very useful and necessary to the common edification of the Church, in the same communion of Divine worship. 5. The use of Liturgies cannot of right be condemned or disallowed. To all these Propositions there are Hundreds of Non-conformists can subscribe, and are ready to subscribe, the two last only being qualified with such distinctions, as I believe, were not either against, or besides the mind of this Professor. The Arguments of the Brownists and others which he scatereth up and down, were fully propounded, and clearly answered by Mr. John Ball, before his Theses saw the light. Let Mr. Baxters propositions concerning Liturgies be read and weighed, and
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it will be found, that they come very near to these of *Capellus*.

I must now come to Ceremonies: The first I mention, is the use of a *Surplice*; concerning which, the Nonconformists say, that if they receive it, they must receive it not *only as serving to a decent order and godly discipline; but as apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified*; but they have never found any such aptness in it to stir up their dull minds to the remembrance of their duty, and that they dare not pretend to use a thing in order to such an end, as they never expect to attain by it. I my self have talked with some conformable Ministers, and asked them, whether they ever found their dull minds stirred up by the use of it? they have been loth to give me any answer, but what moved on the *Latitudinarian* hinge: One indeed told me, he did verily believe there was a wonderful vertue in it to excite his dull mind; but asking him further, whether it was apt to excite him as a man, or as an English man, or as a Minister? He gave me a reply, which for Friendship sake, I will not here insert; but such it was, that I easily saw the *Surplice* had not cured him of all his dulness. Nor can I chuse but wonder why they who pretend to be stirred up to a remembrance of their duty by a *Surplice*, do use it so seldom: there are but few that use it constantly, some use it not above once a quarter, few use it in the Pulpit, yet I suppose their minds are apt

to be as dull in the Pulpit as in the Desk ; and the Church as much requires them to use the Surplice at all times of their Ministration, as at any time. Perhaps we must say of Surplices, as of pleasure, *commendat rarior usus.*

Well, but how doth Mr. D. discourse of Surplices? Truly very innocently: He tells us, Page 23, 24. That in *Aquitain* when a Minister is buried, the neighbour Ministers that be present must all have their Gowns, if Gowns can conveniently be had (that was wisely put in). Now this changing of apparel for divine service (it seems burying of a Minister in *France* is Divine Service) is the very same thing for which the Church of England is by some men reputed Popish and superstitious, when she will have her Ministers to wear Surplices on the same occasion. It should seem with him the Surplice is no Symbolical Vestment, and that he reckons all those who put on their solemn apparel and best Clothes do the same thing that he doth, when he puts on significant Garments: But he is so kind, that lest this should not satisfy, he will find out some of the best Reformed Churches, that count it no superstition for their Ministers to wear a Surplice, and he instanceth in the Bohemians, Polonians, Lithuanians, who did put on the surplice as oft as they preached in the Churches of the Augustan confession: But it seems they lost nothing by this condescension, for the Lutherans officiated in their Churches without a Surplice. To requite him for this discovery, I will tell him of some Lutheran Ministers (*viz.* the Lutherans in *Holland*) that do not use a Surplice, no not in their own Churches;

Churches; so little do they find it to contribute to edification, that they forbear it, where they would not be blamed if they should use it: So the *Presbyterians* are out of his debt.

A second Ceremony controverted is kneeling at the Sacrament; about which, I may say, [*Iliacos extra muros peccatur & intra*] I cannot by all that I have read, see any unlawfulness in it, and I hope the *Presbyterians*, if they should be asked by any, whether they had better forbear the Sacrament than receive it kneeling, wou'd well be-think themselves what answer to give. I find not that ever any of our authorized Liturgies did allow any other gesture; yet I have read in a Book, called *Treasure out of rubbish*, "That some Commissioners of *Q. Elizabeth* did about the beginning of Her Reign, at *Coventry*, and other places appoint, not kneeling, but standing to be used at the Lords Table: The Book was Printed by the Reverend Mr. *Simeon Ash* since His Majesties return to his Throne; and I hear that many conforming Ministers are so compassionate, as to deliver the consecrated Elements to those who do not kneel; how they can so do, *non violata fide quam dederunt ecclesia*, I understand not, they themselves I hope have satisfied their own Consciences, and can give a reason of their practice to their Governors though I cannot. The Church in the 2d Book of King *Edward* inserted a Rubrick against Transubstantiation, unhappily left out in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, King *Charles the 1st*, but through the goodness of our present Sovereign, now again put into the last

Edition of our Liturgy; may it never more be left out, but continue to the shame of those who feared not to lay, we left it out, because it seemed too much to favour the Sacramentarians. The Church also appoints the Minister to use a kind of a Prayer, in delivering the Eucharist, whilst he useth that Prayer, the Communicant is to kneel meekly; but when he hath taken the Bread into his own hands, he may then sit and eat it, or stand and eat it; I wish this could satisfie private Christians, but there are Hundreds that cannot so quiet their own minds; and yet if you discourse with them, they can make Syllogisms, and they live peaceable and godly lives: Now here the Shoe pincheth the Non-conformist Minister, whether he can promise never to give the Sacrament to any one who scruplet kneeling?

Had Mr. D. clearly and solidly determined this question, or had he strongly proved that the Church could not without dishonour allow more than one gesture in receiving the Sacrament, I could easily have forgiven him all the raillery of his book; but he thought he cou'd get preferment at an easier rate, & therefore contents himself, in a few lines (p. 46, 47.) to instance in a very few Reformed Churches that receive the Sacrament kneeling: First, he instanceth in the Reformed Churches of *Bohemia*, Reformed above two hundred years ago; the remnant of it now left, saith he, receive it kneeling. This instance little availeth our Church, because from the beginning it was not so; the Ancestors of the *Bohemians* did at first, viz. 1494, use standing; but being persecuted on that account, were compelled to leave it off, as *Comenius*

menius tells us ; so that Mr. D. by this only proves the conformity of our Church with the Popish Church, in persecuting those who will not kneel at the Sacrament. Nor is he more lucky in his other instances of *Polonia major*, and *Lithuania*, for which he refers us to the *Consensus Poloniae*. What a Character Dr. Heylin gives of the Reformation of Poland, let him that loveth railing see, *Hist. of Presb.* 31, 32, 33. Indeed the Consent of Poland doth not much hit our humour here in England; for in the *Cracovian Synod, 1573, all Choreæ are condemned as dishonest*. A question being moved, *Whether the rites in the use of the Lords Supper ought to be uniform? It was concluded, That according to the custom of the Primitive Church, men should be left to their Christian liberty, yet with admonition to the brethren, that if any used sitting, they should leave that proper to the Arrian Anabaptists*. In the *Petrovian Synod, Anno 1578, it is determined, That uniformity in the rite of receiving the Lords Supper, should not be pressed, lest it should happen that there might be occasion to exercise Ecclesiastical Discipline upon any of the common people, who are not easily brought to unusual ceremonies; whereas the Synod judged it neither agreeable to the will of the Lord, nor the custom of the Christian Church more pure, to strike Christian men with the rod of Discipline for external rites, yet so as the gesture of sitting at the Lords Table is rejected for a reason I shall more speak of by and by.* 'Tis the *Synodus Wlodislavien-sis congregated 1583, that Mr. D pitcheth upon, in which Synod the matter of sitting at the Lords Table is again debated; and there it is determined,*

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that sitting is as free as any other gesture ; which being brought in by way of Parenthesis, Mr. D. never Englisheth or taketh notice of ; for he had called it an unmannerly and irreverent gesture ; and it was no wisdom to touch a knife that would be sure to cut his fingers ; but there also it was determined, That sitting should not be used at the Lords table in any of the Churches of Poland or Lithuania, for this ceremony is not used in Christian Churches, and Evangelical Assemblies, and is only proper to the unbelieving Arrians placing themselves in a seat or throne equal to Christ. Seeing therefore sitting crept into some of their Churches, especially by occasion of those who denied the Lord that redeemed us ; they desire and exhort all their assemblies and brethren in the Lord, that they would change sitting into standing or kneeling. Mr. D. translates *potissimum* first; and I believe he was the first that so translated that word. Not content to make so bold with *Priscian*, he riseth to greater impudence, saying that what they observed about the first bringers in of sitting into Poland, may be our observation also, if what Dr. Owen have said be true, as it is very likely, That there is not a city, a town, scarce a village in England, but had some of the Mischeant Socinians. Whether Dr. Owen hath any words of this import, I know not ; if he have, 'tis like he referred them to the time in which he did make his book, which was many years after that sitting was brought into the English Churches by the two Houses. Too many there were in the two Houses, no doubt, that sought their own things more than the Nations peace ; but they never had among them any Socinian that ever

I did

I did hear of, but only one *Fry*, who was also expelled when he discovered his blasphemies: Nor do I find that these Hereticks do abound in those places of the Kingdom where I have been, but Papists abound extremely; so as the same thing that moved the *Polonians* to forbid sitting, may move us to forbid kneeling, and leave it proper to the wretched Papists, who worship a piece of bread instead of their Saviour.

But this gesture of kneeling would be a little better considered: The Fathers of the before mentioned Synods seem to say (not indeed in that Meeting which Mr. *D.* quotes, but in the Meeting of 1578.) *That those who fell off to Arrianism, were the first that were authors of sitting in their Churches.* If I mistake their meaning, *detur venia*; but if I do not, I humbly conceive they were themselves mistaken. *John Alasco*, a Noble-man of *Poland*, was upon *Cranmer's* persuasion sent for into our *England* by King *Edward* the sixth, about the year 1549. and permitted to have a Church of strangers, especially of *Dutch*, whom he brought up to receive the Sacrament sitting; and also during his abode here, put forth a book to prove the lawfulness of that gesture: After many troublesome wandrings from place to place, at last being invited by at least forty Letters, he returned to his own Countrey, and no question administred the Sacrament to his flock sitting, and taught others on whom he had influence so to do: Now this *Alasco* never fell off to *Arrianism*; perhaps this was the reason why in the Meeting 1583. it is not said, *that the Arrians first brought in sitting, but that it was chiefly brought*

brought in by them. The aforesaid Fathers seem also to affirm, that *sitting had not been used by any Evangelical Churches in Europe*, at the time of their meeting; but if they so meant, they were greatly mistaken; for sitting was brought into the Church of *Scotland* by authority, as the most proper and convenient gesture, 1560. and our Confessor Mr. *Thomas Beacon*, in an authorized Catechism 1563. speaks of sitting as a gesture used in certain Reformed Churches, and which he himself could best allow, if it were received by publick authority and common consent. Who the *Arrian-Anabaptists* were, that had caused such a detestation of themselves among the *Polonians*, I cannot certainly know; but by such stories as have come to my hands, I guess they were *Georgius Blandrata*, and *Franciscus Davidis* and their Spawn, who both denied the *Divinity of Jesus*, and also *his adorability*. *Socinus* and his followers held the Principle, That *Jesus* is not God, and yet denied the conclusion that naturally and lineally descended from it, That *Jesus* is not to be worshipped; for they had found out a distinction of *Deus natus & factus*. The former would not stick to say That *Jesus* was one of their brethren and fellow-servants; so would the latter: for they ascribed unto *Christ* a dignity and excellency nearly approaching unto the dignity and excellency of the Creator, but conferred on him by the singular bounty and good will of him who created him. Wherefore the *Socinians* properly so called, could not use sitting at the Lords Table as a token of their equality with *Christ*, nor indeed do they much concern themselves what gesture is used

used in Sacramental Communion. *Volkelius* saith, *They use sitting; but yet so, that they damn not those who had rather use standing, so as there be no appearance of idolatry.* They would have us believe they hate the very *appearance of Idolatry*, and yet they commit Idolatry: for what greater Idolatry, than to worship him that by nature is not God, as they blasphemously say Jesus is not, χ ταῦτα μὲν δὲ ταῦτα.

The last Ceremony, but about which there is the greatest Controversie, is the sign of the Cross. Nonconformists say this sign is made a Sacramental sign, because it is *used as a token that the child shall not be ashamed to profess Christ crucified, &c.* and also as a ceremony by which it is dedicated unto God. In clearing this ceremony therefore, *Mr. D.* should have taken most pains; but in this he is slightest of all. He gives us not an instance of any one Reformed Church that hath appointed the sign of the Cross to be used either in Baptism or in any other Ordinance; only he tells us of Bibles printed at *Geneva* for the use of the Church, and that before them, Christian Religion is represented in an Emblem as leaning upon a Cross, and that some Reformed have Crosses upon their Churches, and that some Ministers in *Prussia*, to humor the *Lutherans*, will make a Cross in the Air with their hand when they say, *The Lord be with you.* All this is to as much purpose, as if he had told us, that the Rumpers did use the sign of the Cross in the Flags of their Ships, and put it on the money which they coined, or that some Nonconformists have it in their Coat of Arms, as I am sure they have.

I be-

I believe there is not a Nonconformist in *England*, that questioneth the lawfulness of making the sign of a Cross upon any thing he useth: And if the sign of the Cross were made so, as that it remained, and were visible after it were made, then perhaps it might have an aptitude to occasion a good thought concerning a crucified Saviour; but what can be the benefit of a Cross that leaves no impression on the forehead? I know the Baptismal water being applied to an infant, leaveth no such mark on the flesh as it can take notice of at years of discretion; but the Spirit, if he be not grieved, will bring our Baptism to our remembrance, and he hath so done to many in the hour of temptation; but how shall a man be secured, that the blessed Spirit will engage himself to bring our being crossed to our remembrance? I have made observation, and could never find any difference betwixt us that were crossed, and those who were not crossed; Do we confess the Faith of a crucified Saviour? so do they; do we fight under his Banner? so do they; do we joyn our selves to Christs flock? so do they; the things that we know, they know also; so that they are under a temptation to think that the Cross is an useles sign.

I must not dissemble that Mr. *D.* takes on him in his Sermon, page 29 to explicate and shew the usefulness of this sign. *As when the King having created those noble Knights of his Order bestows on them the Garter and the Blew Riband, as Badges to be known by of others, and to put them in mind of the great honour done unto them: In like manner, when an infant hath by Baptism been enrolled in the*
Militia

Militia of the King of Glory, Jesus Christ our Lord; this sign of the Cross is made upon his forehead, to declare unto all such as are present, and as many as shall thereafter know it, that he hath received it, and to himself when he comes to years of understanding, that he was consecrated to Christ crucified, that he hath put on his Livery, and wears his Badge, that he is bound to crucifie the old man, and to bear the Cross, that to this he is called by our Saviour; that he ought in all places, and in the most dangerous occurrences, boldly and openly to own the name of his Redeemer, without ever being ashamed with bearing his reproach. As the Barrels go rumbling up and down the Streets, so my Lord Mayor owes me a Groat. The King, the founder of this noble Order, gives the Knights created by him a Garter and a Blew Riband, as Badges to be known by others, but would not be pleased if they should among themselves invent other badges and cognizances of their Order. Christ also hath instituted Baptism to distinguish Christians from those who are no Christians; How do we know whether it will like him, that we should appoint a Cross to distinguish us more, especially seeing thereby we shall be distinguished from a great number of our fellow Christians. Again, the Garter and Blew Riband are things to be worn, and that may be seen, and occasion spectators to enquire what they mean, but so is not the Cross that was made on our foreheads after Baptism; the Pagans that any of us have been among, could take no notice of it; and if our Parents did at any time admonish us of our engagement to crucifie the old man, they
 put

put us in mind, not of being crossed, but of being baptized with Water, to signify the not only death, but burial of the old man ; nor have our Kings of *England* been so fond of all the Rites and Ceremonies used at making of Knights of the Garter, but that they have allowed some of them to be omitted ; where they have conceived they might be less acceptable. King *James* being much pleased with the valour and piety of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, sent him a Garter, appointing his Ambassador Sir *Ralph Winwood* to confer the honour on him freely, and without any Rites or Laws, but what the Prince himself would spontaneously undergo. And the Ambassador in a *French* Speech declared, that the Rites wonted to be used in creating Knights of the Garter, did seem somewhat abhorrent from the Discipline of the Reformed Churches in *Holland*, and not altogether congruous to the polity of the Republick ; and that therefore the King to avoid offence had appointed it to be conferred without pomp and external magnificence. I suppose Mr. *D.* thinks there is no Rite used in the creation of the Knights of *St. George*, that is contrary to the Discipline of the *Dutch* Churches ; but the King was of another mind, and chose rather to confer the highest honour without the wonted Ceremonies, than not to confer it upon one who was like not to disgrace it. And shall Ministers of the Gospel so stiffly stand upon Ceremonies, as rather not to administer baptism, than to administer it without the sign of the Cross?

I must follow Mr. *D.* who tells us, *That several*

ral reformed Churches have a Ceremony, of which, Presbyterians ought to have as bad an opinion, as of the Cross in Baptism: The Ceremony he meaneth is Trine aspersion, page 42. Why ought they to have as bad an opinion of Trine Aspersion, as of the Cross in Baptism? is there any Law either of God or man, that tieth them to have as bad an opinion of the Trine Aspersion as of the Cross? or do their Principles lead them to have as bad an opinion of one Ceremony as of the other? I verily believe they do not; for they say, that Christ hath commanded Baptism, and hath not strictly determined whether it shall be administred by Aspersion or Immersion, nor whether by *trine* or *une* aspersion or immersion; therefore the Church hath power to chuse the Rite, that to her, having consulted the general rules of Scripture, and practice of the Primitive Churches, shall seem best. But they also say, that God hath no where commanded that a Child shall be crossed, or any where appointed his Church to institute any symbolical, teaching signs at all; if Mr D. can shew them any command that a Child should be crossed, they will not stick to grant, that it is in the Churches power to order, where the Child shall be crossed, and how often, and what kind of cross it shall be: But it is to be feared he can shew no such command, at least none such is shewed by him; and yet he saith, *he is confident that if the trine aspersion were used, or if we had retained the trine immersion, as at the beginning of King Edward the sixths reign, it would be accounted a gross superstition.* How may a man do to free him from

this uncharitable confidence so contrary to Christianity? I dare undertake to give it him under the hand and seal of as many as I am acquainted with, that if the Church shall think meet to use *trine* aspersion, or *trine* immersion, she shall not be accounted either grossly, or at all superstitious, provided she declare that she doth not use either rite as necessary. If by *trine* either aspersion or immersion she should prejudice the Babes in their health, that would be a sin, but not the sin of superstition. But how doth Mr. D. prove, that the Church hath not retained *trine* immersion? Immersion it is plain she hath enjoyned, unless the Sureties certifie that the Child be weak (yet never any Minister of the Church, in my hearing, demanded such Certificate; never did any Parents bring their Child in a dress fit for dipping, that ever I could observe, and yet I believe that I have seen as strong Children Baptized as are in most places of *England*) and she no where saith it shall be dipped but once, as neither doth she say, that it shall be sprinkled but once; so that Bishop *Mountague* in his Visitation Articles positively asserts, That the Child is to be thrice aspersed with water on the face; it may be some other Prelate of that age did as positively assert that the Child was to be sprinkled but once; for those who have been most zealous to press Conformity, have been at Daggers drawing about the meaning of some passages in that Liturgy, to which they required subscription. In the *Hampton Court Conference*, the Metropolitan told the King, That the administration of Baptism by women and lay persons

was

was not allowed in the practice of the Church, but enquired of by Bishops in their visitations and censured; neither do the words in the Liturgy infer any such meaning: But the Bishop of London replied, That those learned men who framed the Book of Common-Prayer, intended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any, but did intend a permission of private persons to baptize in case of necessity, and withal declared that the same was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church, urging both a place in the Acts, and the authority of Tertullian and St. Ambrose plain in that point: (What could a man have done that had lived in those days to know the meaning of the Church?) But however King James being clear in his own judgment, that a Minister is of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the Sacrament, carried it, so as the words thereafter did run thus, That private Baptism should be performed by the Minister of the Parish, or in his absence by any other lawful Minister that can be procured: Now any man would think Lay persons are not allowed to Baptize; but Dr. Heylin in his introduction to the life of Archbishop Laud, page 27. saith, That the alteration was greater in sound than sense, it being the opinion of many great Clerks, That any man in cases of necessity (that is extream) who can but pronounce the words of Baptism, may pass in the account and notion of a lawful Minister. A prodigious assertion! for a Turk or Jew may pronounce the words of Baptism, Is he a lawful Minister of Baptism? did ever any that pretended to reverence the authority of the Church thus wrest her words?

But to return to the rite of Baptism; we have got a trick to sprinkle, or to let water fall by drops, but the Church allows no such rite, but most expressly requires pouring, even when the Child is at the weakest; and seeing in the Baptism of Infants the Administrator is required to dip them if they may well endure it, how comes it to pass that in the Baptism of Adult persons who are appointed by fasting and prayers to prepare themselves for the receiving of the Sacrament, it is left indifferent to the Ministers either to dip them in the Font, or pour water on them, though there be a moral certainty, that they may endure dipping well enough? And what Prayers must these adult persons use to prepare themselves for Baptism, must they make them themselves, or must they be made by the Bishop or Priest? or are there any preparatory Prayers to that purpose made already? I wish Mr. D. would answer me these questions.

Object. Well, but what say you in the excuse of the Presbyterians, who as Dr. Heylin tells us, page 293. would not have their Children Baptized by the names of their Ancestors, Richard, Robert, &c. but by some name occurring in the Holy Scriptures, especially in the Old Testament, because meerly Hebrew, and not prophaned with any mixture of the Greek or Roman. Did not Snape and Cartwright in the Book of Discipline agree that the Minister in Baptizing Children, should not admit of any such names as had been used in the time of Paganism, the names of Idols and the like? Did they not also
take

take an humor of giving such names unto their Children, as many of them when they came to age were ashamed of, Accepted, Deliverance, Discipline, Praise God, Reformation, Tribunal, Thankful.

Answ. As for the Discipline of *Jersy* and *Guernsey*, made by Mr. *Cartwright* and *Snape*, I never saw it but once, when I minded not what was in it; now I know not where to get it, and therefore leave it to Mr. *D.* to answer for his forefathers and neighbors. The *Presbyterians* have not hired me to be their Advocate, I am only for peace, and would not have men made worse than they be: 'Tis doubtless an unjust scrupulosity for any man to question the lawfulness of calling his Child either *Robert*, or *Richard*, or *Arthur*, or *William*; but if the Question be not what is lawful, but what is expedient, I say, *ceteris paribus*, it is more expedient that Children be named by the names of such persons as were famous in their generations for piety and learning.

Dr. Rivet tells *Baily*, *Tractatu* 3. page 33. Quest. 8. That they used diligence to bring Parents to give to their Children names borrowed from them whose life was laudable in the Church, that they may be stirred up to the imitation of those whose name they bear, for such better agree to Christians, than either the ambitious or superstitious names of Heathens. He also tells us, that in his remembrance a vain-glorious fellow whose name was *Le Grand*, would needs name his Child *Alexander*, but the Ministers refused to gratifie his ambition, they would not have a mean fellows Child called

Alexander the Great; but that ever any *Presbyterian* refused to Baptize a Child because it was to be called *Richard*, may well pass for a Story of *Dr. Heylin's* (which many times are none of the truest) As for the reason he gives out of his own head, of the *Presbyterians* chusing *Old Testament* names, because the *Old Testament* is meerly *Hebrew*; it argueth his great ignorance, some of the *Presbyterians* Children, before they come from School, know that the *Old Testament* is not meerly *Hebrew*. Where our English Tongue can afford happy compositions, I should think such a composition in a Childs name would not make Baptism contemptible, nor the Imposer ridiculous; yet I confess I should never advise any man to name his Child *Praise God*; nor, *The Lord is near*, for though he may excuse himself, by the names of *Quod vult Deus*, *A deo datus*, usual in *St. Austin's* time, yet it favors of affectation to give such names, and it may occasion the taking of the Lords name in vain, nor do I find that *Presbyterians* have delighted themselves in such names. Accepted was the name of *Dr. Frewen* late Archbishop of *York*, was he ever ashamed of it? or had he any reason to be ashamed of it? or was his Father a *Presbyterian*? Let the Church Books from 1582 be searched, and it will be found to the shame of this Historian, that *Presbyterians* have given such names to their Children as other people did, and that none of their Children are called by such uncouth names as are mentioned in the Objection.

My next task is to give in a Catalogue of Mr. D's impertinencies, which are indeed many, and too many to be insisted on particularly.

Page 51. *He gives us some sayings of some Churches against Sacriledg*: A thing that hath been done more copiously by Dr. *John Hoornbeck* in his examination of the Popes Bull, sent forth to nullifie the peace of *Germany*; and if Mr. D. please, he may read a very smart Discourse against the sin of Sacriledg in Mr. *Baxters* defence of the *Worcestershire* Petition. If Ancestors through mistake have given maintenance to Idolatrous uses, Magistrates may convert that maintenance to uses truly pious. If there be a true superfluity of Church revenues for some one good use, Magistrates may out of that superfluity provide for some other good use. If the Sovereign power please in cases of true necessity, to make use of Church-mens Lands, as well as others, to maintain the Nation against foreign Invasions, &c. what is there in such an action blame-worthy? These and such like cases excepted, I profess I know not the *Presbyterian* alive or dead, that was not against the alienation of Church-Lands. Mr. D. tells us, he saw some *Presbyterian Ministers* made nothing of purchasing and detaining Church-Lands, and in his Margin nameth Dr. *Burges*; so that it seemeth, Dr. *Burges* is some *Presbyterian Minister*: But he ought before he so called him, to prove that he was so much as one *Presbyterian Minister*; he was not that Dr. *Burges*, of whom we heard before, that made the Book against Dr. *Ames* his reply to Dr. *Morton*,

but he was the *Dr. Burges* that oversaw that Book in the Press, and adorned its Margin to make the reading more pleasant and delightful; and he was that *Dr. Burges* who did write for Baptismal Regeneration (a Doctrine distastful to the *Presbyterians*). He took the Covenant indeed, but not (as I have heard) till he was like to be turned out of the Assembly for not taking it. It is true, that once he made a Speech against the continuance of *Deans* and *Chapters*, but in that Speech he declared the utter unlawfulness of converting their Lands to any private mans use; it seems that he himself afterwards purchased something belonging to the Dean of *Wells*, intending to settle it on his Children; how he could satisfy his Conscience so to do I know not; perhaps when he saw that that part of the House of Commons which favoured *Presbytery* was secluded, and that *Deans* and *Chapters* Lands designed to mend poor Livings, must be sold for other uses, he resolved to do as *Luther* saith a Dog which he knew at *Erferd* did, when he could defend his Masters dish of meat from other Dogs no longer, viz. got as good a share of the prey as he could. He hath given his accounts to his Master, I am not to judge anothers Servant, and therefore I should tremble to write that which *Mr. D.* hath written, viz. That a loathsome sore which brought him to his Grave, was sent to punish him for his Sacriledg; neither dare I say, for all the world, that the Disease that befell *Bishop Gauden* (and of which he died) beset him for his fierceness against the *Presbyterians*; and yet, it was the very disease unto which he had compared the *Presbyterians* Sermons, and it befell him

him not long after he had made that odious comparison.

England hath suffered much by mens undertaking to fetch their Divinity out of the Providences of God, which are always righteous, but sometimes hidden.

A greater noise is made in some Books, on the account of the Assemblies Annotations; in the which, or in the first Edition of which, it is said, *Nothing is to be found against Sacriledg*; and it is easily acknowledged, that in the Assemblies Annotations nothing is to be found against Sacriledg, for the Assemblies Annotations are not to be found: But as for the *English Notes* made by sundry Divines, who were all of them before the Wars, Conformists, and commonly miscalled the *Assemblies Annotations*; and for the Assembly it self, near an ingenuous, but cordial and through-paced Son of the Church, in a Discourse entituled, *Church-Lands not to be sold*, printed Anno 1648. he quotes with approbation the Note on Rom. 2.22. p. 14. having spoken p. 27. of honest Mr. Geree, who avers, *That to abolish Prelacy, and to seize the Lands of the Prelates to any private or civil interest, undoubtedly could not want stain nor guilt*: he adds, *I am confident, by the discourse. I have had with the most able of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, that at the least three parts, if not all of them, are of the same judgment; and that they would openly profess as much, if they were put to answer the question.* The same Author quotes with approbation the Note on Gen. 47. and on Mal. 3.8,9. I will not go off from this subject of Sacriledg, till
I have

J. T. Johnson

I have also observed, That some, considerable for Learning, and of no small authority, have not feared to say, That *Impropriations are sacrilegious*. I have not much studied the point, and therefore interpose not my own judgment; but *it looks very ugly to take away so much of the tythes and profits of any parish, as not to leave a competence for him who hath the cure of souls in that parish*: yet it hath been observed, that no Parishes have so sorry and pitiful an allowance for the Preaching-minister, as those of which Clergy-men are the Impropriators; if the Kings Letter since his return hath so kindly operated upon our Cathedralists, as to make them more bountiful to the Incumbents, it is well; but if it have not, Mr. D. may do well to consider whether he and his brethren be without fault, before he throw stones at the head of others, else he may chance to have such an answer as the Bishop of Scotland, who having objected Sacriledg to the Presbytery of that Nation, is told by Mr. Baily in his *Historical Vindication*, p. 26, 27. “That the
 “Bishops when they professed their greatest zeal
 “to recover all the Church out of the hand of the
 “Laity, were found to be but too ready to dila-
 “pidate unto Noblemen, and others too much of
 “the Churches Patrimony: you your self may
 “remember what bargain you made, as I think with
 “the Earl of *Seaforth*, which you know was the
 “first occasion of, diminishing your reputation
 “with your great Patron *Land of Canterbury*, I
 “am sure your Colleague *Spotswood* did sell the
 “whole Abbacy of *Kilwinning* to the Noblemen
 “and Gentlemen of *Cuningham*, to the great pre-
 “judice

“judice and grief of the University of *Glasgow*,
 “and the Ministers of the bounds, who had great
 “interest therein. At the Parliament of *Lithgow*,
 “1606, our good Bishops for their own base ends
 “did consent in the name of the Church (though
 “they never consulted her in that business) to the
 “greatest dilapidation that ever was heard of in
 “*Scotland*, the Impropriation to Noblemen and
 “Gentlemen of no fewer than sixteen Abbacies,
 “every one whereof had incorporate the Rents
 “of a number of Parish-Churches.

A second impertinence relates to *Confirmation*,
 which Mr. *D.* p. 43. saith, he finds used in almost
 all Reformed Churches, in some with greater, in some
 with lesser solemnity. To what purpose doth he tell
 us this? Would he have the world believe, that
 the *Presbyterians* are against Confirmation? or
 that they do not earnestly desire it? Have not Mr.
Hanmer and Mr. *Baxter* written books to shew
 the usefulness and necessity of it? Do not some of
 them ground it on *Heb. 6. 2.* and draw thence an
 argument for Infant-baptism? Mr. *Tombs* knows
 they do, and so do many others of the *Antipedo-*
baptists. For my part I bless God that hath put it
 into the hearts of the Convocation, to insert into
 this last Edition of the Liturgy, a question to be
 propounded to those who are confirmed: let con-
 science be made never to confirm any but those who
 are well instructed in the Church-Catechism, and
 are well reported of for their conversation, and I
 shall think then that nothing is to be blamed in our
 order for admission to the Sacrament of the Lords
 Supper. But if men will pretend a great reve-
 rence

rence to Confirmation, and yet suffer the far greatest part of the Nation to communicate unconfirmed; and if Bishops will confirm persons grossly ignorant and scandalous in the highest degree, and never require Certificates from the Ministers of those Parishes to which they belong, God forbid that I should justify them.

The only question considerable about Confirmation, betwixt those called *Presbyterians*, and their adversaries, is concerning the Minister thereof: *Presbyterians* say, *That no Law of God hath appropriated it to a Bishop strictly so called.* If Mr. D. can shew us any such Law, or if he can prove that in all or in any Reformed Church, a meer *Presbyter* is not accounted to have power to confirm, as well as to baptize, he shall do something; let him therefore shew himself a man, and undertake this work, and when he hath his hand in, let him also wipe off a blot thrown upon the Church of *England* and *Geneva* by Dr. *Heylin*, with the Pen of a virulent Papist, *William Reynolds*, *History of Presby.* pag. 283. viz. That, 1576, the *Common-prayer-Book* was Printed by Richard Jugg the *Queens Printer*, the whole order of private Baptism, and confirmation of Children being omitted, which omission was designed to bring the Church of *England* into some Conformity to the desired Orders of *Geneva*.

Pag. 47. he is so prodigal of his Ink and Paper, as to tell us, *That in all reformed Churches Matrimony is celebrated in the publick Congregation, and by the Minister.* This may be true of all reformed Churches in reference to their own Members, at least I hope it is; but if he should intend to assert,

That

*Perhaps quoted by Heylin
2 The History*

That Reformed Churches allow not that any who are constant livers in the same Cities with them, shall be married otherwise than by the Ministers, and in the Church, he is mistaken. Yet let it be supposed, that Papists, dwelling with Protestants, are forced to marry in the Church, and to make use of a Minister ; what is this to the Presbyterians ? The composers of the Directory say, *We judge it expedient that Marriage be solemnized by a lawful Minister of the word, that he may counsel them and pray for them ;* In the said directory, care also is taken, *that before any marriage the persons intent of marriage be published by the Minister three several sabbath days in the congregation at the place, or places of their most usual and constant abode respectively, and all Ministers are to have sufficient testimony of this publication before they proceed to solemnize Marriage.* By the Liturgy also sufficient provision is made that of all that are to be married, the Bannes be published in the Church, three several sundays, or Holy days in the time of Divine service, but any one, that hath mony may have a licence to be Married without any such publication of Bannes, by which means great inconveniences have arisen in Church and State. Care also is taken by the 62 Canon of 1603. “ That none shall be married, unless the Parents, or “ Governors of the parties to be married being “ under the age of twenty one, shall either personally, or by sufficient testimony, signify their “ consent given to the said marriage. The directory “ is somewhat more strict, requiring, *that persons though of age shall be bound to have a Certificate of their*

their Parents consent, if it be their first marriage:
 And really it seems but rational, that a man and a woman, though of the age of Thirty, if never married before, should be bound to signify their Parents consent, before any Minister adventure to marry them.

The greatest differences I find among Protestants about Marriage, are reducible to Two Heads:

1. We say here in England, *That though Children be bound to ask the consent of Parents, yet if the marriage be made, no such consent asked or obtained, the marriage is valid; fieri non debet, factum valet,* is our Rule; but beyond Seas, *such marriages are by many held to be void and of no effect.* Mr. D. hath so many obligations laid on him by our Church, that it would be but gratitude to take her part, and to answer the Arguments of Dissenters.

2. Our Church hath thought meet to prohibit marriage for certain times and seasons, which are particularized in our common Almanacks. Other Churches leave it free to persons to marry all the year about, to these the Presbyterians joyn themselves, they say marriage is not to be forbidden at any time, unless on such days, in which God calls to fasting, weeping, mourning; to confirm them in this opinion, they had the judgment of a whole Convocation in England assembled in the year 1575, agreeing, *That Bishops should take order that it be published and declared in every Parish Church within their Diocesses, that marriage might be solemnized at all times of the year; but though the Church thought meet to put this Article into*
 the

the Book, the Head of the Church, *Q. Elizabeth*, did not so think, and therefore suffered it not to be Printed. *Dr. Heyl. Hist. of Presb. 282, 283.*

Object. *Ay, but there are some who scruple the Ring in Marriage, which Mr. D. saith is used in Hesse, Poland, Lithuania.*

Sol. If there be any such, the more is the pity, for rational ground of scruple there is none, any more than there is to scruple taking seisin by a Turf: Nor do I know any one *Presbyterian* now living, that doth scruple the use of a Ring in Marriage.

Pag. 48. we are informed by *Mr. D.* That in most places of the Reformed Churches, they have Funeral Sermons, in Hungary and Transilvania, two or three, in Bohemia but one, and that at the Grave. As if he would suggest to us, that either *Presbyterians* are against Funeral Sermons, or the Episcopal extreamly for them; whereas the truth is, there never were more Funeral Sermons than in those days, when the *Presbyterians* had their Churches and Pulpits; and now that they are thrust out, when any one of them dye, 'tis seldom but some body is hired to Preach a Sermon, I say, hired, for they are as rare as Black Swans, that will Preach a Funeral Sermon under an Angel or a Noble. And whereas he tells us, *ibid.* of the Minister with singing Boys going before the Corps; he knows, that in England we have singing Boys but in few places, scarce any where but in Cathedrals, which do not use to send their singing Boys to go before the Corps at every Funeral.

Civil

Civil respects, or differences at Burials may be futed to the rank and condition of the party deceased, while he was living; as for the Religious part of Funerals, why should it not be alike to all that have attained like precious faith? Doth Mr. D. know any Churches where only the moneyed Christians are honoured with Sermons; the poor being laid in their graves without any? If he did not, why would he lay open the nakedness of his Fathers, why would he tempt strangers to think, that with them there is respect of persons? The *Scots* say, Either let us have Sermons at all Funerals, or at none, so say the *Hollanders*, so I suppose the *French* either say or think: But Mr. D. Page 49. quotes a scrap of a Letter from Monsieur *Drelin-court* saying, *I am so far from allowing the custom of the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom, where the Ministers are silent at dead mens Burials, that I would think it unsufferable were it not for the condition under which we live.* I believe Mr. *Drelin-court*, if he be still alive, thinks Mr. D. dealt not civilly with him, in publishing this piece of his Letter, for he sure took no delight to let the world know, that he accounted the custom of the *Holland* Churches unsufferable, especially seeing the *French* Churches in *Holland* comply with them, and yet cannot plead that they fear persecution. The same *Drelin-court*, if we may believe Mr. D. said, that he found upon perusal of the Common Prayer Book office for Burial of the dead, *nothing that was contrary to piety, or pure Doctrine, and the service of God.*

Is not this a rare commendation of the Liturgy, that it hath nothing in it contrary to piety, &c. But what Common prayer Book did this learned Divine read over? in all but this last there were expressions to be used at Burials, that were apt to harden men in their impenitence, which therefore are now either changed, or left quite out. At present I know little liable to exception, save only, that Burial seems appropriated to a Priest: may a Deacon Baptise and Preach, and may he not bury our dead out of our sight? In the Old Liturgy, it was said, *the Minister meeting the Corps at the Church stile shall say*; in this last edition of the Liturgy it is said *the Priests and Clerk*, and so throughout the whole Office we have no other word but *Priest*, which is never applied to any that are but Deacons; there is some mystery in this which Mr. D. can expound, or else take no notice of. 2. By the Liturgy the form of Burial is not to be used *for any that dye unbaptized*. What's the meaning of this? If Christian Parents lose a child before they can get it to be baptized, must they, to all other their sorrow, have this also added, That their child shall not have Christian burial? Shall the Idolatrous Papists child be buried, and shall the child of the *Antipadobaptist* not be buried according to the Liturgy? How will Mr. Tombs, after all the pains he hath taken to defend the Liturgy, brook this? 3. Seeing the Office is to be read at the burial of all baptized, being neither excommunicate nor murderers of themselves, why is the Priest appointed to say, *His hope is that every one who is buried, rests in the Lord*. What if a

man be killed in bed with another's Wife? What if he be killed in a Duel, or in an Alehouse half drunk? What if he be by God struck dead with an oath or blasphemy upon his tongues end? must we use the very same words for him, that we use for one that led a most Christian life, and died a comfortable death? I have much more charity for some that laid violent hands on themselves, than for those who contrary to all laws of God and man, do dye in Duels by the sword of another?

Pag. 50. he hath other words of *Drelincourts* as little to purpose, *If we were permitted*, saith he, *to preach at Paris, and there to minister the holy communion, I am of this persuasion, that it would be a pious and charitable work to give that comfort to those poor sick persons who have kept their bed for many years, and are not able to go as far as Charenton, which is the place of our ordinary exercises of Religion.* This is a marvellous wary speech, 1. *If they were permitted.* 2. *If they were permitted both to preach and administer the Sacrament.* 3. Then, *it would be pious and charitable to give the Communion to such as have kept their beds for many years.* Can *Mr. D.* think that the *English Presbyterians* will be offended at a persuasion thus qualified? It may rather be questioned, Whether some of them would not judg it charitable and pious to administer the Sacrament in such cases, though they had no permission from the King; at least it may be conceived, that they would adventure, if they should be permitted only to administer the Sacrament, though no leave were given them to preach; for a Sermon is not of the essence of a Sacrament; and

and I deem they would perform this act of charity and piety to such as had been confined to their beds, though only for one or two years, which are not many. There is not one word in all the Directory against private Communion.

P. 40. Mr. D. gives us notice, *That in the Bohemian Churches, the people do alway say Amen at the end of the Prayers, in the same manner that we do here in England.* Which is so far from crossing the *Presbyterians*, that they, as many think, by their good will, would have the people say nothing but *Amen*.

P. 39. he fancieth he may put the *Presbyterians* to silence, by telling them of Churches that sing *Hymns and spiritual songs, besides Psalms*. But he may know, that *Presbyterians* are as much at liberty to sing any godly Hymn or spiritual Song, as he himself is. Let him but procure the *Te Deum* or the Lords prayer to be set to ordinary tunes, and then he shall see whether the *Presbyterians* will make any scruple for conscience-sake to sing those forms, or the three Creeds which are said to be set with musical notes in the *French and Dutch Churches*, but not sung by the *French Churches*, by reason both the Rhime and the language are something course and old. *Presbyterians* are not so dainty, they continue to sing the old *Psalms*, though the language and rhime be odd and uncouth in many places.

P. 183. he goes about to stab the *Presbyterians* with a declaration of a National Synod met at *Fi-geac* 1579. What is the declaration? Why, it is a *declaration against reading verses aloud before they*

be sung, as being inept, threatening censure to such Churches as used it. The Presbyterians think this custom unfit, and therefore exhorted all Congregations to get Psalm-books, and to learn to read; they allowed reading of Psalms line by line, only for necessity, when ignorance had prevailed so far, that many in most Congregations could not read at all. Let Mr. D. but take care that all be taught to read, or learn the psalms without book, and I dare half undertake for Presbyterians, they shall leave off so inept or unmeet a custom. Till then, they, and Episcopal men too, must do as they can, and remember that they are debtors to the unwise as well as wise.

P. 22. Mr. D. makes mention of Churches, whose Ministers wear commonly either a long cloak, or a gown and long cap; nay, Calvin (saith he) did wear a gown and a cap, as often as he taught either in the Divinity-School, or in the Church at Geneva. If Presbyterians do not wear a cap when they teach in the church, they may easily be pardoned by Mr. D. As for a gown, let him but get them liberty to preach, and they will promise never to need his pardon for want of that. I am sure I have seen those whom the Parliament sent down to Cambridge into the places of such as were ejected, preach both in gowns and hoods, and so I have heard they did at Oxford when they preached Latin Sermons; for which they have been scolded at by silly women, as Calvin was by the Wife of Frumentius.

I had almost forgot another Impertinence, p. 37. The French Churches require that the Ministers, who

who ought to use Imposition of hands, upon those that are to be admitted to the ministry among them, should pray standing on that occasion, the new received Minister and the Congregation kneeling at the same time. This was the constant practice of the Presbyterians, as to Ordainers and Ordained, in all places where I have been, or of which I have heard. As for the people, they were commonly so numerous at Ordinations, that they could not without huge inconvenience kneel. I also find that I have passed over something, page 32. "They have the Ten Commandments in Letters of Gold upon two great Tables where they are able to be at the charge of it; and in some places they have also the Creed and the Lords Prayer in the same manner, conformable to one of the constitutions of the Church of *England* to the same purpose. Who are meant by *they*, I cannot tell; the precedent words were, in Princes Chappels in *Germany*, and other parts they have them (*i. e.* Chalice) gilt. Are there any Princes in *Germany* or other parts who cannot be at the charge of having the Ten Commandments in Letters of Gold upon two great Tables? Or doth Mr. *D.* mean the *French* Churches, as many as have ability, do set up the Commandments in Letters of Gold upon two great Tables? If so, I doubt he wronged his Conscience. But let it be supposed that in all *French* Churches that are not very poor, the Ten Commandments are set up in Letters of Gold, what mean those words, in some places they have also the Creed and the Lords Prayer in the same manner, conformable to one of the constitutions of

the Church of *England*? Have the rich *French* Churches, the Lords Prayer and Creed on two Tables, and in Letters of Gold? If they have not, why is it said that they have the Creed and Lords Prayer in the same manner? The Churches of *France* I am certain may be conformable enough to the constitution of the Church of *England*, and yet not have either the Commandments in Two Tables or in Letters of Gold; for all the constitution requires, is but that the *Ten Commandments* be set upon the East-end of every Church and Chappel, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said Churches and Chappels in convenient places. Here is no mention of two great Tables, no mention of Letters of Gold, no mention of Creed or Lords Prayer.

But why did Mr. *D.* trouble himself to bring in all, or any of this Stuff? Did *Presbyterians* ever deny the lawfulness or expedience of having either the Decalogue, or Creed, or Lords Prayer, set upon conspicuous places in the Temple? I know an eminent Nonconformist now living, who was wont to rejoyce that the Painter had set the Lords Prayer just over against his Pulpit, that if it had hapned he had been out, he might by his eyes help himself. Had the Creed been so placed it had been well for Mr. *D.* for they say, that not long since, he was horribly out in repeating the Articles of Faith after Sermon.

I shall conclude this Catalogue of Impertinencies with Mr. *D.*'s stories concerning reformed Churches, that keep the very same Temples that were used

in

in time of Popery, pag. 28. so did the *Fresbyterians*, and Mr. *Paget* hath defended the lawfulness of using such places against the frivolous exceptions of Mr. *Ainsworth*; and now let the world judge, whether Mr. *D.* deserve not to be called and accounted Mr. *Impertinent*.

I must come to a third part of my task, which will be perhaps necessary, but is somewhat more unpleasing than any of the other, *viz.* to muster up some of those Speeches of Mr. *Durell*, which Countrey-men call *Wiskers*, you may call them by another name, but will not know how to excuse, except by the English Proverb, that *Travellers may* — by authority.

Pag. 8. *Bellarmino* was an eye-witness in his time, much against his will, of *Oecolampadius* his being called Bishop of the Church of *Basil*: *Oecolampadius* on his Tomb in *Basil*, is called *Templi hujus verus Episcopus*. *Bellarmino* in his fourth Book, *De notis Eccle. cap. 8.* saith, That when he was at *Basil*, he read him, called on his Tomb, the first Bishop of that City, which is a Lye; but then he also saith, that he read this, *non sine risu*, if these words do not signifie, much against his will, where is Mr. *D.*'s veracity?

Pag. 13. All understanding men amongst the *French* say plainly, That if God Almighty were pleased, that all France should embrace the Reformed Religion, as England hath, the Episcopal Government must be established in their Churches. Do all understanding men say this, and say it plainly? I shall manifest the contrary ere I have done, and indeed have manifested it already.

Pag. 16. He dreads not to affirm, *That Smeetymnus and all Smeetymnus being bound most of them by their Oath to use set forms, never use them.* S. M. T. Y. when Mr. D. Printed this, were dead, and so not bound by Oath to use set forms; as for E. C. M. N. W. S. who were then alive, how will it be proved that either they were bound by Oath to use set forms, or that they never used them?

The *Smeetymnus*, if by them he mean the Non-conformists (and whom else can he mean) were never the most of them by Oath bound to use set forms, and yet sometimes some of them have used them, yea did use them at that very time when Mr. D. was hammering out this Book.

Pag. 18. *There is not one Minister in all France, but hath made unto himself a set form which he useth always and no other.* What confidence is this! hath he received Letters from every Minister in France, or spoke with every Minister in France? Hath he certain knowledg that every Minister made a form unto himself? did never any use a form that he had learned from another? did never any make to himself above one form? I must needs doubt there is untruth in this, till I see the thing proved under the hands of all Ministers in France.

Pag. 22. *In Hungaria and Transilvania, Ministers never go abroad without their long Cloak and Cassock just as here.* Here, I am sure, Ministers go abroad without long Cloak and Cassock, and are by the Canons of the Church allowed so to do. *Si non taste, tamen caute.*

"Page 26. speaking of the *fratres Bohemi*, and
 "the *Moravians* 'tis said, that they have days for
 "commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, and of
 "the Holy Apostles, and other Saints and Mar-
 "tyrs, as also one for the commemoration of all
 "the Saints; all which days they keep after the
 "same manner, that they are kept here in *England*
 "according to the Ecclesiastical constitutions, and
 "common use of the Church. I suppose the *Bohe-*
mians and *Moravians* were to have Sermons on
 Holy days, are we bound to have any? They are
 not appointed to fast the Eves of any Saints days,
 but so are we; they are not ordered on the Saints
 days to cease from the works of their callings,
 but so are we, and are punishable with severity
 enough if we do not.

Page 27. mention being made of the *Helvetick*
 confession, and of the Holy days commended by it,
 'tis said it was *subscribed by the Kirk of Scotland,*
1566. The Ministers of that Church being then of a
different judgment from what their successors have
shewed of late years, which is a most egregious
falsehood, for the Kirk then discovered her dislike
 of the festivals appointed, or commended in the
 Confession of *Helvetia*, and so have the Ministers
 of late years, so as they concur in judgment fully
 as to this matter, and I believe in every thing
 else.

Page 28. *Crosses have not been pulled down from*
the top of Churches unless in some popular tumults.
 The Latin Apologist hath shewen the falsity of
 this.

“Page 29. The *fratres Bohemi* have their so-
 “lemn dedication of Churches, which ceremony
 “is to be performed with them by the Bishop,
 “in the same manner, as with us here in *England*.
 The manner of dedication of Churches is not here
 agreed upon in *England*, nor is there any Law that
 requires dedications, and some places we have that
 never were dedicated, and the ceremonies used in
 dedication with us are such as are not used in
Bohemia.

“Page 30. At *Basil*, and *Breme*, they have
 “their Fonts of stone and use them for the Baptism
 “of Infants; by which we see, that they are not
 “of the same judgment with the Directorians who
 “find Popery and Superstition in the very placing
 “of them. All the Directory saith is, *that Bap-*
tism is to be administred in the face of the Congre-
gation, where the people may most conveniently hear,
and see, and not in the places where Fonts in the time
of Popery were unfitly, and superstitiously placed.
 Are the Fonts at *Basil*, and *Breme*, placed where
 the people cannot hear and see? Are they placed
 unfitly, as in times of Popery? if they be, I see
 not how they can justifie themselves; if they be
 not, how can we see that the Divines of *Basil* and
Breme are of a different mind about the placing of
 Fonts, from the Directorians?

“Page 31. I know none that did ever so much
 “as move the question in what place and which
 “way the Communion table ought to stand, (so it
 “be seated where the people may see and hear)
 “except the new *Scotch* and *English* Presbyterians.
 Either

Either his knowledg is very small, or else he did write this against his knowledg, and conscience.

Page 30. *In all Reformed Churches men use to enter into the place of publick Worship with their Hats off.* If this be meant of such times in which the congregation is performing publick Worship, the *Presbyterians* do so, and are enjoyned by the Directory so to do; but if it be meant, of entring at all times, and upon all occasions, it is known to be an untruth to all that have been in *Holland*. The Divines there would laugh to see any so superstitious as to pull off his Hat every time he hath occasion to go through one of their Temples.

Ibid. *In France the women that are persons of quality unmask themselves, and the devoutest sort both of men and women use to kneel and make a short Prayer for Gods blessing on the service they come to perform, before they sit down; yet the Directory though it pretendeth conformity with them, prohibiteth these very things.* If the *French Ladies* unmask themselves to shew that they are not ashamed to be seen at Protestant Assemblies, what Directorian is he that will blame them? But if by so unmasking themselves they design to shew their beauty, &c. then there is something in the *1 Cor. II.* that they may do well to think of. The Directory forbids not private Prayers for Gods blessing, unless any come in when the service of God is begun, and if the devouter sort of men and women in *France* are wont to fall on their knees, when the congregation is singing, &c. the Directory pretends not conformity with them, they may do well

well to consider, that God is the God of Order, and not of Confusion; an ejaculation in such cases, is as much as can be needful, provided it be joyned with shame, or trouble for coming so late.

Page 37. *In the Churches of Poland and Lithuania, and likewise in them of Transylvania and Hungaria the people useth alway to say the Prayers aloud after the Minister just as we do in the Church of England. Such was also the use of the Churches of the Unity of the fratres Bohemi.*

Our people do not much use to say the Prayers after the Minister, that is certain, except the Clerk be the people, and there are but few Prayers they are enjoyned to repeat after him, the Lords prayer is appointed to be said not after, but with him.

What the use of the *fratres Bohemi* was, I do not well know, nor hath Mr. D. directed me how I may inform my self. But I have met with something in Bishop *Amos Comenius* which I commend to the diligent consideration of Mr. D. and all others that are zealous in this matter; it is in his Annotations on the *Ratio Disciplina Ordinifq, &c.*

Page 100. ‘The Ritual Books (the forms of performing the sacred Ministries which they call *Agenda*) are not with us appended to the Catechetical Books, so as to come into the hands of the Common people, but being put forth by themselves. are given only to the Pastors, not privately in a corner, but in the sight of the Church. After the death of the Pastor the same Books are put into the hands of the Seniors. Some one will say what superstition is this? *Ans.* Let others have their liberty of judging: I do

‘not

' not think things are so to be managed, that no-
 ' thing mystical (to be rather adored by the peo-
 ' ple, than proudly to be looked on, and after-
 ' wards vilely esteemed) should be left to the
 ' Priests. Religion rejoyceth in veils. And our
 ' chief Master himself was wont to speak some
 ' things to his disciples by themselves. The Apostle
 ' when he commands Bishop *Timothy to commit some*
 ' *things to faithful men who are apt to teach others,*
 ' 2 *Tim. 2. 2.* doth he not intimate a certain dif-
 ' ference, betwixt these things that are given to
 ' all, and those that are given to the Teachers of
 ' others? Certainly the word *παραιθεσαι*, which
 ' he useth signifieth, to commit or concredit some
 ' thing singular. And when we read it written of
 ' Christ, that having read the sacred Text, and
 ' laid aside his Book, he began his speech so, that
 ' all fixing their eyes on him, admired the words
 ' that flowed from his mouth; do we think these
 ' things happen otherwise to others? *viz.* If words
 ' flow from the mouth of Gods messenger not seen
 ' before, that the hearers are rendred more attent
 ' and more profound admirers of the grace of God.
 ' For if prescribed things only be always recited,
 ' what will there be to excite attention? Curiosity
 ' rather will be excited, whilst this and the other
 ' by beholding the same things in his Books attend-
 ' eth whether they be accurately read, what place
 ' is here for devotion? Neither is it to be thought
 ' that ours are bound to the Books delivered to them,
 ' to words and syllables, it is free to them to use any
 ' thing drawn out of the treasures of mystical wisdom
 ' which make to excite zeal according to variety of
 occasions.

‘ occasions. Whence it comes to pass that Godly
 ‘ hearers are scarce ever present at Sacred my-
 ‘ steries without new motion of heart.

Page 61. *It is said that the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, take those things in which they differ from the Reformed Church of England, to be sinful, and that therefore they would have her conform to them.*

By whom is this said in such indefinite terms as are here made use of? I doubt it will be found that none have so said, at least none that are called or accounted *Presbyterians*; and if none can be found, what opinion will the world have of Mr. D's veracity? But if any have said that some reformed Churches abroad have accounted some things in which the *English Church* differs from them to be sinful, it is a thing so manifest that I wonder Mr. D. can find a forehead to deny it. He mentioneth in this place the Reformed Churches in the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, and I do not observe him to have mentioned them any where else, I suppose (by the Churches he joyneth them with) that he meaneth such as close with that Reformation that the Elector himself affecteth, and would fain have introduced, and it will not be amiss to let our Countrymen understand what that is. The heads of it are recited in the *Continuation of Thuanus* at the year 1614. Page 396, 397. *Edit. Francof. 1628.*

‘ 1. Images, Crosses, Statues, are to be removed
 ‘ out of Churches.

‘ 2. Altars remaining since Popery, and built to
 ‘ perform the Sacrifice of the Mass, are to be taken
 ‘ away,

‘ away, and in place of them are to be put oblong
 ‘ wooden Tables covered with black cloth, a linnen
 ‘ cloth when the Supper is to be administred, being
 ‘ put upon it.

‘ 3. Instead of Hosts, Wafers are to be used,
 ‘ which being cut into long pieces, should be receiv-
 ‘ ed and broken by the hands of those who come to
 ‘ the Lords Table.

‘ 4. That instead of Chalice used in Mass,
 ‘ Cups should be used in the administration of the
 ‘ Lords Supper.

‘ 5. The *Casula* (which may very well signifie
 ‘ the Surplice, as well as other Vestments) are
 ‘ to be left to the Popish Priests.

‘ 6. No linnen is to be put under, or offer’d to
 ‘ those who come to the Lords Table ; nor are they
 ‘ to kneel as if Christ were corporally present.

‘ 7. The sign of the Cross is not to be added at
 ‘ the end of the benediction.

‘ 8. The Ministers of the Gospel are not to turn
 ‘ the back to men.

‘ 9. Prayers and Epistles are not to be sung be-
 ‘ fore Sermon, but read.

‘ 10. Auricular Confession is to be left off.

‘ 11. At the Name of Jesus knees are not to be
 ‘ bowed, or head uncovered.

‘ 12. Prayers in the Pulpit are not to be mutter-
 ‘ ed, but pronounced with a loud voice.

‘ 13. The Supper of the Lord is not for fear of
 ‘ danger to be administred to sick persons, especi-
 ‘ ally when the plague is abroad.

‘ 14. Stone-Fountains are to be removed, and Ba-
 ‘ fons substituted in their rooms.

‘ 15. The

‘ 15. The Decalogue is not to be recited imperfect, but intire.

‘ 16. The Catechism in some things that are erroneous, is to be amended.

‘ 17. The Sacred Trinity (a mystery to be adored, and ineffable) is not to be represented by any images either carved or painted.

‘ 18. The words of the holy Supper are to be interpreted by Sacramental analogy, and collation of other places of holy Scripture.

‘ 19. To the Gospels and Epistles which are explicated on Lords days, and yearly repeated, Ministers ought not so to be bound, that they may not instead of them, read and preach upon any other notable Text of the Bible.

Dr. *Heylin* hath exemplified the heads of this designed Reformation, on purpose to show, as he tells us, *Hist. of Presby.* 412. how *Calvinian* and *Lutheran* Churches differ, and how near ours approacheth to the latter; and I have exemplified them to shew, that if Ceremonies be but gnats, *English Presbyterians* are not the only persons that do strain at them; declaring also my just abhorrence of the *Historians impudence in ascribing the designment of this Reformation to the plots and practices of a subtil Lady.*

P. 85. Mr. *D.* having before recited a Letter of Mr. *Chabrets*, in which he makes a question whether the Liturgy received at the *Savoy* Congregation, be the same that was used in *Q. Eliz.* King *James*, or King *Charles I.*'s time, or another compiled by Archbishop *Land*, that had been occasion
of

of much trouble, ' adds words of great reproach
 ' against those who accused the late Lord Archbi-
 ' shop of making a new Book of Common-prayer,
 ' other than those that were used in the times of our
 ' last three Sovereigns : this he makes a thing that
 ' never was.

But he is now to know, that Archbishop *Land*
 did make, or cause to be made, a Common-prayer-
 book for the Kirk of *Scotland*, different in many
 things from any that had been used here in *Eng-*
land, in any of the three last Sovereigns Reigns ;
 which Common-prayer-book, among other things,
 occasioned great disturbances betwixt the two
 Kingdoms: nay, he made some alterations in the
 Liturgy for *England*, that were not very pleasing
 to some palates among the sons of the Church ;
 what they were, if Mr. *D.* pleaseth he may see in
 Mr. *Prynnes* Epistle Dedicatory to his *Quench-*
coal. It is not for such a poor creature as I am, to
 blame or find fault with those alterations, which I
 find imitated in our last edition of the Liturgy.
Only I wonder why in the Office for the Fifth of No-
vember Ministers are not directed to read the Sta-
tute for the observing of that day, seeing it is by law
appointed to be read.

Ibid. He complains that our *Convocations* are be-
 yond seas represented to consist only of Archbi-
 shops and Bishops ; and that the inferior Clergy is
not permitted to sit and vote in them. Really if any
 gave such information, he was but too like to Mr.
D. speaking of that which he either did not, or
 would not understand. The *Convocations* of *Eng-*
land do consist of an upper and lower House ; and
 though

did. 2 Next Hist. of
 Bayles that Nonconformity is not

though the Upper House consists but of Archbishops and Bishops, yet the Lower consists of the inferior Clergy, Deans, Prebendaries, Archdeacons and Proctors of the Clergy. P. 116. Mr. D. calls our Convocations *a Council consisting of above sixscore reverend, grave, and learned Divines, chosen out of many thousands, whereof twenty-six are Archbishops and Bishops, a greater number Deans, and Prebends, and Archdeacons*: Which shews he understandeth not the frame and constitution of our Convocations, though they be the Church-Representative, that he pretends to write for. The Convocation for the very Province of *Canterbury*, (besides which, there is one for the Province of *York*) consists of an Archbishop, twenty-one Bishops for the Upper House; the Lower House consists of Deans twenty-two, Prebendaries twenty-four, Archdeacons fifty-four, Clerks representing the Clergy, forty-four; so that the very Lower House for this one Province, consists of One hundred forty-four persons. But how *these are chosen out of many thousands, they are men of rare faculties that can understand*. If we speak of the members of Convocation, neither Bishops, nor Deans, nor Archdeacons, are chosen to it, but come of course, just as Peers do to the House of Lords. As for the Prebends, they are chosen only by the Chapters, which I hope are not many thousands; the Diocesan Clergy may be said to be chosen out of many thousands; but they for the Province of *Canterbury* are but forty-four. It may be Mr. D. meant that these Divines are chosen to their Dignities out of many thousands; but that will be a grosser

grosser untruth than the other: for Bishops are chosen by the Dean and Chapter of that Church to which they are sent, but they have not many thousands to chuse out of; there is but one nominated to be chosen, and him I believe the Dean and Chapter must chuse, and return his Election; and the Election being returned and ratified by Royal assent, the Metropolitan must either consecrate or confirm, as occasion requireth. That which the Puritans were wont to complain of, was the inequality of the Representative; they say for example, If all who are chosen by the Diocesan Clergy for the whole Province of *Canterbury*, should desire a Reformation, yet they could not carry it; because the Arch-deacons who are the Bishops creatures, as being chosen solely by them, are ten in number more than they; and they also were wont to say, That the Bishops would take on them to nominate the two Clerks for the Diocefs; and if it be so, they said it was in effect all one as if the Convocation had consisted only of Bishops. This notwithstanding, Dr. Taylor in his *Episcopacy asserted*, seems to envy the Presbyters so much as sitting in Councils: 'Tis evident, saith he, *Episc. assert. p. 283.*) that the Laws of Provinces, and of the Catholick Church, were made by Conventions of Bishops, without the intervening or concurrence of Presbyters, or any else, for sentence and decision; the instances of this are just as many as there are Councils. The parishes of both Provinces in *England*, are above nine thousand two hundred; the pastors of these parishes send about Fifty-two to represent them, and in the very Houle

B
 where they sit; there are above twice as many (in whose election they were no way concerned) that have equal votes with them; and besides, there is an Upper House of Bishops. Mr. Durell would exceed *Plutarch* himself, if he could find in any Reformed Church a parallel. Let him try how such a Synod as this will hit with that which the *Theses of Saumur* say concerning Councils.

B
 But I have almost forgotten my self. Let Mr. D. go on to wipe off false aspersions cast on our Bishops. P. 86. *Men beyond the seas are told that every one of our Bishops is a Pope, nay more than a Pope in his Diocess; prescribing and imposing of himself what he pleaseth to his Clergy; whereas every Bishops authority is limited by his subscription to the 39 articles, &c. by the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, and by the Laws of the Land, according to the prescript whereof he is to rule his diocess, and no otherwise; calling always to joyn with him in imposition of hands, and other matters of weighty concernment, some of the Prebends of his Cathedral, or other grave Ministers of the Diocess.* Certainly this Preacher knows not what a Pope is, if he think that what these calumniators report of the Bishops, makes them worse than Popes. But let them deserve to keep the Whetstone for their tale, Mr. D. will have it from them again; for nothing is more false, than that by any *Constitutions or Laws Bishops are bound to call unto them either Prebends or grave Ministers to joyn with them in imposition of hands, and in all other weighty matters.* The Bishops lay on hands in confirmation of children, who is to joyn with him in that Imposition?

tion? They lay on hands when they ordain Deacons, are they to call any to joyn with them in that imposition of hands?

Ay, but they cannot ordain a Presbyter regularly, unless some Presbyters joyn with them in laying on of hands.

Really they cannot: but now the question is, What the hands of the Presbyters signifie? And truly if we ask those that stickle for Hierarchy, they will say, they signifie just nothing, or next to nothing: this conjunction of Presbyters is not *ad essentiam operis*, but *ad dignitatem sacerdotii*. The Presbyters hands confer nothing of the power of Order upon the party ordained, but only testifie their consent unto the business, and approbation of the man. So Dr. Heylin History of Episcopacy, p. 162. and to the same purpose Dr. Taylor in Episcopacy asserted. Is not the Presbytery fairly advanced? it may do what the Laity did, or at least may do, testifie consent and approbation of the man? Again, the suspension of a Minister is a weighty thing; who is appointed to joyn with the Bishop in this? Excommunication also is a weighty thing; Who must joyn with the Bishop in that? Finally, Mr. D. would oblige me greatly if he would fully satisfie me what Canons and Constitutions the Bishops are to govern their Clergy by. I hope no Canons are in force but those of 1603. which I am sure are more than be well observed; but there were Legatine Canons in number Seventy-seven, made by Orho and Orbone; and Provincial Canons made under Stephen Langthon and Henry Chicheley Archbishops of Canterbury,

verbury, digested into a body by *William Lindwood*,
 as the former were by *John Mon*, Canon of *Lin-*
coln; and some say, that so much of all these Ca-
 nons as is not contrary to the Laws and Customs
 of the Land, is still in force; if so, as so it may
 be for ought I know, then I am sure a great many
 of the Clergy know not how they are to be go-
 verned; but if any should know all Canons and
 Constitutions, and understand that the Bishop pre-
 scribes things contrary to all Law and Canons,
 what then? Why then there lyes an Appeal, or a
 Prohibition may be obtained, to the cost of nei-
 ther of which a poor Countrey-Vicar can easily
 raise his purse.

P. 87. Mr. *D.* is at his old trade of over-reach-
 ing: for he describeth *Monsieur Goyon* to be a man
 as well versed in antiquity, as is possible.

Yet neither he nor I can tell the bounds of pos-
 sibility in the skill of antiquity; and perhaps both
 of us can tell of some that are more skilful in
 Church-History than this *Monsieur*.

P. 103. The Church of *England* is be-lied, for
 of her it is said, that she holdeth subordination
 of Ministers in the Christian Church, to be of A-
 postolical, nay of Divine Institution, having (as
 she conceiveth) for grounds of this her judgment,
 beside Scripture, the practice of the holy Apo-
 stles in their times, of the Universal Church ever
 since, until this latter age; and which is more, of
 Christ himself, who ordained the Apostles and the
 Seventy, in an imparity, as two distinct Orders
 of Ministers in his Church; yet notwithstand-
 ing she doth but simply assert the lawfulness of
 her own Government. Cer-

Certainly this man doth not pretend to know the conceptions of our Church, till they be discovered; and the Church hath no where declared her conceptions to be these, *That subordination of Ministers, beside Scripture, is grounded on the practice of the Apostles, and of Christ himself.* The practice of the Apostles, and of Christ, is not beside Scripture, but recorded in Scripture; nor doth the Church any where say that Christ instituted the Apostles and the Seventy as two distinct Orders of Ministers in his Church; if she do, then Dr. *Hammond* did not know her mind, or else plainly contradicts her.

P. 144. contains no fewer than four calumnies against *Presbyterians*, which must be manifested in their order.

1. *The Presbyterians had no set-forms, nor indeed would receive any, whether for Common-prayer or for administration of Sacraments, Matrimony, &c.*

I believe some *Presbyterians* had set-forms for all these; and I am sure they do not account it unlawful to receive set-forms for any of these, only they may, and some of them do judge it inexpedient to have Ministers so tied up in all these, as never in the least to vary, either by addition or subtraction. I never heard of *Presbyterian* that administered Baptism in any other form of words than those appointed in the Liturgy. *I baptize in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*; nor the Lords Supper in any other form of words but what is Scriptural; nor Marriage but in a set form, either that in the Common-prayer-book, or that in the Directory.

2. For a long time many of them had left off the use of that very form our Lord hath taught us, p. 37. He had said, That most, if not all Directorians, had left out of their Service, for a long time, that most complete, most divine form of prayer.

Mr. Paget, Mr. Ball, Mr. Hodges, have printed Apologies for the use of the Lords prayer; hundreds of those who now suffer deprivation, have thousands of witnesses that they have used it in their Churches and in their Families, on Sundays, on Fasting-days, and yet they must have this filth thrown into their dish. However, on this occasion let us try what Mr. D. can say: Suppose some Presbyterians had never used this prayer in the Pulpit, but only at the Lords Supper, had they not president in the ancient Church to justify them in so doing? yea, suppose some should say that it were no sin never to use this prayer, provided a man took it as the pattern of his prayer, how would Mr. D. stop their mouths, and prove them transgressors? In his Sermon p. 26. he brings the words Luke 11. *When ye pray, say*; and this place is commonly urged, but perhaps is not so strong as some imagine it to be, at least when managed as they manage it: for I ask, What is the meaning of, *When ye pray, say*? Is the meaning, *When ye pray, say after this manner*, or *say these words*? If but *after this manner*, then the sword is not long enough to reach Mr. Ainsworth and his disciples, for they pretend to say after that manner, (and not to conceal any part of the truth, the Syriack translation in Luke requires it to be rendered, *sic*, or *ad hunc modum estote dicentes*); but
 let

let the words mean, *say these words*, then I ask, Whether the words in *St. Matthew*, or *St. Luke*? If the words that occur in *Luke*, then we have no precept for the Doxology, as it is in *Matthew*. And really I have wondred what they meant, who were wont to say at the conclusion of their Pulpit-prayers, *In his name and in his words we further pray, saying as he hath taught us*; and yet had never satisfied themselves, that the Doxology which they constantly in that case used, was of our Lords own inditing. There is reason (saith *Dr. Hammond*) to believe that the words of Doxology came in out of the Greek Liturgies; and that the ancientest Greek Copies have them not, *Pract. Cat. lib. 3. sect. 2. Grotius* had said as much before. Those who believe these two Learned men, had need alter the form of words with which they usher in the Lords Prayer. 'Tis not safe to ascribe to Christ any thing but what is his; but how shall a man know that the copies in which the Doxology is wanting, are the most ancient?

Erasmus saith he found the Doxology in all the Greek Copies: *Lucas Brugensis*, that it was in all the Greek *Parisian* Copies but one. And if one look into the various readings collected in our late *Polyglot* Bibles, he shall find the Copies that want these words of Doxology, to be but few; wherefore *Grotius* hath got no credit by saying, *Seeing that they are not extant in the most ancient Greek Copies, but are extant in the Syriack, Arabick, and Latin Context, we may learn not only that the Arabick and Latin Version, but also the Syriack, was made after that the Liturgy of the Churches was brought*

brought into a certain form. For the Doxology is not in some *Arabick* Versions, not in that which is inserted into the *Polyglot* Bibles. If the *Syriack* and *Arabick* (which *Grotius* saw) had put in the Doxology out of the *Greek* Liturgies, why did they not also put it in in the Gospel of *Luke*? unless it could be made appear that the *Greek* Liturgies varied, I know not how he can answer this question. Let me add this caution to young Scholars, that they be not too hasty to give credit to every Copy that some men magnifie. That *Syriack* Translation which is followed in the New Testament in our *Polyglot* Bibles, if it were the ancientest, would be a good argument of the Antiquity of Festivals or Holy-days; but the Translation which *Immanuel Tremelius* followed, for ought I know may be much ancientser; and in it there appeareth no such distinction of days. To return to *St. Luke*, if his $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ import that we must use his very words in *Greek*, or words in our language as near as may be to his, then must we not follow our Liturgy; for though it sometimes inserts the Doxology, and sometimes omits it, yet it never translateth the Lords Prayer according to *St. Luke*; Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us; is not to translate, but paraphrase on *St. Luke*. It is a little odd, that in the whole Liturgy the Lords Prayer should never be put in the same words that are used in all our Translations of the Bibles that were authorized, whether new or old. Will *Mr. D.* say, If Christ bid us use these very words, that we may use other of like nature

nature and import; and yet that if the Church bid us use her words, that we must use them and no other? The *Brownist* will say the Church may well allow as much liberty as she taketh. Besides, what assurance can Mr. *D.* give the *Brownists* what words the Lord Jesus used when his disciples desired him to teach them how to pray? *Grotius* the great, saith, *It is credible, that several things are thrown into the Greek copies of St. Luke, out of St. Matthew; and the things he supposeth to be thrust in, are all that are left out of the old Latin copies; if so, the Lords Prayer must be made much shorter than ever it is made in our Liturgy; we must not say which art in heaven; nor thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth; nor, but deliver us from evil.* The *Brownist* hath not yet done with Mr. *D.* but will ask him how often he is bound to say the Lords Prayer by virtue of the ὅταν προσεύχησθε λέγετε: p. 27. of his Sermon he tells them, that this and another reason by him there mentioned, obliged those Protestants which follow the Augustane Confession, and those of the Reformed Churches of Holland, to say it ordinarily before and after meals, at the end of their Graces. Had these men reason to think themselves obliged to this custom? If they had, then is Mr. *D.* obliged also, and sins every time he doth not use the Lords Prayer before and after meals: if it were their mistake to think themselves obliged, how will he give security that he is not mistaken in counting himself obliged to say a *Pater noster* every time that he bends his knee to God in prayer, either in the beginning, or middle, or end of his prayer?

If

If he plead a command of Christ, as he doth in that Sermon, he must prove the *quoties*, which it will be hard for him to do; and if he talk of Christs sanctifying a form with his own mouth, he must give us either the very words Christ spoke, or else a juster translation of them than any he will find in the Common-prayer-book.

Finally, If we have not received the grace of the Gospel in vain, we must look on Christ as risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, confirmed the Universal Priest, Intercessor, and Advocate; so could not the Disciples look on him when Christ taught them to pray; which may be the reason why he told them, *that hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name*, Joh. 16. 24. wherefore though it be lawful and expedient to use the Lords Prayer, as we commonly use it; and though the things to be prayed for, cannot be better summed up, or more briefly comprised; yet vulgar people will be in great danger not to say the Lords Prayer in the Lords name; not to think of his merit and intercession, unless they have prayers so formed as to force them to a more distinct apprehension of Christs propitiation, than the Lords Prayer doth. Let it be observed whether the *Doxologies* made, or mentioned to be made after Christs ascension into heaven, do not lead us distinctly and particularly to offer and ascribe praise unto God, in the name of Christ, or by Christ; or unto God and the Lamb, or unto Christ, *Ephes. 3. 21. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Rev. 5. 13.* The more pains that Dr. *Light-foot* and others do take to show us the Lords Prayer in the Jewish Liturgies, the more do they unawares streng-

strengthen men in a persuasion that it was not intended to be a pattern to us to form our prayers unto, any more than as to the matter, or things to be prayed for. It cannot be that the Jewish and Christian Liturgy should not differ much in the manner of our addresses unto God: it will be hard to find the Holy One called *the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, or his God and our God, his father and our father*, by any Jew; and yet no expressions more meet for the mouth of a Christian.

I pass to the third calumny in Mr. D.'s p. 144. *Most of them wholly neglected the Lords Supper for many years.* Neglect is when a Minister hath opportunity to administer, and doth not administer; Did most of the *Presbyterians* thus neglect the administration of the Eucharist? Who doth not know that many of them administered it oftner than by the Liturgy is required? Hath Mr. D. never heard of their Associations either printed or not printed, in order to the exercise of discipline? Doth not the Directory say, The Lords Supper is to be administered often? If any secluded any one from that Ordinance who was of an orderly life, and understood the first principles of the Oracles of God, he did it not from *Presbyterian* principles; but I remember that p. 44. he taxeth the Universities of this Kingdom, and saith, *That the University of Oxford had no Communion for above twelve years.* Yet the Ministers are known, who did frequently administer the Communion in the Churches and Chappels of that University, in those
twelve

twelve years. But it may be he meant, *that in twelve years time the University as an University had no Communion.* To which I say, If that were a fault, it will not much concern the *Presbyterians*; for the four Vicechancellors of *Oxford* during those twelve years, were not *Presbyterians*; and perhaps the University as an University, is not a Church: for if it be, who is Pastor of it? or who hath power to censure those who be disorderly? Both Chancellor and Vicechancellor may be lay-men. The Communion appointed to be at *St. Maries* at the beginning of the Terms, were lately appointed, and the penalties appointed for those who neglect to come to them, are not Ecclesiastical penalties, and I believe the twentieth part of the University never was at any one of them: was it meet to make such a clamour about the omission of them?

A fourth Calumny is, *That in the Presbyterians Congregations, there was a great irreverence at prayer, very few kneeling, many not so much as pulling off their hats.* Of this irreverence he saith he is an eye-witness. Was he not well employed the mean while? Could he find nothing else to do when in a Christian Congregation, but only to tell how many kneeled, and who had their hats quite off, and who half off, and who never uncovered their head at all? In how many Congregations was he to make this observation? if (as is probable) but in a few, what unrighteousness is it to measure all Congregations by a few? And is he sure that the men whom he observed to be so irreverent, were *Presbyterians*? Why might they
not

not be some of his own perswasion who did come to put an affront on *Presbyterians* Prayers? Either kneeling, or standing *Presbyterians* commended to their people, and never practised (unless in case of infirmity) any other gesture in praying that ever I heard of, and yet I have made enquiry. But it was necessary that Mr. D. should draw them like Devils or else he could not have made them abhorred.

Could a man but obtain leave of his conscience to lay open the irreverence of the Episcopal Assemblies, what stories might he tell? More I am sure than Mr. D. would be willing to hear. I believe there is not an honest heart but akes to consider the rudeness of the admirers of our Liturgy in their addresses to God whether in the Church or in their own houses. I speak of the vulgar sort of them; put on their Hats they do not, but they usually sit on their seats, at publick Prayer, and which is worse stare up and down to see who comes in, and who goes out of the Church, if their Landlord chance to come in, in the midst of their Devotion up they rise and make their obeisance. Follow them to their Houses there you may observe them to truss and pray, to wash their Faces and to say their Prayers. I once met with an old man who had been bred up to Liturgies all his days, dealing with him about his Soul, I found he never prayed any thing at home but the Lords Prayer, and that he never repeated that Prayer till he was first got into his bed, and he told me he thought no man in *England* used any other posture in saying his Prayers. And I was told

told by a Minister whom I dare believe, that he hapned at an Inn, to lie in the same Chamber with a man of a good estate, who waking in the morning and thinking the Divine to be asleep, gets out of his bed, takes his Doublet and Breeches, falls to dressing himself, but whilest he dressed himself he said the general confession and the absolution in the Common-Prayer-Book; when he was beginning the Lords-Prayer, then he took the Chamber-pot into his hand, and did it may be imagined what. Here's irreverence with a witness, I charge it not on Episcopacy, yet I may with a better conscience than Mr. D. chargeth the not putting off of Hats at Prayer on *Presbytery*, or *Presbyterian Nonconformists*. He that would know what outward reverence they require in the worship of God, and upon what reasons they build it, and how necessary they account it, and what thoughts they have of those who use it not, may inform himself from Mr. *Arthur Hildershams* plain but very solid discourse on the fourth of *St. John*. He that hath not the Book by him may find much quoted out of him by Dr. *Nicholas Bernard* in his discourse of a set form of Prayer, Printed, 1659.

And now that I am fallen upon Mr. D's forty fourth page, it may not be amiss to advert that he fears not to say, *all the Reformed world over no man that is not a notorious ill-liver, is debarred from the Sacrament*; what will he be afraid to say that fears not to say this? Is there no reformed Church that debars any but a notorious ill-liver from the Sacrament? Certainly it is not necessary that

that he who danceth should be a notorious ill liver, and yet Mr. *D.* knows where any that can be proved to have danced, would be kept from the Sacrament. He that should turn *Pelagian* may be no notorious ill-liver, yet such a one would be kept from the Sacrament in most if not in all reformed Churches, so would he also that should not be satisfied to bring his Child to Baptism; and yet I imagine such a one need not be a notorious ill-liver. Suppose an *English* Protestant should think it irreverence to receive the Sacrament not kneeling, such a man if Mr. *D.* be to be believed cannot be admitted to the Sacrament in *France*, yet such a one may lead a life not notoriously scandalous. By a Canon of our own Church, the communion is to be administred to none but such as kneel, nor to any but such as be present at publick Prayers, according to the orders of the Church, yet I know some such who are far enough from being notorious ill livers. I am almost certain that there is scarce a reformed Church whose Principles and Rules of discipline do not debar such from Sacramental communion as are no notorious ill livers, I wish I were as certain that no Reformed Churches did contrary to their own Rules of discipline, admit such as are notorious ill-livers, then I should promise my self that Christ would with more delight walk among his golden Candlesticks.

P. 185. Whatever be the reason of it, *Our Liturgy hath no other Enemies abroad where it is well known, but the Papists.* This is an untruth as might be proved, by a thousand instances. But

let us see the occasion of it, that we have in the same Page. *The Magistrate of Paris his stopping the Printing and forbidding the publishing of the English Liturgy, (whereas that of Geneva is dayly Printed and sold there)* the reason he thinks could be no other, but a fear that it would be better liked by most Christians, *that have either judgment, learning or true piety, and are void of superstition, peevishness, extravagant zeal, and prophaneness, be they of what perswasion soever.* This is not very charitable, all or most that are not either superstitious, peevish, extravagantly zealous, and prophane will better like the *English* than the *Geneva* Liturgy. If after this the *French* Ministers do not Petition their King that they may exchange the *Geneva* for the *English* Liturgy, they know their doom.

Perhaps Mr. D. will plead that the *French* living in *France*, would be denied the use of the *English* Liturgy Translated into their own Language though they should desire it. But what will he say to those *French* Churches that are scattered up and down in this Nation, they are not sure quite void of judgment, learning, true piety, yet it is known, that they when they might have had thanks from Archbishop *Laud*, if they would have received the *English* Liturgy for the *French*, which they had been accustomed to, did not care for receiving of it, but used all possible endeavours to keep themselves in *statu quo*. Dr. *Heylin* relates the History of their wrestlings against the introduction of our Liturgy among them, from him Mr. D. may take it at his leisure. If I have not forgot

forgot since I read it, one argument made use of to keep the Metropolitan from pressing them to Conformity, was drawn from the just fear there was, that by so rigorous calling for Uniformity, the Christian King might be moved to persecute his Protestant Subjects; for Cardinal *Richlieu* had given out such a speech, *If the King of England being a Protestant will not suffer two disciplines, why should the King of France being a Papist suffer two Religions?* A shrewd speech and well to be thought on by any Metropolitan that shall go about to bring all foreign Churches to comply with our own, or else to dissolve them.

I take no notice of the High commendations given of our Liturgy, by the noble Princess of *Turenne*, and the Dutches of *la Force* her own Mother, he that will may see them *Page 78,* and 186. I only wish that if the *English* Liturgy be of so great force to edifie people in the Protestant Religion, it had been put into the hand of the Noble Marquess of *Turenne* to prevent his revolt to *Popery*, for it is said that he is grown a Roman Catholick.

In his Sermon *P. 20.* He is not ashamed to say “that whosoever hath devotion and leisure
 “enough to come to the Church, and be present
 “at Divine Service every day morning and evening
 “may hear the whole Bible read every Year,
 “the old Testament once, and the new no less
 “than thrice, and the Book of Psalms no less than
 “twelve times.

This can only be practised by those who live near to Cathedrals, let us imagine that any so

living, had devotion, and leisure enough, to come to his mother Church, from the first of *January*, to the last of *December*, this man would not hear the whole Bible, neither the Old Testament once, nor the New Testament thrice. The Liturgy saith so, yet Mr. D. in a pang of zeal, dare say otherwise. Whether the Church do well to leave out 188 Chapters of the Old Testament, and to appoint 121 of the *Apocrypha*, is not the question, we are on a matter of fact, and I say Mr. D. hath falsified in that, and will have no thanks for his falsification, the Church not desiring him to lie for her sake.

Another tale in P. 23. of his Sermon. *It is required of the People that they repeat aloud the confession of Sins, that they may be more sensibly affected therewith.*

This is just like giving a reason why the Swan sings just before her death whenas we know that she doth not so sing. The people are not required to repeat aloud the confession of sins, rather they are exhorted to repeat it with a submiss, or lowly voice. But now we are fallen on this word *Loud*, I would fain know what the meaning of it is.

2 In the first Book of *Edward* the sixth the Priest being in the Quire was appointed to begin the Divine Service with the Lords-Prayer, using a loud voice; in the late Liturgies he is appointed after the Absolution, to begin it with a loud voice; in this last with an audible voice, the people kneeling and repeating it with him; in the *Precatiuncles* after the Creed, the Minister, Clerks, and People are ordered to say the Lords-Prayer with a loud voice;

2 Before Bishop's Sermon

voice, in former and later Books. But in *K. Edward's* first Book the people were not to speak till *deliver us from evil*; at evening prayer t's appointed that the Minister shall kneel, and say the *Lords-Prayer*, the people kneeling, and repeating it with him, no mention being made of the kind of voice to be used, yet after the Creed at evening prayer, all are to say the Prayer with a loud voice. I never observed any Minister or people to speak louder, in repeating the *Lords-Prayer* at one time than at another, nor know I what is meant by a loud voice, or whether there be any difference betwixt it and an audible voice, nor if there be none, what's meant by an audible voice, for to whom must the peoples voice be audible, to those that sit next to them? or to the Minister? or to the whole congregation? *Mr. D.* doth converse with great personages, and he knows the meaning of these terms.

‘ P. 265. In the reign of *Queen Elizabeth* before the making of the Act of Uniformity, those that did not love white, made a great noise within and without this land, and bestirred themselves on all sides that they might be dispensed with for wearing the surplice. Among other means used by them to come to their ends, they applied themselves to some in the reformed Churches beyond the Seas, and perswaded them that if the surplice was imposed, huge numbers of Ministers, nay many of the Bishops themselves, would leave their Ministry. Whereupon the Prince Elector Palatine that then was, commanded *Zanchius* to write to the Queen, to dissuade her Majesty

H 3

from

from imposing the use of such Vestments, which he did accordingly; but the business not succeeding according to their desires, and the Nonconformists giving out still that there would be a great dissipation in this Church by the desertion of so many Bishops and Ministers, what did *Zan-*
chius thereupon, &c.

Such an Harangue of impertinence and falshood have I seldom or never met with; and yet we are in the Margin directed to *Zanchy's* Epistle to *Juel*, as if thence all the materials of it had been fetched. In my books *Zanchy's* Letter to *Juel* bears date just the very day next to that written to *Q. Eliz.* So that in twenty four hours time the Nonconformists of *England* must know that a Letter came from *Heidelberg* to *London*, was received by the *Queen*, and proved not effectual with her, and thereupon give out stories of Bishops that would leave their Sees, and hope for another Address to be made on their behalf; if so, they must needs have the Intelligences that move the *Primum mobile* for their Secretaries and Messengers. *Zanchy's* Letter to *Juel* I am sure doth not in the least intimate, that the *English* Nonconformists made any applications to some in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; all that can thence be collected, is but this, that the *June* before he did write his Letter, one called *Montius* returned out of *England*, and told him besides others, that a great difference was stirred up in the *English* Church about Vestments, and therefore desired him that he would by a Letter both admonish the *Queen* of her Office, and also write to those Bishops that were
known

known to him, and especially to *Juel*. Upon his and others entreaties, and his Princes command, *Zanchy* did write to the Queen a Letter, as he was confident, not evil, (which is to be seen) and not knowing what the Queen would do, he writes also to *Juel*, That he would by his Authority, Learning and Prudence, endeavour with the Bishops not to leave their Sees, rather than wear linnen; yet so, that they must know that the Queen is inexorable; and also when they wear linnen, make a protestation.

This Letter, 'tis like, never came to *Juel's* hands, he dying about twelve days after it was written. Nor need it trouble us, that *Juel* never saw it, seeing there was no Bishop then in any danger to lose his Place for not wearing linnen; nor can I think there is any one Minister now so much out of love with white, as rather to leave his Ministry, than put on a Surplice, provided he may but make lawful protestation how and on what accounts he useth it. Indeed the *ἄτηννα* of some Nonconformists in the late times was this, that they loved white too well; for their woollen clothes were white, or next to white; their locks were powdered with white powder, their white Half-shirts were very visible, to the great offence of some serious persons both in Countrey and University. But let not Mr. *D.* rejoyce because some Nonconformists did thus habit themselves; for these Nonconformists were not *Presbyterians*, but either inclined to ways of separation, or else such as had newly laid by their Canonical dress, and were resolved no longer to be called black-coats.

Here therefore let me beseech all who would not be deceived in reading our Histories concerning the disorderly carriages of Ministers in the late times, well to consider who they were that were so disorderly; and if they find that any of them were of the old Nonconforming *Presbyterians*, I am much mistaken: if they find none were such, how unreasonable is it to charge on *Presbyterians* the faults of such as returned to Conformity so soon as His Majesty required them; and left not off to conform till they could not keep their Conformity and Livings too?

Too too long I have been in detecting falsehoods, had it not been necessary to try whether I could put Mr. D. to some shame. I am now to shew you, as briefly as I can, in how many things he hath wronged his Munificent and Bountiful Mother of *England*.

P. 10. He takes pains to tell us of an Oath of Canonical obedience sworn by Ministers in *Hungary* to the Bishop and to the Seniors: in the Oath he that swears, acknowledgeth himself to receive his Ministry from both Bishop and Seniors. These Seniors are but a more eminent sort of *Presbyters*, as his quotation p. 11. intimates. What is this but to bring in *Hungary's* witness against the sole power of Order and Jurisdiction of the *English* Bishops?

P. 12, 13. He relates a tedious story of the *freres Bohemi*, and the care that they took to preserve a succession of Ministers. They sent Michael Zamborgius and two more to the poor Waldenses (who never had a Bishop among them but in title only)

and
What way Church of Turin?

and two titular Bishops, with some that had not so much as the title of Bishops, made Zambergius and his two Collegues Bishops, giving them power of Ordination. This is manifestly to put a weapon into the Presbyterians hands; they were wont only to quote the story of *Pelagius* the Pope being ordained by a *Presbyter* with two Bishops, now Mr. D. hath afforded them another Story, to prove that a *Presbyter* may lay hands on, and ordain Bishops; Is this his kindness to the Prelates?

Another prejudice and mischief he designs to the Church is as he tells us, *Page 14. To set forth a Collection of the several Liturgies of all the Protestant Churches.* This may please him, because it is the brat of his own brain, but will not sure please the Reverend Fathers of the Church. Doth he not know that Archbishop *Laud* did put a stop to the Letters Patents, for a Collection for the Palatinate, because it was said in them, that the *Palatinate Religion, and ours was the same, and that Popery was an Antichristian yoke?* Doth he not also know that when a Book was Published here in England intituled *a Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the Palsgraves Churches,* Archbishop *Laud* took a course to call it in? I advise him, if he love his preferments, no more to meddle in this kind. Had Dr. *Peter du Moulin* any thing bestowed on him since he answered *Philanax Anglicus?*

P. 45. He quotes *Calvin* saying that the custom of distributing the Sacrament but thrice a year is vitious, and yet that is the custom of our Church, and

and that not observed in all places neither, for the generality communicate but once a year, and so follow, if Mr. D. be in the right, *the Devils invention.*

P. 53 He saith by just and evident consequence that there is not a wise understanding Christian in our Church, for these are his words: *That every national Church ought to have Uniformity within it self, hath always been the judgment of all sober Christians: I assume, That every national Church should have Uniformity within it self, hath not been the judgment of the Church of England.* I tremble for Mr. D's sake to infer the conclusion. The Minor I prove from the Canons of 1640. where a difformity is allowed, and the Apostolical rule commended to dissenters, not to judge, not to despise.

Follow him but to P. 93. and there you shall have him charging Rebellion and Schisme on the major part of his Conforming brethren. For there he tells us of *a great persecution against all Ministers who adhered to the King and Church of England during the late troubles, this persecution was so gentle to some as only to plunder and turn them out of their livings, but cast others out of the Land, or forced them to a voluntary exile.* Thus therefore I argue:

‘ All Ministers that adhered to the King and Church, were either turned out of their livings or banished, or left the Land.

‘ The major part of the Conforming Ministers did neither lose their living, nor were banished, nor went into voluntary exile.

‘ There-

Therefore the major part of the Conforming Ministers neither adhered to King, nor Church, and by just consequence were Traitors and Schismatics. The Minor is as clear as the Sun, to all that observed the management of things in England, he that Licensed Mr. D's Book had the same Fellowship in All Soules, at his Majesties return, that he had at the decollation of his Father.

P. 95. He tells us, that he and some others were admitted to livings in France, the Synod desiring them only to conform to their Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders, for the time they should live amongst them, (for a Nonconformist Minister is a thing unknown and never suffered in those Churches.) This is nonsense to an English ear, for the Church may be full of Nonconformists if men are admitted into livings, being desired only and not enjoined to conform to Rites and Ceremonies and Orders. But he told us P. 54. All admitted to livings must subscribe to the confession of faith, wherefore we may think he subscribed to the parity of Ministers, and by an order passed at Charenton all are to swear they will propugne the Canons of the Synod of Dort, if that order be not rescinded, then 'tis like he is under Oath to defend a Doctrine which most of the Fathers of this Church think, if not against our own Doctrine, yet subversive of the Doctrine according to Godliness.

P. 96. He saith that it is a principle common to all reformed Churches in the World, That every national Church hath power to make Laws for her self, in all such outward things as are not either
expressly

expressly commanded, or forbidden in the word of God.

God forbid that any such principle should be maintained, by all or by any Reformed Church in the whole world. There are many outward as well as inward things not commanded nor forbidden expressly, but only by just and necessary consequence, about which the Church hath no power to make Laws to her self any more than about those things that are expressly either commanded or forbidden, else there would be mad work in the World. Where doth Mr. D. find family Prayer, or infant Baptisme, or the observation of the Lords days expressly either forbidden or commanded in Gods word? He will say that the Church may make Laws about these, I grant she may, but no other than what she can make about things either commanded or forbidden expressly. So that he wrongeth not only our own Church, but all Reformed Churches in affixing such a principle to them. *Dr. Heylin* ascribes to *Calvin* a quite contrary principle. *Hist. of Presb. 238.*

‘ That in carrying on the work of a Reformation,
 ‘ there is not any thing to be exacted, which is not
 ‘ warranted, and required by the word of God;
 ‘ that in such cases there is no Rule left for worldly
 ‘ wisdom, for moderation and compliance, but all
 ‘ things to be ordered, as they are directed by his
 ‘ will revealed.

Page 241. He makes this *Calvins* rule, and *Martyrs* judgment to be grounded on it, *That nothing should be acted in a Reformation, which is not warranted expressly in the word of God.* Are
 East

East and West more opposite than Dr. H. and Mr. D. yet neither truly represents the opinion of the Reformed. I beseech those who are at leisure, and have well studied the point, to state plainly and clearly unto us the due matter of Ecclesiastical Laws, and to show us the meaning of the term, indifferent, so frequently made use of in this Controversy: for it seemeth somewhat an uncouth assertion that Church governors may command all things that are usually called indifferent, for then many of their Laws would be very contemptible. The old definition of things *Adiaphorous* was, that they were things neither commanded, nor forbidden; this definition seemed to me innocent enough, but of late there are Divines sprung up, that say, the highest acts of love to God are not commanded, neither I trow are they forbidden, must we call them then things indifferent? And hath the Church power to determine who shall put forth those Acts, and how often they shall be put forth? It may be Mr. D. thinks the highest acts of love are commanded, (and so do I) but he had best not to be too forward in publishing that notion.

P. 99. He falls into an high commendation of the *Bohemian Churches*, as he doth also in many other Pages of his Book; this is little to the advantage of our Church; for if that Church be to be imitated, we must have lay *Presbyters* and lay *Presbyteresses* also, *Pastors of Parishes* must confirm, people must come under examination every time they receive the Sacrament, we must have no dancings, and we may have particular Synods with-

without a Bishop, if we communicate the acts thereof presently to the absent Bishops, and we must have none brought into Communion but those who are willing, and yet we here can by censures, if we please, make Papists communicate with us, or else have them excommunicated and clapt into Prison.

P. 107. He gives the *Presbyterians* lame Cause a crutch. For he saith, *God only hath power to bind the Conscience immediately*; ask him when mens Consciences are bound immediately, he tells you, *when humane Laws and Constitutions are thrust upon men, as if they were Divine.*

Here will the *Presbyterian* say, Episcopacy which is but an humane institution, is thrust on us as Divine, and not only as good and profitable; therefore unless we will give men jurisdiction over our consciences, we cannot conform. Mr. D. cannot bring himself off here, but by maintaining that Episcopacy is a Divine institution, and it would be too great impudence to say that in so saying he should not contradict every reformed Church almost besides our own.

P. 118. He mentions the sending of a Printed Copy of the Acts of the Synod of *Dort* to King *James*, Prince *Charles*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* by *Festus Hommius*, this is to rub a sore place, and to tell the World, that we who now suffer our Divines and Students to bespatter that Synod, did once well approve of its decisions.

P. 126. He mentions a Letter of Monsieur *le Moine*, out of which he saith he will set down as much as fits his present design: what doth he set down?

down? Why Page 136. That the *English* have a natural fierceness, and withal a natural inclination to superstition. Is this for Mr. Durells design, to blast the people of that nation where he hath been so highly preferred? Are we indeed fierce and superstitious? Naturally fierce, and naturally Superstitious? What kind of superstition is it to which we are so naturally inclined, that so we may know how to enquire after the cure of so dangerous a disease? It is no matter if we may believe Mr. *Moine* to enquire further, let but Episcopal Authority be established, that will keep us from going beyond our bounds. Very good, but by whom shall this Episcopal Authority be managed? By *English* men I hope, but how then can we be assured that their natural fierceness and inclination to superstition will not remain in them? We never could observe that a mans being constituted a Bishop did make him less fierce or superstitious, any more than less an *English* man. Perhaps this Learned Predicant would have all our Divines come and study in *France*, that they may lose their disease of superstition, as sometimes they do their Consumptions in so refined an Air, but that Plot will not take. He hath another argument for Episcopacy, *it cannot enter into a rational mans imagination, that a great Kingdom should come by custom to be content to see its Bishops no more, having honoured and revered them for the space of 1400 Years.* If this be so, then may the Bishops be secure, we are so accustomed to love them, that we cannot be content to be without them, and have been a great Kingdom and honoured and
 reve-

reverenced them 1400 Years. Where may we that live in *England* find these things recorded concerning our selves? for the Histories we read usually, do not make us a great Kingdom, but many petty Kingdoms 1400 Years ago.

‘If ever any made their ungratefulness notorious, certainly they are the *English* opposers of Episcopacy, who will not consider that they owe their Reformation to the care and zeal of their Bishops, who did so wonderfully well purge the Church of *England* an hundred years ago, and so happily set up the holy truth again, in its genuine lustre. But this is not all they owe unto them: they owe them also their Christianity. For whether it was brought over into *England* by *Joseph of Arimathea*, or by *Simon Canneus*, or by *St. Paul*, or by *St. Peter*, or by *Luke* disciple of *Philip*, or by *Phaganus* and *Perusianus*, in the time of King *Lucius*, it is constant that it was done by the Ministry of Bishops, and that they are indebted to their charity, zeal, and abilities, for the holy Reformation they now enjoy.

Do we indeed owe our late Reformation from Popery unto Bishops? *Wickliff* the day-star of our reformation, was no Bishop; those that suffered in King *Henry* the eighths time were no Bishops; *Cranmer* when he first set himself to dispute against the Marriage was no Bishop; when under that King he obtained to be a Bishop he had his hand in the blood of the Saints. Yet we honour his memory, for what he did towards Reformation in King *Edward* the sixth’s time, and for what he had begun

begun to do in his fathers reign, we can easily forgive him his Petitioning the King for liberty for his sister *Mary*, and his fierce opposition to Mr. *Hooper*; but we should be against the truth, if we do not say, that our Reformation had been very imperfect, if not strenuously promoted by the *Presbyters* and *Nonconformists* of that age. We must need say, that *Cranmer* did recant, and that Bishop *Ridly* had begun in the Tower to go to Mass, and left not off, till reclaimed by the Letter of his Nonconforming friend and Pupil Mr. *John Bradford*. Those that least loved ceremonies did least love their lives when they were to lose them for Christs sake. I take no pleasure in this comparison, nor had I made it, but that Mr. *D.* ascribes a strange weakness to Mr. *Hooper*, and makes Peter Martyr to scruple a Cap because it was too Mathematical. As for our first conversion from Paganisme, Mr. *Moine* writes very strangely about it.

P. 40. Else he would not faint *Peter* and *Paul*, and not *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, nor *Philip*, nor *Simon Canneus*. Nor secondly would he have left out *Aristobulus* whom some have affirmed to Preach the Gospel among us, and to be Bishop of *Britan*, and to have ended his days in *Britan*, and instead of him put in *Luke* a disciple of *Philip*: for what considerable Author ever ascribed the first bringing of Christianity among us unto *Luke* a disciple of *Philip*? We have indeed a story that St. *Philip*, (but whether the Apostle or Evangelist none can tell) sent over twelve Preachers into *Britan* perhaps Mr. *Moine* hath met with some Autho,
I
who

Min who tells him that one of their names was *Luke*, but the chief of them being *Joseph of Arimathea*, as all agree, unto him we must ascribe the work under God.

But he will scarce be proved to be a Bishop, or to have left any Bishop behind him. It may be in the reign of King *Lucius* we shall meet with Bishops. The story of him runs thus; That about the year 160 he began to have a good liking of Christianity, being convinced by the Miracles he saw or heard to be wrought by the Christians of that age. He had with him, *Elvanus*, and *Medvinus* two holy men, and well versed in the Scripture whom he sends to *Eleutherius* (or as some would have his name written *Eletherus*) Bishop of *Rome*, desiring that by him he might be made a Christian, that is Christened or Baptized, for he is conceived to have believed with the heart before. Why did he send so far to procure Baptisme? had he no Ministers in that *Island* over a part of which he was an under King? Perhaps he had, but thought it more Royal to send to *Rome* for Ministers; from *Rome* he had two sent him, the Roman Martyrology calls them *Fugatius*, and *Donatianus*, alias *Damianus*, others write them *Faganus* and *Derwianus* or *Dunianus*, others *Phaganus* and *Duvianus*, (none I think *Phaganus* and *Perusianus* but *M. M.* and *D.*) That either of these was a Bishop there is no evidence, *Mason* saith plainly, neither of them did ever attain that dignity. *Elvanus* some say was made a Bishop, and *Medvinus* a Doctor or Presbyter. Hitherto we have but a Bishop, no Bishops, to whose zeal we

we are endebted for our Christianity. And I am of opinion that as *Elvanus* was as much a Doctor as *Medvinus*, so *Medvinus* was as much a Bishop as *Elvanus*, and that there never was Bishop properly so called among us till *Austin* the Monk was sent hither from *Rome*. The stories of 28 Bishops made in the room of 28 *Flamens*, and 3 Archbishops made in the place of 3 *Archflamens*, seems to me as well as to Mr. Fuller, *Flammes*, and *Archflammes*. I know that at the Council of *Ariminum*, *Sulpitius* makes three Bishops out of *Britan*, to be present, Anno 259. As also that *Athanasius* speaks of *British* Bishops at the Council of *Sardis*, Anno 347. Nor will I deny that *Restitutus* Bishop of *London* is reported to have subscribed to the Council of *Arles* in *France*, Anno 314: but if he and others subscribed to the determinations of that Synod, how comes it to pass that the Churches to which they belonged did not account themselves concerned to leave off their old, and almost singular way of observing Easter? surely it must be because Bishops were not then thought to have so much authority over their Churches as now they would be thought to have. When *Austin* the Monk had got entertainment in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he calls a Council to be made up of *British*, and *Saxons*, and now if ever, we shall find what the Government Ecclesiastical of the *British* was, and pity it is we must fetch our account of it, only, or principally, from *Bede*, a venerable man indeed, but a Saxon, and professed enemy to the *British*.

Two Meetings *Austin* and the *British* had: To the first came certain Bishops, saith *Bede*, lib. 2. c. 2. but let his phrase be observed, *Episcopi, sive Doctores* being come, *Austin* layeth to their charge, That they practised many things contrary to the unity of the Church. But they continuing to prefer their own rites to those that *Austin* would have commended to them, the crafty Archbishop persuades them to refer the decision to God himself, but so that the *British* who were in possession, must first try whether God would work a miracle in favour of their opinion; not being able to cure a blind man brought before them. *Austin* falls on his knees, praying the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that by restoring sight to that one blind man, he would enlighten the eyes of many; and forthwith the blind was enabled to see. What was the effect? the *British* ought to have condemned themselves for consenting to tempt God; but if we may believe *Bede*, they acknowledge that *Austin* declared the way of righteousness (as if the way of righteousness had consisted in rites and ceremonies); but that they could not without the consent and leave of theirs, depart from their old customs. It seems these Bishops did not think that their consent could conclude their Presbyters and people. Well, another meeting is agreed on, to which came no fewer than seven Bishops and many very learned men, especially out of the famous Monastery now called *Bangor*, but anciently *Bancornaburgh*; these, before they came to the place appointed, ask counsel of a wise and pious *Anchoret*, whether they had best desert their Traditions upon the

the preaching of *Austin*: *If he be a man of God, quoth this Counciller, then follow him; and if when you come into the room, he rise up to you, then take him to be a servant of Christ.* *Austin* not rising up to them when they came into the place of conference, they contradict him in every thing he propounded. In three things at last, saith *Austin*, if you will comply, I will bear with all other your diversities; 1. You must celebrate *Easter* as we do. 2. You must administer Baptism according to the manner of the holy *Roman Church*. 3. You must preach with us the Gospel to the *English Nation*. Of the many other things in which the *Britans* differed from the *Romish*, I conceive this was one, that they left both *Ordination and Excommunication to a Presbyter as well as to a Bishop.* And this *Austin* would have tolerated. The reasons of this my opinion are many, and probable, grounded on the Histories of those times; one I shall mention, *viz.* that the *Scots* were mingled with the *British* when they had these meetings; now that the *Scots* did originally commit acts of order and jurisdiction to *Presbyters*, is a thing well known; if any doubt concerning it, he may receive satisfaction from the large Preface of *Mr. Selden* to the Histories published by *Mr. Bee* not twenty years ago. I am the more confident in this my opinion, because I find that when our *British Churches* had throughly imbibed the *Romish* modes and customs, then at a Synod held at *Celichyth A. D. 816.* it was decreed, *That none of the Scottish Nation should be permitted to use the sacred Ministry among us.*

This was all I had intended about our old *British Churches*,

Churches when loe there came to my hands the History of Mr. *Petry* quoted by the Latin Apologist; that Historian goeth a little more confidently to work, than I have done; for thus saith he, *Century 11. Pag. 282, 283.*

‘As for *England* since the *Saxons*, or *Englishes* receiving the faith by *Augustine*, they had always Bishops; for they had their Pattern from *Rome* as it was then: but if we look up to the Ancient Britans in that Land, we shall find it otherways. I have said in *Century 7. Chap. 4.* that seven Bishops and one Archbishop, came from the Britans unto *Augustin*: and there I followed the words of Bishop *Fuel*, in the defence of the Apology, *Page 14. An. 1520.* where he quoteth *Bede, His. lib. 2. cap. 2.* and in the same Page he quoteth *Galfred, lib. 8. cap. 8.* repeating the same words. What I wrote then upon trust, I have afterwards examined: and I find that *Bede* speaks not so: for in the Edition in *Fol. Camb. An. 1643.* he saith, *Austin* called the Bishops or Doctors of the nearest Province of the *Britans*; and in the same Page, he, speaking of the same persons, saith, a blind *English* Boy was brought unto the Priests of the *Britans*, and again they said they would not depart from the Ancient Customs, without the consent and licence, *suorum.* In the Margin it is said, in the *Saxon* Language it is said, without the permission, and licence of their Nation. Then speaking of their second conference, he saith, then came seven Bishops as they said, and more very Learned men, especially of that Famous *Monastery*; of which the

‘Gover-

' Governour at that time was *Dinooth*. In a word,
 ' *Beda* hath not one word of an Archbishop; nor
 ' in all his History nameth he one Bishops-See, nor
 ' any Bishops name: and whom he calleth Bishops
 ' of *Britan*, he calleth them Doctors, or Teachers,
 ' and Priests, yea he calleth them oftner Priests;
 ' nor calleth he them simply Bishops, as he calleth
 ' them simply Priests, but Bishops, as they say,
 ' or Bishops, or Teachers. Yet *Beda* could distin-
 ' guish between a Bishop and a Priest——What
 ' can be concluded from hence, but that no Bishop
 ' or Prelate was among the *Britans* other than
 ' Priests? As for *Galfrid*, it is no marvail that he
 ' wrote according to the stile of his own time,
 ' that is the year 1150. The said Author also
 ' quotes *Gildas* a *Britan* *Presbyter* distinguishing
 ' Church-men into Bishops or Priests, and the
 ' Clerks, but naming no other degree of Church-
 ' men, calling the first sort oftest *Sacerdotes* simply,
 ' but never *Episcopos*, unless he adds *five Sacer-*
 ' *dotes*.

What think I of all this? truly whatever I
 think, I will not say very much, for I have not
 by me either *Juels* Apology, or the *Cambridg*
 Edition of *Bede*, or *Galfrid*, or *Gildas*. Only
 thus much I may say, that if *Gildas* who lived
 before *Austin* was sent to us, and *Bede* who was
 born as *Thomas Stubbes* computes but *Anno* 677.
 can give us no tidings of any Church Officers
 above *Presbyters* among the *Britans*, it will not
 signifie much that *Jeffry Monmouth* who lived but
 in King *Stephens* time makes mention of Bishops.
 To put an end to this matter.

1. He who first converted this *Island* to Christianity was no Bishop.

2. Those two whom *Eleutherius* sent (upon the Petition of *Lucius*) to instruct us, were no Bishops.

3. *Austin* himself and his associates when they first attempted the conversion of the *Mercian Saxons* were no Bishops but only Monks.

4. *Wickliffe* and his followers were no Bishops, but being Presbyters were wont to ordain Presbyters.

5. No one Bishop ever suffered death in *England* for striving against *Popery* till *Queen Maries* Reign.

6. Of those Bishops who suffered in *Queen Maries* Reign the *Nonconformists* may lay claim to as many at least as the *Conformists* can do, and perhaps there was not one *Martyr* in all her Reign that asserted the *Jus divinum* of Episcopacy. Now if all these things be true, what means the clamor of ingratitude against *Presbyterians*, for not owning those to whom they owe the Nations Reformation from *Popery* yea and its Christianity also? But let us view more of *Mr. Moines* Letter. Pag. 139. *If the French had kept Bishops, and as many Ceremonies as would serve to fix the attention of the people without superstition, they should have seen for certain, far greater progress of Reformation, and the resistance of a great many persons overcome who are frightened from their communion by the irregularity of their government and the bareness of their service. If this were certain I could wish that they had Bishops and Ceremonies among them*

to morrow, but we in *England* have not been able to observe that the number of Papists is lessened since the restitution of Bishops and Ceremonies, nay since that some among us have fallen off to Popery who before professed the Reformed Religion. It is not any form of Government, or external mode of worship, that must put the Papists to shame, but the exemplary lives of Ministers and people who separate from them. When men once feel in their hearts the power of Godliness, they are in no great danger to turn Roman Catholics. He hath another conceit, P. 139, 140. *that the not receiving of Episcopal Government, may hinder the much desired union with the brethren that do follow the confession of Auspurg.* In this I do vehemently dissent from him, for the yielding to Episcopal government would rather alienate them from us. Tell them that the ordinations made by Luther are invalid because he was but a mere Presbyter, or that as many of them as come over hither, must be reordained before they are capable of any Ecclesiastical preferment, unless they have been ordained by Bishops properly so called, they will quickly let you see that no reconciliation is to be hoped for. I dare boldly say the generality of Presbyterians in England are against no Episcopacy but what the *Lutherans* themselves abhor.

There are sundry other things in Mr. *Moines* Letter for the which I could expose him, but I forbear, and desire *English*-men not to estimate him by this Letter, which is so interpolated that he need not own it as his. I undertake at any time to bring a credible witness, that shall swear, *that*
Mr.

Mr. Moine hath both by word of mouth, and also by Letter under his hand declared that his mind about Episcopacy is not truly represented by this Letter, as Printed by Mr. Durel, many things being left out that would as much have crossed his design, as those which he hath published, do further it.

I come now to the Assembly that Mr. Durell hath called to decide our controversies for us, he will have *Joannes Amos Comenius* the only surviving *Bohemian* Bishop permitted to speak first, and the *Presbyterians* desire nothing more, they have some of them translated a great deal of his Book into *English*, they refuse not to stand or fall by his *Parænesis* directed by name to the Church of *England*, when it seemed solicitous concerning the best form of Church Government. Had not Mr. D. picked and culled out of the writings of the Divines whom he quotes just so much as would serve his turn, he had manifestly betrayed the cause of those who have preferred him, in the judgment of uninterested men; he hath done it consequentially by referring Scholars to the Books of the Authors themselves. For let a man go to the Letter of Monsieur *Bochart* written to Dr. *Morley*, and there he shall find that Presbytery is Ancienter than Episcopacy. The Reader also is directed to go to a Letter of Monsieur *Vauquelins* to prove that he thought the Book of common prayer very far from Popery and Superstition, Page 278. but if he go to Page 189. he shall find he saith only that there is not in the Book any formal superstition, which certainly is not to say it is very far from superstition.

I pro-

I profess I know not any one Member of that Assembly Mr. D. would have called, that hath not in his writings said more against the Church of *England* in the Controversies now on foot than for it. Of *Daneus* I have spoken before, and suppose Mr. D. will be willing enough to have him left out of the Synod; if he will not, let him at his leisure read what he saith of *Aerius* in his Comment upon St. *Augustine de Hæresibus*. I shall enquire into the mind only of two or three more, and they shall be such as I suppose he will have no quarrel against, because they are *Frenchmen*, viz. *Capell*, *Rivet*, *Casaubon*. *Capell* tells him his mind plainly, in his *Theses de divini verbi necessitate*, *Parag. 29*. he saith, that there were by the *Apostles themselves* instituted Churches, and in every one of them before their death, there was constituted by them a Colledge of Presbyters, by whose Labor, Ministry, and dayly Preaching, the Doctrine of the Gospel might be propagated to the end of the World. In his *Theses* about the vocation of Evangelical Ministers, *Parag. 11*. The ordinary power of Preaching the Gospel is that which by the *Apostles* is committed to their Successors, Presbyters being by them appointed in every City, in the Churches founded by them. In his *Theses de diversis Ministrorum Evang. Ordinibus & gradibus*, He vehemently contends that the Ministry was properly instituted by God to procure the eternal Salvation of men, and that the order of Presbyters alone may suffice to that end, and that the dignity and superiority of Bishops above Presbyters is meerly of humane constitution, and that there was no cause
why

why the Bishops and their Patrons should so much on this cause and account, insult and wax insolent against those whom invidiously they call Puritans, and Presbyterians. In his Theses of the various Regiment of the Church, Parag. 15. He severely censures the pompous mode of worship used in our Cathedrals, but Parag. 24. he saith plainly, that the English-men did not do unwisely who threw the yoke of Episcopacy off their necks.

Ay, but in his Theses about Liturgies he retracts what he had written about abolishing Hierarchical Government. *Ans.* No man can see such retractation but Mr. D. himself, who sees by extramission and not by intramission, as we may observe, Page 193, 194. Had *Capell* intended any retractation he would have used plain words importing a revocation, or retractation of what he had before written, but he useth no words but what may well consist with what he had before said. When the same *Capell* comes to deliver his judgment about festivals, he even laughs at the reason or argument used by our great *Hooker*, to prove them by. But go we from *Capell* to Dr. *Andrew Rivet*, whose engagements and obligations to our Bishops were perhaps greater, for that he was civilly treated by some of them, as he doth somewhere acknowledge; as also that at *Oxford* he had the Honorary degree of Doctor conferred on him. His judgment about Episcopacy we have seen before; about other things let him now have leave to speak. First, it is like enough that at the University he might observe that form of Oath, *Ita me Deus adjuvet, & sancta Dei Evangelia,*

golia, whether that Oath stuck in his stomach or no, I cannot tell, but in his explication of the Decalogue, he puts this question, 'What is to be thought of that custom which obtaineth in some Churches that have in other things thrown off the Popish superstitions, that he that sweareth should touch the Holy Bibles, or the Gospels, or some part thereof. And answereth, if the words be conceived as among the Papists, so God help me and these Holy Gospels, I see not how the reliques of superstition can be excused. In the same explication of the Decalogue putting the question concerning the Saints days observed here in *England*, he saith 'he cannot approve the judgment of those who accuse our Church of Idolatry on that account, but wisheth withal the custom were amended, because of the peril of Idolatry. Just as our *Presbyterians* are accustomed to say. In his Comment on *Exod.* cap. 28. He handleth a question about the special and peculiar vestments of Ministers, and hath these words. *Whereas in England Ministers put on linen vestments, it were not to be indured, if they did this in imitation of the Jews, or for any mystical signification. But how if they do it only for some distinction, yet still we must be afraid of Gideons Ephod.*

Of the novelty of Organical Musick, he speaks expressly and largely, especially in his Preface to his comment on *Hosea*, and in his *Catholicus Orthodoxus* against *Baily*. Where also he may be seen decrying the observation of Lent if it pretend to be Apostolical. He is indeed a most professed Champion of the Presbyterian cause in almost every thing under debate. As

As for *Isaac Casaubon* he was indeed a very Learned Critick, and for ought I know a person truly pious. Mr. *D.* accounts him his own, and therefore in the very title Page of his *Vindiciæ* brings in his testimony to the Church of *England*, out of an Epistle written to *Claudius Salmasius*, *Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformatoinis pars integerrima est in Anglia, ubi cum studio veritatis viget studium antiquitatis.*

These words are indeed found in an Epistle written *raptim* hastily, by *Casaubon* to *Salmasius* much about that time when some of our Bishops had declared their approbation of some of *Casaubons* Theological *Essaies*, which sundry Divines both from *Holland* and *France* had disliked. In this good mood *Casaubon* commends the *English* for the study of Antiquity, but at other times he grievously complains to *Thuanus* and *Heinsius* that we encourage no study but Theology. In the 604. Epif. he asks what good could come of instructing his two sons in learning. *Medicina hic sane non viget. Jurisprudentia illa vetus & vera plane jacet, vix de nomine paucis nota.* Epistle 799. he intimates his design to send his son *Merick* to *Heinsius*, because he desired to have him well exercised in *Greek*, *Latin*, *Hebrew*, and could not hope that should be done in *England*. Is not the study of Antiquity like to be carried on well where a young man cannot be trained up to any eminent skill in *Hebrew*, *Greek* or *Latin*?

I suppose we had not in this last Epistle been so extremely undervalued, had not the learned man been exasperated by Mr. *Mountague*, whose endeavours

vours against *Baronius*, he judged very injurious to his own credit and reputation, as may be seen *Epistle 717, 718*. This may suffice to make us not to be proud of *Casaubons* commendation; if I thought it not sufficient, I could go near to prove, that *Casaubon* judged men more or less studious of antiquity, according as they were more or less zealous against the *Arminians*.

But I let pass his synodical determinations, and come to his Sermon where I find him, *Pag. 16*. giving leave to *Rome* to rank our Reformers among the Contentious, if it can be found that either they have laid aside, or taken up any one thing whereof it may be said that the Holy Apostles, or Apostolick Churches had or had not such a Custom: he addes indeed, *Rome was never able to do it, nor never shall*. But she knows well enough that she can, for she knows, that we have taken up Surplices which were not used by the Holy Apostles or any Apostolick Churches, and we give Baronies to our Bishops which neither the Apostles nor any Apostolick Churches did, and we place our Baptisteries in our Temples, which was done neither by Apostles nor Apostolical Churches. On the other side we have left off Unction, and Love-feasts, and the Holy Kils, all which were used by the Apostles, and Apostolical Churches. So that *Rome* by Mr. D's carelesly worded proposition hath leave to reckon our Reformers among contentious ones.

P. 17. He useth a plain *Turkish* Argument to confirm and uphold the cause of the Church, for he saith, that the miraculous manner whereby it hath pleased God to raise her up ought to be to all an evident proof

proof that she is her beloveds, and her beloved is hers, and an argument that her Reformation is certainly the work of God, and his Counsel which shall stand. Just thus the Papists were wont to prate when Popery was restored by Q. Mary, and just thus also did the Fanaticks argue when they were permitted by God to conquer three flourishing Kingdoms, and to put all the Nations round about into a pannick fear. Let us not be high minded, but rejoyce in trembling. God hath pleaded with us by his strange judgments since Episcopacy was re-established among us, we have had a sharp war, a dreadful fire, a sweeping Pestilence; I do not say because Episcopacy is restored, but because sin doth abound, and prophaness runs like a river and mighty flowing stream; if we do not soundly humble our selves, God may soon take from us, his worship, our Ministers, and all that Reformation in the which we glory, and yet his Counsel will stand nevertheless.

Pag. 22. He perfectly affronteth the express words of our Church in the Liturgy, for there it is said, *that the commination of sinners is used until the Primitive discipline of putting persons convicted of notorious sins to penance at the beginning of Lent, and only until that discipline can be restored which is much to be wished.* But Mr. D. saith, *there can be nothing more powerful to touch sinners to the quick, and to draw them from their evil courses, than the Commination to which the whole Congregation is bound to say Amen, after every particular denunciation of Gods curse, upon all sorts of sinners who persist in their sins.* And indeed it is meet he should say

say so, for he had before given *Rome* leave to call us Contentious, if we had left off any custom used in the Apostolick Churches, and we here do confess, that we have left off one that was very godly; indeed we say, it is to be wished it were restored, but who hinders the restoring of it but our selves? Have other Churches power to enjoyn Penance, and have we none? Or will other people submit to that discipline and not ours? Are not fornicators put to open penance, and why may not other sinners be so punished too? But not to multiply interrogatories, the Church holds penance would be more powerful than the form of commination she useth; Mr. D. saith, nothing can be more powerful than the commination; he will sure impose some penance on himself for this boldness, and watch his Pen better for the time to come. Perhaps he will say his meaning was honest, and wholesome, *viz.* that the form of Commination is very powerful to touch sinners to the quick, if so, he may do well to consider, 1. Whether it be conducive to tye Ministers never to use it but on *Ashwednesday* unless they have particular order from their Ordinaries, for why should so powerful a preservative against sin be used but once a year, especially seeing the use of it but once a year is found insufficient to reclaim profaneness; *cum primis salutaris est ceremonia, sed non video cur debeat exhiberi solum uno die, & non saepius*, said the Great *Bucer* when he saw it restrained by the first Book of *K. Edward* to one day, thereupon it was altered in following Liturgies to *divers times in the year*. *Grindals* Articles enjoyned it to be used on some Sunday near the three great feasts of the Church,

Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, Ashwednesday not excluded, but now no day is allowed but *Ashwednesday*, unless there come an order from the Ordinary, which I have not heard that any Ordinary hath sent since the return of his Majesty. 2. What meaneth that mincing of the commination, *Deut.* 27. 16. the Text saith, *Cursed is he that setteth light by Father and Mother*, we say Cursed is he that curseth Father and Mother, what if any should from this take occasion to think that there is no great danger in setting light by Father and Mother, provided they do not rise so high in their impiety as to curse them, (an iniquity that I hope few are guilty of) and what meaneth that addition to the curse of the man that maketh any carved or molten image, *viz.* to worship it. In the Text there is no such addition, and the Church did afterwards in the last commination curse the worshippers of images though now it be changed into Idolaters. The very making of some images, *viz.* of God, the Trinity, &c. doth entitle to a curse whether they be worshipped or no, and what hurt were it if people were made to know so much. 3. Why have we no curse against prophane swearing so common among us, nor any against Rebellion? The Scripture affordeth plenty of such curses.

But as the Comminations is now ordered, I can say Amen to it, taking Amen not only as it signifieth, *so it is*, but as it usually signifieth *so be it*, so run the words in the Bible, *Deut.* 27. so also, *Jer.* 17. 5. And he is unworthy to be continued a Church member, who is like to curse himself by
any

any such imprecation, nor shall any man that so prayeth sin against another that is guilty of those sins, for when we say Cursed is such a sinner, our meaning is if he continue, and whilest he continueth such, and with that restriction we may say curled be, as I doubt not but the *Israelites* did as often as they used this ceremony appointed by God, so thought the *Septuagint*; else they would not have Translated *ἔνοστο*.

The Lords-prayer few scruple to say, yet he that useth that form doth virtually curse himself if he have any malice reigning in his heart.

P. 23. He saith we are appointed to be confirmed, to receive the blessing from our Pastor (as if none were our Pastor but a Bishop) and he gives it with the Imposition of hands, and with prayers, without Chrisme, or any such superstitious or superfluous Ceremony. What words are these? they do indeed directly only reflect on the ancient Church and our first Reformers, and the compilers of the first Liturgy of *Edward* the sixth, by which chrism was appointed at Baptism, though not that I find in Confirmation, by the Ancients I am sure it was used in Confirmation; Mr. D. dare adventure to call it superstitious and superfluous. But his words will by just consequence reach the cross in Baptism, used also in confirmation by the first Reformers, for why should chrisme be accounted a superstitious and superfluous Ceremony, rather than the cross, the one is as Ancient as the other, and as innocent as the other, both were equally abused in Popery, of the two the Cross may seem more superfluous, for in Baptism we

have an outward rite signifying the same thing that the Cross is pretended to signify; but to signify our unction by the Holy Ghost, which was in the first Liturgy prayed for, and ought still to be prayed for, we have no outward rite at all; Nor do I see why unction may not as well be used to certify confirmed persons of the unction from the Holy one, as imposition of hands, to certify them of Gods gracious favour and goodness towards them, which is made the end, in the Office of Confirmation.

P. 26. *If the several repetitions of the Lords-prayer, which are to be found in our Liturgy, were made immediately one after another, or within a short time, &c. I say upon such an account we might justly be censured for using vain repetitions.* This wounds the Liturgy sorely if it do not strike it to the very heart, for not to say that it doth appoint several Lords-prayers to be said within a short space, (which may truly be said) it manifestly appoints repetitions of *gloria Patri* within a short space, and this will bring us within the guilt of vain repetitions, unless a reason can be given why *gloria Patri* may be repeated within a short space, and *Pater noster* may not, which reason Mr. D. will give *ad Grecas Calendas*.

Thus have I given you an account of Mr. D's *English Book* under four heads, and now you will expect to have my judgment as touching his *Latin Book* called *vindicie sacra Ecclesie Anglicanae*. I say first that I know not what he means by his *Ecclesia Anglicana*, doth he mean the company of true believers or good Christians (really or re-
putatively

putatively so) in *England*? if he do, *quis Lacedemoniorum vituperat*? why doth he make a vindication of that Church which none went about to accuse? doth he mean by it the Bishops of the severall Diocesses in this Kingdom of *England*, 'tis like he can not mean them, for they call themselves the Sons of the Church, and we look on the Church as that to which the last complaint must be made, for so our Saviour directs, *if thy Brother offend, first tell him, then take with thee two or three, then tell the Church*, now if any one should injure a Bishop (as for my part I judge Mr. D. hath grievously injured every one of them by dedicating such a Volume of raileries to them) the Bishop must first tell him by himself, and then take with him two or three, and if he regard not them, then he must tell the Church, that is himself if a Bishop be the Church. 'Tis like by the Church he means the *Church representative*, or *Convocation*, now there is a Canon, that denounceth an heavy penalty against those, who deny the Convocation to be the Church of *England* by representation, and I am fully resolved not to come within the reach of that Canon, I love not excommungement. But if Mr. D. will take up the patronage of this Church Representative, his best way had been first to prove that it is the Church Representative, or else the *Presbyterians* will say that his whole discourse is *de non-ente*.

Mr. *Henry Jeanes* had before he knew how things went in the world set forth a treatise (which it was my hap to read over) asserting the obligation that lay upon *English* Divines, to comply with

the Church: but in his retractations and repentings, thus he recalls himself, 'I wonder upon what account I or any man else could think the Convocation to be the Church of *England*; if in any sense it can be called the Church of *England*, it was because it represented the Ministry of *England*, and that it did not, because the far major part of it were Cathedral-men, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and such as were chosen by the respective Chapters of each Cathedral: it might then be a Representation of the Cathedral Ministers, but not of the Ministry of *England*, and that I make good by two Parallels. The first shall be betwixt our Convocation, and the Council of *Trent*: many sober and moderate Papists accused this to be a pack'd Assembly, a Representation of, not the Catholick Church, but the Court of *Rome*, because the greatest part of it were of the Popes Faction, and depended wholly upon him: So the major part of our Convocations were of the Bishops Faction, and minded chiefly the interest of Cathedrals: and therefore were not a Representative of all the Ministers in *England*. I shall exemplifie this by instancing in the Diocess of *Bathe and Wells*, wherein I lived: In this there were Members of the lower house of Convocation, one Dean, three Arch-Deacons, and one chosen by the Chapter of *Wells*: and to balance these, there were but two Clerks chosen by the Ministry of the whole Diocess: Now what impartial man but will determine that these seven could be no due representation of the Ministers of the Diocess of *Bathe and Wells*, as long as five of them

' them were Members of the Cathedral, in whose
 ' Election the Ministers of the Diocess had no hand
 ' at all? A second parallel shall be betwixt our
 ' Convocation and a civil Assembly, wherein we
 ' will suppose that the Prince chuseth three hun-
 ' dred, who are his Courtiers, or else such as have
 ' their dependance, either wholly, or in great part
 ' upon him, and the Nation chuse only a hundred :
 ' you may call this Assembly a Parliament, or what
 ' you will ; but surely no rational man can think it
 ' to be a representation of the Nation, and as ir-
 ' rational, were it to call the Convocation a repre-
 ' sentation of the Ministers of *England*, seeing those
 ' chosen by the Ministers were an inconsiderable
 ' part of the Convocation.. Mr. *D.* belongeth to
 a Cathedral, nay as report goes to several Cathed-
 drals, and therefore he had done but a piece of
 gratitude, to vindicate the Church from the Ar-
 guments of a backslider from Conformity. Well,
 let him mean what he will by his Holy Church of
England, we are told that he himself is *Presbyter*
of this Holy Church of England, and that is a strange
 and very unusual phrase. *Dr. Hammond*, who de-
 served well of the Hierarchy, in his Title page of
 his *Dissertations*, calls himself, *Presbyterum An-*
glicanum, and yet he was born in *England*, and or-
 dained in *England*, and by an *English* Bishop, *John*
Durell was born in *Fersey*, ordained in *France*, and
 by a *Scottish* Bishop, and yet he calls himself *Ecclesie*
Anglicane Presbyterum. I doubt if things were
 throughly searched into, he would appear to be
 no *English Presbyter*, for we admit no *Presbyters*,
 but those who are canonically ordained, *i. e.* by a

Bishop; you'l say Mr. *D.* was ordained by a Bishop, and he tells you the name of the Bishop, and his title: I know he doth, but I ask who made him a Bishop and a Presbyter? I much fear we shall find him one that was never ordained Presbyter but by Presbyters, or by those who had been themselves created Presbyters by meer Presbyters, though consecrated in *England* by Bishops; and if so, then *vitium primæ consecrationis, non corrigitur in secundâ aut tertiâ*. Let him well consider this, and if occasion be, get himself re-ordained by some Bishop of *English* Blood and Ordination, else any one who envies him his preferments may chance to pick a hole in his coat. If he know not the Pedigree of the *Scottish* Bishops, it is in brief thus. In the year 1610, King *James* sent for Mr. *John Spotswood*, Mr. *Gawen Hamilton*, Mr. *Andrew Lamb* into *England*, that an Episcopal Character might be imprinted on them; to that end he issued out a Commission under the great Seal of *England*, to the Bishops of *London, Ely, Wells, and Rochester*, requiring them to proceed to the Consecration of three *Scotch*-men designed to be Bishops, which Consecration they did perform accordingly, *Octob. 21. 1610.* But Bishop *Andrews* moved a scruple how the persons to be consecrated, were capable of Episcopal Consecration, seeing none of them had been formerly ordained Priests. Dr. *Heylin* tells us *Hist. of Presb. p. 387.* The scruple was removed by Archbishop *Bancroft*, alledging, that there was no such necessity of receiving Priesthood, but that Episcopal Consecrations might be given without it; but he neither tells us the Objection nor Answer aright: the

the Objection was, That the three *Scots* could not be consecrated Bishops, because they had never been made Presbyters, but by Presbyters; to which *Bancroft* replied, That the Ordination of Presbyters by Presbyters was valid. But our present Bishops are not of the same mind, and therefore before they would consecrate Mr. *James Sharp*, they first ordained him Deacon, then Priest, and this they did not out of a pike or spleen against the man, but from judgement, conceiving he would not ordain others *legitims*, unless he were so ordained; such as are by him ordained are capable regularly of preferment among us, but so are not any of the former brood of men, that were ordained by *Scotch* Bishops. This discourse is only designed to keep Mr. *D.* from despising the Presbyterians too much, to which he would be tempted if he should conceive himself to stand on a *basis* as firm as some of his fellow Prebends. I advise him also not to be too forward to publish to the world how he hath let the Ministers of forreign Churches, Preach in his Church at the *Savoy*, for doubtless it is against the Act of Uniformity to let them Preach, though but occasionally in that Church, unless they have been ordained by some Bishops, because that Church at the *Savoy* hath submitted to the Bishop of *London* as Pastor, and so hath not the immunities, that other *French* Churches may claim; and do claim.

As to the Book it self, common fame spreads abroad, that an Answer in *Latin* is preparing for it. We must expect and see what kind of thing it will be; for we may well conceive it will discover Mr. *D.* to

D. to be *John Lack-truth*, *John Lack-modesty*. Certain I am, there be School-boys in *England*, that can discover him to be no familiar of *Priscian*; we lay-men can manifest that he had no regard to truth; and for modesty, he doth all-along bid defiance to it. The Reverend *Gisbert Voet*, Professor of *Utrecht*, of eminent learning and piety, the only surviving member of the Synod of *Dort*, is with him but a pitiful fellow. He dares venture to censure *Thomas Gataker*, than whom *England* scarce ever had either a more exact Critick, or accomplished Divine. Nay, that you may see his pride to the full, he was not ashamed to tell an Honourable person of this Nation, that one reason which moved him to fall upon Mr. *Baxter* was, because the *Latin* Apologist for the Nonconformists, had represented him *as no equal match for Mr. Baxter*. Could you think it possible that Mr. *D.* should conceit himself meet to cope with such an Antagonist, whom the Reformed Divines (who can understand the language in which his books are written) admire; to whom *Amyrald* not long since sent a Letter on purpose to let him know that he had never spoken contemptibly of him. Mr. *Gaches* is sufficiently depredicated by Mr. *D.* as an Eloquent Preacher, and as one of the best men living. His Letter to Mr. *B.* is printed; by that let the world make estimation of him: or if Mr. *Gaches* testimonial can be discredited, then let the *Saints everlasting rest*, the *Treatise against Anabaptism*, and whatever else he hath written, be read and meditated upon seriously, there will scarce be found a Divine in whom there was a more happy con-

conjunction of eloquence and judgment, of holiness and peaceableness. Not to detain you long, I shall make a few general animadversions on the Book, and so put an end to these papers which are grown too big.

1. *The Author of the Vindiciæ egregiously violates the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion*, that buried all former miscarriages, he rakes them all out of the grave, as if he had no belief of the general judgment. If any *Presbyterians* made any application to such as in the late times took upon them supreme authority, he scores that up as an argument against *Presbytery*. Could any *Presbyterian* be so vile as to imitate him, how easily might he tell him of a *Primate of England*, and *Metropolitan*, who took up arms in the cause of the two Houses, and had a great sum voted him for his good service: Of a *Conformist* who was the prime Author of *Jus Divinum regiminis Ecclesiastici*: Of an *Episcopal Divine* now enjoying a good Living, who did write *Politica Sacra & Civilia*: Of sundry dignified men who came into sequestred places, and versified in behalf of the Protector. The late Wars began when I was a Child, and were finished before I was a man; but I have made the best enquiry that I could, and do find that sundry of the most eminent *Nonconformists* were alway unsatisfied about the *Parliaments War*, and did not stick as occasion was offered to declare their dissatisfaction. I have found also, that the *Divines* most busie to bring about the late unhappy and deplorable changes, were such as had been of the most rigid *Sect* of the *Conformists*; Mr. Ed-
wards

wards in his *Gangrena* hath named some of them: I must not without leave from those who sit at the Stern, do so; but I profess I know not that Theologue who did either speak or write for putting of the King to death, that had not been a Conformist before the Wars. The men now in place who lost any thing for refusing the Engagement, will be found to be very few; some will be found to come into the places of those who were turned out for not engaging. Dr. *Heylin* himself (as hot as he is against those who go by the name of *Presbyterians*) did Anno 1657. put forth his *Ecclesia vindicata*, much of such a strain as Mr. *Durell's Vindicie*; in the general Préface to that Book, he addresseth himself to those who were then in power, and pleads for the men of his persuasion, by this argument, *That they lived so peaceably and inoffensively in their several stations, as that they could not be reproached with any disaffection to the then present Government in word or deed.* Had some eminent man called a *Presbyterian*, said so much for those of his persuasion, what would Mr. *D.* have made of it? But the Reformed Religion may say, *All these things are against me.* Mr. *D.* makes the Principles of the *English Presbyterians* to lead to Rebellion. Dr. *Owen* long since equalized the *Puritans* beyond the seas, with the *Jesuits*, in point of disloyalty. Dr. *Heylin* in his *History of Presbyterians*, hath driven the same nail further and deeper; nothing is wanting but some hot-headed fellow among the Protestants to lay Treason at the door of the *Lutherans*, and then the cry of the *Romanists* will be fulfilled. But still the *English*
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Protestant will be white as snow ; in vain is it fo to think. The Parliament of *England* hath determined the matter of the Militia, and declared it unlawful on any account whatsoever to take up Arms against the King. Men will acquiesce in this Declaration, if not for Conscience-sake, yet at least for fear. I know no Book put out since his Majesties return, that hath asserted the lawfulness of subjects rising against their Sovereign, but one set forth as *Mr. Rich. Hookers*, and dedicated with the rest of his Works by Bishop *Gauden* to the King himself. *Mr. Isaac Walton* would have us think the Book is not his ; and I wish he had brought better arguments to bring us to that persuasion. But I am sure that Bishop *Bilson* hath left things upon record which may vye with any thing quoted out of *Calvin* or *Beza*, by *Dr. Heylin*.

2. This Vindex when he meets in the Apologist with that he dares not justify, presently puts it into his Catalogue of Legends, yet brings no probable arguments to prove it a Legend. The Apologist, whoever he was, seems to have written his Book under much bodily weakness, and hath pleaded for his brethren in Nonconformity rather honestly than fully ; but as for the things that *Mr. D.* calls fables, I myself know many, if not all of them, to be true, and dare undertake to produce those who will attest them upon oath ; yet if I could meet with the Apologist handsomely, I would severely rebuke him for putting some of them into print, for all truths are not to be published at all times. I remember I once heard him that is the reputed Author of the Apology, say in
a Ser-

a Sermon, *A man can scarce do a worse office to the Church, than to render Pastors despicable in the eyes of those whom they are to govern.*

3. This Vindex when he falls into the mention of any Controversie that should be debated by him, takes his heels, and runs away from it, and drops some question about the which there was never any dispute. Twenty and ten instances might be given of this kind; I only take notice of one; he hath a Chapter *utris magis faverit Calvinus, &c.* Whether *Calvin* most favoured the Schismatical Presbyterians, or Prelates? If this be to answer the Apologist, then let some one that replies, put a question, Whether *Calvin* most favoured *Arminian* Prelates, or Presbyterians? What hath Schism to do in the Controversie about Nonconformity? The greater part of Nonconformists cannot be guilty of Schism, except they were guilty of it in their mothers womb, or when they suck'd, or whilst they were School-boys: for thus the case stood with them; they were by their Parents sent to the University when Bishops were *inter non-entia*, or *inter non apparentia*. By study they came to acquire those gifts that were supposed to qualify them for the Ministry; to the work of the Ministry they were separated by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; yet many of them never declared dislike of Episcopacy, nor opened their mouths against Ceremonies; never took the Covenant nor Engagement; were presented to vacant Livings by the true and undoubted Patrons: By Gods blessing they added to the Church such as should be saved. His Majesties

ties return they desired so as none more ; yet they must not be suffered to continue in an Ecclesiastical Benefice , unless they will submit to a thing scarce ever heard of, *Reordination*. It may be their mistake that they do not judge Ordination by Presbyters to be a nullity ; but what is this to Schism ?

Obj. I may expect you will thus accost me : If Mr. *D.* be so easily mastered, why do you not pay a debt of love you owe ? why do you not write in *Latin* as once Mr. *Nichols* did in *English*, *A Plea for the Innocent* ?

Resp. Verily for this reason, because I love not to have to do with those, who when they are put to silence, know not how to be ashamed ; such a one this *Monsieur* is ; for not long ago he met with a Noble Gentleman of this Nation, who hearing him say, *That all the Divines beyond seas condemned the English Nonconformists*, told him plainly, *That he knew it was not so ; and that some in France looked on him as an apostate for complying so far as he had done ;* and when he replied, *These are only some unwise hot-headed men ;* the honourable person rejoined, *Nay, they are worthy and well tempered Ministers.* Yet did not Mr. *D.* change the copy of his countenance. Is it possible then that I should bring him to repentance ? In a word, if you account Mr. *D.* an Author any way considerable, you have near you our old friend *S. E.* let him cull out of the *Vindicie* what he esteemeth most strong, that do you send to me, if I do not by the first return of the Carrier send you a satisfactory answer (provided it be

be directed not against persons, but the Cause) then account me a very vain-glorious animal. In the mean time listen not to those who are given to vain jangling, and false-witness bearing, but put on charity the bond of perfection, so shall an abundant entrance be administred unto you into that Kingdom, where there are no perverse disputers; to that Kingdom that we may be both brought, is the sincere prayer of,

S I R,

Your humble servant,

W. B.

Long

Long time after I had written the Appendix against Dr. *Heylin*, I was informed, that something else was come abroad in *Latin*, in the which the Nonconformists were concerned. I could not think any thing was said in it, that had not been said before, and therefore I had once some thoughts, never so much as to look into it; but being told that the Author of it was Mr. Matthew Scrivener, reputed at *Cambridge* (while he there resided) a close Student, and great Scholar; I resolv'd, to cast my eye upon some Pages of it, that so, if it seem'd written with any candor and judgement, I might either give an answer to it, or tell such Nonconforming friends, as I was acquainted with, that I found it unanswerable. But looking into it, at the Stationer's shop, I soon found it to be made up of little besides scurrility and calumny. Monsieur *Daillees* Book of the *Right use of the Fathers*, which I thought no Protestant had looked on without admiration, nor Papist without terror, this *English* Presbyter undertakes to answer, endeavours first of all to make it appear, that the Book deserved not the *Elogiums* that some of great name and esteem among us had bestowed upon it, and that Mr. *Daillee* was but a *Cham*, taking delight to lay open the nakedness of the *Fathers*. Then proceeds to give him a general and particular answer. I confess I was moved

not a little, to see a writer that had deserved so well of the Reformed Religion, so unworthily dealt with, by one pretending to be a Protestant. For what one thing hath Mr. *J. D.* said more or less about the Fathers, than what had been said many years before by some of our most eminent Divines in *England*? It must be acknowledged, that he hath handled the point more copiously, than any who went before him; and the heads of his discourse are exemplified with a most admirable collection of particulars; but that he hath brought the Fathers any one peg lower than they had been brought by *Fuel, Humfred, Whitaker, Rainolds, Dr. George Abbot, Down, &c.* will never be proved. *Bishop Cosins* hath put together all the reasons that were scattered and dispersed in other mens writings, to prove the Non-canonicalness of the Apocryphal Books; now it would be no wonder if a Protestant in some writing should obiter take notice, that the Bishop in some particular had mistook himself; but he that should professedly undertake to answer him, would scarce be accounted other than a Papist. *e. c.* The Bishop saith, p. 18. *All the Canonical Books of the Old Testament were originally written in Hebrew (except &c.) but these other books (he means those canonized at Trent) were all confessedly first written in the Greek tongue, &c.* I may doubt whether all the controverted books were first written in the *Greek* tongue, I may confidently affirm this is not confessed concerning all the controverted books (for who knows not that *Ecclesiasticus* is generally affirmed to be written first in *Hebrew,*

Hebrew, to say nothing of other books) and yet not be thought spiteful nor Popish; but if I should publish a whole book against the Bishop, labouring to lessen his reputation and esteem, to weaken the authorities by him produced, would not any man say, that either I was a Papist, or that I cared not how much I gratified the Papist, so I could but show my teeth against Bishop *Cosins*? yet just such a game it is that Mr. *Scrivener* plays.

Obj. But if what he hath said against *Daillee* be truth, if his answers to him be rational, is it not meet he should be honoured? Will it not be for our credit and reputation, to let the *Papists* know, that we will not spare our own, how renowned soever, where they exceed the bounds of modesty and sobriety?

Ans. If any one through a zeal (without knowledg) against Popery, shall say those things against the Fathers that may discourage those who have leasure and money from buying and reading of them; or so weaken their authority, as to prejudice the interest of Christianity; he doth deserve praise and commendation who shall endeavour to bring the Fathers to their due esteem. But neither hath Mr. *Daillee* wronged the Fathers, nor Mr. *Scrivener* righted them: but because Mr. *Scrivener* heard a Presbyterian in a Sermon put off an objection taken from the authority of the Fathers by referring his hearers to Mr. *Daillee*, therefore he resolves to encounter Mr. *Daillee*. And as spleen seems to be the chief thing that put him on this undertaking, so in the managing of it he hath discovered more of petulant spleen,

spleen, than of judgment. This censure I had some purpose to make good, but that 1. I am assured that *Daille* is like in a short time to be vindicated by some of his own. 2. I am now also fallen into a place where I can have no books but what my own Library affords; and though I have most of the ancient Fathers of some Edition, yet in a matter of this nature, I shall neither be able to satisfy myself nor others, unless I had opportunity to consult all the Editions of them, or at least the most renowned. For it often happeneth, that when a man thinketh he hath the Fathers on his side, and hath brought their testimonies too plain to be eluded for his opinion, he reapeth no benefit thereby, because those who differ from him, deny the copies according to which he proceedeth, to be such as are to be relied on. It was my hap not long since to read Dr. *Waltons Prolegomena*, that I might see what he could say for the comparative novelty of the *Hebrew Letters* that we at present use; among other arguments I found him to make use of the authority of *Eusebius* his Chronicle *ad annum mundi 4740*. the words quoted out of him are these, *Fuit Esdras eruditissimus legis divinae, & clarus omnium Judaeorum magister, qui de captivitate regressi fuerunt in Judaeam: affirmaturq; divinas Scripturas memoriter condidisse, & ut Samaritanis non miscerentur literas Judaicas commutasse.* What is his collection hence? why this, *Hic videmus Eusebium non tantum hanc literarum mutationem diserte asserere, sed etiam ejus causam adferre; ut sc. Judaei cum Samaritanis non miscerentur.* I could see no such disert or manifest assertion of the change of the Letters in this testimony of *Eusebius*. He that
only

only faith *affirmatur*, cannot be concluded so much as to deliver his own opinion. Many Historians and Chronographers use *affirmatur*, or some word of like import in such matters as they themselves do not believe, and I hope for the credit of *Eusebius* that he did not think *Esdras divinas scripturas memoriter condidisse*; and if so, it is not like that he believed the other part of the affirmation neither. But Mr. *Baily*, a learned and industrious Scotch-man, in his lately published Historical and Chronological Work, lib. 1. p. 197. tells me, 'That he had read 'over and over *Eusebius* his Chronicle, as well the 'Greek as the Latin Copy set forth by *Scaliger*, 'with great care out of the best Manuscripts, and 'could not find one word in them concerning this 'change of Letters by *Esdras*; and yet if *Scaliger* had in any Copy of good repute found any 'thing that might have confirmed this change of 'Letters, he would no doubt have inserted it, because he doth with so much passion take upon him 'to defend that change. Now if this be true, as I doubt it is, that Dr. *Walton* in his prologue to so renowned a Work as the *Polyglotts*, followed a Translation of *Eusebius* that was corrupted, I may well be affrighted from examining testimonies of Fathers, till I be where I may be assured that the testimonies I am to examine are not counterfeited. In the mean time I shall lay down some few things concerning the Fathers.

1. Many times the usefulness and almost absolute necessity of being acquainted with the Oriental Languages and the Writings of the Fathers, is most cried up by those who themselves are but strangers to them. It is not many years since a son

of the Church at a Lecture in the Countrey, Preach-
 ed up the necessity of the knowledge of the Original
Hebrew, affirming that they were not worthy the
 name of Divines who did not well understand it ;
 but this pert young man being at Dinner taken to
 task about his own skill in *Hebrew*, it was found
 that he could not so much as read *Hebrew* ; yet he
 was out-done by the bold *Jesuit*, who (as *Mel-*
chior Adam relates the story in his life, pag. 845.)
 in a Dispute with *Graserus* about the *Hebrew* Text
 of the Bibles, made boast of his skill in *Hebrew* ;
 but this Father of the society having an *Hebrew* Bi-
 ble without points put into his hands, knew not
 which was the top, which was the bottom of the
 Pages, which occasioned *Graserus* his Scholar to
 laugh at his daring ignorance ; so that the Noble-
 man who brought this Father, withdrew, and wish'd
 him, so ignorant, to be gone. They who have read
 the reasons of *Edmund Campian*, cannot but know
 how much he boasted of the Fathers, as if they
 had been all his own from first to last, even as
 much as *Gregory* the 13th: on this account he
 earnestly desired to be admitted to dispute with
 our Divines. *Quo quo se moverit adversarius, feret*
incommodum : Patres admiserit, captus est ; Excluserit,
nullus est. But when this vain-glorious creature
 came to be disputed with, it was found that he
 could not understand a *Greek* Father, and that it
 might well be questioned whether he could so much
 as read *Greek*. Dr. *Fulk* plainly tells him in the
 third days conference, that it was not above a dozen
 years since he heard him at *Oxford* ask a Stationer
 for *Irenaus's* Epistles. In the fourth days conference,
 when

when Mr. *Clark* brought *Tertullians* Book against *Hermogenes* to prove the Scriptures sufficiency, he knew of no such book; and yet when he was convinced that there was such a book, then he could answer, and pretended to know upon what account *Tertullian* argued against *Hermogenes*? And he pretended in the same days conference, that he knew the meaning of *St. Basil*, and yet would not, or could not read the place in *Greek*, though it were easie, and the sentence short, and though he knew not where to find it in the *Latin* book. So it seemed not improbable to some that *Campian* made not that confident Pamphlet, but only turned it into good *Latin*. *Thompson* also in his Treatise *de Amissione & Intercissione justificationis, & gratia*, musters up the testimonies of many Fathers; but when his book was only manuscript, one who knew him, asked him this question, *Unde tot Patrum testimonia usurparet, qui patres vix quidem attigisset?* I could shew the like ignorance and confidence in another *Arminian*, who troubled Mr. *Robert Bailly* of *Scotland*, with testimonies of Fathers against Predestination, but such as were all taken out of *Vossius*, and concluded them with an *Item*, that *Beza* and *Calvin* acknowledged the Fathers to be against themselves, quoting as *Vossius* through an oversight had done, *Beza* on *Rom. 9. 39.* when as that Chapter hath but 33 Verses in it. And *Calvins* third book of *Institutions* 33 Chapter, when there be but 25 Chapters in that whole book. I could also discover a great many now living who carry it in their Sermons and Discourses, as if they followed the ancient Fathers, when

indeed they follow none but *Hugh Groot*. But would I by all this insinuate, that Mr. *Scrivener* is not well versed in the Fathers, for whom he Apologizeth? I answer, I would insinuate no more, but that it is possible that all his pretended zeal for the Fathers may be without any great knowledge of them. What the course of his Studies hath been, I know not, his friends were wont to think, that his genius led him rather to School-men, than Fathers (if it did so, he is not the worse to be liked; for of the two, a Minister who hath the cure of souls, may better want Patristical than Scholastical Theology); I suppose it would a little discompose his gravity to be catechized any whit strictly concerning the age, stile and design of some of the Fathers whom he undertakes to defend; if in this I be mistaken, the matter is not great, for I design it only to keep our Priests from boasting of a false gift.

2. I never yet in all my life met with any person of any persuasion whatsoever, that would recede from any opinion he had at first imbibed, because one or more Fathers were against him. We all first take up our opinions from the Catechisms, or Confessions that are authorized in those Churches of which we are members, and many, that I say not most, go all their days by an implicit faith, believing as the Church believes, and as their Ministers do Preach, never taking pains to search whether they agree to the Canon of Faith. *Popish* Divines think that their Church cannot err, and so strain all their learning and diligence to defend what she hath determined; all that call themselves Protestants,

testants, say they ought to use their judgement of discretion, though they may be bound, if in some comparatively less matters, they have knowledge different from the Church in which they are Ministers, to have it to themselves. This is truth, but the men who do conscientiously and impartially make use of their judgement of discretion, are not very many, they are very soon tyed up by subscriptions, and account it not for their credit to recede from them; if in disputation they be pressed with the authority of the Fathers or ancient Doctors, they either bluntly declare that they little regard them, or else find out some plausible *salvo*, or *σφοδρὸν φάσανον* to elude them.

1. Some will flatly declare that they do not much matter what mind the Fathers are of. The great Patron of Ubiquity *Jacobus Andreas* is reported by *Sculetus* in his *Nuncupatory* to his *Medula*, not to value the Fathers at all, *Athanasius* with him was *Sathanasius*, *Vigilius*, *Dormilius*, and all the *Patres* he would in contempt call *Matres*, that is, I suppose, weak and silly creatures, unfit to be used as guides and directors in matters of Religion. The Papists themselves, as great a shew as they sometimes make of Fathers, do at other times use language not much more civil concerning them. Was it not a Pope of Rome that declared his esteem of the learning of *Thomas Aquinas* to be so great, that he doubted not to give unto him the first place after the Canonical Scripture? Such a Speech is fathered upon one of the *Innocents* by *Augustin Hunne*, if I may credit Dr. G. Abbot against *Hill*, Pag. 426. and I suppose I may well credit

credit him, because I find as much in *Alvarez de Auxiliis*, lib. 1. pag. 52. Indeed to almost all truly and throughly *Popish* Writers, the Fathers are but Children, his *Holiness*, as they call him, is all in all with them. *Suarez* in 3. *Com.* 1. qu. 2. not. 2. *disp.* 42. *sect.* 1. saith, The definition of the Pope is altogether true; and if it should be contrary to the sayings of all Saints, it were to be preferred to them. *Bellar.* lib. 4. de *Pon.* cap. 5. If the Pope should err by commanding vices, or prohibiting vertues, the Church would be bound to believe vices to be good, and vertues bad, unless she would sin against her conscience. *Cornelius Mus* in his Comments on the *Romans*, p. 606. e. g. 1, to confess ingenuously, would more believe the Pope alone in those things which concern the mysteries of faith, than a thousand *Austins*, *Hieroms*, *Gregories*, &c. because the Pope in matters of faith cannot err. Much such ranting stuff I could quote, did I count it needful; but indeed it is not needful, for his *Holiness* takes upon him to have a power to correct Fathers, that they may just fit and suit the present state of his Church. By the Constitution of *Sixtus* the Fifth, care is taken to set out Fathers free from the corruptions they have contracted by coming through the hands of Hereticks, but with this proviso, That if any more weighty doubts and difficulties shall happen in the authority of old Books, in the correction and emendation of books, things being first examined in the Congregation, they should be referred to him, that in variety of readings he might determine that by a special priviledge granted to his See, which was most consonant to orthodox verity: and lest we should think that
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the Pope must determine nothing of his own head, but after he hath taken great pains, hear *Gregory de Valentia Analysis fidei*, lib. 8. p. 70. *Non est ratio ulla firma quamobrem existimare debeamus, studii diligentiam Pontifici esse necessariam, sive in definiendo studium adhibeat sive non adhibeat, infallibiliter certe definit.* But this it may be is said but by one, and a long time since; not so, we shall find our Countrey-man *Thomas Bacon*, or *Southwell* in his *Analysis fidei* saying as much.

But do not *Calvinists* as much set at naught the Fathers when they make not for them?

Ans. So they are charged to do by Papists, and the Remonstrants, and their adherents. *Campian* saith, *Causæus* called *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* a dotting old man; but *Dr. Humphred* denies him to have used any such broad language even of the pretended *Dionysius*, *De Patribus*, p. 520, &c. *Grotius* also gives them such a bob pag. 15. *Piet. Illus. Ordin. Hollandiæ*, but quoteth no Author that gave him any occasion to vent such a reproach.

2. Some hating to speak contemptibly of the Fathers, will civilly put off their authority, either by putting another sense on their words than is commonly given, or by blaming the edition, or the translation, or by opposing one Father to another, or the same Father to himself, or by saying that he relates the opinion of others: So that they do by them, just as they do at *Oxford* by *Aristotle*, his authority must not be denied in disputations under a penalty appointed by the Statutes, yet any one in *Parvisis*, or *Augustinensibus* holds the opinion that he best liketh, how contrary soever it be to

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Aristotle; and if *Aristotle* be urged against him, *Loquitur ad modum vulgi, disputative, non doctrinaliter, &c.* serves well enough to put him by, and shift him off.

The day is yet, I suppose, to come that ever any Scholar in disputation said, *I find that Aristotle is against me, and therefore I do revoke and recall my opinion, promising to be of another mind for the future.* If the Roman Catholicks do not use the Fathers just so, then let me be accounted to bear false witness against them. In the general that caution of the Belgick Censors is well known, and extant in the Chapter concerning *Bertram*. *In veteribus aliis plurimos ferimus errores, & extenuamus, excusamus excogitato commento, persape negamus & commodum eis sensum affingimus, dum opponuntur in disputationibus aut in conflictionibus cum adversariis.* This affixing of a commodious sense to the Fathers, is a shield that will quench all darts; by help of this, *Bellarmino* thought himself able to avoid the general Propositions of the Fathers, concerning the extent of Original sin, so. as to leave room and place for the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*, *De Amis. Grat. Lib. 4. cap. 15.* I wonder, having found out such a shield, he would ever part with it. What need he say *de Sanct. Beat. 1. Cap. 6.* concerning *Justin, Ireneus, Epiphanius, Oecumenius*, I see not how I can defend them; or concerning *Lactantius*, that he fell into many errors, especially about the age to come, being more skilful in the books of *Tully* than in the holy Scriptures; or concerning *Victorinus*, that he wanted learning, but not a will to learning, *Lib. eodem cap. 5.* Why are *Procopius, Eucherius, Isidorus*

Isidorus branded to be uncertain Authors, or obscure, Lib. de Purg. 2. cap. 6. Why is it said of Origen, that his words on the 14th Homily on Luke do not bear a commodious exposition, de Pur. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 630. Origen was one of the first that brought in Purgatory fire; and could Bellarmine find out no commodious sense of his words concerning those that are to be purged by it? Could he not say that he related only the opinion of others, as he doth concerning Hierom? Lib. de gratia primi hominis, cap. 11. or that he spake hyperbolically, as he brings off Chrysostom, lib. 2. de Miss. cap. 10. or that he did write after the manner of Poets, which he saith about Prudentius, lib. 2. de Purg. cap. 18. Why could he not say, that writing against one extreme, he fell into the other extreme; a salvo often brought when some of the Fathers sayings are brought, that seem to favour Manichæism or Pelagianism, Arrianism or Sabellianism. If no such thing would serve the turn, why then it might have been said, that he spoke ἰ δογματικῶς ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς, a distinction used by St. Basil to fetch off Gregory, Epis. 64. but made use of by more than one Papist; or rather than fail, it might have been said, that Origen was abused and corrupted.

Q. What then, is no authority to be ascribed to the Fathers?

A. There may be authority enough ascribed to them, notwithstanding any thing I have said; for I have only related how men deal with the Fathers, not how they ought to deal with them. Yet I confess I am somewhat to seek how to draw such an argument from the authority of the Fathers, as

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none but desperate persons will think invalid. Should I, meeting with an Adversary that differs from me, argue thus, *Austin says it is so, therefore so it is*; or *Austin saith it is not so, therefore it is not so*: My antecedents I may chance to prove, if I have such an Edition of *Austin* by me, as is liable to no exception; but my arguments to be sure would be denied, and how shall I prove them, by asking him whether he account himself wiser than *Austin*? he will, if he be wise, ask me, whether I will subscribe to every thing that he can bring a place of *Austin* for? and I, if I be not a fool, shall not promise so to do; so is our argument at an end. But perhaps if I had argued from consent of Fathers, then he must when I had proved such consent, have yielded to me, or else he might justly be reputed contentious and self-conceited. I must needs acknowledg that the testimony of many Fathers to a point, is more considerable, than the testimony of any one Father to the same point. And yet sometimes one may so practise upon many, that those many who join with him, may justly be reputed to signifie no more than himself alone, or rather not so much as himself alone; for he that goes about to trapan others into a consent with him, may well be thought not to be himself; there may be a good appeal from a man engaged to make a party, and carry on a design, to the same man under no such engagement. Sometimes also it is too too apparent, that after one Father had written his opinion upon a matter, others have chosen rather to follow him, than to be at the pains to enquire whether he

was

was to be followed. But be this as it will : when is it we may reckon our selves to have the consent of Fathers? I suppose when we hold that which all or the most of the Fathers did hold manifestly, frequently, constantly, no others contradicting them. If such a consent as this be not almost impossible to be had in the questions now disputed among Christians, then must I needs confess my self much mistaken in the collections I have made out of the Writings of the Fathers. But it will be good for the further clearing of this business, to instance in particulars, that we may know how much we are bound to follow Fathers.

1. There be some matters purely philosophical; how much is to be attributed to the consent of the Fathers in these? Must we concern our selves before we come to be of any opinion about them, to enquire what their sentiments concerning them were? Had the Fathers such clear conceptions in Physicks, Metaphysicks, Mathematicks, that he who departs from them, must needs be thought to be in an error? If so, I know no Sect of Philosophers that must not be judged to abound with errors. *Cornelius à Lapide* tells us, that *Basil, Theodoret, Nazianzen*, did all hold that Light was created by God out of any subject, and thence notes against Hereticks, *That accidents can in the Eucharist exist without a subject*. As for *Basil*, I think notwithstanding all the pains *Bellarmino* takes *De Euch. lib. 3. cap. 24.* to make him of that opinion, he is well enough brought off by *Scultetus*. *Theodoret* I have not by me, and will not guess what

his

Augustin

his mind was. *Nazianzen* in his 43. *Orai.* εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν καινὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔαρ, &c. hath these words concerning that Light, καὶ τὸτο ἐκ ὀργανικῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐδὲ ἠλίακον, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λύγος, ἀλλ' ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνόηλον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἠλίω δοθέν, some of which words sound suspiciously, yet perhaps do not necessarily infer, that he conceived Light to be a quality existing without a subject; if they do, he saith plainly it was but his own private opinion. But now suppose all these three, and three and twenty more Fathers had been of this mind, must I be thought proud if I did not forthwith allow the possibility of an accident's subsisting without a subject? If I must, *jaeta est alea*, I am resolved in all such cases not to purchase a reputation of humility by disclaiming my reason. *Lactantius* and *Austin* do with some zeal oppose the *Antipodes*, and laugh at the assertors of them. Venerable *Bede* treads in their steps. As for Pope *Zachary* who got into the Chair about the year 750. his zeal against the *Antipodes* was so furious, that nothing less would satisfy it, than the condemning of *Virgilius*, a Bishop in *Bavaria*, as an Heretick, because he adventured to assert, that there were men whose feet were opposite to ours. *Fromund* in his *Anti-aristarchus* is troubled at this story, and takes some pains to qualify it so, as that it may not derogate from the Popes infallibility.

I shall not be offended with any man that can prove there never was a Pope who thought it heresie to hold the Earth to be round. And I am glad the Church of *Rome* now-a-days allows her followers more liberty in matters of Philosophy, than formerly;

formerly ; for the more liberty is allowed to men of that persuasion, though but in Philosophy, the more hopes may we conceive of their coming over to us.

But I see plainly that the ancient Fathers did look upon the roundness of the Earth as a paradox ; and it is not many years since a Divine in *England* writing against the morality of the Sabbath, laid down abundance of propositions which were every one of them false, the plainness of the earth not being supposed.

However, I am resolved to adhere to demonstration and history, say the Fathers and their admirers what they will to the contrary. To be short, so far as I can judge, the Fathers were not the best Philosophers that ever the world enjoyed.

2. What is to be attributed to the consent of Fathers in matters of Chronology ? Surely not very much : for being generally unacquainted with the *Hebrew*, and following none of the best Copies of the *Septuagint*, they miserably failed in the Age of the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs. All good men can easily pardon that their error ; some of late have gone about to justify their account, but upon such weak grounds, that I should much wonder if among Scholars they should have many followers. The Learned world will not easily yield that all the *Hebrew* Copies we now use, are corrupted, *Gen. 5.* and to be amended by the *Septuagint*.

3. What is to be attributed to the Fathers in matters Historical ? To answer this it would be enquired, 1. How far they thought themselves concerned to report truth. 2. Of what prudence

they were. For if any of them thought an officious lye lawful, there is no relying upon the History written by him; and that none of the Fathers thought an officious lye lawful, I am not he that will affirm; I rather fear that some of them did make no scruple to use pious frauds, the more to set off Christian Religion to those Heathens against whom they did write. He that hath any nose may smell something of this officiousness in sundry of those miracles that are left on record by Ecclesiastical Writers. 2. If any of them did think that they might not lye, no not ἐν θσεπραίας μερεσ; yet if they were credulous, and apt to be abused by cunning men, they might report things far from truth, which yet upon their credit and reputation would be taken for true in succeeding generations. What an incredible story doth *Justin Martyr* in his Exhortation to the *Greeks* tell us, concerning the 72. Interpreters, viz. That the King who sent for them, appointed them to be kept in distinct Cells, not suffering them to speak with one another, and yet that their interpretation at last was found not only to agree in sense, but in every word. This he relates to the *Grecians* not without great confidence, saying that he had seen some footsteps of the Cells in the Island where they were first built, and referring himself to *Josephus* and *Philo*, and other Historians. And yet *Philo* makes no mention of these Cells into which they were severally put; and *Josephus* speaks of their conferring together, as *Aristæas* had done before him. 'Tis like some *Jews* had abused honest *Justin* into a belief of this figment; and that

Irenæus,

Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Cyrill, Hilary, securely followed *Justin*. Nor is this the only instance of false stories transmitted to us by the Fathers. Mean time it is a piece of Justice due to the Fathers that follow *Justin* in the matter of the Cells, and the Interpreters consent to a word, to let my Reader know that they do not follow him in his stupendous *Anachronism* of *Ptolemies* sending to *Herod King* of the *Jews* (as he reports) when the Translation was to be made. The Learned *Francis Junius* in his *Animadversions* on *Bellarmino*, endeavours to save *Justin's* credit in this matter; but whether Mr. *Scrivener* will like his *salvo*, he best knows.

4. What is to be attributed to the Fathers in expounding of Scripture? Must we not take that to be the true sense of a Text, which they have generally pitched upon? *Ans.* To find out the true sense and meaning of the Spirit of God in any Text not very obvious, in an ordinary way 'tis necessary that a man should have a good skill in *Logick*, so as to be able to analyse well; and that he should be well seen in those Languages in which the inspired Penmen did write. As for knowledge in *Logick*, the most of the Fathers did not abound in that; I could instance in one Modern *Logician*, from whom a Scholar may have more help for analysing Scripture, than from all the Fathers put together. And for skill in the *Oriental Languages*, every one will acknowledge that most of the Fathers had but little. *Origen* and *Hierome* understood *Hebrew*, so did few of the Ancients besides; and it will be no disparagement to *Origen*

or *Hierome* to say, that there are hundreds in the world at present that understand that Language far better than either of them ever did, or were in any near capacity to do.

The *Greek* Fathers must needs be supposed well to understand the *Greek* Tongue in which the whole New Testament was written; but so did very few of the *Latin* Fathers. I will not say who it was that derived *ἀπόστολος* from *ἀπο* and *στόλος*. So gross ignorance do not all the *Latin* Fathers bewray; but they who have *Erasmus* his Commentaries by them, will find quickly that the Fathers of the *Latin* Church are not the best guides to follow in interpreting Scripture. One Exposition of *Austin* not taken notice of by *Erasmus*, I will here mention. The Apostle saith *Rom. 3. 27.* that boasting is excluded; that is, hath no place; but that Learned Father finding the word *exclusa*, runs away with it till he hath quite lost the Apostles sense, *Exclusa, non ut abscederet pulsa, sed ut emereret expressa.*

5. What is to be attributed to the Fathers in matters of Doctrine or Faith? *Ans.* 1. I shall readily grant that to be no fundamental Doctrine or Article of Faith which is denied by many Fathers. 2. If I find any doctrine pretty unanimously asserted by Fathers, though I see no foundation for it in Scripture, I shall not think my self concerned to oppose that doctrine, till I find something in Scripture that it contradicts. But I am also certain, that most of the Fathers (that I say not all) had their errors, and some of them so gross, that he who should now hold them, would scarce be thought

thought meet to be a Church-officer. Therefore I am resolved to study Scripture with care and conscience, and on that to build my faith. In so doing I shall be sure to obey my Saviours precept; and I may promise my self the assistance of the Spirit, whose office it is to lead me into all truth. And if those doctrines that I have good assurance be grounded on Scripture, be charged with novelty and singularity, then shall I rejoice if I can find the Fathers consenting with me. Other good ends I can propound to my self in reading of the Fathers; but the main end I aim at, is to stop the mouth of gainsayers, especially those who glory in Antiquity, and make consent of Fathers their rule. I will not reject any truth because it is but newly discovered, nor yet embrace any error because it is of long continuance, or because some great and good man had the ill hap to be the first Author of it. Never shall any Socinian have occasion to say of me, as I find it by one of that Sect objected to the Reformed, *Scripturam sacram ex illorum (Patrum Conciliorumq;) mente explicant. Ab illis doctrina capita repetunt. Illorum auctoritate confirmant. Neq; adversus Pontificios tantum, sed & adversus eos disputantes, qui à Patribus se dissentire non inficiantur, perpetuum illum Patrum Conciliorumq; consensum perpetuo crepant; Eosq; qui Patribus illis olim Conciliisq; contra dixerunt, tanquam Hereticos merito damnatos esse censent. Neq; Patres propterea recipiunt, quia cum scripturâ consentiunt, sed scripturam eo intelligendam modo censent, quia Patres ita explicarunt. Ideoq; prius de unamini Pa-*

trum Conciliorumq; consensu, quam de vero scriptura sensu sunt solliciti. Nec desunt qui affirmare non dubitant, etsi sacra literæ illorum adversari sententiæ manifestè viderentur: si tamen Patres Conciliaq; secus eas intellexerint, malle se Patribus istis Conciliisq; adherere, quam privatum suum, uti vocant, de scripturis sequi iudicium. Neq; illi è face sunt; sed qui ad summum in Theologia gradum conscenderunt. I will judg from Scripture what is truth, and unto what degree any truth is necessary; but when I have found any opinion to be contrary to Scripture, I shall be the more confident that I was not mistaken in accounting the opinion erroneous, when I have found it condemned as such by many or all the Fathers that speak of it.

3. There are but few against whom the Fathers are so frequently and fiercely quoted, that need fear tryal by the Fathers.

By saying there are but few, I intimate there are some; in that number I place,

1. The Socinians, against whom I conceive the whole stream of Antiquity doth run very strongly; for though some would have the doctrine of the Trinity as it is commonly delivered in Christian Churches, to be no older than the Nicene Council; and though it cannot be denied but that divers of the Fathers who flourished before that Council, have left in their Writings sundry ill founding propositions; yet if a man interpret their sayings candidly, and remember that the signification of some Theological terms is somewhat varied since their times, he shall be forced

to acknowledg that they all agreed in this, That the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and all three but one God. To demonstrate this consent against a late wretched discourse called *Historia enucleata*, would be an employment well worthy Mr. *Scriveners* pains, if he be so well versed in the ancient Fathers as he makes shew; till he or some other will be at that pains, the English Reader may help himself sufficiently from Mr. *Estwick*.

The greatest doubt seems to be about *Origen*, whom sundry of the Church of Rome make an *Arian*. *Bellarmino* mentions out of *Pratum Spirituale*, a vision, in the which he was seen in hell with *Arius* and *Nestorius*, *Bell. de Purg. lib. 2. c. 8.* where he also affirms, that the fifth Synod condemned him as an Heretick. *Aquinas* in his 1a. *quest. 34.* calls him the fountain of *Arianism*, but without any cause. The Heresie of *Arius* for which he is most infamous in Ecclesiastical History, is the denying of Christs Divinity. He granted that Christ had a being before he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; but withal said, he was created by God, ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων, so as there was a time in which it might have been said ἔκ ἦν he was not. That *Origen* ever held any such opinion, I am not convinced. Certain I am, that in the Homilies ascribed to him, I have observed most clear passages for the Deity of our Lord Jesus. In his Books against *Celsus* he most strenuously defends his Divinity against that Sophister.

But are there not other places in his Writings in which he makes Christ *ἄλλο ἄνθρωπον*, a man,

and no more than a man? *Ans.* So say some of the Ancients; as also the wretched *Transylvanian* Ministers in their Books concerning the original and progress of the Trinity; on which account they call him the most learned of the Fathers. But when we have given him as many grains of allowance as must in charity be given to one who writ much, and in great haste, and whose Writings have fallen into false hands, and by them been transmitted to us, we need not say that he was an *Arian*, or had any favourable thoughts of *Arianism*. The Vision related by *Bellarmino* will not, I suppose, move any wise man. As for *Thomas Aquinas* who would have *Origen* to be the fountain of *Arianism*, because on those words *John 1.* *In the beginning was the word*, he saith, *Verbum in divinis metaphoricè dicitur*; I must needs say, it is a weak foundation to build so heavy a charge upon. That great School-man doth thus put his 34. question, *Utrum verbum in divinis sit personale?* (an obscure question I wot) he determines it affirmatively; but first brings this as an objection against himself, *Nomina personalia proprie dicuntur in divinis, ut pater & filius, sed verbum metaphoricè dicitur in divinis, ut Origenes dicit super Joannem.* A doughty objection, no question, and worthy to have a place in a sum of Divinity. Personal names are used properly in the Mystery of the Trinity; the word, according to *Origen*, is not used properly, but metaphorically, ergo it is not a personal name. Because the minor could not be denied, *Origen* must be accounted the fountain of *Arianism*. First, the whole perhaps would be granted

granted by *Durand*, who saith that the title of [*Word*] properly imports something essential and not personal. I think the Scriptures (which in speaking of this Mystery I would follow) always appropriate the title of *Word* to the second person ; but that he is called the *Word* properly and not metaphorically only , I cannot as yet find in Scripture. I believe according to Scripture, that the Father begat the Son , but that he begat him as affected with an act of understanding, not as understanding is common to all the three persons, but as he hath it from himself, is not I hope a necessary Article of Faith ; if it be, I have not all the faith that is necessary to salvation. Nor can I obtain of my self to think, that the Son of God is any otherways called the *Word*, than because he resembleth that either Oral or Mental Word that is formed by us men. And were it not that the general stream of Interpreters carrieth the resemblance to a Mental Word, I should be easily inclined to believe, that as a vocal word serves to disclose the mind of a man, so Christ is called the *Word*, because he discovereth the Mysterious Will and Counsel of God.

If *Origen* did not lay the foundation of *Arianism*, much less can the *Photinians* (whom the *Socinians* now follow) pretend to be his off-spring, for they denied Christ to have any being before he was conceived by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin *Mary*, differing from the *Ebionites* only in this, that they did not hold him to be begotten by *Joseph*, as well as born of *Mary*. *Socinus* against *Uniebus* is so ingenuous, as to confess that

that he and his continually dispute against the Fathers that flourished after the *Nicene Council*, and declares plainly, that he did not think any of his party had in their writings asserted, that any of the Writers before the *Nicene Council*, now extant, were of their mind: Yet certainly he knew that the Writings of *Origen* were extant, and therefore was conscious that it was in vain to father his heresies upon him. The truth is, we need not be afraid lest our young Divines should grow *Socinians* by reading the Fathers, or those who profess themselves to be *Socinians*, the great danger is from *Erasmus* and *Grotius* who never professed *Socinianism*; but yet in their Commentaries, especially on the Epistles, do most unhappily, by the various readings which they have, as they pretend, met with, or some plausible expositions of their own, endeavour to enervate the places that are brought to prove the Deity of Christ Jesus. One I will here take notice of, *1 Tim. 3. 16. God manifest in the flesh*, is a place brought to prove the Divinity of Christ, and is the more considerable, *ad hominem*, because the word *θεος* doth occupy the place of the Subject in the proposition. *Smalcius, de Incarnatione Christi, Cap. 18.* acknowledgeth, *omnia exemplaria graeca haecenus constanter vocem Dei habent.* And indeed to this day there is not a *Greek Copy* to be found of any good esteem that doth not read *θεος*. What now do these two learned *Dutchmen* say? *Erasmus* prefers the vulgar *Latin*, which reads *deus* instead of *θεος*, and suspects *θεος* was added against the *Arians*. But *Grotius* takes more pains to avoid that reading which

which is so commonly received, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, *suspectam nobis faciunt hanc lectionem interpretes veteres, Latinus, Syrius, Arabs, & Ambrosius qui omnes legerunt, ὁ ἐφανερώθη, addit Hincmarus opusculo 55. illud Θεὸς hic positum à Nestorianis:* And after strains his wit to find out a good sense of ὁ ἐφανερώθη, throughout the whole Verse. If this be allowable to forsake the *Greek*, where the vulgar *Latin, Syriack* and *Arabick* differ from it, how shall we know where to fix our feet? And let the Learned judg, whether the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Translations that we have in the *Polyglott*, did read, ὁ ἐφανερώθη: if they did, those who translated them are much to be blamed. It is also untruly suggested, that *Hincmarus* saith, Θεὸς was put in by the *Nestorians*: But if *Hincmarus* had so said, *Grotius* might, if he had so pleased, have acquainted his Reader, that *Chrysostom* read Θεὸς, who was older than *Nestorius* himself: And he could also have told us, that *Cyril* and *Theodoret* made use of this reading, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, against *Nestorius*; and therefore sure neither he nor his followers did first frame this reading, which is so perfectly destructive to their heresie. Another place we bring to prove Christs Deity, is, Rom. 9. 5. *Mirum est* (saith *Bellarmino* *Præf. ad libros de Christo*) *quid non agat Erasmus, quò se non vertat, quid non molietur ut hoc telum de manibus nobis extorqueat.* *Erasmus* doth indeed take two much pains to make this place useles against the *Arians*; yet which should have asswaged *Bellarmines* wrath, he adds like a good Son of the Church, that if she say we must not inter-

interpret these words, but of the Divinity of Christ, she is to be obeyed. As for *Grotius*, he first tells us, that it is manifest from the *Syriack*, that *Θεός* was wanting in the ancient *Greek* Copies. There is not a *Greek* Copy of any note now extant, in which the word *Θεός* occurs not; and yet if the *Syriack* expresses it not, then it must be thought it was absent from the ancient *Greek* Copies: what will such an opinion as this lead us to? Secondly, he refers us to *Erasmus*, who hath noted, that the words are read without *θεός* in the ancient Books of *Cyprian*, as also in *Hilary*; and that *St. Chrysostom* seems to have read so too. But *Erasmus* speaks not of the ancient Books of *Cyprian*, in which, or sundry of which, the word *Deus* is to be found; and *Grotius* could not but know, that those Copies of *Cyprian* must needs be corrupted in which *Deus* is wanting; for no Scripture, but that in which Christ is called God, could serve *Cyprians* turn in that place, as any Reader may discern. *Hilary* left not out the word *Deus*, but his Scribe, as *Erasmus* almost acknowledgeth, and *Hilary*, to be sure, in his Books, *de Trinitate*, citeth this place with the word *Deus*. *Chrysostom*, indeed, doth not expound *θεός*, nor yet doth he expound *ἐνὶ πάντων*; but he reads just as we read. By this we may see how little zeal *Grotius* had for the Divinity of Christ, and what danger they are in, who will take his quotations in his Annotations upon trust.

2. In this number I must needs place the *Papists* properly and strictly so called. A *Papist* strictly and properly so called, is with me not one who holds

holds the most of those doctrines which the present *Romish* Church holds; but he who holds them solely or principally on the account of the present Churches Infallibility: More particularly, I do not say he is a *Papist* who holds *Transubstantiation*, because as he thinks the Scripture teacheth it; but he who therefore believes the Scripture to teach *Transubstantiation*, because the Pope in or out of a Council hath decreed or warranted the same. Should I deny the Popes Infallibility in a cause of faith, I were to a *Trent-Papist* a Heretick, as well as if I denied all the Articles of the faith, because I deny the formal reason upon which all are to be believed. Should I hold the Popes Infallibility as the ground and foundation of my faith, then I were to him a good Catholick, though I were mistaken in many of the things to be believed, because I am upon the true and sure foundation of faith. Now if any one can shew me any whole ancient Church, or any one ancient Doctor of the Church who believed the Article of the Bishop of *Romes* Infallible Supremacy, and made that the ground of believing all other Articles, I will be his Convert, if he will promise to be my Convert provided I can shew him ancient Doctors and Councils that have either not acknowledged or denied this foundation of the Papal faith. And if we speak of the things believed by *Papists*, the most of them are utterly destitute of all primitive Antiquity.

But there are others in the world generally decried as despisers of the Fathers, who had they but men among them able and willing to search the
Fathers,

Fathers, might from them say more for themselves, than would easily be answered. I instance :

I. In the *Anabaptists*, or *Antipedobaptists*, (as they had rather be called) some of great esteem among the sons of the Church, have said that the opinion of these men cannot be confuted by Scripture, at least not by Scripture alone. In this they give these men as much as the generality of them desire or care for. But of late one of good learning hath espoused their Cause; and finding it granted by too too many, that Infant-baptism cannot with sufficient evidence be proved from Scripture alone; he enquires what it is that together with Scripture will prove it? Being referred to the Ancients, he there joins issue, and hath so acquitted himself, that for my part if I were not perswaded from Scripture that Infants are to be baptized, I should hardly be brought to be of that perswasion by any thing quoted from the Fathers.

One deservedly dignified in the Church, hath suffered it to be printed as his opinion, *that there is neither precept nor practice in Scripture for Pedobaptism, nor any just evidence for it for about two hundred years after Christ. The first who bears witness to Infant-baptism practised in the Church, is Tertullian; but so, as he expressly dislikes and condemns it as an unwarrantable and irrational custom; and Nazianzen a good while after him dislikes it too, &c. with much more of that nature.* Really were I of this learned persons judgment, that there is neither precept nor practice in Scripture

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• ture for *Pædobaptism*, I should much hæsitare in the matter : for if there be no precept or example of *Pædobaptism* in Scriptures, I ask whether the Church succeeding the Apostles had any reason or authority to take up that custom ? if she had, then the present Church also hath authority to take it up, though it had never before been taken up ; for the Church hath now the same authority that the Church succeeding the Apostolical times had. It will be said, that the Church succeeding immediately to the Apostles, had better opportunity to know the practice of the Apostles, than the present Church hath. *Ans.* That must needs be granted ; and if the Church succeeding the Apostles have given any undoubted testimony that the Apostolical Churches practised Infant-baptism, her testimony cannot be refused ; but that that Church hath given any such testimony, is easie to say, but not so easie to prove. Nothing out of *Ignatius*, or *Clemens Romanus*, is produced to such a purpose. The Author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox, doth indeed, qu. 56. plainly insinuate, that in his time τὰ βρέφη were baptized, and gives some account what difference should be in the resurrection, betwixt those who were baptized, and those who were not baptized, and of the reason why the τὰ βρέφη are accounted worthy of Baptism, viz. the πίστις τῶν προσφθερόντων : And were this Author *Justin Martyr*, the testimony were considerable, not to prove that Infant-baptism was practised in the time of the Apostles, but that Infant-baptism was soon practised ; but the Author of those Questions and

Answers

Answers must needs be some one that lived long after *Justin Martyr*. *Origen* I believe will be found to be the first that speaks of Infant-baptism as an Apostolical tradition, in his Com. on *Rom.* But the *Antipadobaptist* to him and all others may say, It is manifest from the Ancients, that divers children of Christian Parents were not baptized in their infancy, nor till they were come to maturity of judgment; and that it was accounted no ἄτημα, no bar to their preferment that their Baptism was so long deferred, that they were not before their baptism looked upon as unclean: now if this be so, how cometh it to pass that in a Church professing to follow and reverence Antiquity, they are excommunicated and thrown into prison if they do not bring their children to be baptized. Let any man prove out of Antiquity, that *Nazianzen* and his father were accounted Heathens and Publicans till the Son was baptized, which was not till he was about thirty years old.

2. I hear there are fundry among us here in *England*, that refuse to take an oath, judging any oath unlawful in Gospel-times. The opinion of these men is very pernicious, manifestly tending to perpetuate strifes and contentions, which cannot in our Courts of Judicature be ended but by an oath; and I doubt not at all, but that the opinion may be clearly refuted out of Scripture, where the present Patrons of it especially seek to shelter themselves: but if from the Scriptures we remove their Cause to the Fathers, among them I doubt they will find more friends than adversaries.

versaries. For that an Oath is not, at least in any secular matter, to be required or taken, seems clearly to have been the opinion of *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen*, *Chrysoſtom*, *Iſidore Peleusiota*, *Theophylact*, *Hilary*, *Ambroſe*, *Hierom*; and I think, to the *Greek* Fathers I might have added *Basil*. Artifices I know are used to evade their testimonies, but such as will not hold when they are examined by those who can understand the languages in which those ancient Doctors did write.

3. Men usually exclaim against the *Presbyterians*, as persons who forsake all antiquity to follow *Calvin* who is but of yesterday; and I think, if any of them say that *Calvin* affords a student more light to understand Scripture than most of the Fathers put together, they are not much to be blamed. But I must needs say, that *Presbyterians* is now become a term that I understand not; every Non-conformist who is not Congregational, is in some mens mouths a *Presbyterian*, though he never declared any dislike of *Episcopacy*; yea, though he vehemently protest that his judgment is for *Episcopacy*, even for all and every part of *Primitive Episcopacy*. In *Dr. Heylins* late History of *Presbyterians*, a *Presbyterian* is sometimes one that would have the Lords day observed as a Sabbath, one that thinks election and non-election to be absolute; and if a *Presbyterian* be such a one, sure it would be no difficult task to prove that there were such men in the world long before *Calvins* name was ever heard of. With other men, a *Presbyterian* is the same with the old Non-conformist, and against such a *Presbyterian* it is that Mr.

Scrivener seems to have laid his action; but besides that he hath laid his Action *coram non Judge*, I think, that when the merits of the cause come to be examined, he will quickly be *non-suited*: For it will be impossible for him to prove either that such a *Presbyterian* is a Schismatick, or that if he be a Schismatick, his Schism is novel. The old Non-conformist was one that could not think a Bishop to be by Divine institution, an Officer of a superior Order to a *Presbyter*, sole power of Jurisdiction and Ordination was the block he could never get over. In matter of worship, he could not satisfy himself to practise the Ceremonies retained and prescribed in the Church of *England*. That the Ministers ordained in *England* were not true Ministers, or that they might not be submitted to as such, he never thought. He could and did give, and receive the Sacrament, only sometimes he both Preached and Administred the Sacrament in private, to such as were of his own opinion and perswasion. If every such man must be accounted an Arian and a Schismatick, he may comfort himself in this, that he hath many among the Ancients, who if they had lived in these days, must needs have been called by the same name. If such a one decline tryal by the Fathers, it is only because he hath not had the good hap to read the Fathers, or because he foresees the tryal will be too tedious and chargeable, and might sooner be ended, if only Scripture were made the Rule. *Mr. Scrivener* is not sure such a stranger in our *Israel*, as not to know how hard the *Diocesans* are put to it, when the Fathers are brought against them.

them. He can tell, no doubt, who they be that are wont to call St. *Hierom* a discontented *Presbyter*, and St. *Cyprian*, a Popular Bishop. He knows who they be, that have undertaken to ruine *Diocesan Episcopacy* by *Clement* and *Ignatius*. And it is possible he hath heard of those, who did undertake to overthrow our English Hierarchy, by Dr. *Hammonds* dissertations for *Episcopacy*. He knows, that when two were appointed to dispute against Dr. *Preston* in the five points, the Dr. presently divided, and set them at variance betwixt themselves; and cannot chuse but think it very easie for the present Non-conformists, if they were brought to a conference with the Prelatical, to make them do execution one upon another.

To deal a little more closely with Mr. *Scrivener*, he hath in the name of the Church of *England* and his own, laid an action against a Novel Schism: If the Non-conformists upon summons made, shall think meet to appear to this Action, doubtless they will plead not guilty; they will not confess themselves guilty of causing any new schism, but will averr, that they proceed upon the same Principles, that were laid down by the great instruments of our reformation here in *England*. It will be replied, that they oppugne Bishops, they will rejoy in the words of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, *Iren. p. 385*. "That they doubt not to make it evident that
 "the main ground for settling Episcopal Govern-
 "ment in this Nation, was not accounted any pre-
 "tence of Divine right, but the convenience of
 "that form of Church government, to the state
 "and condition of this Church, at the time of its

Some of them for Non-conformity refused preferment, some were turned out of that they had, some took up with very small preferment, where no eye could envy them. I have sometimes thought upon it, who they were, that in *Queen Eliz. Reign* did the Church most service in disputing and writing against the Papists, and I find them to have been such, as either did not conform, or conformed heavily and by halves. I have heard it censured as an error in policy, for a Court not to regard those in a time of peace, whom they were forced to make use of in a time of war. Let Mr. *Scrivener* consider whether the Conformists have strength and number sufficient to look the *Papists* and other adversaries in the face, unless they take in the Non-conformists; if they have not, is it prudence, to be at odds with those that must joyn with them in the day of Battel? If he say they have number and strength enough, let him then consider whether it may not be, that some of them will prove false and treacherous, or at least, make a dishonourable peace. I could here shew that sundry of them, who most rigorously pressed conformity in *Q. Elizabeths* days, did in *Q. Maries* days either recant, or play the Nicodemites. But this is a performance that I have no mind to be put upon; how soon some other may put himself upon it I cannot tell.

Here I might with credit enough take my leave of Mr. *Scrivener*; yet because there be two particulars in his Book, that have not in these Papers been accounted for, I will, before I conclude, essay whether the Non-conformists cannot be ac-

quitted therefrom. The first is the *Hampton-Court* Conference: The second is the matter of Ruling Elders: About both Mr. *Scrivener* is full of confidence and triumph. If a good account can be given of these, I may think the reproach to be rolled away from the *Nonconformists*; for as for railing-*investives* against particular persons, I need only say, *Lord lay them not to his charge.*

Concerning the Hampton-Court Conference.

1. I say, we have little reason to believe that it is impartially related: for, 1. We have some ground to think that Dr. *Barlow* who drew up the Relation, did before his death profess himself troubled that he had abused Dr. *Reynolds* and those who were joined with him. This sorrow of the Doctor is I know denied by many, by none more than by Dr. *Heylin* against Mr. *Hickman*: but I have enough to clear Mr. *Hickman* from being the inventor, or feigner of that story; for he had it from Mr. *Noel Sparkes*, a learned and pious Divine, and of the Episcopal persuasion, who died but few years before his Majesties return, by him he was allowed to put it in print, as told him by one who would not on slight grounds either raise or receive a report against a Bishop, viz. Mr. *Henry Jackson*, sometime fellow of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Oxford. That all this is true, Mr. *John Martin*, now a Conforming Minister in the Diocels of *Hereford*, can, and if asked will, I suppose, witness.

2. Dr. *Sparks* though he spake not a word in the Conference, and after it (if I mistake not) printed a Book for Uniformity ; yet told his son (sometimes a Minister in *Buckinghamshire*, and Divinity-Reader in *Magdalen-Colledg*) That Dr. *Barlow* in summing up that Conference, had very much injured Dr. *Reynolds*, and those other that then appeared in the behalf of the *Millenary* Petitioners. This I had from his kinsman before mentioned.

3. I am also pretty well assured, that upon the first coming out of the Sum of that Conference, Dr. *Reynolds* himself lighting upon one of the Books at a Stationers near *St. Maries Oxford*, was found reading of it ; and being asked by a friend what Book it was he read ? answered, *It was a Book in which he was concerned and wronged*. If any doubt of this, he may (I suppose) receive satisfaction about it from Dr. *Henry Wilkinson*, resident at or about *Clapham* near *London*. Yea, I perswade my self, that no man who reads that Conference, can be seriously of opinion that Dr. *Reynolds* argued with no more strength than is by Dr. *Barlow* represented in his Relation.

2. If the Conference should he truly reported, little or no damage could thence accrue to the Nonconformists ; for as is said in the Christian and Modest offer of a most indifferent Conference or Disputation printed *Anno 1606. pag. 29, 30. Most of the persons appointed to speak for the Ministers, were not of their chusing nor nomination, nor of their judgment in the matters then and now in question,*

but of a clean contrary. For being intreated at that time by the Ministers to dispute against these things as simply evil, and such as cannot be yielded unto without sin; they professed unto them, that they were not so perswaded, and therefore could not so do. Being then requested to let his Majesty understand, that some of their brethren were further perswaded touching the unlawfulness of these things, than they themselves were; they refused that also. Lastly, being intreated either to give them in writing their reasons to prove these things indifferent, or to give them an answer in writing to such reasons as they would give them in writing to prove them simply evil; they would do neither the one nor the other.

Obj. Will *Nonconformists* then lose so considerable a person as *Dr. Reynolds*? and are they content the world should look upon him as no *Nonconformist*?

Ans. No doubt he was one that was loth to be made unuseful in the Church; and loth that others should make themselves unuseful; and therefore when any Minister professing himself dissatisfied with Subscription, came to ask his advice, he would (as I have been credibly informed) desire him to give him the grounds of his dissatisfaction, and if he found them weighty, then he would leave him settled in his *Nonconformity*; but if he found them not weighty, then he would let him know that those reasons notwithstanding he might conform. As for himself, he was satisfied to do all that was incumbent on him, as *President*

sident of the Colledg, but thought our Church needed a further Reformation, and that the Ceremonies were unprofitable; and prayed that in a due and orderly manner they might be taken away: yet would not peremptorily say, that a man should lose his Ministry rather than not use them. And of this mind were most of those who had in those times the honour to be called and accounted *Puritans*. And let me here propound it seriously to the consideration of present *Nonconformists*, whether it be not possible for them to be over-zealous in pressing others not to conform. Sure I am, that the learned and godly Mr. *Anthony Wotton* did flatly deny to tell Mr. *VVill. Brice* still alive, the grounds and reasons of his Non-conformity, telling him, *That he would not in such matters put scruples into those in whom he found none.* And really, may not a Conformist save his own soul, and the souls of those that hear him? may he not keep his eyes open, and yet not have light enough to see the unlawfulness of our Ceremonies? If so, as doubtless so it is, why should Non-conformists think so ill, as some do, of their conforming brethren? why should they be so restless, till they have made them their proselytes? why may they not acknowledg and rejoyce in their gifts and graces, and yet peaceably persevere in their own Non-conformity, only wiping off the aspersions that are thrown on themselves, and candidly representing their principles, and practices, that so the present and succeeding ages may see, they do not suffer out of humour and fancy; and that they err not (if they be in an error) without authority and reason.

3. If

3. If we should grant that the published Conference were in all things true and impartial, yet have the friends of Episcopacy, and sticklers for conformity, but little reason to boast or triumph. This must be made out by some brief reflections upon the conference.

The first day none of those who desired Reformation, were permitted to be present at the Conference, nor indeed all that were summoned to appear as defenders of the then established doctrine and discipline, but only the Bishops and five Deans; why neither the Dean of *Christ-Church*, nor the Dean of *Worcester*, nor the Dean of *Windsor* were admitted, nor yet Dr. *Field*, nor Dr. *King*, I find no reason assigned; nor will I guess, at so great a distance, what might be the reason: but why none of the Plaintiffs (as they are called) were admitted, His Majesty gave this reason, *That the Bishops might not be confronted by the contrary opponents; and that if any thing should be found meet to be redressed, it might be done without any visible alteration.* I suppose King *James* thought the things he mentioned in that days Conference, were too too liable to exception, and was resolved to take course with his Bishops and their adherents to have some little amendment, that if they should happen to be mentioned in the next days designed Conference, they might answer they had already considered them, and would have no more done or said about them.

The particulars of that Cabal-Conference, are said to be touching the *Common-prayer-book*,
Excom-

Excommunication, providing of fit and able Ministers for *Ireland*. How the providing of fit and able Ministers for *Ireland*, could be proper for this days Conference, I understand not. Dr. *Barlow* saith, p. 9. it was referred to a consultation; if so and that consultation produced any good effect, all good Christians are to rejoyce, for doubtless that Nation then wanted Ministers. But the Millenary Petition pretended to be the occasion of this Conference, toucheth not upon *Ireland*; if any thing was meet to be done about that Church, in this Conference, reason rather required that the Council for *Ireland* and the *Irish* Bishops should have been summoned to debate and conclude concerning that affair. Perhaps the Doctor mistook *Ireland* for *England*, or was willing to have us believe that there was no want of a Learned Ministry here in *England*; but we shall hear more of this in the second days Conference.

As to the Common-prayer Book, the King desired satisfaction about Confirmation, Absolution, Private Baptism.

Confirmation we shall find mentioned in the second days conference, and thither I refer my considerations concerning it.

Absolution, His Majesty said, he had heard likened to the Popes Pardons; If any one had informed His Majesty, that Absolution as used, or at least, as prescribed in the Church of *England*, had any thing in it resembling the abominable pardons of the Pope, I know not how he can be excused from bearing false witness against the Litur-

gy. The *Millenarian* Petitioners only pray, that the term *Absolution*, might be corrected, which His Majesty was willing to gratifie them in, appointing *Absolution* to be explained by *remission of sins*. There is, that I know, no real difference betwixt those that are called *Presbyterians* and Episcopal Divines about *Absolution*: Both allow a general *Absolution*, and a particular *Absolution*. Dr. *Heylin* chargeth Bp. *Usher*, with utterly *subverting*, as well the *Doctrine of the English Church*, as her purpose in *absolution*; but from that charge, the *Primate* is acquitted by his *Chaplain Dr. Bernard*.

Baptism, King *James* thought, was not to be administered by private persons, in any case whatsoever; and therefore propounded it to the Bishops, that the words in the Book purporting a permission, and suffering of women and private persons to baptize, might be altered: And here it is pretty, or rather sad, to observe how the Prelates contradicted one another; *Whitgift* said, 'The administration of Baptism by women or private persons, was not allowed in the practice of our Church, but enquired of by Bishops in their Visitation, and censured, and that the words in the Book did not infer any such meaning, as that they were permitted to Baptise: But the words of the Book being pressed by His Majesty, 'Bp. *Babington* confessed that the words were doubtful, and might be pressed to such a meaning; but yet it seemed by the contrary practice of the Church (censuring women in this case) that the Compilers of the Book did not so intend them, and

' and yet propounded them ambiguously, because
 ' otherwise, perhaps, the Book would not then
 ' have passed in Parliament. But on the contrary,
 Bp. Bancroft for his part declared, *That the Com-
 pilers of the Book of Common Prayer, intended not
 by ambiguous terms to deceive any; but did indeed,
 by those words, intend a permission of private per-
 sons to Baptize in case of necessity, as appeared by
 their letters, some parts whereof he read, declaring
 that the same was agreeable to the practice of the
 ancient Church, urging to that purpose, Acts 2.
 where Three thousand were baptized in one day, a
 thing which could not possibly, at least probably be
 done by the Apostles alone, and besides the Apostles,
 there were then no Bishops nor Priests. He also al-
 ledged Tertullian and Ambrose plain in that point.*
 The Bishop of Winchester also spake learnedly and
 earnestly to the same purpose, affirming, *that the de-
 nyng of private persons to baptize in case of necessity,
 were to cross all antiquity; and that it was a rule
 agreed upon among Divines, That the Minister is
 not of the essence of the sacrament:* But King
 James persisting in his opinion to have the altera-
 tion made, saith the Relator, pag. 19. *it was not
 so much stuck at by the Bishops; it seems that to
 please His Majesty, they did not much stick to
 have all antiquity crossed, and a Rule among Di-
 vines over-ruled. Had the Presbyterians in a
 point of so great moment, shewed themselves so
 facile, what a noise would have been made?*

But seeing the alteration is made, and Baptism
 restrained to Ministers, we may now without of-
 fence, I hope, enquire what is to be said in this

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controversie, and whether other Churches do well to allow that, which we see not meet to allow.

And first, I would know whether Christ the confessed institutor of Baptism, hath any where commanded lay-persons, in the absence of those to whom the word of reconciliation is committed, to administer Baptism; if he have not, then their not administering it can be no sin, because no transgression of a Law: And how can we think that the party who dies unbaptized shall fare the worse, for not having received that which no one was bound to give him? If it be said he hath laid commandment on lay-persons, where a Minister cannot be had, to Baptize; I desire to see where that command is recorded.

2. I demand whether a lay-person, male or female do sin in Baptizing? If so, no power on earth can authorize him or her to Baptize. If it be said, there is no sin in the case; then again I demand where is the permission of Christ granted to him or her? for certainly that must needs be sin, which is not allowed by Christ the author of the Sacrament.

3. How can we in faith expect that any lay-person should convey, *rem Sacramenti*, that is, be the Minister of Sacramental grace? Is it any where revealed in Scripture that he doth any more than the outward act (which of it self availeth nothing); if it be not, why might we not as good trust God that he will save the sick child without the outward act, as think and hope he will regard the outward act, when we cannot be assured that any more than the outward act is done?

Lastly,

Lastly, When lay persons are allowed to administer Baptism, who can say to them, *ne plus ultra*, hitherto you have proceeded, but further ye shall not proceed, other parts of the Ministerial function you may not meddle with?

But it is said that we have great authorities, and the practice of the Universal Church to warrant Baptism by lay persons in case of necessity.

Ans. This is confidently affirmed; but he who will not believe every confident affirmation, may find some of the Ancients either condemning, or not justifying Baptism by lay persons. As for the instance *Acts 2.* of the three thousand baptized in one day; besides what is said by *K. James*, that the example was extraordinary, and therefore not to be argued from with any security; we may say further, 1. That there is no content that at that time there were no more in the Ministerial Function besides the twelve Apostles. Bishop *Bancroft* indeed affirms, that then there were neither Bishops nor Priests besides the Apostles; but if we should grant him that, there might be Deacons, and according to his principles they might baptize; no need therefore of flying to lay persons; it is not improbable that the Seventy Disciples were then present, and who can assure us that they had no ministerial character on them? 2. The Twelve might if they saw meet Baptize Three thousand in one day. 3. It cannot be proved that all those souls were Baptized in one day: added to the Church they were in one day; but that they were solemnly entred into the Church by baptism in one day, the Text doth not prove.

Per-

Perhaps not any one that heard the words of *Peter* gladly, was baptized either the same day, or in the same place in which he heard; but all went to some other places where there was much water, and there were baptized; for that they were baptized in the same place where they heard, is not probable, at least not certain.

Obj. Is it not a rule agreed upon among Divines, That the Minister is not of the essence of a Sacrament?

Ans. The word *Essence* is an ambiguous term, and so acknowledged to be by Philosophers; and it is not worth while to distinguish it, and so return answer to this question, in distinct propositions. King *James* answered, that the Minister is of the *Essence* of the right and lawful ministrations of the Sacrament. Till that answer be overthrown, it will not be safe to commit the administration of Baptism to lay-hands; nor wisdom for any man to doubt concerning the salvation of his child, because he died unbaptized, when he could get none to baptize him whose authority to baptize is not questioned.

Obj. But will not this bring in rebaptization, so much abhorred by the Church?

Ans. It cannot bring in rebaptization; for if baptism by Laicks be only *nomine tenus* baptism, the baptism that succeeds it, will not be the second; but first baptism, especially if it be administered in the conditional form, *Si non sis baptizatus, &c.*

The next point his Majesty propounded to his Bishops, related to excommunication in causes of lesser moment; asking, *Whether the name might not be altered, and yet the same censure be retained? Or 2dly, Whether in place of it another Coercion equivalent thereunto, might not be invented and thought of?*

The Relator saith, *This was a thing very easily yielded to of all sides (and yet there was but one, or at least but two sides there) because it hath been long and often desired, but could not be obtained of her Majesty, who resolved still to be semper eadem, and to alter nothing which she had once settled,* pag. 19.

I am here at a great loss; for I cannot believe that Queen Elizabeth, so much famed for piety and judgment, was so resolved not to alter any thing she had once settled, as not to yield so much as to the alteration of a name, if she were long and often desired by her Bishops. Nor do I find that her Bishops long and often desired her, that excommunication for lesser matters might not be called Excommunication, or that instead of it some other Coercion equivalent thereunto; might be thought on. Nor do I understand to what end any such thing should be so long and so often desired. What desirableness is there in this; that men for small matters should be excommunicated; but not under the name of Excommunication? or that they should not be excommunicated; but suffer some Coercion equivalent thereunto? Those that fear the Lord, do account no Coercion that man can inflict, equivalent to Excommunication

duly pronounced. As for those who do not fear the Lord, if they should chance to be excommunicated for a small matter, they would make but a small matter of Excommunication, or rather count it a priviledge to be freed from the trouble of going to the publick assemblies. For such, if they should owe 4*d.* to their Minister, and refuse to pay it, an Attorney may sooner force them to be just, than an Apparitor. All this while I have not touched on the chief ground of my admiration, which is, how it came to pass (if the thing which his Majesty propounded about Excommunication was so easily yielded on all sides) that no alteration ensued thereupon? How comes it to pass that Excommunication, name and thing, passeth upon men in matters of small moment, and no Coercion equivalent thereunto is as yet devised in the room of it?

This is all I have to advertise about the first days Conference.

In the second days Conference, omitting all Prefatory Speeches, I take notice, that Dr. *Reynolds* reduced all he and his Brethren had to say, to four heads: The first related to doctrine, praying that the doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods word; and to that end, that the Articles concluded 1562. might be explained in places obscure, and enlarged where some things were defective. Particularly, the Dr. moved something about the 16. the 23. the 25. Articles; and being about to move more, the Bishop of *London* cut him off, and kneeling down, prayed the King, 'that the ancient Canon

' non might be remembred, *Schismatici non sunt*
 ' *audiendi contra Episcopos*, and that if any of the
 ' four Plaintiffs had subscribed the Communion-
 ' Book, and yet lately exhibited a Petition against
 ' it, they might be removed and not heard, ac-
 ' cording to the Decree of a very ancient Council;
 ' providing, that no man should be admitted to
 ' speak against that whereunto he had formerly
 ' subscribed. 3dly, He put the Dr. and his asso-
 ' ciates in mind, t at the King was very clement,
 ' who permitted them to speak contrary to the
 ' Statute of 10 *Eliz.* against the Liturgy and dis-
 ' cipline established. Lastly, He desired to know
 ' the end they aimed at, alledging a place out of
 ' *Mr. Cartwright*, affirming, that we ought rather
 ' to conform our selves in Orders and Ceremonies,
 ' to the fashion of the *Turks*, than of the *Papists*,
 ' which position he doubted they approved, because
 ' contrary to the Orders of the Universities, they
 ' appeared before His Majesty in *Turky Gowns*,
 ' not in their Scholastical habits sorting to their
 ' degrees.

Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,

Tantane animis cœlestibus ira?

So much wrath at the first dash? when men are
 summoned by the King, and bid by him open their
 grievances, must they as soon almost as they have
 opened their mouths, be thus schooled and terrif-
 ied? are the Articles of our Religion so sacred,
 that to propound a doubt about them, is no less
 a crime than schism? May not a man think that

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 the Bishop feared he should not be able to answer the Doctor, who took so much care that he might not be put to answer him at all? Is this to shew forth meekness of wisdom?

Let us a little reflect on the particulars of this great *Diocesans* passion.

1. He would have the ancient Canon remembered, *Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi*. This Canon might have been kept in store, till Dr. *Reynolds* had been condemned for a Schismatick, or till the Bishops had said something which he contradicted; but seeing it is now brought into the field we may be allowed to view it, and see what metal it is made of. May not a King so much as hear what Schismaticks can say for themselves? Must it be taken for granted, that Bishops are not culpable causes of the Schism that is made in a Church? Such a Canon as this would have done excellent service at the Council of *Trent*.

2. So would the other Canon, *That no man should be admitted to speak against that whereunto he had formerly subscribed*, have done the Popish Bishops excellent service in Queen *Maries* Reign; by it, I suppose, Bishop *Granmer* and Bishop *Ridleys* mouths might have been quite stopped; for I doubt they had subscribed to something they were to speak against.

3. The Statute 10 *Elizabethæ* did not make it penal for any man having leave from the King to propound his objections against the Liturgy or discipline of the Church of *England*.

4. Dr. *Reynolds* his *Turky* Gown was not a *Turkish* habit, nor was his *University* habit conformable

formable to the habit of the *Papists*; nor doth any order of the University require, that a Doctor should have on his Doctors habit every time he appears before the King. So that all this passionate harangue of words might have been spared. It may be we may meet with more reason in the answers to what the Doctor moved.

1. He moved the 6th Article; *After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace, might be worded so, as that it might not so much as seem to favour the Doctrine of the Saints Apostasie; and that therefore the words neither totally nor finally might be added.*

What replied the Bishop of London to this? why, that too many in these days neglecting holiness of life, presumed too much of persisting in grace, laying all their religion on Predestination, *If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; which he said was contrary to the true doctrine of Predestination, wherein we should argue rather ascendendo, than descendendo; thus, I live in obedience to God, and therefore I trust God hath elected and predestinated me to salvation: not thus, which is the usual course, God hath chosen me to life, therefore though I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damned; for whom he loves, he loves to the end.* And then shewed his Majesty the doctrine of England ouching Predestination, *We must receive Gods promises, &c.*

But under favour, these words do not contain the doctrine of Predestination, but are only a caution against the abuse of the doctrine of Predestination laid down in the foregoing words. As for

those who did usually argue *descendendo*, I suppose they were only men of wretched and profligate lives, and we must not baulk a truth lest they should stumble at it; or if we must, then must we also forbear to say, God is merciful, and Christ died for sinners, lest men should thence conclude, Therefore I shall be saved, though I live in many sins; for so it is argued usually. Wherefore the Bishop hath shewed no reason why the Doctor's addition might not be made for the comfort of the trembling penitent; and more full and apert confutation of those who assert a total apostasie from grace received. Yet I confess Dr. *Reynolds* needed not to have made this motion, because the seventeenth Article clearly enough asserteth perseverance.

The second thing moved by the Dr. related to the 23^d Article, in which it is said, *That it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of preaching or administering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called.* What could Dr. *R.* take exception at in this Article? why, saith the Relator, at those words, *In the Congregation*; as implying a lawfulness for any man whosoever, out of the Congregation, to preach and administer the Sacraments, though he had no lawful call thereunto. He that can think the Doctor argued at this rate, must think he was not the Dr. *Reynolds*, whose praise is in all the Reformed Churches. I should rather conceive the Dr. took exception at the words *in the Congregation*, as not sufficient to express (what was needful to be expressed in all Articles of Religion)

Religion) that men may not in private preach and administer the Sacraments, though they have no lawful call thereunto. This sure was the Doctors arguing; but was not to be so propounded, lest it should have been thought necessary to say more for the perfection of the Churches Articles than could well be said. But supposing Dr. R. to have disputed as the Relator hath reported, what was answered to him? Why, that it was a vain objection; because by the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, none but a licensed Minister might Preach, nor either publicly or privately administer the Eucharist or the Lords-Supper, pag. 30, 31. We are not told by whom this was answered, if we had, we might have been apt to think they were not the profoundest men in the world; for the rejoinder is easie, that the Church of England owned another Sacrament besides the Eucharist. Here, *Θεός ἀπό μυχῶν*, the King must be brought in to answer for those who were not of one mind to answer for themselves; and what is he said to have answered? why, that he had taken order for private baptism with the Bishops already. I ask, had the Doctor a spirit of divination to know what had been ordered in the first days conference? If he had not, this answer of the Kings proved not the Doctor's objection to be frivolous, but rather handsomely implied it to have some weight in it.

The Doctor being already acquitted of vanity, let us now see what the framers of the Article might mean by inserting the words *in the Congregation*. King Edwards Article was thus worded,

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called by men who have publick authority given them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lords Vineyard. And the present Article doth not differ, unless it be altered since Mr. Rogers his time. Out of the last clause of the Article I argue thus: Those ought to be judged lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to the work of the Ministry by men who have publick authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lords Vineyard. Some not ordained by Bishops have, &c. ergo. This syllogism might, if urged, make some work and stir, and therefore I do not so much as form it in words at length. Still I am unsatisfied why the words [*in the Congregation*] are added either in the first or second clause of the Article; but at adventure I am glad they are added, until it be in some publick Record of our Churches doctrine defined what preaching is; for if Reading be Preaching, then I should not be over-forward to subscribe that it is not lawful for Laicks to preach privately.

About Confirmation the Doctor observed (as the Relator tells us, p. 25.) a contradiction betwixt the 25th Article, and the words used concerning it in the Collect for Confirmation in the Communion-book; and therefore desired that both the contradiction might be considered, and the

the ground of Confirmation examined:

In this we are told, p. 31. was observed a curiosity or malice ; for the Article insinuates, *That the making of Confirmation to be a Sacrament, is a corrupt imitation of the Apostles ; but the Communion book aiming at the right use and proper source thereof, makes it to be according to the Apostles example ; and his Majesty comparing both places, concluded the objection to be a meer cavil.*

Seeing the Article is by all Ministers to be subscribed, I shall be glad if it can be made appear that the meaning is only, that the making of Confirmation to be a Sacrament, is a corrupt following of the Apostles ; but that it seems to insinuate something more, can hardly be denied by any one that reads the whole *syntax*. But the Bishop in the Collect for Confirmation, saith *inter alia, VVe make our humble supplications unto thee for these thy servants, upon whom, after the example of thy holy Apostles, we lay our hands.* In which words I would fain know who are included in the [we] ; for I take it, that the Bishop alone lays on hands ; and let no Minister desire to join with him in imposition of hands for confirmation, if he must be supposed to say that he doth it after the example of the holy Apostles ; for that ever the Apostles laid hands on any that had been duly baptized in their infancy, to confirm them, may be sooner said, than firmly proved ; yet if it can be proved that they did, I shall heartily rejoyce ; for the more apostolical Confirmation proves to be, the more easily and chearfully I hope it will be submitted to. This I find, that in the old Litur-

gy no one question was to be propounded to the Confirmand; in the new there is one to be propounded, and it is such a one as may make all ungodly wretches afraid to have it propounded to them: sure I am, without horrible hypocrisie they cannot answer to it affirmatively. But then the new Liturgy hath chopped off two of the Considerations for which, in the old, Confirmation was said to be appointed; the reason whereof, as I cannot certainly tell; so I will not uncertainly conjecture; though I have heard stories about this affair, that startled me.

Bishop Bancroft saith, Confer. p. 32. *That Confirmation was not so much founded upon the places in the Acts of the Apostles, which some of the Fathers had often shewed; but upon Heb. 6. 2. where it is made a part of the Apostles Catechism:* In the first days Conference he had said, *It was set down and named in express words, Heb. 6. 2. and affirmed it to be an Institution Apostolical,* p. 11.

Here I may, I hope, enquire what the Bishop meant by saying, *Confirmation was not so much founded on the places in the Acts, which some of the Fathers had often shewed.* What doth *which* relate to? Have some of the Fathers often shewed, that Confirmation is not so much founded upon the places in the *Acts of the Apostles*? If they have, down falls presently much of many of our Episcopal brethrens building concerning Episcopacy; if they have shewn no such thing, I cannot make sense of the Bishop's saying concerning the places in the *Acts*. As for *Heb. 6. 2.* I am willing to think that by laying on of hands there,

there, may be signified Confirmation: but I cannot much blame those who differ from me in expounding that place; for I find Bishop *Usher* referring the laying on of hands, to the ordaining of Ministers; others refer it to that and sundry other things, performed by imposition of hands; these would count themselves wronged, if one should say, *That they deny that which is set down and named in expresse words.*

The Bishop of *Durham* (I must not forget that) is related p. 11. *to have noted something out of the Gospel of St. Matthew, for the imposition of hands upon children.* He might out of that Gospel have observed many things concerning Christs laying of hands on the children brought to him. But the difficulty will be, how to make those things pertinent to the laying on of hands upon those who are too big many times to be called little children, and are already baptized, and desire to be orderly admitted to the Lords Supper; and when these are made appear pertinent, then it will be worth consideration, whether the Bishops should not rather say, *We lay on hands in imitation of Christ,* than *in imitation of the holy Apostles.*

Obj. *But all this while the main Controversie about Confirmation is not touched, which relates to the Minister of Confirmation, which Dr. Reynolds and his party would have had in their own hands, whereas none of all the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm, but Bishops alone, as said the Bishops of London and Winchester, p. 34, 35.*

Ans.

Ans. To me this is not the main question, let our Bishops censure those who admit to the Sacrament such as can neither say Lords-Prayer, Belief, Ten Commandments, nor answer the questions in the Common Prayer-Book Catechism, nor are either confirmed or desirous to be confirmed; let also the Bishops themselves ride through their Dioceses, and confirm all that are unconfirmed, and suspend such from the Sacrament as either are unwilling or unmeet to be confirmed, and I persuade my self, the *Presbyters* will not be vexed that so much work is taken off their hands.

As for what His Majesty is made to say, pag. 36. *That it suits neither with the Authority, nor decency of Confirmation, that every ordinary Pastor should do it and that there was as great reason that none should confirm without licence from the Bishop, as none Preach without his licence.* I doubt the Relator hath both wronged the King and the Bishops cause; The King, for we can scarce conceive he should have such high thoughts of the Authority or decency of confirmation, as to imagine, that either was lessened by being administred by those by whom Baptism is administred. And the Bishops cause also, for it will not serve their turn that *Presbyters* should not confirm without their Licence, as they do not Preach without their Licence, unless it be also made appear that none can be licensed to confirm but themselves. Before I pass from this, I must also advert, *That the Relator makes the King to tax St. Jerome for asserting, that a Bishop is not Divinæ ordinationis; and the Bishop of London to insert, That if he could not*
prove

prove his ordination lawful, out of the Scriptures, he would not be a Bishop four hours. Wherein I observe the policy of the Bishop, who reserved power to himself to continue a Bishop if he could prove his ordination lawful by the Scriptures; he knew well enough that his Ordination might be lawful, and yet a Bishop not be *Divine Ordinationis*. That is lawful by Scripture, which no Scripture Law condemns, or forbids; but he that should say, that every thing not prohibited, is *Divine ordinationis*, would have much a-do to prove that he himself had any meetness to be consecrated a Bishop. I suppose I can prove that it is lawful for me to wear a Beaver; but when I had so proved, should I not be ridiculous, if I should say that a Beaver was *Divine ordinationis*? Besides, if Dr. Reynolds had chanced to gravel the Bishop with an argument about the lawfulness of his Ordination, he to keep his Bishoprick, would presently have replied that he was ordained to be a *Presbyter*, but he was only consecrated to be a Bishop, and by that means he might have kept his lands and his credit too.

Let us now proceed with Dr. Reynolds, who is made to say, that the words in the 37th Article, *The Bishop of Rome hath no authority in this land*, be not sufficient unless it were added, *nor ought to have*. It is like the Doctor had observed that the Oath of Supremacy runs to that or the like effect.

And he had never heard, it is as like, that the King and his Council heartily laughed at the framers of that Oath, and therefore scarce expected

pected to be told, that a *Puritan* was a Protestant frightened out of his wits, for propounding that the Article might be as fully worded as the Oath; yet it seems he had the hap to be laughed at for his honest well-meant motion; so the Relator acquaints us, p. 37.

P. 38. The Dr. moved that this proposition, *The intention of the Minister is not of the essence of the Sacrament*, might be added unto the Book of Articles, *the rather; because some in England had preached it to be essential.* Had it been told him that if he would name those men who so Preached, they should be suspended, till they had recalled so false and uncomfortable an opinion, or that there was enough in the Articles to infer that the intention of the Minister is not essential to the Sacrament, it had been sufficient; but to say that His Majesty utterly disliked this motion for two reasons, and to name but one of the two, and to stuff up that with a story concerning Mr. Craig, was to put the world under a temptation to think too meanly of their King. *It is unfit to thrust every position negative into the Book of Articles; for that would swell the Book into a volume as big as the Bible, and also confound the Reader; therefore I may not insert this short position, the Ministers intention is not of the essence of the Sacrament, into the English Articles.* This is made to be the Kings argument; to which, whether Dr. Reynolds could reply nothing, others may judge.

Here we might also speak of the Nine Articles of *Lambeth*, put into the *Irish Confession*, not long after this Conference, but never put into

ours,

ours, though it seems the Doctor moved twice they might be put in. For my part I am not sorry they are left out; for some honest men may question the truth of them, and not be able in faith to subscribe them, and so the Church lose the benefit of their parts: As for *Latitudinarians*, they would have subscribed them in a sense of their own devising, though they had thought them false in the sense of the framers and imposers of them; or they would have said, that by subscribing they did not declare the assent of their minds to the truth of the Articles, but only their purpose not to publish their dissent to them, so as to make a disturbance in the Church about them. A Jesuit Papist, and a *Latitudinarian* Protestant will stick at no subscription whatsoever.

As for the Dean of Paul, his discourse to vindicate himself, I am not concerned to contradict him in it; but I think he contradicts himself, if Dr. Barlow doth him no wrong, p. 41, 42.

The motion made by the Dr. and related p. 43. concerning a Catechism, produced a very considerable addition to the old Catechism, which was all he aimed at in it; also he succeeded in his motion, that a straiter course might be taken for reformation of the general abuse and prophanation of the Sabbath day; for that, the Relator saith, found a general and unanimous assent. So that the Bishops then did not think it *Judaism* to call the Lords day Sabbath, nor to provide for its sanctification.

Nor did he miscarry in his motion for a new Translation of the Bible; for not long after the Conference, a new one was published, which hath
 been

been generally used ever since, to Gods glory, and the Churches edification.

As for his Majesties profession *that he could never yet see a Bible well translated into English, and that the Geneva Translation was the worst of all*; I believe his Majesty repented of it, or else he had not given leave to Dr. Morton to defend the two places in the *Geneva Notes*, that he took particular exception to.

Dr. Reynolds for conclusion of what concerned doctrine, moved, *That unlawful and seditious books might be suppressed, at least restrained and imparted to a few*. This a man might think would have been entertained with a general assent and consent, but contrariwise, the Bishop of London supposing himself to be principally aimed at, answereth to what he was never accused of, and saith, but without any proof, *That the Book, De Jure Magistratus in subditos, was published by a great disciplinarian, but named him not*; and the King is said to tell the Doctor, that he was a better Colledg-man than Statesman; and by this means no course was taken to prevent such Commentaries both in Philosophy and Divinity as came into *England* from beyond the Seas to the corrupting and poisoning of young students in the University.

The motion about Pastors resident and learned, pag. 51, 52, 53, is handsomly avoided by the King, with an answer, that he had consulted with his Bishops about that, *whom he found ready and willing to second him in it, &c.* yet all that Kings days, and ever since, the Nation hath groaned under the burden of an unlearned and non-resident

dent Ministry; if the Law of the Land admit of very mean and tolerable sufficiency in any Clerks, why have not the Bishops petitioned that the Law be altered so as to require greater sufficiency? And if the Lay-Patrons are to blame, who present very mean men to their Cures; are Ecclesiastical-Patrons to be excused, who present Clerks every way as mean?

Now come the Bishop of *Londons* motions to be considered, in number Three:

1. That there might be amongst us a praying Ministry; he meant a Ministry that might read the Common-Prayer-Book, to which very little learning indeed would suffice; but I suppose there was then no want of such a Ministry, nor is there now; so that the motion might have been spared.

The Second motion was, that till a sufficient and learned Minister might be placed in every Congregation, godly Homilies might be read, and the number of them encreased. This motion sure was not liked, for unto this day neither is a learned Minister settled in every Congregation, nor the number of Homilies encreased.

His last motion was, that Pulpits might not be made Pasquils, wherein every humorous fellow or discontented, might traduce his superiors.

This the King graciously accepted, and so did the complaining Ministers; as I suppose; for that the Pulpit should be made a Stage is certainly a very lewd custom, but obtains too too much among I know whom.

Proceed we with *Dr. Reynolds* to Subscription;

as to which, we find him only desiring, that Ministers might be put upon it, to subscribe according to the Statutes of the Realm, viz. to the Articles of Religion, and the Kings supremacy; to subscribe otherwise they could not, because among other things, the Common Prayer-Book enjoined the Reading of some Chapters, in which were manifest errors directly repugnant to Scriptures, instancing particularly in *Ecclesiasticus* 48. 10. where the words infer, *That Elias in person was to come before Christ; and if so, Christ is not yet come!*

Now let us take notice of what is answered :

1. Bishop *Bancroft* answers, ' That the most of the objections against the Books of *Apocrypha*, were the old cavils of the *Jews*, renewed by *St. Jerome* in his time, who was the first that gave them the name of *Apocrypha*; which opinion, upon *Ruffinus* his challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed; the rather, because a general offence was taken at his speeches in that kind.

This, I must needs say, was a politick answer: for first we are told, that not all the objections, but some of the objections against these books, are the old cavils of the *Jews* renewed by *St. Jerome*.

2. We are told, that *St. Jerome* was the first that called these Books *Apocryphal*; which opinion after a sort he reclaimed upon *Ruffinus* his challenge.

What can any man reply to such an answer? should one bring an objection against these books, that the *Jews* never would have brought, he would have been told; That not all objections against them, but only some, are *Jewish* cavils: Should

Should one say that *Ferome* disclaimed not his opinion concerning books Apocryphal, he would be told, That he did not indeed disclaim his opinion absolutely; but yet *after a sort* he did; and how far *κατά τι*, or *after a sort*, may reach, no one can tell: Nor have we the least reference to any place of *Ferome's* Works in which this disclaiming of his opinion is recorded (whether *St. Ferome* disclaimed his opinion, he who hath not *St. Ferome's* Works by him, may find discussed in *Dr. Cosens* his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture): I say, it cannot be imagined why the *Jews* should less esteem the Apocryphal books than they deserved; they retain the Canonical books of the Old Testament, which make more against them than the Apocrypha. Nor is *St. Ferome* the first who called the Apocryphal books by the name of *Apocrypha*; others before him had given them that name, or one equivalent, as I can make appear. Indeed the Ancients of the Church have so blasted some especially of the Apocryphal Writings, that I cannot but wonder how they came to be read in our Churches. The History of *Susanna* was accounted a Fable even by *Julius Africanus*, contemporary to *Origen*; and yet our newest Calendar appointeth it to be read, as also the story of *Bell and Dragon*. There is a common saying in mens mouths, that these books are Canonical, not for the confirming of our faith, but the regulating of our manners; but he who shall make all Apocryphal books a rule for his manners, may chance to set more on his Doomsday-book than he will

quickly get off again. As for him who shall make them a rule of Faith, he will undoubtedly become a Heretick.

Dr. Reynolds his instance the Bishops would not meddle with; but the King, who was not in conference to be contradicted, p. 62. is made 1. To argue and demonstrate, That whatsoever *Ben Sirach* had said, *Ecclus. 48. 10. of Elias*, *Elias* had in his own person while he lived, performed, and accomplished. 2. To check Dr. Reynolds for imposing on a man that was dead, a sense never meant by him. 3. To use a pleasant apostrophe to the Lords, *What trow ye makes these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my soul I think he was a Bishop, or else they would never use him so.* 4. Yet after all, to will Dr. Reynolds to note those chapters in the Apocrypha-books that were offensive, and bring them to the Lord Archbishop on *Wednesday* following.

Had the Relator consulted the Kings honour, he had not inserted one of his Jeers managed with an Oath, into a Conference concerning Religion; nor would he, had he regarded his own reputation, have called a sarcasm, in which was an oath, an unnecessary oath, a pleasant apostrophe. To the place it self, I say the *Greek* copies, (*Ecclus. 48. 10.*) much differ among themselves, and as much from the *Latin* Translation; our *English* Translations also greatly vary; but I could never yet meet with any Copy or Translation from which at least an unwary Reader or hearer would not collect that *Elias* was to come before the day of the Lord, either first or second. *Junius* saith the place

place argueth the ignorance of the author, blind in the promises concerning the Kingdom of Christ, *Grotius* acknowledgeth little less. The *Syriack* and *Arabick* Translatour carry it clearly for *Elias* his being to come before the day of the Lord, to turn the hearts of the children to the Parents, as may be seen in the *Polyglotts*. So that if the Doctor was mistaken about the meaning of *Ecclesiasticus*, his mistake was common to him with many more of great esteem, and deserved not to be put off either with a check or a flout. Whether *D. R.* ever brought in a list of the offensive chapters in the Apocryphal books, I cannot tell; but I can find, that since King *James* his time, the people have had in Parochial Churches less Apocrypha, and more Canonical Scripture; perhaps at last the divinely inspired Writings that have in and on them so many express signatures of Holiness and Majesty, shall prevail to have the sole honour of being read in the Churches for Christians instruction.

As to the next scruple about subscription, grounded on, *Jesus said to his disciples*, when he spake to the Pharisees; it seems the King took order to have the Translation reformed.

Now must *Dr. Reynolds* for a season give way to *Mr. Knewstubbe* a *Cantabrigian*, and a very eminent Divine, though not much known by any writings he left behind him. He is said by *Dr. Barlow* to have objected against the Interrogatories in Baptism propounded to Infants; but what it was he said against propounding those Interrogatories to the Infants, we are not told; but rather made

believe his discourse was so perplext, that the King professed he understood it not. The Bishop of *Winton* aiming at his meaning, shewed the use of such Interrogatories out of *St. Austin*, adding his reason, *Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero*: Glad am I to find that one *English* Bishop, without contradiction from any other joined with him, did allow *St. Austin's* saying that an Infant may *peccare in altero*; I hope if any now laugh at the notion of our sinning in *Adam*, they will acknowledge themselves to have embraced an opinion quite different from the opinion of those to whom they succeed. In the mean time I shall be glad to hear it proved, that a child can *credere in altero*; for I rather opine, that a Parents Faith is so far accepted by God, as to entitle his child to Baptism, than that the child of a believer doth believe in his believing father: for if he believe in him, he must be saved in him, if he dye in his Infant-state; and I would give all I am worth to hear it proved, that all the Infants of godly Parents dying in their Infancy, are saved. But of this no more. Our new Liturgy hath almost taken away the ground of the dispute concerning these Interrogatories; for it ordereth that the first Interrogatory should be thus propounded: *Dost thou in the name of this child, &c.* which words I have not observed in the old Liturgy. But yet I would fain know why we may not as well ask the Father, *Wilt thou that this child be baptized in this faith?*

Pass we from the Interrogatories, to the cross in Baptism, which *Mr. Knewstunbe* took exceptions to, in number two: First, the offence of weak brethren,

brethren, grounded on the words of St. Paul, *Rom. 14.* and *1 Cor. 8. viz.* the consciences of the weak are not to be offended. These places being the chief seat of the doctrine of scandal, deserve a most serious consideration; for certainly we should take heed not to destroy those for whom Christ died.

And this care is principally to be taken by the Church in making Canons; if she only command things which Christ hath commanded, who is he that can blame her, or think she exceeds the bounds and limits of the power given her? but if she command that which she confesseth she need not command, and which she cannot but know many account unlawful; and if she command such a thing under the highest penalty; then hath she reason to consider whether such precepts will be pleasing to her Lord? It will signifie little to ask how long people will be weak? for no doubt they will be weak while the world stands. As little will it signifie to say, Subscriptions are not required of Laicks and Ideots, but Preachers and Ministers; for it is notorious that Subscriptions are required of Fresh-men at their matriculation in the University, when to be sure they are Laicks, and not acquainted with Controversies in Religion. As for Ministers, they should not be weak in faith, but they must consider that they have under them such as are weak; and not suddenly engage never to administer necessary Ordinances unto them, unless they will receive them with disputable Ceremonies. If a single Minister were left to his own choice either to cross the child he baptizeth, or not to cross it, ought he not to say, If by crossing I shall scanda-

lize my brother, I will not cross a child while the world stands. It will be said, that a single Minister is not left at his liberty. True; but the Church was at liberty to make or not to make a Law about crossing. Had she made no Law to cross children that are baptized, then I suppose no Minister would have crossed any child; and what damage the child would have sustained by not being crossed, it is past my skill to imagine; by making a Law that all children that shall be baptized publickly, shall be also crossed, many learned Ministers are put out of Livings, many are made to lay aside the thoughts of being Ministers, and divert to Law or Physick, a bone of contention is cast among the common people, &c. What ought the Church to do in this case?

Mr. *Knewstubbe's* second Argument is said to have consisted of three interrogatories:

I would ask one question that was not then by him asked, *viz.* *Whether it will be as profitable for the Child to be signed with any other sign, as with the sign of that Cross upon which our Saviour did suffer death?* If it will not (as no doubt, most will say it will not) then we must be first informed what figure our Saviours Cross was of, lest in going about to make the sign of it, we should make the sign of somewhat else. And how shall we know what figure our Saviours Cross was of? The *New-Testament* will afford us little light in this matter; for the word *save*, though affirmed by a great Critick, first to signify the same with *Furca*, then with *Crux*, yet is known by those who have observed its use in *Heimer* and other Authors,

to have no other original signification than of a Stake. If we betake our selves to the Fathers, they speak strangely and variously concerning the figure of the Cross: *Origen* and *Ferome* say, that the *Samaritan* letter *Tau* represents the figure of a Cross, than which saith *Scaliger*. *nothing is more false; nothing more true*, saith *Dr. Walton* in his *Prolegomena*; yet the character of the *Samaritan Tau*, now in use, hath no resemblance with a Cross, what character it may have in old medals and moneys, sober men will not much regard. *Justin Martyr*, dealing with *Trypho* the *Jew*, will find figures and types of the Cross in the *Old Testament*, where the Spirit never intended any. Yea, in his second *Apology* for Christians, he bids the Heathens consider, whether without this figure, men could administer any thing, or have any converse with one another. The *Unicorns* horn, as he describes it, doth indeed fairly represent such a kind of Cross, as it is most probable our Saviour suffered on, for that seemeth to have been made of a piece of wood fixed in the earth, with a transverse beam fastned unto it towards the top, and another piece of wood infixed into, and standing out from that which was erected and straight up; but that *Moses* thought of any such thing when he blessed *Joseph*, *Deut.* 33. 17. or that the *Psalmist* aimed at any such thing, *Psal.* 22. 21. is so improbable, that it is well we have other types and prophecies of the *Old Testament*, to produce against the *Jews*, to whom a crucified Christ is a stumbling block. But now, which of our Deacons or Priests doth, in crossing a Child, represent the five extremities of

of the *Roman Cross*? The aforesaid *Justin Martyr* in his *Apology* suggests, that *Philo* having read the story in *Moses* concerning the *Brazen Serpent*, and not understanding that it was the sign of a *Cross* which he made, but rather a *decussation*, said, τὴν μέλα' τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν δύναμιν κελκῆσαι ἐν τῷ πασί. Yet I believe it were no hard matter to find some *Christian Writers* that make the *Roman X* to be the *Cross*, and that is *cruce decussata*, or an *Andrews Cross*, as I think we were taught to call it when we learnt *Arithmetick*. To be brief, I think that if *Christ* had intended his *Picture* should have been set up in *Churches*, he would have left us some sure way to know his visage.

2. If he had designed the *Cross* on which he suffered, any honour, he would have taken care that it should be preserved. 3. If he had ordained to teach his *Church* by the sign of the *Cross*, he would have left us at no uncertainty how to make it. As for the visage of our *Saviour*, that that is unknown, I would fain think that no man now doubts. For though it be reported by *Damascen* and *Evagrius*, that our *Saviour* sent his *Picture* unto *Abgarus* Prince of *Edessa*; yet it is by them reported on the credit of they tell us they know not whom, and neither of them describe what a kind of man he was: Besides *Eusebius* who wrote the story of matters supposed to pass betwixt *Christ* and *Abgarus* out of the *Records* of *Edessa*, hath not one word of this *Picture*. Of another image of our *Saviour* made by *Nicodemus*, mention is made in a piece attributed to *Athanasius*, but falsely, as the more ingenuous *Papists* acknowledg. *Ni-*
cephorus

Nicephorus Calistus also, *Lib. 10. cap. ult.* hath given us a very particular account of Christs face and body, as to figure and form: *James Nailor*, as I have been told, when brought to give an account of his blasphemy in making himself Christ, had, as near as he could, made himself to look like such a man as *Nicephorus* hath described; but as I suppose that no man in his wits took that blasphemer to be Christ, so no man that hath much wisdom will believe, that *Nicephorus*, at above a Thousand years distance, is to be much credited concerning our Saviours feature and complexion, especially, till he have named the authors whom he follows. The Cross of Christ, we are told, was found by *Helena* the Mother of *Constantine* the Great, Three hundred years after his sufferings; but the Story appeareth to have little probability in it. We must suppose that there were in that place just Three Crosses and no more, and that by a miracle those Three Crosses were preserved from putrefaction; now if any man can think that our Saviours Cross was so miraculously preserved, yet to what end should the two Thieves Crosses be preserved, unless it were to trouble and perplex those, who should be so simple as to look after that which was nowhere to be found? But how did the seekers after this Cross, distinguish it from the Crosses of the two Thieves? were the Crosses only found, and not the Titles signifying what the crime was for which they were crucified? *St. Ambrose* saith the title was found; yet *Queen Helen* not trusting to that, by the counsel of the Bishop of *Jerusalem* expects a miracle, applies the Crosses of the

two Thieves to a dead man taken out of the *Bier*, but they put no life into him, which the Cross of Christ, as soon as it touched him, presently did; others say, that the Cross at that time did not restore a dead man to life, but only recovered a *Jerusalem* woman that lay sick of a very desperate disease: and *Sozomen*, as I take it, reports it to have wrought both these miracles at one time. O! how little sound knowledg was then in the world, when Christians of prime note took such pains to find out that which no way cooperated to our redemption, but was only a passive instrument of our Saviours sufferings materially considered? Is that Cross of wood, if it could now be found, a meet object of religious, or so much as civil honour? What use could it be of, unless there should appear something in the make of it, that would serve to illustrate some form of speech in sacred or prophane Authors? As for stirring up of sorrow; the Word and Sacraments are much more apt to do that than any sight of the Cross on which our Saviour did hang. But great miracles have been wrought by the Cross, and fragments or pieces of it, yea, by the sign of it. I must not deny but that many things very wonderful are reported to be done by the Cross. But perhaps sometimes these wonders were wrought by the Devil, to deceive inordinate worshippers of such images, God permitting, and the infidelity of men necessarily requiring it, that I may make use of *Biels* words. 2. If God at any time did do a miracle, the Cross it self being applied, or the sign of it made, it must be the Faith and Prayer of the person using the Cross, that God

respected in putting forth his power, and not the Cross. 3. I do much doubt that the one half of those things which are reported to be done by the Cross, were never done at all. The highest story that ever I read concerning the effects of the Cross, and which is made use of by almost every Popish Writer in this matter, is the delivering of *Julian* the Apostate from the spirits with which he was frightened, upon the making the sign of the Cross, though he had before renounced it. Such a thing I find indeed in *Nazianzen's* first invective against *Julian*. But the Father reports it only on hearsay, λέγεται ὑπὸ πλείονων, but I would fain know how the report was first raised, none pretended (that we find) to have had it either from *Julian* himself, or from the Conjuror that was with him ; yet if men had it not from them, they must needs feign it themselves. The same Father had before told us, that when *Julian* was sacrificing, the intrails of the Beast shewed him a crowned Cross ; but he prefaceth that Story thus, τὸ δὲ ἐν λεγόμενον, closeth it thus, εἰ μὲν ψευδὲς, αὐραὶ φέροιν, εἰ δὲ ἀληθές, &c. by which it may appear, that this Father did not stick to put into his writings, such stories as he would not averr to be true, when he conceived they might serve his turn. Had all that have reported as strange matters concerning the Cross, been so ingenuous, as to let us know that they went but upon common fame, Staurolatry had not proceeded to such an height as it hath now attained in the *Romish* Church. But let us now consider Mr. *Knewstubb's* questions :

1. Whe-

1. Whether the Church had power to institute an external significant sign?

For answer, it might have been expected that the Churches charter to institute such significant signs should have been produced and read to the Questionist; but instead of doing so, it was replied to him:

1. That he did mistake the use of the cross with us, which was not used in Baptism any otherwise than only as a ceremony. Which was a pretty reply indeed, and implieth that a ceremony cannot be an external significant sign, or else was a most insignificant answer.

2. That they themselves made imposition of hands in their ordination of Pastors, to be a sign significant. Which Reply supposeth, 1. That they ordained Pastors (the which I never heard they did.) 2. That there is the same reason of a ceremony used, and perhaps commanded by the Apostles, that there is of ceremonies never used nor commanded by them.

3. The kneeling on the ground, the lifting up our hands, the knocking of our breasts, are ceremonies significant, and yet are and may lawfully be used, said the Bishop of *Winchester*. But he might as well have held his peace; for though these be significant ceremonies, yet they are not of that class of significant ceremonies which *Nonconformists* scruple; for the scrupled ceremonies are such as have humane institution, ordained signification, mystical signification, appropriation to Gods solemn Worship and Service. And the ceremonies the Bishop instanced in, though lawful, are none of them

them commanded by the Church, nor will be (I suppose) in haste.

4. 'Dr. *Montague* Dean of the Chappel, remembered the practice of the *Jews*, who unto the Institution of the Passover prescribed unto them by *Moses*, had, as the *Rabbins* witness, added both signs and words, eating sower herbs, and drinking wine, with these words to both, *Take; eat these in remembrance, drink this in remembrance;* upon which addition and tradition of theirs, our Saviour instituted the Sacrament of the last Supper; in celebrating it with the same words, and after the same manner; thereby approving that fact of theirs in particular, and generally that a Church may institute and retain a significant sign. Which satisfied his Majesty exceeding well.

Here is a foundation laid, and then a superstructure raised on it. The foundation is, that the *Jews* unto the institution of the Passover prescribed unto them by *Moses*, had added both signs and words, &c. but is not this foundation laid in the sand, depending on the testimony of later *Rabbins*, whose testimonies are by wise men esteemed lighter than vanity? The apostate *Jews* were no doubt grown wretchedly superstitious; but I am loth to believe, unless I needs must, that they used all the foppeties their *Rabbins* mention as in use with them. But be this as it will, I wonder what made the Reverend Dean say, that the eating of sower herbs was an addition to the Paschal Institution; sower herbs were as much commanded as unleavened bread. The *Jews* had indeed of their own heads added to the Paschal provisions a dish of
thick

thick sawce made of Dates, Figs, Raisins and Vingar mingled together (as some Authors say) to put them in mind of the clay in which their fathers laboured.

Allowing them to have used this sauce and wine, and whatever else superstition could dictate to them, how appears it, that upon any addition or tradition of theirs Christ instituted his Sacrament? or that he had not instituted the supper before the *Jews* made these additions? If we look upon Christ in the days of his abode here on earth, we find him to have shewed no great respect to the traditions and ceremonies of the *Jews* that had no Divine institution, as may be made appear by many instances, if it were worth while; so far was he from allowing his Churches to add any thing to his own institutions that nature did not call for.

We are told by the Relator, p. 68. That here the King desired to be acquainted how ancient the use of the Cross was. Dr. *Reynolds* confessed it to have been ever since the Apostles times (mark, he did not confess it to have been used in the Apostles times, nor did the Bishops or any of their adherents say it was used by them) but the difficulty was, whether it were of that ancient use in Baptism? To remove this difficulty, the Dean of *Westminster* produceth *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, laying it was in use in *immortali lavacro*. The Bp. of *Winchester* added, it was in use in *Constantines* time, pag. 69. whereupon the King concluded, *If then it were used, I see no reason, but it may still be retained.*

As for the antiquity of signing with the sign of
the

the Cross in Baptism, the *Nonconformists* may reply, That it was as ancient to use the sign of the Cross when people went abroad, or entred into the Church, or prayed, as when a child was baptized. If we may leave off the frequent use of crossing upon other occasions, without any dishonour to the Fathers, why may we not also leave off crossing in Baptism? Anointing also was used in Baptism by the Fathers; yet it is accounted a piece of our Reformation not to use anointing; what disparagement to the Reformation would it be to leave off crossing also? Besides, there was an use among the Fathers of the sign of the cross, which holds not for our times; and sundry effects they expected from it, which we cannot, dare not expect from it, because we cannot find in Gods word a promise that any such effect shall follow upon the crossing our selves. All along *Queen Elizabeths* reign it was customary for the Queen to apply the sign of the cross to the tumour of the *Strumosi*; *King James* discontinued that ceremony; and yet we do not find that he had less success in the curing of the *strumous* disease, than the Queen. So that the strange and wonderful things pretended to be wrought by the sign of the Cross in the days of our ancient Doctors, were either not wrought at all, or if they were wrought, the sign of the Cross nothing contributed to the working of them. Finally, I marvel why the Dean of *Westminster*, to prove the antiquity of the Cross in Baptism, did rise no higher than *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*; they are not the ancientest Fathers that speak of Baptism; the two first erred in the very point of

Baptism; the last (if his Translators have not abused him) was scarce found in any thing.

But the Cross was used in *Constantine's* times, and why may it not now be used? shall we accuse *Constantine* of Popery and Superstition? Thus is the King said to have argued in the Conference; and by his argument he gave us to understand, that he liked not that any one should charge *Constantine* with Popery or Superstition; I therefore will lay neither to his charge; but yet his purpose not to be baptized till he might be baptized in the same River where Christ was baptized, viz. *Jordan*, if it did not proceed from superstition, proceeded from a very odd humour. God crossed him in that his design, and put him under a necessity either to receive Baptism in another place than *Jordan*, or not to receive it at all. (In this I follow *Eusebius*, for whom should I rather follow than him who so well knew *Constantine*, and hath transmitted his History to posterity? If any man incline to those who would have *Constantine* baptized many years before at *Rome*, I leave him to *Scultetus* in his *Medulla*, who defends *Eusebius* against *Baronius*.)

Mr. *Knewstubb's* second question was, supposing the Church had power to add significant ceremonies, whether she might there add them where Christ had already ordained one? Which he supposed was no less derogatory to Christ's Institution, than if any Potentate of the Land should presume to add his Seal to the Great Seal of *England*.

To this Dr. Barlow saith, p. 70. the King answered, *That the case was not alike; for that no sign or thing was added to the Sacrament which was fully and perfectly finished, before any mention of the Cross is made.*

I dare not think this was King James his answer: for it is only fitted and suited to our own Church as then it was ordered, and still continues. In the first Book of King Edward, crossing was appointed before Baptism could be pretended to be perfected, or indeed begun; which was also the usage of the ancient Churches. 2. I conceive the presumption of any subject would be great, if he should add his own seal to confirm or signify any thing that the King's Great Seal was appointed to confirm and signify, though the Great Seal had been set before he set his Seal. 3. Methinks the argument stands still in its full force; If applying of water to a believer in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, do signify all that the Cross signifies, to what end is the Cross used? The child that is baptized with us, is obliged by Baptism obediently to keep Gods holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of his life; what can the Cross oblige him to more? Is not confessing the faith of Christ crucified, one of Gods commandments? I know a learned man hath replied, that constancy is not distinctly signified in being baptized, as it is in being crossed. But I ask, Is it any benefit to a man to have some ceremony used that doth more distinctly mind him of his constancy than Baptism did? If it be none, then such a ceremony is need-

less; if it be some benefit, how came it to pass that no Apostle ever used any such ceremony? and why do we not excogitate other ceremonies to admonish us as distinctly of other duties?

Mr. *Knewstubb*'s third question was, In case the Church had power to institute such a sign, how far such an Ordinance was to bind them without impeaching their Christian liberty?

The King charged him never more to speak to that point. And therefore I will not speak to it at all, but must needs say it was an odd question if it were so propounded as the Relator hath worded it.

Dr. *Reynolds* is again brought on the stage, p. 71. objecting the example of the Brazen Serpent stamp to powder, because the people abused it to Idolatry; wishing the Cross, because superstitiously abused, might be abandoned also.

To this the King is made to say, 1. If it were abused to Superstition in the time of Popery, that plainly implies, that it was well used before Popery. As if nothing had been abused by the Papists in Divine Worship, but what had been once well used. 2. That there is no resemblance between the Brazen Serpent, a material visible thing, and the sign of the Cross made in the air. As if a thing made in the air, might not be abused to superstition as well as a material visible thing. 3. That the Papists themselves did never ascribe
any

any power or spiritual grace to the sign of the Cross in Baptism. Whether they did or no, their Writings will best testifie. 4. The material Crosses, which in time of Popery were made for men to fall down before them, to worship, are removed, as they desired. Whereas most present at the Conference knew that in many places they were not removed.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of a Surplice, a kind of Garment which the Priests of *Isis* used to wear.

To which His Majesty answered *inter alia*, That if Heathens were commorant among us, so as they might take occasion to be strengthened or confirmed in *Paganism*, then there were just cause to suppress the wearing of it. A notable answer, and which the *Nonconformists* may do well to treasure up, as like to stand them in good stead in these controversies.

With my body I thee worship, is an old and odd phrase; and if it may not be altered, it must be explained, and then *Mumpsimus* may do as well as *Sumpsimus*.

The Ring in Marriage Dr. *Reynolds* approved, and the corner'd cap. Committing of Ecclesiastical censures unto Lay-chancellors, the King promised to take order to reform, p. 78. And Archbishop *Grindal's* prophesyings it is like enough His Majesty would not have disliked, if he had not misunderstood the design of them.

And

And now I would fain know whether what the Bishops got by this Conference, may not be put in a mans eye, and he never see the worfe. Dr. Reynolds got a great deal by it, viz. a new Translation of the Bible, such an explication of the use of the Cross, as (if the story be true) he did acquiesce in; a large addition concerning the Sacraments in the Church-catechism, &c. so that Dr. Heylin in his History of *Presbyterians*, quarrels with King James for giving any way to the Conference.

There is but one thing more I will concern my self to take notice of in Mr. *Scrivener's* Action against the New Schism; he desires to have one place in which *Presbyter* signifies a Lay-man, Though I think I could satisfie his desire in this, yet I find not my self on any account obliged so to do; for the *English Nonconformists* are not over-fond of Ruling-Elders; those Churches that retain such Officers, will not acknowledg them to be lay-men; nor indeed have they any reason to acknowledg them to be such. For why should Church-officers chosen by the Church, and commended to the grace of God by prayer, be called laicks? because they labour at some employment to keep themselves from being chargeable to the congregation? why then the Apostle *Paul* was for some part of his time a Laick, for he laboured. And in later times I could instance in men that for their Learning and Piety deserved to be Metropolitans, who yet were fain to preach and work.

It were to be wished, that many in *England* to whom the care of souls is committed, were permitted

mitted and enjoyned to follow some calling in the week-days, for by that means they would be less scandalous than now they are. Why should men that know not what it is to study, be forbidden to dig?

Are they Laicks, because they do not preach? Many we have in *England* who would think scorn to be termed Laicks, that never did preach, never had licence to preach.

Are they Laicks because they are not ordained by laying on of hands? It will be hard to prove that that ceremony is essential to make a man a Church-officer. 24

But yet Mr. *Scrivener* hath good leave to fall upon these Ruling-Elders, to bring them into any Court by a *Quo VVarranto*; and if he do chance to cast them, there be but few *Nonconformists* that will be at cost to bring the business to a new Trial. These Elders in some places are made the more pert, because of the multiplicity and variety of answers that the Prelatical give to those places of Scripture on which their divine institution is pretended to be built. It would tire an ordinary patience to reckon up the various expositions that are given of *1 Tim. 5. 17* *Sculdetus* censures the answers given by *Bilson*, another condemns the answer given by *Sculdetus*; others confute all the answers given by Mr. *Mede*. Among all that have written against Elders, whether unlearned or learned, I have not met with any that have satisfied me (yet I can satisfie my self) about this place. For those Churches that argue heartily for these Elders, do argue from the general word

word *πρεσβύτεροι*, from the two participles *προεσώ-
της*, and *κοπιῶντες*, from the two articles
οἱ, *οἱ*, from the two species or kinds of Elders,
from the two participles, two articles, two special
Elders divided and separated *διακριτικῶς* by the
discretive particle *μάλις α*. Let Mr. *Scrivener*
face this argument with some of the old answers,
and see what will come on it. And let him take
heed how he strikes at these Lay-Elders, as he will
call them, lest he wounds those among us known
by the name of Lay-chancellors. In the mean
time I beseech him to commune with his own
heart, and to consider with what spirit he writ
his books against *Daille* and the *English Non-
conformists*; by so doing he will be brought, I
doubt not, to take shame unto himself, and so
prevent the far greater shame of having his rail-
ings and calumnies laid open by others. *Quod erat
exorandum.*

F I N I S.

T H E

Non-Conformists

P L E A

F O R

P E A C E

IMPLEADED:

In Answer to several late Writings
of Mr. BAXTER and others, pretend-
ing to shew *Reasons for the sinfulness of
Conformity.*

By Thomas Long

*It is the Nature of Sin, especially Pride, to
be unreasonable, unpeaceable, and a troubler of the
Soul, the Church, and the World. Mr. Baxters
only Way of Concord, p. 152.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's
Head in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1680.

New Chapter No.

P. I. F. A.

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T H E
I N T R O D U C T I O N .

I Shall not be so troublesome to my Reader, as to lead him through all that dark and dirty Labyrinth, wherein Mr. *Baxter* hath lost himself; but pass directly to that part of his Late Writings, wherein he pretends (to do what he had long threatned) to give Reasons for the sinfulness of Conformity. In the Epistle to the Plea, he says, *many Impositions were layd on them which they durst not do, because they fear God, and that nothing less than Sin should hinder their Conformity: and p. 135. That they gave in Eight particulars to the Commissioners at the Savoy, which they took to be flat Sins, but had not time fully to discourse one of them, by which I guess, that kneeling at the Sacrament (for that was then discourf of) was one and the chief of those many hainous Sins in Conformity; what the other Seven were, I cannot find; but I believe he hath mentioned them in this Plea, though he be ashamed to call them Reasons, and says, he will not urge the case, but barely mention matters of Fact, and tell us what it is they dare not do.* And if we be so hardy as to bear this, we may (when he can get leave) have

more, P. 119. of the Plea; we do not here tell men, unless by the by, in stating some few questions, what it is that we account Good or Evil, much less do we here give the Reasons of our Cause; he dares not be so bold yet as to venture by it to displease us. But this Hypocrisie is so thin that the weakest Eye may look through it; for, whereas the Right Reverend and Learned Bishop of Ely, had told Mr. Baxter (as he confesseth in his Preface to the Late Book of Concord) that he would petition Authority that they (the Non-Conformists) might be compelled to give their Reasons; He there says, To answer the earnest demand of our Reasons, by you the Lord Bishop of Ely, I have published an Historical Narrative of our Case and Judgment in a Book called the Non-Conformists Plea for Peace. And if he may be believed, they are not only Mr. Baxters Reasons, but of many others; for p. 3. it is said, We that publish this here, give an account of our own Judgment, and those that we are best acquainted with; how far we hold it lawful or unlawful, to gather or to separate from Churches, or to differ from what is established by Authority. So that plainly that Book was published to answer the Bishop of Ely's demand of their Reasons for the Sinfulness of Conformity: But where is that allowance from Authority which he pretends to have so long waited for, and begged on his Knees? And where is that care not to displease, or provoke the Conformists by shewing the many heinous Sins in their Conformity, when without leave of God or Man, he not only endeavours to displease, but to ruine us? If any thing may be, this is worse than his Hypocrisie; it is meer distraction and rage, when our common adversaries the

the Papists are undermining our Foundations, and there wants but a blow to throw down the whole Fabrick of the best of Protestant Churches, for any one that bears the name of Protestant, thus to help on their Design, and justify it too; by declaring many heinous Sins in the Constitution of it, and to cry, down with it, down with it, even to the ground. But (God be thanked) his Malice is as Impotent as his Words; for after Eighteen years swelling and labouring, *parturiunt montes*, and there appears not so much as a *Mouse* to affright us: all vanisheth like the noise of Armies underground, wherewith his Predecessors amused the Nation; their long confinement hath made them so weak, or rather their weakness hath caused their so long confinement, that Mr. *Baxter* dares not call them *Reasons*, and I hope the Nation are sufficiently instructed how unreasonable it is to be affrighted, and run into confusion upon such empty noises as these. I have here considered only the Arguments which concern *Ministerial Conformity*, that of Lay-persons being consequent to it. And when the most Learned Non-conforming Ministers, have in former and latter times yielded Conformity to our publick Ordinances themselves, and by Example and Arguments too (for Mr. *Baxter* says, they wrote more against *Separation* than the Conformists themselves) wherein Mr. *Baxter* also hath done his part. And when I have reason to think the greatest part of the Non-Conforming Clergy are of the same mind; because I know how great an influence they have on the Consciences of their people, with whom they familiarly converse, and who especially advise them in what concerns their

common Cause; yet no person of any Note that I have heard of in all that party, who were in places of Trust, and publick Employment, did on the late Test refuse to Communicate with the Church of *England*. And lastly, when all our United strength is too little to withstand the attempts of our common Adversaries: It is a wonder to me, with what Confidence, and with what Design (these circumstances considered) he should not only Proclaim Conformity on the Ministers part to be impossible; but endeavour also with all his might, to withdraw the Laity from our Communion, unless it be to expose us all to Confusion again. But I hope the Nation have been sufficiently taught by experience, not to intrust the Conduct of their precious Souls, as well as the Safety of their Lives and Estates to such Giddy and Unstable Men. Especially when they shall consider on what frivolous pretences they still seek to perpetuate the distractions of Church and State, and now when we are in greatest danger, exert their utmost Art and Strength to divide and destroy us,

— *Pudet hæc opprobria vobis*

Et dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.

The Controversie concerning the sinfulness of Conformity will be reduced to a narrow compass, if there be an agreement in these particulars. First, what are the parts of the Book of *Common-Prayer*, to which we are to declare our Assent and Consent. Mr. *Baxter* contends that all things named as the Contents of the Book, are parts of that Book, to the use whereof we declare our Assent, &c.

p. 159. of the Plea. *There is not a word in the Book that was not intended for some use; the Preface, the Calender, and Rubrick have their uses: And p. 203. we have reason to doubt whether the Act for Conformity it self, be not a part of the Book which we must Subscribe, Assent and Consent to; because this Act is named among the Contents of the Book. Either (saith he) it is a part of the Contents or not. If not, we must not consent to that falshood that it is. If it is, O far be it from us that believe a God, a Judgment, a Life to come, and the sacred Scriptures, to Assent and Consent to that Act with all its penalties, silencing and ruining such as Conform not. Answ. The Act for Uniformity, naming the Book of Common-Prayer, always names that Book as distinct from it self, and as a thing annexed to it; and if the Parliament had injoynd the Use of some New Translation of the Bible, and prefixed their Act to that Translation, and required our Use of the same under penalties, our Assent to such an Act could not suppose the Act it self to be a part of the Canonical Books.*

Secondly, The design of the Act, in these words, *To the intent that every person may certainly know the Rule to which he is to Conform in Publick Worship, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, &c. be it Enacted, &c.* Plainly shews what are the parts to the use of which we are to declare our Assent, which particulars are Enumerated more than once; but not a word of the Act for Uniformity, or the Act 1. Eliz. which in the Contents is mentioned with it, whereof Mr. Baxter ought to be minded; for under the Contents of the Book, the First thing

mentioned is, *The Acts* (in the Plural) for *Uniformity of Common-Prayer*; whence I argue: If the Parliament intended that this last Act should be taken as a part of the *Common-Prayer Book*, because it is in the Contents; for the same Reason it may be thought they intended that other Act 1. *Eliz.* to be a part also, which were very unreasonable. For then we must subscribe our Assent to the use of *Two Common-Prayer Books*, viz. the Old and the New. 3. That Act of *Queen Elizabeth* explains what is meant by *Open* (or *Common*) *Prayer*. By *Open Prayer*, in and throughout this Act is meant that *Prayer*, which, is for others to come unto, or hear, either in common Churches or Chappels, or Oratories, commonly called the *Service of the Church*; and the intent of that Act was, that no Minister should refuse to Use the said *Common-Prayers*, and Administer the Sacraments in such Order and Form as they are mentioned in the said Book; or willfully or obstinately standing in the same, Use any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or manner of Celebrating the Lords Supper, &c. than is mentioned in the said Book. This Act was Printed probably to give Light to the other, and to shew that the same thing was formerly required of Ministers. And if the Conformists heretofore did not take that Act to be part of the *Common-Prayer Book*, then there is no reason why they should take the New Act to be a part of the New Book. 4. The Book of *Common-Prayer* was compleat before the Act was made; it was first presented to the King, who approving it offered it to the Parliament, who approved of it, and afterwards made their Act for Uniformity in the Use thereof. And whoever gathered the Contents of the Book, did no more intend

intend to have all things named therein to be parts of the Book, than they that set forth the Bible with Contents to the Chapters and Psalms, intended that we should take those Contents for Canonical Scripture. The Contents of *Ps. 149.* says; *the Prophet exhorteth to praise God for that Power which he hath given to the Church over the Consciences of Men.* But that is no part of the Text; neither the Acts, Prefaces, Rubricks, &c. which come not into Use in the Administration of Prayer, Sacraments, &c. any part of that Book to the Use whereof we give our Assent and Consent. This Act doth exclude the Use of any other Forms (when it enjoyns those prescribed in the Book for publick Worship) but it doth not include those previous Acts, Prefaces and Instructions, which only tend to justify and inforce the Use of the *Common-Prayer.* But *Mr. Baxters Dilemma*, may be answered to the advantage of Conformity, thus; Either the Acts for Uniformity, and the Prefaces, are parts of the Book, to which our Assent is required, or not: if not, then our Assent to them is not required; if they be, then our Assent will be more facile upon this account. First, because in that Preface concerning the Service of the Church, it is thus said; *for as much as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the Use and Practise of the same, to appease all such diversity (if any arise) and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the Parties that so doubt or diversly take any thing, shall always resort to the Bishop of the Diocess; who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same*
order

order be not contrary to any thing contained in this Book. And if the Bishop of the Diocess be in doubt, then he may send for Resolution thereof to the Arch-Bishop. Here is a way opened to such as think that the Acts, and Prefaces are to be Assented to, to clear their doubts to their satisfaction; the several Bishops within their Diocess have a Power by Law, to explain any doubts that may arise concerning the Use and Practise of Uniformity, and their determinations are declared to be as Valid as the Law it self: Now doubtless if sober Dissenters did consult their Diocesans, in such Cases as concern their Practise in the publick Worship, they might easily obtain satisfaction. Again, it is said in the Preface before the Liturgy; *We are fully perswaded in our Judgments, and we here profess it to the World, that the Book as it stood before established by Law, doth not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound Doctrin, or which a Godly Man may not with a good Conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same; if it be allowed such just and favourable Construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all humane Writings, especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the best Translations of the Holy Scripture it self.* If these Mitigations be admitted, a great many of the Objections made by Mr. Baxter and others would vanish. And if they be not admitted, Mr. Baxter himself will grant that they cannot safely subscribe this Assent, and Consent to all things contained in the Bible according to any Translation. But (says he) *if they might but say, we Assent to all things contained, that are not by humane frailty*

ilty mistaken, they would soon conform herein. See the Plea, p. 166. Now the Church of England declares here, and in the Preface to the Articles, 1564. that they prescribe not these Rules as Laws equivalent with the Word of God, and as of necessity to bind the Consciences of the Subjects in the Nature of them considered in themselves, but as Temporal Orders meerly Ecclesiastical, without any vain Superstition, and as Rules in some part of Discipline concerning Decency, Distinction and Order for the time. So that the Law leaving it to the Bishops to remove doubts, and explain difficulties; and the Preface desiring that things may be candidly and favorably interpreted; they are greatly to be blamed, who will take that with the Left which their Superiors offer with the Right-hand, and seek how to make that a Snare and a Net to intangle and ruine themselves, which was intended only as a means to keep the Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace.

Secondly, It is granted by the *Non-Conformists*, That the *Common-Prayer Book* as it is now amended, and abstracted from the Declarations and Subscriptions required by the Act for Uniformity, is better to be Assented to, than as it stood formerly. Yet evident it is that in the days of *Edward the 6.* when it was much more liable to exceptions, there being in it Prayer for the dead, Chrysome in Baptisme, extream Unction &c. (which it is supposed *Mr. Calvin* called *tolerabiles ineptias*) many Learned Men and Godly Martyrs did readily Conform to it: And in the days of *Queen Elizabeth*, *King James*, and *King Charles*, the Body of the Clergy (as Learned and Pious as any in the World)

to

to which the few *Non-Conformists* in each Age were no way comparable for Parts, Piety or Number, and at the beginning of the Wars, there were not in the Assembly, as Mr. *Baxter* observes, above Five or Six *Non-Conformists*. Now ever since the Confirmation of the Canons by King *James*, the 36 Canon enjoyned Subscription to the 39 Articles, and the Book of *Common-Prayer*; as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God, (which is one of the greatest Objections now) and this the Subscriber was to do, *lubens & ex animo*, which in *English* may be rendered with unfeigned Assent and Consent, and that he would use the same and no other. Who can think but that *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Davenant*, *Jewel*, *Whitgift*, the two *Abbots*, *Usher*, *Hall*, *Prideaux*, *Brownrigg*, Doctor *Jo. Reynolds*, *Preston*, *Moreton*, *Sibs*, *Fenner*, *Whately*; and many more named by Mr. *Baxter* himself, were both Pious and Learned Men, and subscribed according to judgment and Conscience. And if the Liturgy had not been accompanied by the Acts for Subscriptions, &c. it is Mr. *Baxters* opinion, that multitudes would have Conformed to it (though it were an ill sign of the readines of those Men to Conform to the whole, who when they were as Probationers on their good Behaviour, did not at His Majesties desire in his Declaration yield to the use of any part of it) so that it seems there is no such sinfulness in the Use of the Forms, &c. prescribed; the great quarrel is against the Parliament, for requiring such Subscriptions as they cannot consent to, because they fear God, p. 191. of the Plea. It is not the sense of the Liturgie, but of

a Statute of Parliament which we doubt of, saith Mr. Baxter. B

3. *Non-Conformists* grant, that it is better to submit to the practise of a doubtful small evil, than to forbear a necessary and great duty: especially when greater good than evil may be procured to our selves and others by such submission; there is no command against the Cross, Kneeling, Surplice, &c. nor is there any intrinsecal Turpitude in them, and therefore the practise of them may be submitted to, rather than to break the known Commandments of God for Obedience, Peace and Charity, and to suffer Deprivation when they conceive there is so great necessity, and there may be so much benefit to the Souls of the people, as well as to the peace of the Nation, by the exercise of their Ministry. u

Thirdly, let that Rule be observed which Mr. Baxter quoteth from Bishop *Sanderson*, p. 329. of the Plea: *We must take heed that the strict Interpretation (of words or things) turn not into a rigid one.* Many Men by mistake and wresting of other Mens words, do draw Blood from that which would have naturally yielded Milk or Food; we owe Candour to all Mens Writings, especially to those which are set forth by Authority, and most of all to publick Laws. In that particular of Promissory Oaths, these exceptions and conditions are ever of common right to be understood. 1. If God Permit. 2. Saving the right of others, and as far as is Lawful. 3. Things standing as they do, or in the same state. 4. As far as I am able, &c. See the Plea, p. 329. B

It is excellently said by Bishop *Sanderson*, that B
if

if our Lawful Superiours command us any thing whereof we have just cause to doubt, we may and ought to enquire into the Lawfulness thereof; yet not with such anxious curiosity, as if we desired a Loop-hole whereby to evade; but with such modest Ingenuity as may witness to God and the World, the unfeigned sincerity of our desires, both to fear God, and to honour them that are set over us. And if having used ordinary Moral diligence, *bonâ fide*, to inform our selves there appear nothing unlawful in it; We are then to submit and obey without more ado, Bishop *Sandersons judgement in one view*, p. 145. But evident it is that the *Non-Conformists*, who strain at every Gnat which they fancy to be in the commands of their Lawful Superiours, did glibly swallow down Camels in the impositions of Usurpers; the Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ingagement, and many other unlawful Impositions were generally taken without any Scruple.

A Fourth thing to be premised is, *That Practise is the best Expositour of the Law*: many Laws are worded so strictly, and enjoyned under such rigorous penalties, as may serve for greater terror to evil minded Men; they do (*iniquum petere ut quod æquum est ferant*) command and threaten what is very severe, that they may obtain what is just and equal. And the practice of our Superiours in the case of Conformity shews; that they intended the weightier matters of the Law, Obedience, Uniformity and Decency in the publick Worship. If there be no contempt of Authority, no neglect of the established Liturgy, by bringing in other Prayers in the room of those that are prescribed, *Lex*

non curat minima, neither the Law of God or Man is sollicitous about circumstances and the lesser punctilioes. There are in most Laws, some doubtful words and expressions which the practise of Law, and the Judges do interpret; some *Casus omitti*, which the practice doth admit, as in the present Law: it admits the Forms of Prayer and Praise on extraordinary occasions for Fasting and Thanksgiving. It admits of Singing the Psalms, as translated in Metre, and of other Forms of Prayers before and after Sermons. If the Law should be strictly executed according to the rigour of it, there are but few Men would go unpunished; God himself doth dispense with many things expressly enjoined for the performance of some more necessary duties: I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice; and St. Paul did Circumcise *Timothy* to avoid greater inconveniencies, when doubtless he had rather not have done it. And as we may do some things, so we may omit some other which are enjoined by Law, according to the exigency of circumstances; so it be done without bewraying contempt of Authority, or giving just occasion of scandal to others, Bishop *Sanderfon* p. 19. of Submission to Superiours.

The last thing that I shall premise is, that the Non-Conformists are not yet agreed, what that is in our Conformity which they think to be sinful: For what some think *unlawful*, others condemn only as inconvenient. One sticks at the Sign of the Cross, another at Kneeling at the Sacrament, a third at the Surplice, a fourth can submit to all these, but sticks at Re ordination, which different judgment of dissenters gives just cause to believe that

the freer way of praying from the present sense and habit of the speaker : It will appear to him that reads the *Troubles of Frankford*, that the Question was not between the *English* Liturgy, and such free Prayers which were not then publicly used : For *Calvin* himself used a Liturgy at *Geneva*, and a short Form before his Sermons, and sometimes that which we call Bidding of Prayers, as may be seen after his Sermons on *Job*, Printed in *English*. And Mr. *Calvin* thus relates the matter, p. 33. of his *Opuscula*. When the Exiles could not agree about the *English* Liturgy, they did by my Advice and Approbation, draw up another, Printed in the *English* Tongue 1556. wherein was a Confession taken out of *Daniel* the 9th. a Prayer for the whole Church, the Lords Prayer, the Creed, &c. the rest of this Section carrieth its Confutation with it. The 8. §. concerns the conformity of Lay-men, which falls under that of Ministerial Conformity, §. 9.

Where first of Assent, Consent and Subscription, nothing is contrary to Gods word, &c. This as Mr. *Baxter* observes is required by the 36. Canon, not by the Act or the Book it self. Now if we consider by what Men this hath been subscribed to ever since those Canons were Confirmed, and what Latitude the Church seems to allow us in making this Subscription, viz. If we shall allow it such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all humane Writings; especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the best Translation of the Holy Scripture it self (which as you have seen Mr. *Baxter* himself doth grant) they that Scruple

at this, may also refuse to subscribe any Articles, Confession of Faith, yea even the Apostles Creed. This therefore is already answered; and so is the next Objection, that the Subscriber will use *that Form in publick Prayer, &c. and none other*: For other occasional Forms for Prayer and Thanksgiving commended to us by authority, may be used without violating this Subscription, it being *Casus omissus*, the constant practice of the Church shewing that this exception was intended though not expressed, and that conceived Prayers before Sermons are not hereby forbidden, the general practice doth evince.

All Law-givers do leave to the Judges and Magistrates, a Power to interpret the doubtful Letter of the Law, and to mitigate the rigour of its Execution, in order to the publick good, and dispenseth with the Subjects (so be it they observe the chief end of the Law) in the omission of some circumstances on reasonable occasions, and unavoidable accidents, without which Justice would be turned into Wormwood. He therefore that presumeth of the Magistrates consent to dispense with the Observation of the lesser parts of the Law, on just occasions, and in needful cases, presumeth no more than he hath reason to do: And this Bishop *Sanderfon* groundeth on that Maxim, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*: All that is required by the Act, is unfeignedly to Assent and Consent, that there is such a measure of Truth and Goodness in the Book of Common-Prayer, as qualifies it for the publick Worship of God; which even they that pretend disorders and defects in it may do, in Obedience to Authority for the sake of
Peace,

Peace, Order and Charity, as well as for the continuing of themselves in the Ministry. And doubtless they may approve of the present Liturgy with all its defects, (which was compiled by the Holy and Learned Martyrs, and hath been reviewed and approved by many stout Confessors, as well as of their (so he calls his new Liturgy) *more correct Nepenthes*, which being done in haste, hath many Imperfections, or the Directory that had, nor Creed, nor Decalogue (both which leave Men to their own extemporary Conceptions:) And in a short time jostled out the Lords Prayer too.

The title of the Act, which is the Key that opens the sense and intention of the Law-givers, is an Act for Uniformity of publick Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies; so that if Uniformity be unfeignedly observed, the Act is satisfied, though the Conformist may wish that some things in the said Book had been amended. But some Men are so unhappy as to contrive Nets and Snares to involve themselves and others, and raise nice distinctions where the Law distinguisheth not. As do they, who say *Assent* implies the *Truth*, and *Consent* the *goodness* of the things; 2. And whereas the Act says to *all things*, they say it means *all words* and *expressions*. 3. Whereas it says to *the Use* of all things, they pretend it to be meant of those things that come not into Use; and 4. whereas it says, *in sensu composito*, all things contained and prescribed in, and by the Book, &c. they say it is extended to all things that are contained, as well as prescribed. Now to the First, the Phrase of *Assent* and *Consent*, being used by our Legislators, we must satisfie

our selves of the meaning of it, in the use of our Laws, where it signifies no more than an agreement between parties in grants and contracts, and is used where the parties agreeing, in some cases might wish that it had been otherwise; yet upon considerations may unfeignedly Assent and Consent to them, as is shewed at large by Mr. *Faukner*, p. 91. &c. 2ly. Whereas they extend it to every Phrase and Expression; the Act mentions only the things which it particularly enumerates, viz. all the *Prayers, Rites, Ceremonies, Forms and Orders.*

3. Whereas it says, to the Use of all things, they pretend it requires our Assent and Consent to such things as come not into Use, but are only occasionally mentioned; as when it is said in the Preface, "That this Book as it stood before established by Law, did not contain in it any thing which a godly man may not with a good Conscience use and submit to; which clause cannot be included in the Declaration, for then the things which were thought fit to be altered, must be still in some sort Assented to.

4. The Act mentioneth the things, to the Use whereof we are to Assent and Consent (*viz.*) *the things contained and prescribed, in and by the Book, &c.* It is not said contained in, or prescribed by; but three several times it is carefully expressed, as well before and after, as in the Declaration; so that it seems to require no more than is expressed in the second Declaration; *I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by Law established.* Nor can it be reasonably thought, that our Law-makers require more in
our

our Conformity to the present Liturgy, than they themselves declared concerning the Old; in these words, *We are perswaded in our judgments, and we profess it to the World, that the Book as it stood before established by Law, doth not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound Doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good Conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same, if it shall be allowed such just and favourable Construction, as in common equity ought to be allowed to all humane Writings; especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the very best Translations of the Holy Scripture it self.* Now if Dissenters would use this Candor, in judging of those things prescribed to be used for Uniformity sake, they might no doubt declare their unfeigned Assent and Consent unto them. But Mr. Baxter puts all out of doubt, that the Act requires more than a bare Assent to the Use of the Common-Prayers, &c. “ Because the
 “ House of Lords added to another Bill, which
 “ was brought into their House, a *Proviso*, that
 “ the Declaration should be understood, but as obliging men to the use of it; and the House of
 “ Commons refusing at a conference about it, they
 “ gave in such reasons against that Sense and *Pro-*
 “ *viso* to the Lords, upon which they did ac-
 “ quiesce and cast it out. If so, the Bishops in
 the House of Lords were more your friends than the Commons. 2. It is fit we should unfeignedly approve of those Services which we offer to Almighty God, and not barely submit to them as to burdens. 3. Much less, if our judgments tell us they are sinful; or, 4. To use them as the *Pha-*

rises did their Prayers for mischievous designs.
 5. The Papists are not the only men that have their Emissaries, who serve themselves into such Assemblies as they approve not of; that they may have better opportunities to prepare the Minds of men for, and to serve the occasions of doing mischief.

These, and some other such might be the weighty Considerations which *Mr. Calamy* said, prevailed with him and many of his Brethren, for their so late laying down the Common-Prayer; and for these reasons, many would still yield a feigned and partial submission to the use of some parts of it, that they might have advantages to destroy the whole: And certain it is, that such Conformists draw more prejudices on the Church, than the Non-Conformists can do. There was therefore great reason for all this Caution, that men might not mock God, nor delude their Superiours in things that concerned his publick Worship, and his Churches peace. And I fear that they who cannot serve God unfeignedly in the Communion of our Church, will do it but hypocritically any where else.

And lastly, I have heard concerning the pretended *Proviso* that the Commons answered; that they had expressed the Obligation, to be only to the use of things prescribed so plainly, that it needed no further explanation, with which the Lords were satisfied.

I conclude this with a Direction of *Mr. Baxter*, §. 27. of his Directory. *If any impose an ambiguous Oath, and refuse to explain it, and require you only to*
take

take it in those words, and leave you to your own sense: If a lawful Magistrate command it, or the interest of the Church or State require it; I see not but he may take it on Condition, that in the plain and proper sense of the words, the Oath be lawful, and that he openly profess to take it in that sense. And Q. 152. he determines, that it is lawful to profess or subscribe our Assent and Consent to humane Writings, which we judge to be true and good, according to its measure of Truth and Goodness; as if Church-confessions that are sound, be offered for our consent; we may say or subscribe, I hold all the Doctrine in this Book to be true and good. And this he cannot deny of the things prescribed to be used by the Liturgy. And if as Mr. Baxter says, the presence of Godfathers, who hear the Charge concerning the Education of Children, implies their consent: So doth the presence of such as come to our Congregations to Worship God according to the Liturgy, imply their Assent and Consent to the same. This is a real, and that which is required, is but a verbal Declaration of our Assent; So much of Assent, &c. in general.

P. 160. Mr. Baxter insists upon some particulars, unto which the Non-Conformists cannot give their Assent: The first is, the Rules given (in the Rubrick) to know when the moveable Feasts, and Holy-days begin. Where it is said, that *Easter-day* on which the rest depend, is always the first *Sunday* after the first Full Moon, which happens next after the 21. of *March*. To which I answer, that this being a general Rule, it may be allowed to have some exception. 2. The *Rubrick* doth not say, a Rule, but Rules, in the Plural. Now,

though this Rule be defective, yet Mr. Baxter grants there is another subjoyned, which is more perfect, and the practice of the Church guides us in following that Rule which is perfect. So that where the first Rule fails, the defect is to be supplied by the second: And then the defect never coming into practice, our Assent to it is not required, being limited to the Use of things only. And Mr. Baxter might have as well objected against the Almanack, which says, *February hath 28. days*, when as it is afterward intimated, it hath *sometimes 29. days*. So that this Objection is frivolous, and serves only to shew that the Non-Conformists find great want of more substantial reasons against Conformity, while they catch at such Shadows as this.

P. 162. *We Assent to approve of, and Consent to these words in the Preface; We are fully perswaded in our Judgments, and we here profess it to the World, that the Book as it stood before established by Law, doth not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, &c.* Where Mr. Baxter omits those Proviso's, which in his own Judgment (as hath been shewed) would make such a Profession lawful, viz. *If it be allowed such just and favourable Construction, as in common equity ought to be allowed to all humane Writings; especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the very best Translation of the Holy Scripture it self.* This is not candidly done.

But Mr. Baxter is guilty of another wilful mistake in this particular, greater than the former, when he says, we Assent and Consent, and approve of these words in the Preface; whereas he
well

well knows our Assent to the words there mentioned is not required nor could be intended; for it is only a profession of our Superiours that were then in Being, what their Judgment and Belief was concerning the Old Common-Prayer Book, and if we think charitably of them as we ought to do, (that they meant as they spake) this is all that is required of the Subscribers to Assent unto, if the Preface come under the Act for Conformity. And therefore to say no worse, Mr. Baxter very inconsiderately says, p. 164. *These things we must approve in the foresaid approbation of all things in the Old Common-Prayer Book.*

3. Mr. Baxter doth very ill to recount those mistranslations in the Old Book, which are amended in the New Book of Common-Prayer, whereby our Assent to it is much more facile, though (under the Proviso's before mentioned) as our Superiours thought them defensible. So many pious men (in the account of all the Non-Conformists) did subscribe unto the Old Book, as containing nothing contrary to the word of God. And when our Assent, &c. is required only to the New Book; as it stands amended, there is no fear of our being required to Assent to the Old Book and its Imperfections; which yet Mr. Baxter insinuates as if it were included under this Declaration in the Preface, and did concern the present Conformists, which Mr. Baxter knows to be false, and contrary to the end of such alterations, as well as to the meaning of that profession in the Preface. As to that Translation of Ps. 105. 28. which in our present Liturgy is, *They were not obedient to his Word*; and in the New
Transla-

Translation, *They rebelled not against his Word*; which Mr. Baxter says are clear contrary: It will not appear to be so, if it be considered that in the Translation used in the Liturgy, which is according to the *Septuagint*, the *Arabick*, *Syriack*, *Ethiopic*, and many *Latine* Copies; the *Psalmist* is understood to speak of the *Egyptians*, who, notwithstanding the wonders done upon them, *were not obedient to the Word of God*, whereas others understanding the Verb to refer to *Moses* and *Aaron*, or as *Junius* and *Tremelius* understand it, to the *Signs* and *Wonders* which God commanded against the *Egyptians*, Translate it, *they rebelled not against his Word*; both which Interpretations are true and agreeable to the History, and therefore (if Mr. Baxter could have given them a favourable construction, as was desired by his Superiours) he would not have said they were clearly contrary. The same answers may serve to the exception against the Collects of the Old Book, which for several days together used the words *this day*, which is now altered in the New Book into *this time*, which is the same with *day* in a large sense. But little reason have they to object against any Words or Phrases used in our Liturgy; who are still fond of Singing Psalms according to the Translation of *Sternbold* and *Hopkins*, far more defective than any in the Liturgy.

The next Objection is concerning the reading of some part of the *Apocrypha*, concerning which, I answer in general; that the Church hath sufficiently distinguished in her Articles and Homilies, as well as in the Liturgy it self, between the *Canonical* and *Apocryphal* Books. 2. The times when the

the *Apocrypha* Lessons are to be read, are known by the *Calender* to be between *Sept.* 28. to *Novemb.* 24. 3. This is to be read only on the *Week days*, not on *Sundays*. 4. It is granted by *Mr. Baxter* that the fonder Books may be read. 5. The 5 *Chap.* of *Tobit*, and that part of the 46 *Chap.* of *Eccles.* which speaks of *Samuels* Prophecy after his death are omitted. 6. The Non-Conformists think there is Liberty granted in the Preface, to the Second Book of Homilies to change some Lessons. But it is still Objected, that by reading of these, the Scripture is for that time excluded. *Answ.* This is ill urged by those Non-Conformists, who for many years together, omitted the Reading either of Psalms or other Scriptures in their publick, as well as private meetings, contenting themselves with a Singing Psalm, and an Harangue of Extemporary Prayer and Preaching. 2. Many ancient Fathers have taken pains to Translate and Expound them, and commend them as containing many useful Moral Instructions. *Ireneus*, *Tertullian* and others cite *Bel* and the *Dragon* as an Example for Martyrdom. *Origen* defended the History of *Susanna*. So did *St. Herom*, who also propounded the History of *Judith*, as an instance of Love and Courage on behalf of our Country, which may serve as an Answer to that other Objection, that many of our Divines account them fabulous, and to contain many untruths. And so we say still, if we take in all the *Apocrypha* Writings, but deny it of those that are retained by our Church; against which *Mr. Baxter* excepts. 1. That the intrails of a Fish are said to drive away Devils, and keep

keep them from returning, whereas Christ saith, this kind goeth not out but by Fasting and Prayer.

Answ. This saying of our Saviour concerning one kind, doth not exclude the use of other means joyned with Prayer and Fasting, as for ought we know was here done; for the ejecting of such evil Spirits; as affected the parties possessed with Bodily Diseases and Infirmities, of which many instances may be given.

And why should we so limit the goodness and Power of God, as to think that if he sent an Holy Angel for the Preservation of a good Man, (which he often did before the coming of Christ) he could not bless any *means* for the effecting of a good end. The next passage excepted against by Mr. *Baxter*, is that, where the Angel says, that he was the Son of *Ananias* of the Tribe of *Nephthali*: Whereas the Scripture frequently calls Angels by the name of such *Men* as they represent, *Gen. 19.12*. The Angels sent down to *Sodom* are called *Men*; the Angels that appeared at the Ascension are called *Men* in white Apparel; besides, these names were assumed as significative of the end wherefore the Angel was sent: *Azarias* signifying the help of God, and *Ananias* the Grace and Favour of God. But it is farther Objected, that it is not appointed that the Priest shall tell the People that those Lessons are Apocryphal, or what that word signifyeth. *Answ.* Neither is it denied them to inform the People, as oft as such Lessons are to be read. And lastly, Mr. *Baxter* thinks that the chief doubt is, whether the Calsender appointing those Lessons may be consented to; which upon supposition that those Lessons contain

contain nothing contrary to Gods Word or sound Doctrine, may undoubtedly be done, especially in case of Deprivation. Mr. *Baxter* resolves the case thus: p. 191. " That the Apocrypha is no part
 " of the Book to which we must Profess, Assent,
 " Approbation and Consent, nor to which by
 " the Canon we must, *ex animo* subscribe, that
 " there is nothing in it contrary to the Word of
 " God.

P. 167. Mr. *Baxter* resumes the business of God-fathers against which he multiplyeth words rather than objections; as 1. That no Parent is permitted to be Godfather to his own Child, or to speak at his Baptism, or Dedicate him, or promise in his name, or to undertake any part of his Education. All which is frivolous, for the God-fathers are to be Sureties, for the credibility of the Parent as well as for the Child, and so the word Surety implyes that the Parent is the principal; and who ever thought the Church intended to *exclude* the Parents Duty, to which the Law of God and Nature bind him, and from which nothing but death can excuse him? Nor did ever any good Man think that his procuring of God-fathers, did supersede his duty towards his Child, but that it was his duty more especially to do what they promised in behalf of the Parents. And though it be not expressed, that the Godfather is the Parents Representative; yet the contrary is not implied, as Mr. *Baxter* says, because (as he there says) the Parents are to procure the Godfathers, and how can Mr. *Baxter* tell whether he bespeaks him to be his Representative or not? *Calvin* advised the Parent to bring his Sureties
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with him, *Epist.* 302. And that they should answer to the Interrogatories which was the practice at *Geneva*, and by *Beza* approved in the Church of *England*, *Quis damnare aufit?* *Epist.* the 8. to *Grindal*.

As to his demand, whether it be not enough that the Baptized Infant be the Child of a Believing Parent? I answer, the Church thinks it sufficient in the case of private Baptism, where no more is required; yet the Church may require witnesses, that the Parent is such a one, under which notion they do represent him; and for the better Assurance, the Church requires that the Godfathers themselves be such as have received the Holy Communion, *i. e.* in the Language of the Primitive Church, that they be *fideles*.

But he makes another Query, whether the Godfathers Act be truly the Childs in Gods account? *Answ.* That Infants may be engaged in a Covenant with God, cannot be denied. They were entred into a Covenant by Circumcision, under the Law, *Deut.* 29. 11. 12. And for this reason, our Children may be called *Holy*, as entred to a Covenant with God, and receiving the Priviledges of Baptism, and fit it is they should be early obliged to the Duties of the Covenant. And being not capable to do this of themselves, it is requisite that some others should do it on their behalf, with that solemnity which becomes so great an Ordinance. *Buxtorf.* mentions a *Susceptor* at the Circumcision of Infants under the Law. And many Divines think that Custom was practised from, *Isa.* 8. 2. 3. of which see the Notes of *Junius* and *Tremelius*, in *Locum*.

Mr. Calvin

Mr. Calvin to Knox, Epist. 285. I confess that Stipulation is necessary, for nothing is more preposterous than that those should be ingrafted into Christs Body, whom we may not hope to be his Disciples; wherefore if none of the Kindred appear, that may give his Faith to the Church, and take charge of Teaching the Child; it is but a Luforious Action, and the Baptism is defiled.

Tertullian among the Ancients, speaks of Sureties for Children at Baptism, and of the Three Interrogatories concerning their Belief of the Creed, Renouncing the Devil, and the Christian-Warfare, and some think there is an Intimation of the same, in the 1 Pet. 3. 21. *St. Cyprian*, *St. August.* and many others mention the same. The Reformed Churches have owned this Practise: The *Bohemian*, *Geneva*, *Dutch*, *French*, and many able Divines have defended it. And it is resolved by them that the words, *I Believe, I Renounce, &c.* being a Form of words to express the contract, do oblige the Infant, which was anciently done, *alio protestante*, and therefore the question being asked of the Godfather in the Childs behalf; *dost thou Believe and Renounce, and wilt thou be Baptized?* It is plain that the answer also is in the Childs name, and the Catechism says, Infants are Baptized, because they *Promise Faith and Repentance by their Sureties*. Now if Children may be ingaged, and there be no way of doing it, but by some others on their behalf, seeing this way of Godfathers hath been used by the Churches of God; who can doubt but that their Act may truly be accepted of God as the Act of the Child,

Child? and when we grant that the Parent joyns in the same Act with the Godfathers, whom he procures, and may bring with him and signify his Consent, and receive the Charge, which though it bind the Godfathers to do their honest endeavour, yet it is more especially incumbent on the Parent; I see no reason but we may Assent to this.

And thus, the 9. Object. that Ministers must Assent to all this Exclusion of the Parents, and Presentation, Profession, Promise, and undertaking of the Godfathers is answered. All this Exclusion is none at all, the Liturgy says nothing of it, the Canon says only he shall not be urged to be present, and the Reason is supposed; because in time the ancient Use of Godfathers would be laid aside, which all Protestant Churches have carefully continued.

P. 169. Mr. Baxter excepts against the Rubrick which says, *It is certain by Gods Word, that Children which are Baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.* Answ. 1. This being a Rubrick, and never coming to Use in the publick Worship; it cannot reasonably be thought to be imposed as an Article of Faith on others; but only as the Judgment of our Superiours, with whom, for ought I perceive, Mr. Baxter is more offended than with that Doctrine: For p. 172. N. 12. When young unstudied Men (as he calls those of the Convocation, who declare this Opinion, p. 172. N. 12.) “ have in this
“ point attained to an undoubted certainty, which
“ their wiser Seniors cannot attain, it behoveth
“ them to convince us of the Truth of their In-
piration

"spiration or special Indowments, either by a proportionable excellency above us in other things; or by some Miracles or Testimonies from Heaven. Thus did such wiser Seniors in our Saviours time require a Sign from Heaven, for Confirmation of his Doctrin, though he taught nothing but what was Consonant to the Law and the Prophets. He is angry with them for not Citing one word of God in the *Rubrick* to shew this certainty: Whereas had Mr. *Baxter* been employed in such a work, he could have quoted an Hundred at least, *viz.* all those places which speak of Baptisme for remission of Sins, of Ingrafting and Burying with Christ, of being Baptized into one Body, by one Spirit and the like, *Acts* 2. 37. *Acts* 22. 16. *Rom.* 4. 11. *1 Cor.* 1. 15. *1 Cor.* 12. 13. *Gal.* 3. 27. *Eph.* 5. 26. *Col.* 2. 12. *Titus* 3. 5. *Rom.* 6. 3. *1 Pet.* 3. 21. All and each of which are as plain Scripture-Proofs of the Salvation of Baptized Infants, as any that he produceth for their Baptisme; yet he calls it clear Scripture Proof.

Mr. *Baxter* is the first that hath accused the Church of *England* of Instituting a second Covenant of Grace. But, how impertinently, will appear from the distinction (which he mentioneth) of a Sacrament out of the Church Catechisme, *viz.* *An outward and visible Sign, of an inward and Spiritual Grace, given to us, Ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.* But First, here is no intimation of any *inward or Spiritual Grace*, given to us by this outward Sign. Nor Secondly, is it pretended that the Cross is *Ordained by Christ himself*; much less that it is *a means whereby we receive*

ceive that Grace. Or, 4. *A Pledge to Assure us thereof.* And therefore Mr. Baxter doth not well to question, whether the Cross be not made a Sacrament of the Covenant of Grace, or so very near it as to have the greatest part of that Sacramental Nature, when no one part of the definition agreeth with it. And it is confessed by Mr. Baxter, that the Liturgy useth not the Cross as a part of Baptisme, but as a thing added after it; and therefore not as Mr. Baxter says, *even in our Covenanting with God*; for that Stipulation on the Childs part is past before: All that is mentioned in the Office of Baptisme is, that the Child is Signed with the Sign of the Cross, *in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed, &c.* So that it puts such as have been formerly Baptized, in mind of that Duty which is incumbent on them, and to be a witness to every one of the Engagements that lay on him. And that the Cross may be thus used, will follow from Mr. Baxters Concession, in the Third part of his *Christian Directory*. Q. 113. Where he allows of the Use of the Cross before *Heathens*, as a signification that we are not ashamed of a Crucified Saviour: Now, if this Use of the Cross be forbidden by the second Commandment as a Transient Image; or if it be a Sacrament of the Covenant of Grace, it is so when used at other times as well as after the Sacrament of Baptism. The time or the place wherein it is used doth not alter the nature of the thing. If therefore he grants such a Use of the Cross, as St. *August. de Civitate Dei*, and other Antients mention, as in open Indication to Heathens, that we are not ashamed of a Crucified Christ; and in
civil

civil Uses also, it may be as innocently used after Baptism, to the same end. And it may be observed, that in Administring the Sacrament of Baptism, it is said by the Priest, *I Baptize thee, &c.* where he acts as Gods Minister, but in the Admission of the Child, as a Member of the Congregation it is said, *We receive this Child*, which cannot be thought any part of that Sacrament. But let us hear how Mr. Baxter resolves the Question, 49. p. 123. of Direct. *May one Offer his Child to be Baptized with the Sign of the Cross, or the Use of Chrysm, the white Garment, Milk and Honey, or Exorcisme (as among the Lutherans) who taketh these to be unlawful things? Answ. When he cannot lawfully have better, he may and must Offer his Child to them that will so Baptize him, rather than to worse, or not at all; because Baptism is Gods Ordinance, and the Childs privilege, and the Sin is the Ministers and not his.* Another Mans sinful Mode, will not justify the neglect of our Duty; else we might not joyn in Prayer or Sacraments, in which the Minister modally singneth, that is with none. — The Parent may make known in such Cases, that it is Baptism he desireth, and that he disalloweth the manner, which he accounteth sinful, and then he is no consentor to it. But where the Law, or Scandal, or greater Inconveniencies forbid him, he is not to make his Profession openly in the Congregation; but in that prudent manner which heseemeth a sober peaceable Person, whether the Minister in private, or to his neighbours in Converse. Now when Mr. Baxter grants a Man may thus Offer his Child to Baptism, where he supposeth many unlawful things are Administred; he

doth very ill to amuse the Laity with the bare Sign of the Cross.

Yet I think if we take in the Doctrine and Practice of the Church, I may declare that it is certain by Gods Word, that Children ought to be Baptized: And it is observable that the Salvation of Baptized Infants dying, &c. was as generally Believed, as their right to Baptisme. The Council of *Milevis*, which was Confirmed by the Sixth general Council, delivers this not only as their own Opinion, but as a Rule of the Catholick Church, C. 2. And St. *August. De Peccat. & Mer. l. 3. c. 5.* says, That of Old, the whole Church did firmly hold that Children do obtain Remission of Original Sin by the Baptism of Christ; it would be tedious to quote the authority of the Fathers, who generally hold that the guilt contracted by the First *Adam*, is done away in Baptism, which Ingrafts us into the Second *Adam*. This was the Doctrine of our Church ever since the Reformation, agreeing with the *Augustan, Saxon, Helvetick, Palatine, French and Scottish* Confessions. So that generally all that Assent to the Protestant Doctrine, do Assent to the Truth of this Rubrick, and seeing it is certain by the Word of God, that Baptism was Instituted for the Remission of Sins, and to be a Seal of the Covenant of Grace; seeing it is certain by the Word of God, as Mr. *Baxter* Asserts, that Infants have a right to Baptism; I see no cause why Mr. *Baxter* may not Assent to this Rubrick.

Our Wiser Seniors ought to deal so candidly with young and unstudied Divines, as to Interpret a Rubrick occasionally delivered by them agreeably

greeably to those other places, wherein this Doctrine of the Church to which they had formerly subscribed, is purposely handled and explained; now, Article 25. concerning the Sacraments, the Church holds, "That in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome Effect and Operation. And Article 27. *Those who receive Baptism rightly, are thereby, as by an Instrument, Grafted into the Church, and obtain Remission of Sins.* Now as this may probably be the meaning of the Rubrick; so it is the sense of all sober Protestants, that all such Infants as are duly Baptized, are admitted into the Covenant of Grace, and are in a State of Salvation. And this the Church of God hath alway taught, that none shall perish for the Imputation of the Sin of the First *Adam*, that are Baptized into the second *Adam*; and unless Infants that dye shortly after their Baptism have this benefit by it, we may turn *Anabaptists*, and deny it to them without any Injury.

But it is objected that neither Rubrick, nor Canon, except from Baptisme and certainty of Salvation, any Children of Turks, Infidels, &c. *Answ.* Mr. Baxter grants that as under the Old Testament, *Abraham* might cause the Children born in his House, or bought with his Money to be Circumcised; so Christian Proprietors may by themselves, or other Godfathers, Offer such Children to Baptism, and the benefits thereof. And *Fulgentius de Vera præd. l. 1. c. 12.* says, that if such Infants die soon after Baptism, they are heirs of God, and Co-heirs with Christ. *Favores sunt ampliandi.*

P. 174. It is Objected, that the Ministers sub-

scribing to use no other Form in the Administration of the Sacraments, than what is enjoyned by the Book of Common-Prayer, the Non-Conformists cannot Assent to it, lest they should refuse from Baptism the Children of true Christians, who will not procure Godfathers, nor submit to the Sign of the Cross; for *the Priest consenteth*, saith Mr. Baxter, p. 177. *Not to Baptize them, who dare not receive it with the Use of the Cross and Godfathers.* Answ. That as the Practice of our Church in one case of necessity, when Children are like to dye, shews that they approve of Baptism, without either Godfathers or the Sign of the Cross; so it argues that they do approve of it in other cases, where no contempt or scandal doth appear, (as where Godfathers may not be had, and it may be dangerous to use the Cross as in the late times of confusion) and those persons have a very low esteem of the necessity and benefit of the Sacraments, as do withdraw themselves and their Children from them, meerly on a Ceremony used in the Administration.

But the great fear of the Non-Conformists is, lest this Use of the Cross be a second Sacrament of the Covenant of Grace made by Man, added to Baptism, — and the rather because it is the Use of an Image, though transient in Gods Worship, and to such high ends, p. 180. n. 5. and the question here, is whether the Cross be not here made (not only a Sacrament in a larger Sense, as Ordination and Matrimony may be called Sacraments, but even) a Sacrament of the Covenant of Grace. Answ. I perceive Mr. Baxter is none of the young un-
studied

“ studied Divines in raising Scruples and Con-
 “ troversie, which he hath as well multiply-
 “ ed in number, as aggravated in the nature of
 “ them.

It is yet a vainer Cavil which Mr. *Baxter* hath against those Words in the Exhortation before the Communion; *That no Man should come to the Holy Communion without a full Trust in Gods Mercy, and with a quiet Conscience*: Any Man that shall read the whole Period, will find this to be the sense of it; that because it is the duty of every one to come to that Holy Sacrament with a full Trust in Gods Mercy, and a quiet Conscience; Therefore such whose fears are great, and their Faith but weak, whereby they might be hindered from not Communicating at all, or not with comfort; should consult their own, or some other able Pastor for satisfying their doubts, removing their fears, and strengthening their Faith in such a measure, as that they may receive it for the better, and not for the worse. If a serious Christian should complain to Mr. *Baxter* of the weakness of his Faith, and some troubles of Mind, I doubt not but that after Ghostly Counsel and Instruction, he would advise the same method, *viz.* to frequent the Holy Communion for the increase of his comfort, and strengthening of his Faith. Suppose the case stood thus, That one who is afraid of Communicating with such as he thinks to be wicked Persons, or to receive the Sacrament kneeling, should consult with Mr. *Baxter*, whether he may Communicate according to the Order prescribed in the Liturgy: I am much deceived if Mr. *Baxter* could not give him sufficient reason to lay aside those doubts,

and rather than to neglect that Ordinance, to submit to the Orders of the Church, and receive that Sacrament kneeling, and if it be no Sin to receive it, it is none to give it to one that kneels; nor is it any way inconvenient for scrupulous persons to seek Resolution and Consolation from some able Minister of the Church.

P. 184. N. 15. Mr. *Baxter* observes, that by the Liturgy every Parishioner is to Communicate twice a year; the Rubrick says three times in the year, whereof *Easter* is to be one. As for the compelling Men so to do, that is, as he observes, by Statute, and therefore it concerns not the Conforming Ministers; so that this will not amount to what Mr. *Baxter* reports, as if it were the Voice of the Minister. — *Receive the Sacrament, or lye in Goal.* But Mr. *Baxter* ought to have understood this Rubrick, *cum grano Salis*, if he had so much left; for it could not be strictly understood of every Parishioner, but only of such as should be judged fit and duly qualified; not to every Child, or ignorant Person, seeing it directs that such as are admitted to that Sacrament, should be able to give an account of the *Catechism*, and be actually *Confirmed*, or desirous of Confirmation.

And the Curate is to have notice at least the day before who intend to Communicate, and if any of them be a *notorious evil-liver*, or have done any wrong to his Neighbour by Word or Deed, whereby the Congregation is offended, or if the Curate perceive any to live in malice and hatred, he may not only admonish them to forbear the Lords Table, but not suffer them to be partakers thereof, till he know them to be reconciled.

But

But into what deplorable times are we fallen, that our highest *Priviledge* should be accounted a great *Grievance*, and when all things are prepared and we are *Invited in the Name of Christ* to come to his Supper, we do rather choose Imprisonment and Goals, rather than the Table of the Lord? The First Christians made this Sacrament their *Daily-Bread*, which Devout Practice was continued for many years, till as Devotion waxed colder, they Communicated only once a *Week*, or on *Sundays* and *Holydays* at most; at last they came to once a *Year*, until it was Decreed by some Councils, that they should receive *at least three times*. By the Liturgy of *Edward the VI.* the *Clergy in Collegiate Churches* and *Cathedrals* were to receive *Daily*; and by the present Liturgy every *Sunday*. But that Heavenly Ordinance, which the Primitive Christians begged on their Knees, and which is a most excellent means to Unite us to Christ, and to one another, is despised and made a ground of Strife and Division. And when, notwithstanding the pious Provision made by the Church to qualify its Members for a due and *frequent Participation* of that Blessing; and the Penalties provided by Law for such as neglect this duty, there is so miserable a neglect of it; we may justly fear, that if these methods be disused, we shall return to the practice of the late times of Reformation, where that Sacred Ordinance was in very many Parishes wholly neglected for some years together.

P. 187. Mr. *Baxter* excepts against those words in the Office for Burial. *Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, to take to himself the Soul of our*
Dear

Dear Brother here departed. Which he takes in a strict sense, as implying the Salvation of the Deceased; when it may be understood only in a larger sense; that as the Body returns to the Earth, so doth the Soul return to God that gave it to be by him disposed of. And therefore the Church says only of the Soul, that it is here departed, that is, gone from the Body unto God the Judge of all Men; and when at the Interring of the Body, it is said, *In hope of the Resurrection to Eternal Life;* it is not said particularly of his Resurrection, but more generally that there shall be a Resurrection of our Bodies to Eternal Life in the sense as it is taken by Expositors of the Creed; that there shall be a Resurrection of our Bodies to Eternal Life; when they that have done well come forth to the Resurrection of the Just; and they that have done evil to Condemnation.

Of this as we express a *sure and certain hope* for our selves, and all that do depart in the true Faith; so, when we apply it particularly to the party Deceased, we say only our hope is that he *resteth in Christ.* And Christian Charity teacheth us to *hope* the best of all that dye in the Communion of the Church. For as those that dye Excommunicate, the Office of Burial is denied to them; And seeing Mr. *Baxter* pleads, that some upright Christians in Phrensies, Melancholies and Distractions make away themselves, of whom he would have us to entertain this hope: It would puzzle a more charitable Man than he, to resolve of any particular Man that dyeth in the Communion of the Church, that there is no hope of his Salvation; and it is better to err on the right hand

hand in Judging Charitably, than through Pride or Malice to condemn a Brother; our Saviour forbidding us to Judge that we be not Judged.

His next Exception is against these Words, *We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother, out of the miseries of this sinful World.* Now it being certain to us, that Death doth put an end to a State of Sin and Misery, to which all are subject in this Life; we ought doubtless to give God thanks for that which we know to be a Mercy, and to leave the Final Determination of his Soul, (which is a secret unto us) to God. There was no Sin in *Jobs blessing the Name of the Lord*; when by a severe Providence he took away his Children amidst their Mirth, not in another passage which is used also in this Office, and spoken by the Apostle concerning the *Corinthians*: *Thanks be to God who hath given us the Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ*; and when we see our Friends and Relations peaceably departed; we may bless God for his Mercy, in delivering them from the evils which they suffered; and hope that he hath given them rest in Christ; and we do but our duty to God, and shew our Charity to our Brother in so doing.

P. 190. The Surplice is accounted by some *Non-Conformists* to be unlawful, and therefore they cannot Assent to the Use of it: For which no reason is given, only Mr. *Baxter* says, "If a Man
"mistakingly should take the Use of the Surplice
"to be sinful, he should not therefore be silenced.
"Answ. If he do mistake, he ought to do it modestly, suspecting his own Judgment which he
"will find to be contrary to that liberty which
"Christ

“ Christ hath purchased for us, that to the pure
 “ all things are pure, and contrary to the Practice
 “ of Primitive times, wherein the *White Garment*
 “ was in Use, by the Testimonies of St. *Hierom*,
 “ *Chrysoftome* and *Augustine*, contrary to the
 “ Judgment of the most Learned Protestants, and
 “ of Mr. *Baxter* himself. In his Five Disputations,
 “ p. 409. *Some decent habit is necessary, the Magi-*
 “ *strate, Ministers, or Associated Pastors, must deter-*
 “ *mine what — if they tye all to one Habit (and sup-*
 “ *pose it were an indecent habit) yet this is but an*
 “ *imprudent Use of Power, it is a thing within*
 “ *the Magistrates reach, he doth not an Aliene*
 “ *Work, but his own Work amiss. And therefore*
 “ *the thing in it self being lawful, I would Obey*
 “ *him, and use that Garment if I could not be dispen-*
 “ *sed with. Yea, though secundarily the whiteness be*
 “ *to signify purity, and so it be made a Teaching Sign,*
 “ *yet would I obey.* Now if any Man against all
 this Authority and Arguments of Mr. *Baxter* and
 others, should still think the Surplice unlawful, it
 is better that he should be silenced, than the
 Churches Peace and Order be disturbed, or An-
 cient Laws abrog: t.d, as oft as some (mistaking)
 think them unlawful; it is disobedience which
 the Church doth censure, and the Law punish.
 The Surplice is but a Ceremony, which ought
 not to weigh down the Duty of Obedience.

P. 191. Mr. *Baxter* grants, that if the Athana-
 sian Creed be referred to the Doctrine of the
 Trinity, it would not be excepted against. For
 he takes it to be the best Explication of the My-
 stery of the Sacred Trinity, which in so short a
 Sum is extant in the Church: So that by requiring
 Assent

Assent and Consent thereunto, the Church of England hath secured her self against any suspition of Socinian or Anti-Trinitarian Doctrin, whereof Mr. Baxter and others frequently and falsely accuse the Conformists. That which cannot be Assented to, is the Damnatory Sentences in that Creed; as,

First, Where it is said in the beginning, *Who-soever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.* — *And the Catholick Faith is this, &c.* And in the end, *This is the Catholick Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully he cannot be saved.* Answer, if our Assent be required only to the Use of this Creed, and not, to a *belief* of the Truth of every part of it, the controversie will be at an end.

Secondly, The Belief of things as necessary to Salvation, is granted by Non-conformists to be not an Assent to the several *Phrases* and *obscure Words*; but to the general sense contained in them. Now the sense of our Church in proposing this Creed, may be judged by the Use which she makes of the Apostles Creed, not only in the daily Profession of it, but in the Office of Baptism, as containing all the necessary points of Faith, into which we are Baptized: And in the Catechism as containing all the Articles of the Christian Faith, which doth shew that no more is required as necessary to Salvation, than what is contained in the Apostles Creed.

Thirdly, In this Creed some things are propounded as necessary points of Faith, which Men of weak judgments may apprehend, as that *we Worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.*
Other

Other things are for a clearer explication of that Doctrin, and vindication of it from the errors that were then risen in the Church, as the *Arrians* and *Nestorians* who erred concerning the Divinity of Christ and his two Natures; which begin thus: *For there is one Person of the Father, &c.* After which followeth the necessary Doctrin again: *So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity is to be Worshipped. He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity.* So that the Doctrin of the Trinity is that Faith which is proposed as necessary to Salvation. I know the exception of many against this Creed is in relation to the Heathen, who seem by it to be excluded from Salvation. In which respect, I suppose it is that *Mr. Baxter* says, *p. 191.* That some R. Reverend Conformists do profess that those Sentences are untrue, and not to be approved; and he instanceth somewhere in *Mr. Chillingworths* refusal to subscribe it. But if this be the ground of the Exception, I conceive that the generality of the Non-conformists who maintain the same Opinion, which is consonant to the Scriptures, and to the Assemblies Confession of Faith; to which *Mr. Baxter* also hath declared his Assent in this particular, will not oppose. For in the Assemblies Confession, C. 10. Article 4. concerning *effectual calling*, they say, *That Men not professing the Christian Religion, cannot be saved in any way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their Lives according to the Light of Nature, and the Law of that Religion they do profess, and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious, and to be detested.* And I know some Non-conformists have

have lately blamed some Conformists for seeming to incline to the contrary Opinion. Which, if this be sense of the Creed our Church doth explode; yet some Non-conformists think that by holding the Doctrine of the Athanasian Creed, they do not judge the Heathen World, and that they do but not, but *in every nation he that feareth God and worketh Righteousness is accepted of him*; so that this obloquie is silenced. But it is most probable, that *Athanasius* intended the Explanatory part of the Creed against the *Arrians* and other *Hereticks* in the Church, who if they denied the Divinity of Christ, and dyed in that error; who can think they can be saved? seeing they make Christ a meer Creature, and overthrow the Doctrine of our Redemption by him: But that he should condemn all that have a true, though but a weak Faith in the Holy Trinity, and cannot comprehend the manner of the Eternal Generation of the Son, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and the Co-equality of the Trinity, cannot be thought to have been the Mind of *Athanasius*.

P. 192. N. 20. The Liturgy saith, *All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer privately or openly, not being lett by sickness or some other urgent cause &c.* *Ansiv.* That the Primitive Christians did meet daily, not only for publick Prayers, but to receive the Sacrament is believed; and that it is our duty to Pray Morning and Evening cannot be denied, and what should hinder, but that such as are specially devoted to the Service of God, should Pray openly *with* the people, if not reasonably hindred; or at least pray privately

privately for them? there are many that do their duty herein, and if all did, it would be better with us; because all Men do not perform their Baptifmal Vows, is it fit that none fuch fhould be made? we fee this duty is performed in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and in many other places, where there is a liberal maintenance provided for the *Priefts* and *Deacons*, where though one only do Officiate, yet all thofe that are prefent may fay the daily Prayers as the Liturgy requires, which is another frivolous Objection of *Mr. Baxters*, p. 192. n. 3.

The next is a Calumny againft the whole Liturgy, *viz.* that the Prayers are diforderly and defective, not Formed according to the Order of Matter, nor of the Lords Prayer; but like an immethodical Sermon which is unfuitable to the High Subjects, and Honorable Work of Holy Worfhip, and that the Non-conformifts have Offered (when it fhall be well accepted) to give in a Catalogue of the diforders and defects of the Liturgy. But all this notwithstanding, they think it lawful to Ufe the Liturgy in Obedience or for Unity, or when no better may be Ufed: It is fomething to go thus far, but if they would impartially confider the defects and confufions which were in the *Directory*, as it hath been confidered by *Doctor Hammond*, or in *Mr. Baxters* Eight days exploit for a more *correēt Nepenthes*, and fhall on the other fide read that account which *Mr. Comber*, and others have given of the Methodical order and dependance of the feveral Prayers and Offices, the Grave and Scriptural Phrafes and Expreffions in the Liturgy; he may perceive that this

is fitter to guide the Devotion of the Universal Church, than those other are for Country Conventicles.

P. 194. He excepts against the Preface to the Book of Ordination, where it is said, that — *It is evident to all Men diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders in Christs Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as several Officers.* Answ. I shall not trouble my Readers with the Arguments of Learned Men, for the Order of Bishops in the Church ever since the Apostles days as distinct from Presbyters; much less shall I repeat those uncomely Reflections, which Mr. Baxter hath made on Diocesan Bishops in both his late Books. It may suffice in Answer to this Objection, that Mr. Baxter hath been formerly of a contrary persuasion, I do not mean only when he was Ordained by a Bishop, and did, or ought to swear Canonical Obedience to him, as his Lawful Governour; but in his more mature and serious Age, when he had studied the controversie; I mean in his *Christian Directory*, p. 127. part 7. Where having proved the particular Orders of Presbyters, and Deacons: He gives his reasons for a *larger Episcopacy*, as the Margin tells you. And N. 4. Thus he says, — *Besides this, in the Apostles days, there were under Christ in the Universal Church, many general Officers that had the care of Governing, and Overseeing Churches up and down, and were fixed by stated relation unto none. Such were the Apostles, Evangelists, and many of their helpers in their days. And most Christian Churches think that though the Apostolical, extraordinary Gifts, Priviledges and Offi-*

ces cease; yet Government being an ordinary part of their work, the same Forms of Government, which Christ and the Holy Ghost did settle in the first Age, were settled for all following Ages, though not with the same extraordinary gifts and adjuncts: Because,

1. We read of the settling of that Form, viz. General Officers as well as Particular, but we never read of any Abolition, Discharge, or Cessation of the Institution.
2. Because if we affirm a Cessation without proof, we seem to accuse God of Mutability, as settling one Form of Government for one Age only, and no longer.
3. And we leave room for audacious Wits accordingly to question other Gospel-Institutions, as Pastors, Sacraments, &c. and to say that they were but for an Age.
4. It was General Officers that Christ promised to be with to the end of the World. Matth. 28. 20. Now this will hold true or not (says Mr. Baxter) If not, then this general Ministry is to be numbred with humane Additions to be next treated of. If it do, then there is another part of the Form of Government proved to be of Divine Institution: I say not another Church, but another part of the Government of both Churches, Universal and Particular; because such General Officers are so in the Universal, as to have a general Oversight of the particular: As an Army is Headed only by the General himself, and a Regiment by the Colonel, and a Troop by the Captain, but the General Officers of the Army, as the Lieutenants General, the Mijors General, &c. are under the Lord General, in and over the Army, and have a general over-sight of the particular Bodies, (Regiments and Troops) Now if this be the Instituted Form of Christs Church-Government, that he himself rule absolutely as General, and that he have some General Officers under him,

him, (not any one having the charge of the whole, but in the whole unfixedly, or as they voluntarily part their Provinces) and that each particular Church have their own proper Pastor, one or more; then who can say, that no Form of Church Government is of Divine appointment or command? So far Mr. Baxter, with whom I find other Non-conformists to agree in the Notion of Diocesan Bishops; which is enough not only to confute this Objection against the Order of Bishops, but all that Mr. Baxter hath said in his late Writing, against the Constitution of National Churches, and the Government of Diocesans, with so much partiality and passion. And though Mr. Baxter deny it here, that *having diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and Ancient Authors, yet Three Orders and Offices are not evident to him*; yet it is evident, he hath proved it solidly enough, even from the Scripture alone, to which whoever shall joyn the Practice and Testimony of the Primitive Church, as a help to explain the sense of the Scripture, must needs be perswaded of the Truth of these Three Orders in the Church of Christ; and therefore this Objection, from the Preface to the Book of Ordination, is of no weight.

In all the fardle of Mr. *Baxters* impertinencies, there is not a more trifling Objection than that which follows against the Bishops inviting the people in the Name of God to come forth, and shew what Crime or Impediment they know in the Persons to be Ordained, p. 196. For seeing no Person is to be Ordained without a Title to some Cure; seeing there are solemn days set apart for Ordination; and Prayers ordered to be

Used the preceding Week-days, for Gods Blessing on that Ordinance; seeing every Person is to produce Testimonials under the hands of Three Persons, to whom he is known, of his Life and Conversation; seeing any person may, if he please, be present at the Ordination, and the Bishop may personally enquire into his Ministerial abilities: I know not what further caution is necessary than to pronounce a Liberty to the people, who generally meet on that occasion in the greatest Congregations, and in publick Places, to come forth and shew if they know any impediment in the Person to be Ordained; upon which, I my self have known several Persons to be repulsed in the Face of the Congregation; and when the Ordained Person is to continue a Deacon, for a year before he is admittèd a Presbyter, the people have a competent time to inform the Bishop of any Crime that they know by him, which may render him an unfit Person, without such a call from the Bishop; which is but *Abundans Cautela*.

P. 197. He objects against these words, in the Form of Consecration. *Receive the Holy Ghost, for the Office and Work of a Priest, &c.* The doubt is, saith Mr. Baxter, whether this be not an *abuse of the words which Christ himself, or his Apostles used, and so not to be Assented to.* Now Mr. Baxter grants that Christ or his Apostles used these words; that our Saviour used them, and when is very observable. It was after his Resurrection, and before his Ascension, that our Saviour endowed his Apostles with this Ministerial Power, saying unto them, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, which could not be meant of any extraordinary Power of Tongues and

and Miracles, which were not given till Christ was first glorified, when the Day of Pentecost was fully come. The Power therefore conveyed by these words, was an Authorizing of them to the ordinary work of the Ministry, as the following words do inforce; *whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted*; and this Power Mr. Baxter grants to belong to every Minister: That the Apostles of our Lord did use the same words, is probable from that expression of St. Paul, *Acts, 20. 28. Take heed to your selves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you over-seers.* And Mr. Baxter complains, that *too little notice is taken of the Holy Ghosts setting Pastors over the Flocks, which the Scripture mentioneth, p. 310. Which is a conveying of that Authority, which Christ at his Ascension left to his Church; he gave some Apostles, some Prophets, &c. for the work of the Ministry, Eph. 4. 11, 12. v. 13. Till we all come in the Unity of the Faith, &c.*

P. 198. He excepts against the Oath of the Bishops to their Metropolitan, and p. 199. the Oath of the Priests and Deacons for Canonical Obedience to their Diocesan; against which he gives no reason, but argues negatively, that it was not Instituted by Christ or his Apostles. But Mr. Baxter having granted a like Sub-ordination of Offices in the Church, as in an Army; I see no Reason, but that when authority injoyns it: as a Captain may swear Obedience to his Colonel, and he to his Lieutenant General, or Major Generals; so may the Presbiter to his Diocesan, and the Diocesan to his Metropolitan. But Mr. Baxter hath more plainly resolved this doubt, in answer to Q. 152. in his *Directory*, part the 3^d. p. 181. the

Question is, — May we lawfully swear Obedience in all lawful things to Usurpers, or to our lawful Pastors? To which under N. 3. he thus answers, *The old Non-conformists, who thought the English Prelacy an unlawful Office; yet maintained that it is lawful to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, because they thought it was imposed by the King and Laws; and that we swore to them not as Officers, claiming a Divine Right in the Spiritual Government, but as Ordinaries or Officers made by the King, N.B. to exercise so much of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction under him as he can delegate. — And if Prelacy were proved never so unlawful, no doubt but by the Kings command we may swear, or perform formal Obedience to a Prelate, as he is the Kings Officer. Of the Non-conformists Judgment in this, read Bradshaw against Canne. This concession of Mr. Baxter will overthrow that, wherein he placeth the force of the Objection, viz. That the Ordinary is not only the Bishop, but also the Chancellour, Officials, &c. because they are the Kings Officers. And, if the Chancellours do invade the Office of the Ministry in Excommunications and Absolutions; Mr. Baxter well observes, p. 202. It is not justified by the Bishops themselves. I wonder how any right Presbyterian can except against one Lay-Chancellour in a Diocess, who would set up one or more Un-ordained Ruling Elders in every Parish; and though Mr. Baxter be not thorow Paced in this point, yet in his Tract of Ordination, he would have the Magistrate to authorize a Lay-Officer, well like to our Chancellours, p. 299. He directs the Magistrate to appoint an able Godly moderate Minister in each County, or half, or quarter, to see the Pastors do their duty, not*

having

having Episcopal Power to suspend or excommunicate them; but let every Visitor have an Agent of the Magistrates joyned with him, Armed with Authority to convent the Ministers, and examine Witnesses, and to do what more the Chief Magistrate shall see meet, so that still these two Visitors go together, and let the Civil Visitor have all the Coercive Power. This comes home to our Lay-Chancellours, who being the Kings Officer, we may by Mr. Baxters permission swear Obedience to him. And other Non-Conformists (as wise as Mr. Baxter) think that the Apostles Wise Man spoken of in 1 Cor. 6. to be a President for our Chancellours. And it is strange that they who would set two Lay-Ruling Elders in every Parish, should not admit one in a Diocess.

Mr. Baxters last quarrel against the Rubrick is, that it obligeth the Minister, who repelleth any from the Sacrament to give an account of the same, to the Ordinary within fourteen days after.

Answer. He that hath no notorious scandalous persons in his Parish, is free from this trouble; and so is he that hath such, if they do not press themselves on that Holy Communion. If any such do, the Minister having timely notice of his intention, as is required, may send for him, and privately admonish him, that the Congregation are much offended by his disorderly Conversation; especially by such or such a Crime, whereof by common Fame he is reported guilty, and therefore desire him to forbear that Sacrament, till such time as he have given Testimony of his Repentance and Reformation; to the satisfaction of the Congregation. In this case the party forbearing

on a private Admonition, there is no need of informing the Ordinary. But if such a person still press on, the Minister ought to refuse him, and it will much abate his trouble, and the *Odium* which otherwise might lye on him, to refer the Case to the Ordinary to be determined by him.

These are the great number of Sins, hindring Conformity, so hainous as that Mr. *Baxter* was afraid to name them, lest he should displease and provoke the Conformists; which even in the judgment of Mr. *Baxter* himself, and other serious Non-conformists, will scarce amount to an appearance of evil. As for the Objections against the Declarations, and Oaths required by Act of Parliament; seeing he acknowledgeth that it is not the sense of the Liturgy, but of a Statute of Parliament which the Non-conformists doubt of, and that it would be impertinent for us to tell them what is the sense of the Church; the doubt being, what is the sense of the Parliament, p. 191. I shall not add much more to what I have spoken on those Subjects, but refer them to those, to whom the Execution of those Laws are committed for their better Instruction. And I shall only observe, that the complaint against the Lawgivers, p. 204. n. 3. is, that they will not *otherwise expound their own words, after seventeen years waiting for it under compulsive executions.* By (*otherwise*) he means against the sense of the plain words, as appears, n. 2. in which the Non-conformists there profess to understand them, but cannot Assent to them, and therefore they think they may be excused, if by mistake they think some of these passages to be unlawful, that are not, or to have

have a worse sense than indeed they have. This mistake will appear to the Judicious Reader to be wilful, and an Act of pure malice and revenge. For the plain *English* of it is this, That because the Parliament will not, in favour to the Non-conformists, alter their Laws, and dispense with the Oaths of Obedience, and renouncing of the Covenant, and reforming every thing in the Liturgy which they have fancied to be sinful, and thereby justify the Non-conformists, and confess themselves to be the cause of our present Divisions: They are still resolved to pronounce the Liturgy to be sinful, the Laws Tyrannical, and such as would force them to perjury. And though they want power for the present to help themselves, yet if you will not hear, those will, whom God will use to the healing of his Churches (as he says in his Preface) the meaning whercof is too plain: By this time the Reader may discern how vain-glorious his boast is, that he hath shewn us *a righter way of Concord, more Divine, Sure, Harmless, Comprehensive, fitted by Christ himself, to the interest of all good Men; yea, of the Church, and all the World.* Would you know, what that grand discovery is he tells you, p. 36. of his Plea, which is the Sum of his five first Sections; and this is the result of all. “ If every Pastor might be a Bishop in his Parish, “ Independent and free from any Superiour to controul him; if he may have an arbitrary power, “ if they may be arbitrary in exercise of the power of the Keys without appeal, such as he says, “ p. 265. the Jews had, where there was a Village “ of Ten Persons, there was a Presbyter that had “ power of Judging Offenders: Then we should
be

“ be so far (says he) from using the controver-
 “ sic about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, as a
 “ distinct Order from Presbyters, to any Schisme
 “ or injury to the Church, (as hitherto they have
 “ done) that we should thankfully contribute our
 “ best endeavours to the Concord, Peace, Safety,
 “ and Prosperity thereof (*i. e.*) they would give
 the Bishops leave to exercise their Authority in
Utopia, having provided that they shall have no-
 thing to do in *England* : But the Magistrates must
 yield to them also. — “ Might we be freed from
 “ Swearing, Subscribing, Declaring and Covenant-
 “ ing unnecessary things, which we take not to
 “ be true, and from some few unnecessary pra-
 “ ctices which we cannot justify : And if they
 might have power of Ordaining such as they
 please, and of Confirming the Adult not accor-
 ding to the Order of the Church of *England* (for
 that comes too near to Popery;) “ but accor-
 “ ding to Mr. *Baxters*, or Mr. *Hammers* Model, that
 “ is, May the power of altering the Laws in
 “ Church and State, then, (and not till then,
 “ when these necessary terms are granted) they
 “ will serve the Church (so modelled) in poverty
 “ and raggs. But of so great a mercy (says he)
 “ experience hath made our hopes from Men to
 “ be very small; and the Reason of the thing
 “ makes our hopes as small, of the happiness of
 “ the Church of *England*, till God Unite us on
 “ these necessary terms. To what great streights
 do some Men reduce themselves, that they cannot
 live unless they Rob and ruine their neighbours,
 subvert whole Churches, and Kingdoms, and
 grasp all Power and Authority, over the Bodies
 and

and Consciences of their Brethren into their own hands?

Did ever any Bishop aspire to such Tyranny as this? (the Pope only excepted) is not the King and whole Nation greatly Culpable, not to trust themselves with the Ingenuity of this people, of whose Loyalty and Charity they have had such experience? and is it not pitty that they should be constrained to attempt these things against Law, when they so humbly desire to have them established by Law? and when the reason of the thing, (*i. e.*) their resolution to have it so, (it being their great concern as he calls it) makes the hopes of the happiness of the Church of *England* to be very small, which Men so resolved as they are may foretel, as Mr. *Baxter* doth without a Spirit of Prophecy.

Sect. 2. p. 207. Mr. *Baxter* proceeds to the second part of Conformity, which he calls *Re-ordination*, and says, *it was either intended as a second Ordination, or not; If yea, it is a thing condemned by the ancient Churches, by the Canons called the Apostles, &c. If not, then they take such Mens former Ordination to be Null, and consequently all such Churches to be no Churches, their Baptizings and Consecration of the Lords Supper, &c. to be Null. Answ.* Although the Ordination by Presbyters alone, especially when it hath been done in opposition to, and Contempt of Bishops, hath been ever condemned in the Church, and the validity thereof is still questioned; yet granting it to be valid, a Submission to Episcopal Ordination,

* P. 237. of the
five Disputations.
We Ordain not pre-
sente, but Spreto
Episcopo.

is no re-
nouncing

nouncing of that which was performed by Presbyters, no more than the submission of the Disciples of *John*, who had been Baptized by him with the Baptism of Repentance, to the Baptism of Christ. Nor doth the Law any where require them to declare that their former Ordination was Null; because then it would have pronounced their Baptizings, and other Ministerial Offices to be Null; if therefore we did judge as charitably of our Legislators as we ought, and Interpret the Law by the practice, we cannot find any such thing as Re-ordination intended. For first, the word is no where mentioned, but the Ordination required is to qualify them for the exercise of their Ministry in the Church of *England*, and to capacitate them for it. Thus in the Preface to the *Book of Ordination*, it is said, *None shall be taken as Ministers of the Church of England, but who are so Ordained.*

It denyeth not, but they may be Ministers elsewhere, and the Act for *Uniformity* renders them incapable of any Parsonage, Vicaridge, &c. in the *Church of England*. But the same Act allows of the Ministers Presbyterially Ordained in *other Reformed Churches*, to exercise their Ministry here by His Majesties Authority. Yea, the same Parliament permits them to meet, and exercise many Ministerial duties; so that the number above that of their own Families do not exceed *Five*, and Mr. *Baxter* knows, that the most eminent Divines of our Church, ever held the Ordination by Presbyters in forraign Churches to be lawful.

2. It is Mr. *Baxters* Opinion, that the outward
part

part of Ordination may be repeated. *Directory l. 3.*

Q. 21.

And that the Ordainer doth but Ministerially invest the person with Power, whom the Spirit of God hath qualified for it by the Inward Call; now the *Inward Call* being the Essential part (as he accounts) and the Ministerial Investiture of the person with power, being the outward part. P. 311. of the Plea; I see no reason why one Ordained by Presbyters, may not submit to Episcopal Ordination by his own Argument. Yea, Mr. Baxter there affirms, *That the mutual consent of the people, and themselves may suffice to the orderly admittance into the Office; especially if the Magistrate consent, and the Ordainers should refuse:* For which see more in his *Dispute of Ordination*, from whence I propose this case; suppose a person fitly qualified for Parts and Piety, Chosen and Ordained a Minister by an Independent, or Anabaptistical people, should afterward submit himself to Presbyterial Ordination: I doubt not but the Presbyters would think it lawful to Ordain him, and I believe they would not admit him into their Churches without such Ordination, which may justify our Superiours in requiring that they who will be admitted Ministers of the Church of *England*, should be Episcopally Ordained. For here is nothing repeated but the *outward part*, or Ceremony of *Investiture*, which by Mr. Baxters Confession may be repeated, and is no more than the Marriage of such by a Minister, who had been Married before by a Justice of Peace: Or as he makes another Comparison, it is no more than if a person very expert in Physick, should practice with-

without a License. Upon which he tells you a story of his great success in Physick, which he practised many years *gratis*, and saved the Lives of multitudes, p. 78. of the Third part of the way of Concord; and yet he there grants, that it is meet for the safety of Mens Health, that none practise Physick, but a Licensed Physician. And until there be a greater want of Divines or Physicians than now there is, it is pitty that such as are not Licensed should be permitted.

The Third part of Conformity begins p. 208. concerning the Renunciation of the Covenant, whereof he treats, §. 11. and 12. *Ministers* (saith he) *must onely subscribe, that there is no Obligation on me, or any other person from the Oath, &c. to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church,* to which he adds the Oxford Oath, *That we will never endeavour any alteration.* And the Articles for Prelacy, the Ordination promise, and Oath of Canonical Obedience. “Against all which he
 “Objects, that even those Non-conformists that
 “are for the lawfulness; yea, the need and de-
 “fireableness of *Bishops* and *Arch-bishops* are unfa-
 “tified in these things: That some Hundred of
 “Parishes are without any particular appropriate
 “Bishops, and consequently are without the Disci-
 “pline of such Bishops, and so are no Churches
 “but only parts of a Diocesan Church, that the
 “Bishops have more work than they can do, and
 “the Keys are to be exercised by Lay-men.
Ans^w. I have already shewed Mr. *Baxters* judgment of Bishops and Lay-Chancellours, and shall only add, that the Laws which Impower the Ministry with the Exercise of Discipline are so full,
 and

and exact, that if each Minister did faithfully perform his duty, there would be no need to complain for want of work, or of authority to do it effectually. Every Minister is to admonish his Parishioners not to delay the Baptism of their Children, whereby they are entred into a Covenant with God, and by their Sureties ingaged to Faith, Repentance, and new Obedience; as soon as they come to years of Discretion, they are to be instructed out of the Church Catechism every *Sunday*, which Catechism Mr. *Baxter* himself commends to be better for its Method than most others: Then upon their knowledg of the Principles of Religion, and owning their Baptismal Vows, whereof the Minister is to take cognizance, and certify to the Bishop they are to be Confirmed; and none but such are to be admitted Communicants, and none but Communicants to be admitted as Godfathers, &c. The Minister ought both publickly and privately to admonish such as are scandalous, and to deny them the Communion, until they manifest their Repentance, which is a kind of Excommunication. He is constantly to Celebrate publick Worship, to Preach the Word of God, and Administer the Holy Sacraments frequently; to visit his Parishioners, that he may know the State of his Flock, to instruct the Ignorant, rebuke the Wicked, encourage the Good, to visit the Sick, absolve the Penitent, and to strengthen them by the Word of God, and the Comforts of the Holy Sacrament against the fear of death. If these things were duly done as they might and ought to be; there would be no cause to complain, either that the Bishop hath too much,

or the Pastor too little work, the fault is not in the Laws or Constitution of Government, but in the want of due Execution.

To omit the many impertinencies in the 12. §. there are Three things only, on which he grounds his Plea for the Covenant: The First is, *p.* 214: “ Whether when *Charles* the II. had (though injuriously) been drawn to take the Covenant, it doth not oblige those that took it afterward, and whether the King having taken it, no one person be bound by it? *p.* 143. *Ans.* Mr. *Baxter* leads me by this Question to consider, how His Majesty was dealt with by the *Scots* in this matter; how they tortured him with various temptations of hopes and fears, and so affronted him with many horrible Reproaches of his own Sins, as well as of the Sins of His Father and Grandfather, that he often attempted to leave them; what Provocations he met with in private, may be guessed at by their publick Actions. The *Thursday* before the Coronation was set apart as a Solemn day of Humiliation throughout the Land, for the Sins of the Royal Family. *Robert Douglas* in the Coronation Sermon, told the King, “ That His Grandfather King *James* remembered not the kindness of them, who had held the Crown upon his Head; yea, he persecuted faithful Ministers; he never rested till he had undone Presbyterian Government, and Kirk Assemblies, setting up Bishops, and bringing in Ceremonies. In a word, “ he laid the foundation whereupon his Son, our late King did build much mischief in Religion all the days of his Lite. 73.

P. 52. He tells the King to his Face, " That a
 " King abusing his Power, to the overthrow of
 " Religion, Laws, and Liberties (which are the
 " fundamentals of that *Covenant*) may be control-
 " led and opposed. And if he set himself to o-
 " verthrow all these by Arms, they who have
 " power, as the Estates of the Land, may and
 " ought (I suppose by obligation of the Cove-
 " nant) to resist by Arms; because he doth by
 " that opposition break the very Bonds, and o-
 " verthrow the Essentials of this Contract and
 " Covenant. This may serve (says he) to justi-
 " fy the proceedings of this Kingdom, against
 " the late King, who in a Hostile way set himself
 " to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws and
 " Liberties. Thus was the Kings Crown lined
 with Thorns, and he had Gall and Vinegar given
 him to drink, instead of the Royal Unction which
 that prophane *Scot* thus derides; " p. 34. The
 " Bishops behoved to perform this Rite, and the
 " King behoved to be Sworn to them. But now,
 " by the Blessing of God, Popery and Prelacy are
 " removed, let the anointing of Kings with Oyl,
 " go to the door with them, and let them never
 " come in again. If the King ought by the Laws
 of the Kingdom to have been Sworn to the Bi-
 shops, this may make void the Obligation of the
 Covenant; for the Coronation Oath is a right of
 the Subject, and concerns their interest and security,
 and the King as Heir to the Crown is obliged to
 that Oath, and if any subsequent Oath may vio-
 late that in one particular, it may also in others,
 and then farewell to *Magna Charta*, the priviledg-
 es of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject. See

more in the *Review of the grand Case*, p. 139. 140. P. 92. He tells the King, " That God in his Righteous judgments, suffereth Subjects to conspire and rebel against their Princes, because they rebel against the *Covenant* made with God, (and adds) I may say freely , that a chief cause of the Judgment upon the Kings House, hath been the Grandfathers breach of Covenant with God, and the Fathers following steps in opposing the work of God and his Kirk within these Kingdoms; and probably too many do still think they may rebel again in Defence of the Covenant.

But I argue from the manner of the Kings taking the Covenant, (as it is related p. 75. &c.) that the King is not obliged by it to make any alteration in the Government of our Church, for thus it is related: That the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant being read, the King Swore , that for himself and successors, he should consent and agree to all *Acts of Parliament, injoyning the National Covenant , and the Solemn League and Covenant, &c.* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are approved by the general Assembly of that Kirk, and Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he should give his Royal Assent to *Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, passed or to be passed*, injoyning the same in his other Dominions. And in the *Declaration* set forth at *Edinburgh* in His Majesties name, 1650. (But penned as it seems by the Covenanters,) He declares, " That if the Houses of Parliament of *England*, sitting in freedom , shall think fit to present unto him the propositions of peace agreed upon by both Kingdoms,

“ doms, he will not only accord to them, and
 “ such *Alterations* there anent as the Houses of Par-
 “ liament, in regard of the Constitution of Affairs,
 “ and the good of his Majesty, and his Kingdoms shall
 “ judge necessary; but do what is further necessary
 “ for the Prosecuting the ends of the Solemn
 “ League and Covenant. Especially in those things
 “ which concern the Reformation of the Church
 “ of *England* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and
 “ Government. And p. 107. He doth also declare
 “ his firm resolution to manage the Government
 “ of the Kingdom of *England*, by the Advice of
 “ his Parliament, consisting of an House of Lords,
 “ and an House of Commons there. All which
 His Majesty hath punctually performed, and the
 Parliaments of both Kingdoms, having rescind-
 ed the Covenant, and condemned it as an unlaw-
 ful Oath, and settled the ancient Government of
 the Catholick Church: I speak with all humble
 submission; His Majesty is not at all obliged by
 that Covenant thus taken, much less to make any
 alteration in the Government of the Church of
England; unless he would act not only contrary
 to the established Laws, but contrary to that ve-
 ry Oath and Declaration by which the Non-con-
 formists suppose him to be obliged; which oblige
 him to agree to such *alterations*, as the Houses of
 Parliament, in regard to the Constitution of Af-
 fairs, and the good of His Majesty and his King-
 doms should judge necessary, and to manage the
 Government of the Kingdom of *England*, by ad-
 vice of his Two Houses of Parliament. And this
 will answer the first Question in the Negative,
 that neither the King (who was injuriously and

unlawfully, as is acknowledged) drawn to declare for it, and consequently no other person that took it afterward, are bound by it to make any alteration, &c. If any alteration be found necessary, there are lawful means to be used for that end. But there is no obligation from this Covenant, being so repealed to use even lawful means, much less such unlawful ones as the Covenant implies, (*i. e.*) for Subjects to reform without, and against the Magistrate and his Laws. By this also a second question is resolved, *p. 215.* which Mr. Baxter calls the main question: *Whether every Minister must or may become the Judge of all other Mens Consciences and Obligations in three Kingdoms?* For let it be remembred that the case is only, whether they are obliged by the Covenant to endeavour any alteration, &c. Any lawful endeavours are not denied, but the Covenant being Condemned as an unlawful thing, cannot lay an obligation on any to act against the Laws, whereby the Church Government is established.

Against this, a third question is urged, *whether this League and Covenant were a Vow to God, and not only a League and Covenant with Men, which cessante occasione, and by consent of Parliaments doth cease.* Mr. Baxter affirms, that it was a Vow to God, and a League and Covenant of Men with one another that they will perform it; and instead of Proof he says it is notorious to any Man that readeth it with common understanding.

Ansiv. 1. The Title of it is *a Solemn League and Covenant*; there is no mention of a Vow to God: And in the Preface, *a mutual League and Covenant.*

2. And in the Renunciation, it is to be declared,

red, that there lyes no Obligation from the *Oath*, commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant. If any part of it be a Vow to God, that is not mentioned to be disclaimed; for,

3. The particular Case wherein its Obligation is to be disclaimed, is to endeavour any alteration, &c. Now, how can it consist with the nature of a Vow to God, to make unnecessary alterations against the Laws of the Land? Would not this cause the Christian Religion in a short time to be exploded out of all Kingdoms?

4. It is notoriously known, that the few things that make the Contract, (as Mr. *Douglas* calls it) or Covenant between the Rebel *Scots* and *English*, to seem as a Vow to God, were used only as a pretence to draw on that part of the Covenant which is acknowledged to be unlawful, and which is the greatest part of the Covenant, the intent whereof was to strengthen the Rebellion against the King, as (by the negative Oath and the general actings of both Nations which followed) doth evidently appear: And what Rebellion or Heresie may not be Covenanted for, under pretence of such Vows? If therefore there had been any thing of a Vow to God in the Covenant, it was a horrid Profanation of Gods name, to make it subservient to such unlawful ends. And it is rightly observed, that it binds to the Extirpation of Bishops, out of other Churches, as well as out of ours alone.

5. The most part of those who took the Covenant when it was first imposed, had declared their approbation of the established Government, and sworn Obedience to the Bishops; so had ge-

nerally all the Assembly, and fixed Ministers, and as I presume Mr. *Baxter* himself; and whatever contrary Oaths they took afterward, are rightly esteemed to be as Null, the pretence of a Vow notwithstanding.

6. It is inconsistent with the nature of a Vow to be forced, as the Covenant generally was, as hath been observed from Mr. *Baxter*, "That the
 " *Scots* taking advantage of the straits to which
 " the King had reduced the *English* Parliament,
 " brought in the Covenant as the condition of
 " their help; and that the House of Lords com-
 " plained of the Parliament (as Mr. *Baxter* calls
 " the House of Commons) which tyed them to
 " meddle with nothing, but what they offered to
 " them. And though the Covenanters pretended
 for this Vow the Example of Gods people in o-
 ther Nations, and the commendable practice of
 these Kingdoms in former times, yet there never
 was the like Oath for matter and manner, taken
 by any people, fearing God in any Age of the
 World.

I conclude with a Concession of Mr. *Baxters*,
 p. 213. of the *Plea*: *It is not in the Subjects power*
by Vows to withdraw themselves from Obedience to
Authority; which is proved from Numb. 30. And
the Reason of it is, because Obligatio prior præjudi-
cat posteriori, God hath first enjoined Obedience
 to our Superiours. They therefore lawfully re-
 quiring our submission to the established Govern-
 ment, there can lye no obligation on me, or any
 other person to endeavour alteration of the Go-
 vernment. If any fault be found in subordinate
 Governours, we may in our places and callings

endeavour a Reformation of them, but the Government is a *noli me tangere*, we may not undermine foundations. But Mr. Baxter proposeth another question; *whether the Covenant as a Vow to God bind to things necessary?* Answ. To all necessary things we are pre-ingaged by the Command of God, and extraordinary means must not be used when ordinary may serve. Mr. Baxter §. 43. of his Directory, says, *A Vow is as Null when the matter is morally or civilly out of our power, as if a Child or Servant Vow a thing which he cannot do lawfully without the consent of his Parent or Master, though the thing in it self be lawful; for God having bound me to obey my Superiours in all lawful things, I cannot oblige my self by my own Vows.* §. 79. of his Directory. *Make not a Law and Religion to your selves, which God never made by his Authority, nor bind your selves for futurity to all that is a duty at present, where it is possible the changes of things may change your duty.* And §. 3. p. 19. *The true nature and use of Vows, is but for a more certain and effectual performance of our duties, not to make new Laws and Religions to our selves.* From which concessions it will follow, that the power of Reforming, &c. being in the King, the Vow was Null: And it is morally impossible for them to do that in their places and callings, which they cannot do without Invading the Place and Office of their Superiours. And therefore notwithstanding the pretence of a Vow; yea though it were for things lawful (which the alteration of the established Government is not) we may declare that there lyes no Obligation, &c.

P. 216. §. 13. Mr. Baxter insists on the Declaration,

tion, concerning *taking Arms against the King, &c.* Where he says, the question is not of the first clause, of *taking Arms, &c.* For he grants that a *Popish King is to be obeyed in lawful things, p. 77.* but of the 2^d. viz. *I abhor that Traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.* This as the Law of the Land hath declared to be Traiterous, so hath the Law of God. 2 Pet. 2. 13. requiring submission to the King, as Supreme, and unto Governours sent (or Commissioned) by him. The ground of this Declaration, was for the security of the Kings Person, against such as distinguishing between his publick and private capacity, under pretence of his Authority detained his Towns, and fought those Armies where the King was in person; but when they had Conquered him, they declared the Supreme Authority to be in themselves. But Mr. Baxter pleads, *that Ministers are mostly ignorant of the Law, not knowing what is called a Commission, and what Seal makes it such, and they dare not think that a Lord Chancellour or Keeper, hath Power at his pleasure to depose the King by Sealing Commissions to any to seize on his Forts, &c., Nor yet to destroy the Kingdoms, Cities, Lawes and Judgments, and seize at pleasure on all Mens Estates or Lives.* This had been good Doctrine if Mr. Baxter had taught it when the Kings broad Seal was broken, and by Virtue of a Counterfeit one, the Lives and Estates of the best Subjects were destroyed, the Act of Parliament hath declared the Supreme Authority to be inseparable in the Kings Person, so that we cannot doubt of the Legality of Commissions granted

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ed by him, and his pretended ignorance against the known Laws, being that Block on which the best of Kings fell; I hope no good *English-Man* will stumble at it again. But Mr. *Baxter* complains that these words [*against those that are Commissioned by him*] are unexpounded, and have no limitations or exceptions. It is not fit for private men to distinguish where the Law doth not, or that an Usurper, or Protector pretending Reformation and Liberty, and that abused Maxim of *Salus populi Suprema Lex*, should rather be obeyed than such as Act regularly by the Kings Commission, and according to the known Laws. Wherefore to seek evasions, and to suppose extraordinary Cases, that may never happen against plain and necessary duties, ought not to be a Bar against this Declaration. That which followeth §. 14. “Of
 “ deserting their Flocks, and keeping Conven-
 “ ticles; and §. 15. of not residing within Five
 “ Miles of Cities and Corporations, are not con-
 “ ditions of Conformity, but consequences of their
 “ Non-conformity. And I leave — them to be
 read and considered by others, who will perceive how well Mr. *Baxter* deserves the Character which the Reverend Bishop *Sanderson* gave of him: *That he never knew a Man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all his Conversation; A double minded Man is unstable in all his Ways.*

An Answer to some passages in the Second Part of the Non-conformists Plea for Peace.

HAVING reflected on as much of the First Part of the *Non-conformists Plea*, as concerned the Ministerial Conformity; I thought it not material to answer the many Impertinencies Printed in that Book: But finding a Second Part extant published as (the Authors say) to save their Lives, and the Kingdoms Peace, from the false and Bloody Plotters; who would first perswade the King and People that the Protestants, and particularly the *Non-conformists* are *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*; And next, that it was such *Presbyterians* that killed his Father; and next, that our Principles are *Rebellious*; and next, that we are *Plotting Rebellion* and his Death, &c. On which particulars he enlargeth in the Preface, where I find him thus to justify his party. I desire those that seek our Blood and Ruine by the false accusation of *Rebellious Principles*, to tell me if they can, what Body or Party of Men on Earth, have more sound and Loyal Principles of Government and Obedience: and p. 109. of that Book, We are far from designing any abasement of the Clergy, nor do we deny or draw others to deny any due reverence or obedience to them.

I considered that very many of Mr. *Baxters* Readers, are apt to believe him, and therefore must needs be greatly incensed against those whom he accuseth to be the Persecutors of such a pious and peaceable party, *viz.* the Bishops, whom he calls Thorns and Thistles, and the Military Instruments of the Devil, *p.* 122. of the Book of Concord, and *p.* 247. of the first part of the Plea, and complains, (as if he were in *Egyptian* Bondage, or the Popish Inquisition) of tearing Engines, Goals, Starving, and Bloody Persecution, Ruine and Death. Every good Man is sensible what Indignation, such Cruelties practised upon innocent persons, may raise in the hearts of our *English* Nation; who are noted for their compassion to their Brethren, in misery against the Authors of it; and I suspect these suggestions are published to inrage them, against their present Governours in Church and State, to prevent the mischievous consequences, whereof I have made the ensuing inquiries.

Popish Clergy-
Men.

And First, their respect to the Conforming Clergy, will appear in the Epistle, before the first part of the Plea inscribed to the Conforming Clergy, where he thus reproacheth them to their Faces. It is now seventeen years since near 2000 Ministers of Christ, were by Law forbidden the exercise of their Office, unless they did Conform to Subscriptions, Covenants, Declarations and Practises which we durst not do; because we feared God. — The reason of which Impositions, it is God and not we must have an account of, from the Convocation, &c. (by which, &c.) I suppose
he

he means the Parliament that made those Laws. He tells them of rendring odious them whom they never heard; and urging Rulers to execute the Laws against them. (*i. e.*) to Excommunicate silence, confine, imprison, and undo them. He says, he is not so uncharitable, as to impute all their false reports to Malignity and Diabolism, but that it was strangeness, (*i. e.* ignorance of) their case, which wrath and cross interest kept them from hearing: He says he had read the Books of Bishop Morley, Mr. Stileman, Mr. Faulkner, Mr. Fulwood, Mr. Durel, Mr. Fowles, Mr. Nanfen, Dr. Boreman, Parker, Tomkins, the Friendly Debate, Dr. Ashton, Mr. Hollingworth, Dr. Good, Mr. Hinckly, the Countermine, Mr. Lestrange, Mr. Long, &c. And I think (says he) Mr. Tombes hath said more like truth for Anabaptistry, the late Hungarian for Polygamy; Many for drunkenness, stealing and lying in cases of necessity, than ever he yet read for the lawfulness of all that is there described, (*viz.* the terms of conformity.) He tells them if they will not hear, those will whom God will use to the healing of his Churches. He means such Reformers as were in 42. and 43. to whom this Patriarch gives the Blessing of Peace-makers, and says, they shall be called the Children of God, as sure as the Incendiaries in the late War, *viz.* Brook, Pym, &c. are by him called glorious Saints in Heaven, p. 83. of his Saints rest. And thus reminding them of his pastoral Admonition; if any of you be an hinderer or slanderer of Gods word, &c. he hath sufficiently evidenced what reverence he hath for the Conforming Clergy.

But how he hath discharged that which he professeth

feffeth to be his duty, *p.* 246. of his Plea, *part.* 1. Most of our acquaintance take it for their duty to do their best to keep up the Reputation of the publick conformable Ministry: Let the Reader judge by his deeds, rather than his words, seeing he continueth Conventicles himself, and defends others in the same Practise. And for his Admonition to us, I shall commend to him one Lesson from our Catechism; to keep his Tongue from evil speaking, lying and slandering.

By their fruits
ye shall know
them.

The Second thing I observe in his Plea for the innocency of his party, is, That no Men on Earth have more sound and Loyal Principles of Government and Obedience. *Answ.* While they were Governours none exacted Obedience more severely, or Ruled more imperiously; but take them in the capacity of Subjects, and their practices shew what their principles are. But let us hear his Plea to the Accusations: The first is, that they are Presbyterians and Fanaticks. 2. That they began the War in 42. and 43. 3. That they destroyed the King. 4. That their principles are disloyal. 5. That they are Plotting a Rebellion. To the first, he tells us what a Presbyterian is, *viz.* such as hold Church Government, not only without Bishops, but also by Presbyteries, consisting of two sorts of Elders, Preaching and Ruling, and over these Classes, and over these a National Assembly, consisting of the same two sorts. That such a Government was intended by the Long Parliament, appears by their Ordinances, *Ann.* 1643. for imposing the Covenant, rooting out Episcopacy, bringing all to an Uniformity (with
the

the Church of *Scotland*) and *January* 44. For taking away the Book of Common-Prayer, and establishing the Directory. And *June* 5. 46. for settling without farther delay of Presbyterial Government in the Church of *England*. And *August* 28. for Ordination of Ministers by Classical Presbyteries, within their respective bounds; which Form of Government to be used in the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, was agreed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines:

The Assembly drew up an Exhortation for the taking of the Covenant; where they declare that the Government by Bishops is evil, justly offensive and burdensome to the Kingdom.

This Assembly was called by the Parliament, 12 *June* 43. consisting of Lords, Knights, Esquires, and some Divines, who assented to the Ordinances above mentioned, and therefore it will be very hard for Mr. *Baxter* to persuade us that they were Conformists (of which more hereafter) I shall account them Presbyterians. And if ever a Child was like his Father, our present Non-conformist is like the Presbyterian in 43.

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora gerebat.

And what if as Mr. *Baxter* says, they do not now exercise their beloved Discipline; are those Lions no Lions which the King keeps within the Tower? Have they not the same appetite to the Church and Crown Lands, the same antipathy to Prelacy, the same zeal for the Covenant and Directory? Were they not generally Ordained by these Presbyterians, *non tantum absente sed spreto Episcopo,*

as Mr. *Baxter* says? these then I conclude to be Presbyterians, and if Mr. *Baxter* will add the term Fanaticks, I cannot help it; they who plead *aliquid à vobis*, some impulses on their spirits, moving them from ingulphing with this generation, by reason whereof they cannot go back from that more spiritual, plain and simple zealous Service of Almighty God, in the way they are in, and reformation they seek, against the (established) Worship and Discipline. (See p. 9. of the Answer to Doctor *Stillingfleets* Sermon) I say they, who for want of reasons to defend their cause, do plead impressions on their spirits, do prove themselves to be Fanatick, and I have proved them to be Presbyterians.

The Second Accusation is, that we began the War in 41. and 42. To this he pleads. 1. The King hath said so much for the Act of Oblivion, that it is no sign of Loyalty and Peace to violate it. *Answ.* An Act of Pardon implies guilt, though it exempt from punishment. And Secondly, God himself will pardon none but the penitent, whatever the King may do. 2. You plead that false reporters say, that the Papists were the Kings party, and the Presbyterians the Parliaments, in the beginning of the *English* War. *Answ.* They are false reporters indeed, that say the Papists were the Kings Party, which were not an hundred part of his party; and I wonder not that Mr. *Baxter* calls it a false report, because it shews the Papists to have been more Loyal Subjects than the Presbyterians. Yet wanted not a number of Papists, some openly, and others under hoods, to Act for the Parliament, and they wanted not invitation

itation and temptations to have been all of that side, as the Royal Martyr declared.

2. Mr. *Baxter* says, the contrary is so well known to Men yet living, that the reporters can hope to seduce none but young men and strangers. Doth Mr. *Baxter* mean by the contrary, That the Papists were not the Kings party, and the Presbyterians were not the Parliaments party, or that the Papists were the Parliaments party, and the Presbyterians were the Kings party at the beginning of our War; this I take to be contrary, and I think no Man living can affirm it. But he tells us that the controvertie was begun between Arch-bishop *Abbot*, and his adherents, and Bishop *Laud*, and those that adhered to him. *Ans^w*. There was no War begun in Arch-bishop *Abbots* time, nor long after; but the controvertie which made way for the War was of another kind, and a more ancient date, as Mr. *Baxter* relates it, §. 7. of his Plea, *part* 1. To which I suppose he refers the Reader; and there he says, the root of the difference between the old Non-conformists and the Conformists was this, That one sort thought they should stick to the meer Scripture rule and simplicity, and go far from all Additions which were found invented or abused by Papists. The other side thought they should shew more reverence to the Customs of the Ancient Church, and retain that which was not forbidden in Scripture, which was introduced before the ripeness of Popery, or before the year 600. at least, and which was lawful in the *Roman* Church, and common to them with the Greek. And herein I have reason to believe Mr. *Baxter* was of the same mind with
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the Conformists against the Non-conformists. See *Directory, part 3. ch. 2.* This difference was begun among the Exiles at *Franckfort* (says Mr. *Baxter,*) some striving for the *English* Liturgy, and others for a freer way of praying, (*i. e.*) from the present sense and habit of the Speaker, (which by Mr. *Baxters* favour was not any where publickly practised at that time, no not by *Calvin* himself at *Geneva.*) But farther, Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* (saith Mr. *Baxter,*) discountenancing and suppressing Non-conformists. They attempted in *Northamptonshire* and *Warwickshire*, to set and keep up private Churches, and governed them in a Presbyterian way, but the attempt was broken by the industry of Arch-bishop *Whitgift* and *Bancroft*: Some Conformed, and some were Connived at, which kept them from gathering secret Churches; yet some Preached secretly in Houses, and some publickly for a day and away; some were further Alienated from the *English* Prelacy, and separated from their Churches, and some of them called Brownists were so hot at home, that they were put to death. Mr. *Ainsworth*, *Johnson*, *Robinson*, and others fled beyond Sea, and there gathered Churches, and broke by divisions among themselves, as their Successors did in our memory. It will not be impertinent to shew from Mr. *Cambden*, how troublesome this sort of Men were under Queen *Elizabeth*, p. 420. of the *English* Translation of *Cambden*, They chose that season when the *Spaniards* amused the whole Nation from abroad, by their Invincible *Armado*, as they called it to disturb her at home. “ And never did contumacious impudency against Ecclesiastical

“astical Magistrates, shew it self more bold and
 “insolent; for when the Queen would not give
 “Ear to Innovators in Religion, who designed
 “to cut in sunder the very sinews of Ecclesiastical
 “Government, and her Royal Prerogative at once;
 “some of those Men who were *great admirers of*
 “*the Discipline of Geneva*, thought there was no
 “better way to be taken for establishing it in
 “*England*, than by inveighing and railing against
 “the *English* Hierarchy, and stirring up the people
 “to a dislike of Bishops. They therefore set forth
 “scandalous Books against the Government of the
 “Church and Prelates, as *Martin Mar Prelate*,
 “*Minerals*, *Diotrephes*, *A Demonstration of Dis-*
 “*cipline, &c.* in which Libels they belched forth
 “most virulent Calumnies, and opprobrious taunts
 “and reproaches, in such a manner that the Au-
 “thors seemed rather scullions out of the Kitchen,
 “than pious and godly Men; yet the Authors
 “were *Penry* and *Udal*, Ministers of the word,
 “and *George Throckmorton* a Learned Man: their
 “favourers were *Richard Knightly* and *Wigton*
 “Knights. Others exercised their Discipline in
 “corners in despite of Authority, and the Laws,
 “holding Classes in several places, and forming
 “Presbyteries; for which *Thomas Cartwright*, *Ed-*
 “*mund Snape*, *Andrew King*, *Proudlow*, *Payne*, and
 “other Ministers were called in question, whom
 “some of the zealots conspired to deliver out of
 “the Magistrates hands, p. 451. He tells us how
 “one *Hacket* insinuated himself into certain Di-
 “vines, which with a burning zeal laboured to
 “bring the Presbyterial Discipline of *Geneva* into
 “*England*; among whom was one *Wiggington* a
 “silly

“ lilly Brain-sick Minister, a despiser and enemy
 “ of the Magistrates; by *Wiggintons* means, he
 “ was acquainted with *Coppinger* a Gentleman,
 “ who perswaded *Arthington* an admirer of that
 “ Discipline: First that himself, and then that
 “ *Arthington* was extraordinarily called of God for
 “ the good of the Church, and that way was re-
 “ vealed from Heaven to draw the Queen and
 “ Council to a better mind, meaning to admit of
 “ the Discipline of *Geneva*; *Coppinger* imparted this
 “ to *Hacket*, who by his counterfeit holiness, and
 “ fervent praying *ex tempore*, his fasting on the
 “ Lords days, and boasting that he had been buf-
 “ feted by *Satan*, and had Revelations from God:
 “ — He Prophefied that there should be no
 “ more Popes, and that *England* should be lament-
 “ ably afflicted that year, with Pestilence and
 “ Famine, except the Discipline of the Lord, and
 “ Reformation were admitted in the Realm.
 “ They conspired as was proved by their Letters
 “ to accuse the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; and the
 “ Lord Chancellour of Treason, (and one of the
 “ party stabbed one *Hawkins*, a famous Sea-Cap-
 “ tain, supposing him to be the Lord Chancellor)
 “ *Hacket* had such an implacable malice to the
 “ Queen, that he said often she had forfeited her
 “ right to the Crown; he defaced her Arms
 “ and Picture, striking his Dagger through the
 “ Breast of it (to omit many things) *Hacket* be-
 “ ing Indicted for Treason Confessed it, and was
 “ Executed; dying, he lift up his Eyes to Hea-
 “ ven, and grinning said, Dost thou thus repay me?
 “ instead of a Kingdom, I come to revenge it.
 “ *Coppinger* shortly after starved himself in Prison,

“ *Arthington* repented seriously, and set forth a
 “ Book of it. Yet many others opposed the Dis-
 “ cipline of the Church, reproaching the Prelates,
 “ and drawing some common Lawyers to their
 “ party, but the Queen knowing that her autho-
 “ rity was struck at through the Bishops sides,
 “ broke the force of the adversaries without noise,
 “ and maintained the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,
 “ inviolate against all Opposers, (Presbyterians
 “ and Fanaticks.) Nor were these Men less trouble-
 some under King *James*, having conceived great
 hopes from his Education in *Scotland*, but he knew
 them so well, that he never shewed them any
 favour: In his first year they frame a Petition in
 the names of a Thousand Ministers for Reforma-
 tion, which I find answered by the University of
Oxford, and seconded by the University of *Cam-*
bridge.

The King told his Parliament, *March 19. 1603.*
 The third which I call a Sect rather than Religi-
 on, is the Puritan and Novelist, who do not differ
 so far from us in points of Religion, as in their
 confused forms of Polity and Parity, being ever
 discontented with the present Government, and
 impatient to suffer any superiority, which makes
 their Sect unable to be suffered in any well go-
 verned Common-wealth. And it is one reason
 why *Grotius* was so condemned for a Papist a-
 mong this people; because in his Book *de Anti-*
Christo, he hath left this Character of them, *Cir-*
cumferamus oculos per omnem historiam, quod unquam
seculum vidit tot subditorum in principes bella sub
religionis titulo? & horum concitatores ubique reperi-
untur Ministri Evangelici (ut quidam se vocant)
quod

quod genus hominum in quæ pericula etiam nunc optimos Civitatis Amstelodamensis magistratus conjicerit? videat si cui libet de Presbyterorum in Reges audacia librum Jacobi Britanniarum Regis, cui nomen Donum Regium videbit eum, ut erat magni judicii ea prædixisse, quæ nunc cum dolore & horrore conspiciamus. I will give it you presently in that Kings English.

But the King giving them a fair hearing in the conference at *Hampton Court*, partly by his Arguments, and partly by his Authority suppressed them for that time: Yet this restless people, so incensed him by their murmurings and reproaches, that he frequently in his Writings and Speeches in Parliament, professed both his jealousy of them, and caution against them in his Preface to the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον. These rash heady Preachers, says he, think it their honour to contend with Kings, and perturb whole Kingdoms; and p. 41. 42. Take heed my Son to such Puritans, very Pests in the Church and Common-weal, whom no Desert can oblige, neither Oaths nor Promises bind, breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own Imaginations without any warrant of the word, the square of their Consciences. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lye in; that ye shall never find with any *Higland* or border Thieves greater ingratitude and more lies, and vile perjuries than with these Fanatick-spirits; and suffer not the principles of them to brook your Land, if ye like to sit at rest, except ye would keep them for try-

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ing your patience, as *Socrates* did an evil Wife. The good King *Charles* found this Prophecy to be true; for notwithstanding all the care that himself, and Arch-bishop *Laud* (who apprehended the approaching danger) to suppress them, in so much as that Mr. *Baxter* says, in that 7. §. That the old Non-conformists being most dead, and the latter gone most to *America*; we cannot learn that in 1640. there were many more Non-conformists Ministers in *England* than there be Counties, if so many; the Wolves be like had got on the Sheeps Cloathing, and not being able to ruine the Church by open force, seek to undermine it by secret Arts, being got within the Pale. In 37. says Mr. *Baxter*, Arch-bishop *Laud* using more severity than formerly, and the Visitations inquiring more after private Facts and Meetings, and going out of their Parishes to hear. — And in many Places Lectures, and Afternoon Sermons being put down (which was done only where Faction and Sedition were Sown, and there Catechizing a much more useful exercise, was enjoined in its room) by these things (and some other which he there mentioneth) the minds of Men were made more jealous than before, (and fears and jealousies were made the grounds of the War, the King and Arch-bishop being reported to be Popishly affected, though they both, as well in their Life-time, as at their Deaths, gave irrefragable Arguments for the contrary, sealing the truth of their Professions with their Blood.) And after the Imprisonment of some, the stigmatizing of others, and the removal of many beyond the Seas, all which, both many, and some, amounted

not

not to above Three or Four; whom though the Parliament received in Triumph, and plentifully rewarded, yet they found them to be turbulent Persons, viz. *Prin, Burton and Bastwick*, for I hear not of any removed beyond the Seas by authority) these were the causes of Alienating the peoples Minds from the Bishops, and made them afraid of Popery more than before, (and so it is still, any restraint from Faction is Condemned for Popery) Mr. *Baxter* tells us there of another Intregue; Then was the New Liturgy imposed on the *Scots*, with other changes there attempted (which were the resuming of some Lands belonging to the Church and Crown, which had been Sacrilegiously withheld, during a great part of King *James* and King *Charles's* Reign; with the fear of losing the Tithes that some great Men there detained from the Clergy) whereupon the *Scots* Armed and Invaded *England*, and some *English* Lords (saith Mr. *Baxter*) took advantage to prevail with the King to call a Parliament once again, And here doubtless was the beginning of the War, the *Scots* and such *English* as were in confederacy, and had agreed upon a Covenant for Reformation, being the first Aggressors. But let Mr. *Baxter* proceed — The *Irish* (observing it is like how the *Scots* thrived in their Rebellion) on Oct. 23. 1641. rose and murdered 200000. Persons, and (Mr. *Baxter* is not ashamed to say) the News was here reported, that they said they had the Kings Commission (just as much as the Parliament had to fight by his Authority against his Person,) whereupon the Parliaments Declarations, raised in multitudes of the people, a fear

that they had partakers in *England*, and when they had done their work there they would come hither. And (mark the consequence) there was no way of safety, but to adhere to the Parliament for their own defence, (*i. e.* to strengthen the War against the King.) And in 42. says he the lamentable Civil War broke out; but between whom? did the Bishops fight against the King? or against one another? or against the Parliament? no such matter. How began the War then? Mr. *Baxter* says, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of such as had been Conformists, except an inconsiderable number. Some number then were apparently Non-conformists, and it seems they had infected many others; for Mr. *Baxter* says, they were such as *had been* Conformists; they were not so when the War began: and (*N.B.*) their fear of being over-powr'd by the Loyal party, of whom they thought themselves in sudden danger, caused them to countenance such Petitionings and Clamours of the *Londoners* Apprentices, and others, as we think, disorders and Provocations of the King. This doubtless was a beginning of the War; of which, see the Kings complaint in his *Ch. of Tumults*: Mr. *Baxter* says farther, the first open beginning was about the Militia, which by an Act of Parliament is thus determined: That the sole Command and disposition thereof is, and by the Laws of *England*, ever was the undoubted right of His Majesty, and that both, or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same, &c. How then did the controversie between the Bishops and Conformists begin the War, when the dispute of the

Militia

Militia did it. In truth there were (as *Wilson* in his History of King *James* confesseth) Regians and Republicans , and the dispute in several Parliaments was between the Prerogative and Priviledges, and as Mr. *Baxter* says, where other Parliaments ended, that of 40. began. And is it not strange, that there should be so few Non-conformists in 41. and 42. and yet in 43. when the Covenant was brought in, all the Parliament and Assembly, and Officers in any Court, in the Army, and in the Navy, should generally take the Covenant? for that was made the Test of all such as should be intrusted : and we hear of very few that refused, and I think there is no great difference between a Covenanter and a Presbyterian, who still cry up the *Scottish* Discipline, as the very Scepter and Kingdom of Jesus Christ, to which all Kings and Scepters must bow or break.

The Third Accusation is, the death of the King, of which Mr. *Baxter* says, that he proved in times of Usurpation, that the Presbyterians detested it, and that it was done by a Proud Conquering Army. *Ansiv.* Who rose that Army, and carried on that War wherein the King perished? it was not the last stroak given by the Independents, that felled that Royal Oak; there were many repeated blows at the very Root of Majestie given by others, which cut all the Ligaments of his Power and Authority in sunder, chopt off all the Branches, his two great Ministers (as Mr. *Baxter* calls them) the whole Order of Bishops, His power of the Militia, Forts, Garrisons and Navy, and exposed the declining trunk to the fury of a Rascal party.

party, whom themselves had Armed to the Kings ruine, I shall freely give you my thoughts of it, in an answer to another writing of Mr. *Baxters*, where he seeks more at large to excuse the Presbyterians from this horrid Crime. Mr. *Baxter* says, were it not for entring upon an unpleasing and unprofitable task : I would ask you, who that Juncto of Presbyterians was that dethron'd the King. *Ans.* The question I confesse is very unpleasing ; for,

Infandum renovare jubes Baxtere dolorem.

Yet because it may be profitable to know the truth ; I say, that the dethroning so good a King, was a fact of an unparalled nature, to which the Sins of the whole Nation contributed, as well as yours and mine, and whereof we ought still to repent and beg pardon notwithstanding the Act of Oblivion. Yet there was a Select Juncto, that had a more immediate influence into it, and you ask me who they were ; though I believe you know them better than my self, I will tell you my thoughts freely.

First, they were the Men whom Mr. *Baxter* Canonizeth for Saints, in his *Everlasting Rest*, p. 83. in my Edition, viz. *Brook*, and *Prin*, and *Hambden*, and *White*, &c. For I suppose you could have named many more of your own Coat, as precious Saints as they, of whom you say with an Asseveration, Surely they are now Members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right-aiming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, Triumphant Senate than this from whence they were taken, or

EVER

ever Parliament will be : But what if they are gone to another place , than what your *Everlasting Rest* intended ? have you not made a scurvy Reflection on your long beloved Parliament, and some Men do fear they were never admitted into Gods everlasting rest ; because you that fancied them there , were ashamed to continue them in yours , being left out in your latter Editions.

Secondly, I say it was that Juncto, who procured great numbers of factious and tumultuous people, in a rude and illegal way to affright the Loyal and most considerable part of the Parliament from their duties, and trust reposed in them by God and Man ; such were the Kings Majesty, and the Prince, the Loyal Nobles, the Bishops and chosen Gentry , posting them up as Malig-nants , and exposing them to the fury of the Rabble ; of which tumults one of your Saints, Mr. Pym by name, said God forbid, that the House of Commons should dishearten their people, to obtain their just desires in such a way : *Exact. Collect.* p. 531. Mr. Baxter p. 474. of the *Holy Commonwealth* makes this Objection, The tumults at *Westminster* drove him away ; to which he answereth : Only by displeasing him, not by indangering or meddling with him ; and another eminent Man of Mr. Baxters acquaintance in his *Jehovah Fireth*, p. 65. says, the Apprentices and Porters were stimulated and stirred up by Gods Providence Thousands of them to Petition the Parliament for speedy redress. Whereas the Five Members and their favourers had intraged the multi-tude

tude not so much to Petition the Parliament, as to affront the King.

Thirdly, It was that Junctō, who against His Majesties Crown and Dignity, against the known Laws, and his expresse Proclamation to the contrary, did contrive and impose, under heavy penalties the Solemn League and Covenant upon the Nation, whereby they did justify the Rebellion, and avow the maintenance of it, against the King and his Forces. And having first vowed with their Lives and Estates, to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament; they add — and to preserve the Kings Majesties Person, and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom; Which experience sheweth, they no more intended, though it be here put in, as it was in *Effex's* Commission, than it was in *Fairfax's*, where (as I am informed) they left it out, and if they meant as they speak, they had no great care of his person, having *aactually deprived him of his Authority*. And besides that limitation, they preserve the Kings Person in defence of the true Religion, Covenanted to introduce another Religion in Doctrin and Worship, in opposition to that which was established by Law, and resolutely defended by his Majesty, and to root out Episcopacy, which as he had sworn to support, so had it been a great prop to the Throne; and therefore his Majesty declared concerning the 19. Propositions, that he could not consent unto them without violating his Conscience, and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they had a mind to invade; and which was necessary to the well being

being of His Majesty, as by many Arguments in the Chapter concerning Church Government it appears. This certainly was one of the keenest Instruments that hewed down the Throne. For the Speech without Doors (defending Mr. *Chal-loners* Speech within Doors) tells the Parliament, that they are bound by their Covenant (for bringing evil Instruments to Condigne Punishment) to destroy the King and his Posterity, and that they cannot justify the taking away of *Straf-ford's* and *Canterbury's* Lives for Delinquency, while they suffered the chief Delinquent to go unpunished, *Oxford Reasons*, p. 22. And the Speeches within Doors spake no less, for Sir *H. Martyn* told them, the Kings Office was forfeitable, and that the happiness of the Kingdom depended not on him, or any of the Royal Branches of that Stock, *Exact. Collect.* p. 552. and Sir *H. Ludlow*, that he was not worthy to be King of *England*. That this was the sense which their own Creatures had of the Covenant, appears by the Answer of the Army to the *Scots* Declaration 1648. Who pleading that they had Covenanted for preservation of the King, reply in a Paper Printed for *Robert White* before the Kings death; That it was conceived, to be absurd and hypocritical, to swear the Preservation of the Kings Person as a Man, and at the same time to be engaged in a War against him, and he in the Field. And Mr. *Marshal* had said long before, That if the King had been so slain, it had been none of the Parliaments fault; for he might have kept himself farther off if he pleased, p. 19. of his Letter. The same Man said in his Sermon, *Jan. 8. 1647.*
The

The question is now, whether Christ or Anti-Christ shall be King. And in a Sermon to the Mayor and Aldermen 1644. These are miserable and accursed men, Factors for Hell, Satans Bou- tefeus, and as true zealots are set on fire from Heaven; so these Mens Fire is kindled from Hell, whither also it carrieth them. Mr. *Arrowsmith* in a Sermon 1643. It is not a Kingdom divided against it self, but one Kingdom against another; the Kingdom of Christ against Anti-Christ: So my Countryman *John Bond* told them they fought against *Babylon*, *Dagon* and Anti-Christ, and exhorted them to pull it down; though like *Samson* they dyed with it. In a Sermon 1644. *Joseph Boden* said, they were fighting for the Lamb against the Beast, Anno 1644. And Mr. *Marshal* in his (*Meroz*) I pray look on me as one that comes to beat a Drum in your Ears, to see who will come out to follow the Lamb. This use the Covenanters made of that limitation, defending the Kings Person in the preservation of Religion; and you know who says, p. 423. of the Holy Common-wealth, We are to believe that Men would kill them, whom they fight against. And doubtless if His Majesty had perished in the War, the guilt had lain not only on the Souldiers, but chiefly on those that gave them their Commission; The Author of Bounds and Bonds spake home at that time, If by the Covenant you thought your selves indispensably bound to preserve the Royal Person, how comes it to pass, that you thought your selves obliged by the same Covenant, to wage War against him.

I have heard of a distinction (saith he) between
his

his Power and his Person, but never between his Person and himself. And if the Covenant would have dispensed with any Souldier of *England* or *Scotland*, to kill his Person by accident of War, (as his Life was oft in danger before he came to the Scaffold) his death had been violent, and the Obligation to preserve him had ended; and yet according to this argument, the Covenant had not been broken; why then should those Men think the World so dull, as not to understand plainly enough, that the Covenant provided for his death more ways than one.

4. They that permitted such Pamphlets to be published without controle; as declared the King to be a Tyrant, *Oxford Reasons*, p. 21. That judged his Actions to be illegal, and his Declarations false and scandalous, and his suggestions as false as the Father of lies could invent, *Exact Collect.* p. 494. That banished the Queen as a Traitor, Imprisoned the Bishops in the Tower; That held him to such unreasonable Articles and Propositions, at *Newcastle*, and *Carisbrook*, as His Majesty declared he could not consent unto, without devesting him of his Authority; That rejected all his offers for peace; And in *January 17. 1647.* Voted no more Addresses, and that they could repose no more trust and confidence in him (which was a year before they were secluded the House) which by the Army was understood of their intention to proceed in Justice against him. They who deprived him of all the Comforts of his Life, his Wife and Children, his Counsellours and Chaplains, as if with an *Italian* hatred they would have destroyed his Soul as well as his Body. These
were

were they, that did *diminuere Caput Regis*, as the Civil Law speaks; and they who afterward, finding him thus bound and fettered, defamed and condemned, did *obtruncare Caput Regis*, were but the others Executioners. What action was more barbarous than that of the *Scots*, selling their Native Prince, that cast himself upon them, to his declared and avowed Enemies? after which he was hurried up and down, from one Prison to another, and inhumanly treated, till he was forcibly taken from them. Whoever shall compare the Declaration of the *Scots*, when they Invaded *England*, upon their Covenant, with the actings of the High Court of Justice against His Majesty, may see, what Copsy they wrote after, and whose Journey-men they were; in bringing him to the Block, whom they had pulled out of the Throne.

They were *Roman* Souldiers that actually Crucified our Saviour; but we know who Sold him; and how long the Chief Priests and Elders took Counsel against him, *Matth. 27. 2.* And *St. Peter* tells the Men of *Israel*, *Acts 2. 23.* Him have ye taken, and with wicked hands Crucified, though the *Roman* Souldiers did it. There is this only difference between the Graves and the Prisons of Kings, that in the Prisons they dye daily, or are buried alive, in the Grave they are at rest from all their fears and sorrows.

But to this it may be replied, that these were not Presbyters, properly so called, though they were a Juncto of Presbyterians: I would therefore have it considered, whose Scholars these were, who taught and animated them to these practices, and upon whose principles they acted;

I could set down such maxims of the Consistorian Brethren, as the Jesuites would blush to own; but I shall forbear to foul my Paper with such Collections, as I have among my *Adversaria*: The Reader may satisfy himself, *usque ad nauseam*, if he observe what is Authentickly mentioned in His Majesties large Declaration, in Bishop *Bancrofts* dangerous positions, in Bishop *Spotswood*, and the Writings of the several Presbyteries of *Scotland*, in the result of false Principles, the *Calvinists Cabinet*, and which is, *instar omnium*, the *Holy Commonwealth*. What fruit could such bitter Roots produce, but Wormwood and Hemlock, as indeed they did in every Furrow of our Fields? It was said of *Cato*, that he did good, not that he might appear to be good, but because he could not do otherwise; and some Men do espouse such principles, that if they Act according to them, they cannot do any thing but what is notoriously evil. What shall we say of Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, that Preached, That it was Gods will that the Primitive Christians should confirm the Truth by suffering; but now the Truth being established, it is his will the Truth should be defended by Action in resisting Tyrants? and *John Goodwin* said as bad of the Doctrine of resistance: Mr. *Robert Blaire* told his Auditors. — Beloved, the Lord hath forsaken our King, and given him over to be led by the Bishops, the blind brood of Anti-Christ, who are hot Beagles hunting for the Blood of the Saints: Nor can I forget Mr. *Douglas's* Sermon at the Coronation, who turned the Pulpit into a Scaffold, and Acted the Martyrdom of the Father in the sight of the Son. After these *Scottish Pipes*

did too many *English* Presbyters dance; whose Sermons were Satyrs, and invectives against the best of Kings, and his most Loyal Subjects. Take the active Covenanters from the greatest to the least; and as they thought it their duty, so they made it their business to do more than dethrone the King. I have said enough of Mr. *Marshall* already, let him that would know more read his Sermon on *Curse ye Meroz*, and not his only, but the most of those Sermons Preached to the Parliament, especially on their Solemn days of Thanksgiving. Mr. *Cafe* in a Sermon to the Court-Marshal, 1644. says, God would have no Mercy shewn, where the quarrel is against Religion, and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, p. 16. These Men that would bring in Idolatry and false Worship to depose Christ from his Throne, and set up Anti-Christ in his place; such a generation Christ hath doomed to destruction, *Luke* 19. 27. As for these mine enemies; bring them forth and slay them before me; and p. 18. What severity will God expect from you, who are called to judge for God, between the Sons of *Belial*, bloody Rebels, and an whole Christian Church and State, now resisting unto blood for Reformation? Let me say to you, as God said to *Moses* concerning the Midianites; vex those Midianites and smite them, for they vex you with their Wiles, *Numb.* 25. 17, 18. Mr. *Th. Palmer* said, that God saw it good to bring Christ into his Kingdom by a Bloody way, p. 13. Dr. *Downing* of *Hackney*, in a Sermon to the *Artillery-men*; It is lawful for defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, to take up Arms against the King: And Mr. *Calamy* seconds him,

him, it is commendable to fight for Peace, and Reformation against the Kings command.

Mr. *Love*, who was chosen as the fittest person to assist at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, doth no doubt speak the Sense of the Juncto; he calls Episcopacy, and Liturgy, two Plague Soares, and tells the Commissioners, that while their enemies are going on in wicked practises, and they keep their principles; they may as soon make Fire and Water to agree, yea I had almost said (quoth he) Heaven and Hell: And again it is the Sword, not disputes that must end this controversie. Wherefore turn your Plowshares into Swords, and your Pruning-hooks into Spears, to fight the Lords Battles, to avenge the Blood of the Saints which hath been spilt, it must be avenged by us, or upon us: See *p. 7. and 26. of Englands distemper*. I have sometime feared, always prayed that too much pitty and mercy in our State Physicians, may not retard the healing of the Land, *p. 32.* There are many malignant humours to be purged out of many of the Nobles, and Gentry in this Kingdom, before we can be healed. — It was the Lord that troubled *Achan*, and cut him off; because he troubled *Israel*. O that in this, our State Physicians would resemble God to cut off those from the Land, who have distempered it, (would you know whom he means, he speaks plainly) *melius pereat unus quam unitas*, Men that lye under the guilt of much innocent Blood, are not fit persons to be at peace with, till all the guilt of Blood be expiated, and avenged either by the Sword of the Law, or by the Law of the Sword; else the peace can never be safe or just.

Are these the principles of Love? or can they consist with holiness? it will amaze any Christian to consider, that though the hand of God might mind him of his sin by the nature of his punishment: yet instead of declaring his Repentance a little before his death, he professed his hatred to Malignants, his opposing the Tyranny of a King, saying, I did, it is true, in my place and calling oppose the forces of the late King, and were he alive again, and should I live longer, (the cause being as then it was) I should oppose him longer: In his Speech Sect. 14. Yet how horrid forever this final impenitence appears to be, too many that should know, and do better things, have little sense of it. And it is very remarkable, that *Prideaux* the Attorney General repeated most of these passages against Mr. *Love* at his Trial, as Arguments that he ought not to have any mercy shewed him. See the Printed Trial. What a sad thing is it (saith Mr. *Cafe*) to see our King in the head of an Army of *Babylonians*, refusing as it were to be called the King of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and choosing rather to be called the King of *Babylon*, on *Isa.* 43. 4. p. 18.

Those that made their peace with the King at *Oxford*, were the *Judas's* of *England*, and it were just with God to give them their portion with *Judas*, saith Mr. *Calamy* in a Sermon Preached *Decemb.* 25. 1644. p. 18.

Mr. *Herle* in a Sermon to the Commons, *Novemb.* 5. 44. Do Justice to the greatest, *Sauls* Sons are not spared; no, nor may *Agag* or *Benhadad*, though themselves Kings. *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, the
Princes

Princes of the people must be pursued into their Tents; This is the way to Consecrate your selves to God. *Strickland* at the same time to the same tune; You know the Story of Gods message to *Ahab*, for letting *Benhadad* go upon Composition. *Brooks* to the Commons, *Decemb. 26. 1648.* Set some of those grand Malefactors a mourning (that have caused the Kingdom to mourn so many years in Garments Rolled in Blood) by the Execution of Justice. But though many of those Sons of Thunder had done wickedly, there is one exceeds them all, as you may read partly in a submissive Petition of *Mr. Jenkins*, and in a Sermon Preached *Sept. 24. 1656.* Who thus discovers his inward parts to be very wickedness. Before the present Parliament; Worthy Patriots, you that are our Rulers in Parliament, it is often said, we live in times wherein we may be as good (he might more truly have said as bad) as we please, wherein we enjoy purity, and plenty, praised for this be that God, who hath delivered us from the impositions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-genuflections, and cringes with Crosses, and all that Popish Trash and Trumpery; and truly I speak no more than what I have often thought, and said, the removal of these insupportable burdens, contravailes for the Blood, and treasure shed, and spent in these late distractions; nor did I as yet ever hear of any godly man that desired (were it possible) to purchase their friends or mony again at so dear a rate, as is the return of these, to have the Soul-burd'ning Anti-christian Yoaks reimposed on us. And if any such there be, I am sure their desire is no part of their godliness. From

this Mans principles one hath observed, That whoever are of this perswasion, do with this King on the Scaffold too, provided that would free them from our Episcopacy, and think it lawful to Rebel again, and destroy as many Families more, to shake off that Yoak. Again Mr. *Jenkins* in his Conscientious questions concerning submission to the then present power, 1651. Asks whether the stupendious Providences of God, manifested in the destruction of the late King, and his adherents in so many pitcht Battles, and in the Nations Universal forsaking of *Charles Stuart*, God hath not as plainly removed the Government from *Charles Stuart*, and bestowed it on others, as ever he removed and bestowed any Government by any Providence in any age? And whether a refusal to yield obedience and Subjection to this present Government, be not a refusal to acquiesce in the wise and righteous providence of God, and a flat breach of the Fifth Commandment? (See his Petition.) And now I cannot but wonder why Mr. *Baxter* should move this question, who that Juncto of Presbyters was, &c. Unless he took as much pleasure and glory, as others do shame and sorrow in the repetition. It is a sad Observation which some have made, That not one of the Regicides manifested his Repentance for that impious Act, for which they were Executed: The Lord give all guilty persons more Grace.

Mr. *Bagshaw* says, that Mr. *Baxter* was guilty of stirring up and fomenting the War, as any one whatsoever, p. 1. And my Lord of *Worcester* says, that he had done what he could to make this King odious to his people, p. 2. Of his Answer, and that

that he Sowed the Seeds of Schisme and Sedition, and blew the Trumpet of Rebellion among them at *Kidderminster*, p. 4. And adds, I my self have heard him at a conference in the *Savoy*, maintaining such a position, as was destructive to the Legislative power, both in God and Man, and produced the Assertion under his hand; and when *Mr. Baxter* reported that the Bishop had defamed him; to prevent that report, the Bishop collected some of his Political Theses or Maxims of Government, the repetition of a few whereof will be too many. He tells us the War was begun in their streets, before the King and Parliament had any Armies, p. 457. of *H. Common-wealth*. He confesseth that he was one that blew the Coales of our unhappy Divisions; and that if he had been for the King, he had incurred the danger of condemnation. *H. Common-wealth*, p. 485. And should I do otherwise, I should be guilty of Treason, or disloyalty against the Sovereign Power of the Land. He holds that the Sovereignty is divided between King and Parliament, and that the King invading the other part, they may lawfully defend their own by War, and the Subject lawfully assist them; yea though the Power of the Militia be expressly given to the King; The Law supposing that the Militia is given the King against enemies, not against the Common-wealth: *Thes.* 358. he saith (its true) that now that the Parliament hath declared, where the Sovereign Power is, he should acknowledge it, and submit to it, where he supposeth that the King oweth his Sovereignty to the Parliament; and if they should again challenge it to themselves, he would rather obey them than

the King; Bishop of *Worcesters* Letter, p. 8. 9. And this appears clearly by what followeth, p. 486. That having often searched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage in the War or not, and lawfully encourage so many Thousands to it (the Issue was) he could not see that he was mistaken in the main cause, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the same if it were to do again in the same state of things, (though the Power of the Militia be given to the King.) He tells us indeed (says the Bishop) that if he could be convinced that he had sinned in this matter, that he would as gladly make a publick Recantation, as he would eat or drink; which seeing he hath not yet done, it is evident he is still of the same mind, and consequently would upon the same occasion do the same things, *viz.* fight and encourage as many Thousands as he could to fight against the King, for any thing that calls it self, or which he is pleased to call a full and free Parliament: As likewise that he would own and submit to any Usurper of the Sovereignty, as set up by God, although he came to it by the Murder of his Master, and by trampling upon the Parliament. Lastly, that he would hinder as much as possibly he could the restoring of the rightful Heir to the Crown: And now whether a Man of this Judgment, and of these affections, ought to be permitted to Preach or no; let any Man but himself Judge. And may we not reasonably think, that those Men did approve of that Hellish Fact, who did *post factum*, tell the World of his Tyranny, and Male-administration of Government, and inclination to Popery: And applauded the grand Regicide, as one that did piously,

ously, prudently, and faithfully to his immortal honor exercise the Government.

I conclude this with the words of a worthy Person, who Printed a view of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* the First, even when the Faction was in Power, p. 94. The Presbyterians carried on the Tragedy from the beginning to the end; from the bringing in the *Scots*, to the beginning of the War; from thence till they brought him Prisoner to *Holmby* House, and then quarrelled with the Independents for taking the work out of their hands, and Robbing them of the long expected fruit of their Plots and Practices. — The Independents confessed they had put *Charles Stuart* to death, but that the King had been murdered long before by the Presbyterians, who had deprived him of his Crown, Sword, and Scepter; of his Sword by wresting from him the Militia; of his Scepter, divesting him of his power of calling Parliaments; they deprived him of his natural Liberty, as a Man of the Society of his Wife and Children, and attendance of Servants, and of all those comforts which might make his Life valuable; so that there was nothing left for the Independents to do, but to put an end to those Calamities, into which this miserable Man had been so accursedly plunged by the Presbyterians. And so much for the Juncto of Presbyters, that dethron'd the King.

The main Battalia being thus discomfited, the little reserves will be more easily defeated.

Mr. *Baxt*. Was it they that Petitioned and protested against it?

Answ. Who ever Petitioned or protested against the

the proceedings against the King, until the Army took him out of the Parliaments power? and was he not dethron'd before that time? afterward perhaps some of them did as the *Hiena*, that hath destroyed a Man and gorged himself, weep and howl over the Carcass, because he could not devour him wholly.

Mr. *Baxt.* Whether it was not an Episcopal Parliament (forty to one, if not an hundred) that began the War against the King?

Answ. With what face can one that pretends to Truth say this? when it is so notoriously known, that till by a prevailing Faction in that Parliament, the Bishops, and the Loyal and Episcopal party were forced away, nothing could be done against the King.

Mr. *Baxt.* Whether the General and Commanders of the Army, Twenty to one, were not Conformists?

Answ. They had been such indeed, but, when they began the War, they neither feared God, nor honoured the King, but made the Reformation of Religion, the pretence of the War; which as the Covenant shews, was the abolishing of Bishops, Liturgy, &c.

Mr. *Baxt.* Whether the Major Generals in the Countries were not almost all Episcopal Conformists?

The Earl of *Stamford* was over your Country.

Answ. *Stamford* I knew, and one *Baxter* his Engineer; but that he was either a Major General, or a Conformist I never heard. The first Major General that I knew in these parts was *Desborough*, after that the Kingdom was Cantonized; and I believe the

Turkish

Turkish Bashaws, were as much Conformists as any of them.

Mr. Baxt. Whether the Admiral and Sea-Captains were not almost all Episcopal Conformists (as *Heylen* distinguisheth them of Arch-Bishop *Abbots* mind, disliking Arminianisme, Monoplys, &c.

Ans. I suppose the Admiral and his Officers had well studied the points of Arminianisme; when, as *Mr. Baxter* that fought against them, wrote for them in the judgment of his Brethren, and as I have heard that *Dr. Hammond* said of him, he was an *Arminian* too, though he did not know it.

Mr. Baxt. Whether the Episcopal Gentry did not more of them take the Engagement (and many Episcopal Ministers) more than the Presbyterians?

Ans. The King was dethroned before the engagement was imposed, and if you drove any of the Episcopal party into that Snare; I hope that as *Peter* for denying his Master, they have repented of it, and so are pardoned, I wish I could say so much of the Covenanters.

Mr. Baxt. Whether the Arch-bishop of *York*, were not the Parliaments Major-General?

Ans. That he was a Traitor if he took any such Commission is no doubt, and when among the Twelve, there was one that sold his Master, 'tis not strange, if there were one of Twenty four Bishops that betrayed his Liege Prince; it was pitty that any Apostate Clergy-man should have an higer Office in that Army than *Mr. Baxter*, but

I think you did them more service, as an Adjutant General, than he as a Major General.

Mr. *Baxt.* Whether if this Parliament, which made the Act for Uniformity and Conventicles, should quarrel with the King, it would prove them to be Presbyterians and Non-conformists?

Answ. This is that which I know too many did expect, and I hope they will never live to see it; but if it should have happened, I would say, they had as much contradicted their principles, and falsified their engagements, as Mr. *Baxter* had done, almost.

Mr. *Baxt.* Whether the Presbyterian Ministers of *London*, and *Lancashire*, did not write more against the Regicides and Usurpers, and declare against them, than all the Conformists? or as much?

Answ. What they did against the Regicides, was long after the King was dethron'd, and so is not pertinent to the question; yet I have somewhere read, that the *London* Ministers, about 59. in number, as I remember, in an endeavour to vindicate themselves from the Blood of the Royal Martyr, Printed 1678. did say thus; The woful miscarriages of the King himself, which we cannot but acknowledge to be very many, and great in his Government; have cost the Three Kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his excellency, into a horrid pit of misery beyond example. This was a Repentance somewhat like that of *Judas*, when he had irrecoverably ruined his Lord and Master, but he could not wash his hands from that innocent Blood.

Mr. *Bax.*

Mr. Baxt. And the Long Parliament was forced and most of them cast out before the King could be destroyed.

Answ. But not before the King was Actually dethroned, and it was about Twelve Moneths before they were forced off by the Army, that they Voted their Non-addresses.

Mr. Baxt. And when they were restored, it made way for his Restoration.

Answ. Surely they could not do it on your principles, which assert that the King may be deposed; nor are the Subjects afterward to trouble themselves for his Restoration; nor is the injured Prince himself to seek his resettlement, if the Common-wealth may prosper without him, and so he is obliged to resign his Government; and thus the people being free from any Obedience to him, may chose another King, or if not, a Common-wealth may be pitcht on. And had it been left to the Presbyterians to bring in the King on their Articles, he had not been admitted to this day.

Mr. Baxt. And Sir *Thomas Allen* Lord Mayor, and the City of *London* inviting General *Monck* from the *Rump* into the City, and joyning with him, was the very day that turned the Scales for the King. Not forgetting that *Mr. Baxter* Preached to the Parliament, as he often tells us the day before the King was Voted home.

Answ. Sir *Thomas Allen*, and the City did their duty Nobly and Worthily; but what turned the Scales against the *Rump*, that you reflect so upon, that *Rump* which while it had a better name, and a little more power, though then its nakedness appeared sufficiently, you prayed for it in these words,

words, *May the Parliament be holy, and this ascertained from Generation to Generation, by such a necessary regulation of Elections, as I have hereafter described, and that all those that by wickedness have forfeited their Liberties, may neither choose nor be chosen,* p. 14. 15. And again, *That they were sworn, and sworn, and sworn again to be faithful to, and to defend them; and that they were the best Governors in all the World, and such as it is forbidden Subjects to oppose upon pain of Damnation.* So that I conclude, whoever restored this King (for which let God have all the praise). I still affirm, it was a Junctō of Presbyters that dethroned his Royal Father.

This may suffice concerning the third and fourth part of the Accusation of destroying the King and disloyal principles.

The Fifth, That they are plotting a Rebellion, to which Mr. *Baxter* forgot to make any defence. Only he thought it his duty to give this account of their principles, as far as they are known to him. Where First, he seems rather to defend than disclaim his Political Aphorisms, though he desires the Book may be taken as *Non scriptus*: This will not satisfy; If he be of another Judgment now, he ought to have undeceived his party by confuting those dangerous principles, whereas he rather continueth to practise them still. But what I Judge undeniable, saith Mr. *Baxter*, I here declare. Now let the Reader go on from these words, until he come to the period, where he says, As I have here described the Judgment of such Non-conformists as I have Conversed with, I do desire those that seek our blood and ruine by the
false

false accusation of Rebellious principles to tell me if they can; what body or party of Men on Earth, have more sound and Loyal principles of Government and Obedience? And if any person can extract any such principles within all that period, I will say, he hath turn'd Mr. *Baxter's* Whetstone into the Philosophers Stone. He says, indeed we are all bound, if it be possible, and as much as in us lyeth to live peaceably, and follow peace with all men. But how have they followed this principle? We have, he saith, many years beg'd for peace of those that should have been the Preachers, and wisest promoters of peace, and cannot yet obtain it, nor quiet them, that call for fire and sword, not knowing what spirit they are of. This is the Presbyterian way of Petitioning for Peace, to rail against their Superiours, charging them with persecution, fire and sword; and asserting that there can be no peace, until the Laws for Conformity be all reversed, the Bishops Authority and the Kings too, in Ecclesiastical affairs taken away, the Liturgy exchanged for Mr. *Baxters* new *Directory*, as he hath at large declared in the first part; and such a desolation as this they call peace, *solitudinem volunt & pacem vocant.* He says, the Declaration about Ecclesiastical affairs telleth us, that the King would have given the people peace. *Answw.* And there were a sort of men, whom the King for peace sake, desired to read only so much of the Liturgy as was beyond exception, and they would not; did not these tell the World they would have no peace but victory? So true it is as Mr. *Baxter* says, with unpeaceable Clergy-men, no Plea, no Petition (no not
of

of the King himself) could prevail, but the things that have been are, and the Confusions of our age come from the same causes and sorts of men, as the Confusions in former ages did; for which we need not go to *Mr. Baxters Church History*, the Men and methods of 41. and 42. are well nigh revived. They told His Majesty in their second Paper for Peace, That if he would grant their desires, it would revive their Hearts to daily and earnest Prayers for his Prosperity. But what if he deny them? Then *p. 12.* it astonisheth us to foresee what doleful effects our Divisions would produce, which we will not so much as mention in particular, lest our words should be misunderstood. And it is obvious enough to whom they would apply that passage, *p. 117.* of their reply to the Exceptions: As *Basil* said to *Valens* the Emperour, that would have him pray for the Life of his Son: If thou wilt receive the true Faith, thy Son shall live; which when the Emperour refused, he said, the Will of the Lord be done: So we say to you, if you will put on Charity, and promote peace, God will honor you; but if you will do contrary, the Will of the Lord be done with your honors. *Amen* say I: Let them fall into the hands of God, who is still exceeding gracious to them, and not into the hands of such cruel men, who have War in their Hearts while they Petition for Peace. And will *Mr. Baxter* still demand what party of Men on Earth have more Loyal Principles. Our *English* Papists, who as *Mr. Baxter* grants adhered to the King, would be offended if I should say, they that fought against the King, were more Loyal than they, who
with

with Lives and Fortunes fought for him; dares he compare with the Church of *England*, who lived and died, and rose again with their King, to the great regret and envy of those Men? I will not say only that the Primitive Christians, but even the Old *Greeks* and *Romans* had better Principles than any you practise by, and will rise up in Judgment against such a Generation. How vainly do you inquire what *Hottoman* or *Bodin* have written? Consider the Precepts of our great Lord, and the Practice of the Primitive Christians for the first 600. years, and how nigh the true Members of the Church of *England* followed those Principles and Examples for Twenty years together, and how far the Presbyterians Acted contrary to them, and then convince the World whether the party you Boast of, or these were most Loyal. But Mr. *Baxter* demands; Must this Age answer for their Fathers deeds; what is all this to the present Non-conformists? *Answ.* If they follow the deeds of their Fathers, we cannot deny them the reputation of being their Children, who (without controversie) begat and Nurtured them.

And though I have not the opportunity to ask those Noble Lords and Gentlemen, whom Mr. *Baxter* names concerning the Conformity of their Fathers; yet I can give you their Sense, and the Opinion of the whole Nation, concerning the behaviour of their Children; who have as great a mind to begin a second War. And take it in the best *English* Dialect, (*i. e.*) in the Acts of Parliament; And first in the Act against Conventicles, 16. *Car. 2di* N. 2: For providing of further and more speedy remedies against the growing and

dangerous practice of Seditious Sectaries, and other disloyal persons; who under pretence of tender Consciencies do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shewn, &c. And in the *Oxford Act*, they say of those that Preach in unlawful Assemblies, Conventicles or Meetings, under colour or pretence of the Exercise of Religion, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, have settled themselves in divers Corporations of this Kingdom, three or more in a place, thereby taking opportunity to distill the poysonous principles of *Schisms* and *Rebellion* into the hearts of His Majesties Subjects, to the great danger of the Church and Kingdom, &c. Now how little difference there is between such Seditious tumults and meetings, the late Rebellion in *Scotland* doth demonstrate, where the chief Masters of those Assemblies Preached an *Evangelium Armatum*, and having in cold Blood barbarously murdered the most Reverend Archbishop, drew many Thousands into the Field, and would have done the like by the King himself, had he been in their power, as by their Declarations we may guess. I do not accuse their Brethren of *England* of Rebellion; the Parliament says, their actions tend to it, and that is, Tantamount to a Plot. In Sedition and tumults, open and professed disobedience to the Laws, adhering to a rebellious Covenant, refusing the Tests of Obedience, which require only the disclaiming of rebellious Principles and Practices, Preaching and Printing what is actually Seditious, and tends directly to Rebellion; and all this when our Parliament hath declared that there is an horrid Plot

on foot, for the destroying of the King and established Religion; to the latter whereof you are avowed Enemies; this may draw at least a suspicion on you, that you are in the Plot, whether you know it or no; for as I suppose, in the beginning of the First War, very few of them that were engaged, intended a Plot against the King and the Church, yet were acted to the ruine of them both. So now a great many that call themselves Protestants, may be over-acted by the Papists; who if they can once destroy the Church of *England*, by means of our divisions, which is the most likely means, may cry *Victoria*, and boast that we have destroyed our selves. And then you may say truly, *p.* 123. of the second part of your Plea, The blood will be on you, and your Children.

Mr. *Baxter* professeth in his Preface, a detestation of the lying Malignity, and bloody Cruelty of the Papists, but *p.* 235. of his first part, he concludes it to be but reasonable, if on such necessity, (*i. e.* the penalties for Non-conformity) they should accept of favour from any Papists that would save them. And that if one party, (*viz.* the authority of the Nation) would bring them to such a pass, that they must be hanged, imprisoned, ruined or worse, unless the favour of the Papists deliver them; And the other party, *viz.* the Non-conformists had rather be saved by the Papists, than be hanged or ruined by Protestants, they ought not to be suspected of Popery; this shews that he hath a better Opinion of the Papists than of the Conformists. Some blush not, saith Mr. *Baxter*, to accuse the Non-conformists, as the bring-

ers in of Popery by desiring Liberty, p. 245. that is, that there is a door opened to them by our Divisions. *Ans.* None hath more reason to blush at this than Mr. *Baxter*; for in his defence of the principles of Love, As to Popery (says he) the interest of the Protestant Religion must be much kept up, by means of the Parish Ministers, and by the Doctrine and Worship there performed (not by Conventicles then) for they that think and endeavour contrary to this, of which side soever, shall have the hearty thanks and concurrence of the Papists (who then are in the Plot.) Nor am I causelessly afraid, saith Mr. *Baxter*, that if we suffer the Principles and practices which I write against, (i. e. the dividers and destroyers of peace and love) to proceed without our contradiction, Popery will get by it so great advantage, as may hazard us all, and we may lose that which the several parties do contend about.

Three ways, especially Popery will grow out of our divisions.

1. By the Odium and scorn of our divisions, inconsistency and multiplied Sects. — Thousands have been drawn into Popery, or Confirmed in it already, and I am perswaded, saith he, that all the Arguments in *Bellarmino*, and all other Books that ever were written, have not done so much to make Papists in *England*, as the multitude of Sects among our selves.

2. Who knows not how fair a game the Papists have to play by our Divisions? methinks I hear them hissing on both parties, saying to one side, lay more upon them, and abate them nothing; And to the other stand it out and yield

to nothing, hoping that our divisions will carry us to such practices, as will make us accounted Seditious, Rebellious and dangerous to publick peace, and so they may pass for better Subjects than we, or else they may get a Toleration with us. And shall they use our hands to do their work? we have already served them unspeakably, both in this, and in abating the Odium of the Gunpowder Plot, and other Treasons.

3. It is not the least of our dangers, lest by our follies, extremities and rigours we so exasperate the Common People, as to make them readier to joyn with the Papists than with us, in case of Competitions, Invasions or Insurrections against the King and Kingdoms peace. And in the *Key for Catholicks*, The Papists (saith he) account that if the Puritans get the Day, they shall make great advantage of it; for they will be unsettled, and all in pieces; factions and distractions, (say they) give us footing for continual attempts; to make all sure we will have our party secretly among Puritans also, that we may be sure to maintain our interest. And in his *Holy Commonwealth*, Let the Magistrate cherish the Disputations of the Teachers, and let him procure them often to debate together, and reprove one another, for so when all Men see that there is nothing certain among them, they will easily yield saith *Contzen* the Jesuite.

Pudet hæc opprobria, &c. —

You conclude your second part of the Plea, with some Petitions out of the Liturgy, which I

have reason to think you do with an ill design; praying, that he, *whose Service is perfect freedom, would defend you his Humbled Servants (non factis humiliati quia nondum humiles,) in all assaults of your Enemies, &c.* Whom you mean by your Enemies all parties will guess. But I shall commend to you the same advice which Bishop *Prideaux* gave the Assembly, when they consulted him what they should do; his direction was, that they would consider their ways, and return to their Obedience, and say, in the Confession of the Church. — *Almighty and most Merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost Sheep, We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts, we have offended against thy Holy Laws, we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us, &c.* And the God of Heaven give us all Grace, so to confess and forsake our Sins, that we may find Mercy.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

Since my dispatch of the former Papers, I met with a *Prognostication* written by *Richard Baxter*, which though it were Calculated chiefly for *England*; yet it presumes, First to foretel, *what shall befall the Churches on Earth, until their Concord*; and Secondly, *what from thence to the end*. But the first part (though it be a Contradiction in terms) may be called more agreeably to the matter, *A Prognostication of what is past*; for it hath been twice Acted over in this Nation. And the Second part is a *Prognostication of what never shall be*. For by *Mr. Baxters* method, it is impossible we should ever see such a *Golden Age of Love*. There are but two things worthy of the Readers notice; The First is, the time when it was written, *viz. When by the Kings Commission we (in vain) treated for Concord, 1661*. This circumstance he doth with so much concern and diligence labour to convince the Reader of, that (as if his Reputation of being a *Prophet* depended on it) he tells you again in the first words of the Epistle; *It is many years since this Prognostication was written, 1661. Except the sixteen last Lines*; and in the end of the Epistle, he cautioneth the Reader, *not to mistake it for Historical Narratives*. And again at the end of the Book, he tells us of several Books

of his, viz. *The true and only Terms of Concord, Catholick Theology, and The Cure of Church Divisions*, which were all written long since the Prognostication. This extraordinary diligence about so inconsiderable a Circumstance, made me suspect that it was a Soar place upon which he rubbed so frequently, and that it was an itch of vain glory that occasioned it. And I believe, when I have imparted my second thoughts to the Reader, he will be much of the same mind with me.

For, First, I considered that there needed no spirit of Prophecie, to foretel what effects Non-conformity had produced many years before 1661. when he pretends this Prognostication was written; nor yet to foretel what the Non-conformists were resolved (as much as in them lay) to attempt with all their might. Wherewith I find they were not afraid to threaten the King, and the Bishops, as I have elsewhere observed.

But secondly, He tells us, P. 28. N. 105. That *where Papists or Hereticks are shut out by Laws, they will secretly contribute the utmost of their endeavours to make the sufferings of Dissenting Protestants as grievous as possibly they can; that in despite of them, their own necessities may compel them to cry out for liberty: Till they procured a common Toleration for all, and op'ned the Door for Papists and Hereticks, as well as for themselves.* Where (N. B.) Mr. Baxter speaks of a Toleration, which had been procured, and a Door opened for Papists and Hereticks, which must needs look back to the time past; and in all probability he intended that indulgence, which upon the Non-conformists Cries for liberty, was granted by His Majesty about Seven
ven

Seven years since; and if so, then this Prognostication was written some time after that common Toleration, which was of a much later date than 1661. And so, some Words and Phrases seem to be, as *new Impositions, Subscriptions and Oaths, and serving the Bishops in Jayles*; but I lay no stress on these.

3. Mr. Baxter tells the Reader, the Prognostication was written 1661. *Except the Sixteen last Lines, which Lines P. 66. begin thus. I say all this is, &c.* Now it is obvious to every Reader, that there is a necessary connection and dependance between these Sixteen Lines, and that which precedes; for in the preceding Paragraph which he calls a *Confectary*, you have these Nominative Cases, which have no Verb to answer them, until you take in part of these Sixteen Lines, *viz. All the Romish Dreams, and all the Plots, &c. I say all this is*; whereby it appeared to me that the Sixteen last Lines were of the same contexture, and written at the same time, as the rest was, which could not be in 1661. For those Three Books of his, mentioned in the Sixteen Lines, were not then extant. So that I doubt not, but he that Reads the whole *Confectary*, will be of my mind, that it was written at the same time, as the last Sixteen Lines were. And if so, the Prognostication was written since the Book called the *True and only Terms of Concord*, Printed 1689. I perceive by Mr. Baxters Contextures, that he hath not well learnt *the Art of Weaving Spiritualized*.

4. I suspected also the Reason which Mr. Baxter gives why though it were written in 1661.
yet

yet it was cast by, viz. Lest it should offend the guilty, Now it is notorious, whom Mr. Baxter condemns as guilty, throughout the whole *Prognostication*; namely the Bishops, whom he accounts Enemies to the Non-conformists. And it is as notorious, what little care he had of not offending them, which I have observed from the *Petition for Peace*, the *Reply to the Bishops exceptions*, and other Printed Papers, wherein Mr. Baxter had a chief hand. Besides in 1661. Mr. Baxter was on more equal terms with the Bishops, with whom he was joyned in Commission by the King, and the Bishops were not warm in their Chairs, nor did the *Act for Uniformity* take effect, until *Bartholomew day* 1662. And the *Seſtarian Spirit* (which then prevailed among the people, was as Mr. Baxter observes, p. 40. of *Errat.* p. 32. it should be n. 120. his *Prognostication*) like *Gunpowder*, ready to take fire upon such injuries, as he there mentioneth. So that certainly that was a fitter season for the publishing of this *Prognostication*, had it been then Penned, than this present juncture of Affairs in 1680. when the Bishops and Conformity are injoynd and Confirmed by Law; and so the offence is much greater, and less like to have its desired success. But if all these Conjectures should be groundless; yet the very publishing of a *Prognostication* of things to come, after they are come to pass, carrieth with it the Suspicion of a Cheat, the pretence that it was written long before notwithstanding. But (whether it were written in 1661. or which I rather think in 1680.) the second thing which the Reader may observe is, that Mr.

Mr. Baxter by publishing this Prognostication, hath rendered himself obnoxious to those Laws, which are still in force against the *spreaders of false News*, under which the Authors of pretended *Prophecies* are included. And it will be hard to find any Pamphlet that offends more against those Laws, being directly intended to infuse into, and encourage in His Majesties Subjects a Seditious, Factious and Implacable Spirit, as well against the known Laws of the Land, as against the established Constitutions of the Church, by suggesting groundless fears, and jealousies of things that are not, and false and slanderous representation of things that are, as in

P. 32. He intimates the Clergy to be *Worldly, Proud, Covetous, Domineering, Malignant and Lazy*; The

Ubi supra N.
120.

Plague of the World, the Troublers of Princes, and Dividers of the Churches. And P. 9. That they will please the great Men of the World, for Lordships, Wealth and Honour, to be Rulers of their Brethren, and to have their Wills. And P. 12. Being Hypocrites as to Christianity and Godliness (like Judas that loved the Bag better than Christ) they will make themselves a Religion consisting of the meer Corps and dead Image of true Religion. And P. 13. The powerful Worldly Clergy, will think it their interest to devise some new Impositions, which they know the other cannot yield to, to work them out. Whether they be Oaths, Subscriptions, Words or Actions, which they believe to be against Gods Word. (Here I suspect that Mr. Baxter had respect to the Oaths, and Subscriptions required by the Act of Conformity; and by Words, those of Assent and

Consent,

Consent, which were not enjoined until 1662. and therefore probably this Prognostication was written afterward.) And P. 14. *Their Sufferings will make many otherwise sober Ministers too impatient, and to give their Tongues leave to take down the Honour of the Clergy. And this will stir up in the people an inordinate, unwarrantable, passionate zeal, which will corrupt their Prayers, and make them speak unseemly things, and pray for the downfall of that Clergy, which they take to be the Enemies of God and godliness and that, to speak easily or charitably of such Men, is but to be luke-warm, and indifferent between God and the Devil. P. 20. Some (of the Non-conforming Ministers) will think these passions of the people needful to check the fierceness of the Afflictors (though it do but exasperate,) and therefore will let them alone. Some of the Younger or more injudicious hot-brain'd sort (of the Non-conforming Ministers) will put them on, and make them believe that all Communion with any Conforming Ministers, or their Parish Churches is unlawful, and their Forms of Worship, are sinful and Anti-Christian, and that they are all temporizers, and betrayers of truth and purity, that Communicate or Assemble with them. And P. 22, 23. They will carry about among themselves, viz. (the Heretical party) false reports and slanders, — partly, because they think that humane converse bindeth them to believe the reports which those that are accounted good Men utter. And partly because that they will think that the upholding of their cause, which they think is Gods, doth need the suppression of these Mens Credits and Reputation that are against it. P. 25, 26. The Godly and Peaceable Conformists, will get the*

Love

Love of the Sober by their *Holy Doctrines and Lives*; but will be despised by the *Seētaries*, because they Conform: And will be suspected by the *Proud and persecuting Clergy*, as leaning to the dissenters, and thereupon will be under continual jealousies and rebukes. And perhaps new points of Conformity shall be devised to be imposed on them, which it is known their consciences are against, that so they also may be forced to be *Non-conformists*, because secret Enemies are more dangerous than open Foes; And so part of them will turn down-right *Non-conformists*, and the other part will live in displeasure, till they see an opportunity to shew it. And these are the likeliest to cross and weaken the *Worldly persecuting Clergy* of any Men. Certainly this was no *Prognostication* in 1661. but an *History* of what was done betwixt that and 1680.

Concerning Princes, he says, he will give no other *Prognosticks* but *Christs*, (which yet Christ never applied to Princes.) That it will be as hard for a rich Man (i. e. for a Prince in his sense) to enter into Heaven, as for a Camel to go through a Needles Eye. P. 34. The Magistrates may guess by this, what Charity Mr. Baxter hath for them.

That this was no *Prognostication*, but a Plot of Mr. Baxters to imbroil the Nation, may farther appear by what he writes, P. 122, 123. Of his *Way of Concord*, where he thus carries on the design; He supposeth a Decree that none shall Preach the Gospel, but those that subscribe, swear, promise or profess, or do somewhat accounted sinful; that strict Laws are made to punish such as disobey, lest their Commands be contemned; then that the Preachers will be cast out and silenced; yet they still believe,
that

that God Commands what Man forbids, and that it is a damnable Sin, no less than Sacrilege and Cruelty. to Souls to forsake their calling and duty: The Preachers then must be fined, imprisoned or banished for Preaching, and the people for publick Worshipping; but when fined, they will go on still; nothing can remedy it, but either perpetual Imprisonment, Banishment, or Death. When this is done, more will arise of the same mind, and continue the work: And the Prelates that cause this, will be taken by the suffering people for Thorns and Thistles, and grievous Wolves, and the Military Ministers of the Devil. The indifferent common people will look on the persecutors, as the Enemies of good Men, and of publick peace, that do all this by Pride and Domination. The ungodly rabble of Drunkards, Swearers, Adulterers, and such like bating godliness and strict living, will cry up the Prelates, and Triumph over the sufferers. Thus the Land will be divided, the Prelates and other Persecutors with the dirty malignant rabble of the licentious will make one party, these will call themselves the Orthodox, and the Church the sufferers, and those that pity them will be the other. The conjunction of the debauched and malignant rabble with the Prelates will increase sober Mens disaffection to them; and make Men take them for Patrons of impiety; and how sad a Condition must such Churches be in? This Prophecie is the same for substance, and I cannot think it much different in the circumstance of time; the design of this is the same, which in the Title Page of his Prognostick, he says, is to instruct the Sons of Love and Peace in their duties. But how ill doth such Railery become a dying Man, or a mortified Christian? to defame the present

sent Governours, and teach others to do the same. If St. James speaks truth, *This Mans Religion is vain*, Ch. 1. 26. And under this Artifice of pretended Prophecies, Mr. Baxter strikes at the Root of all Authority: For if Men may be excused from Obeying the Laws by pretending something sinful in them (which yet they know not) when they know certainly that disobedience is a sin: Then on the same grounds that the *Presbyterians* disobey their Rulers, the *Independents* may disobey them, and the *Anabaptists* both, and *Children* and *Servants* their Parents and Masters. And then any Man as well as Mr. Baxter might Prognosticate that there can be no peace where such Principles and Practices are encouraged.

And now I appeal to the *Christian Reader*, whether these suggestions were fit Legacies for a dying Man to bequeath to a divided and dying people, of which he tells the Reader, he was *taking his farewell* in 1661. but lived to publish them in 1680. that is near Twenty years after, when the age was almost ruined by the practice of such unchristian intimations; and *both sides were preparing for the increase of their fury and extremities, and at last for Repentance or ruinous Calamity, if they do* (saith Mr. Baxter, p. 31.) *as I have described.* And he could not but think, that with a great many his *Descriptions* would go for *Prescriptions*, and be as a Rule and Law for too many to walk by. For in the Title Page, he says, it was published to instruct the *Sons of Love and Peace in their duties and expectations.* These things considered, I can have no better esteem of Mr. Baxter's than I had of Lillies Prognostications, which

which were designs to revive and support *The good old Cause*. Having considered the first part of the *Prognostication*, which concerns things that are past, there need no reflections on the second part, because it concerns things that never shall be. I only observe that the evils which he speaks of are generally effected, but the good things are Calculated for *the golden Age of Love*; and when that revolution will be, *if ever* it be, his Prophe-tick Spirit cannot discern. If ever it be, it will be when all Men are of one mind, that is, of Mr. *Baxters* mind, who is seldom of the same mind with himself, and so it is like never to be. And therefore I advise the *Printer*, though not for his own profit, yet for Mr. *Baxters* Credit, and the publick Welfare, to lay up this *Prognostication*, and some other of Mr. *Baxters* Books among the *Al-manacks*, for 1661.

In perpetuam Rei oblivionem.

A
FAREWELL
TO
Mr. Baxter.

IN the Preface to your late Book of *Concord*,
you desire, “ That if you erre, they (to whom
“ you write) would faithfully detect your error,
“ that you may repent before you die, and may leave
“ behind you a Recantation of all your mistakes
“ and miscarriages, as you say you intend to do,
“ upon Conviction. You confess that by our dis-
“ ferences, Satan hath got great advantage in
“ *England* against that Christian Love, which is the
“ Life and Character of Christs Disciples, and to
“ cause Wrath, Envy, Hatred and Strife, that the
“ honour and success of the Ministry is thereby
“ hindered; The Wicked and Infidels are hard-
“ ned; the weak scandalized, the Papists incou-
“ raged to despise us all; and many turn to them
“ scandalized by our discord: Sects are advanta-
“ ged, the Church and Kingdom by Division
I “ weak-

' weakned , and the King denyed the comfort
 " which he might have in a loving, united, and
 " Concordant people. Now I beseech you lay your
 hand upon your heart, and consider whether your
 actions and writings have not notoriously contri-
 buted to these mischiefs. " You confess that you
 " were one that blew up the Coals of our unhap-
 " py Divisions; and that if you had been for the
 " King, you had incurred the danger of Condem-
 " nation; you gave several intimations that the
 " King was Popishly affected, (as Bishop *Bramhal*
 " affirms,) you encouraged great numbers to that
 " War, many of which perished in it: You ap-
 " plauded the grand Regicide, as one that pru-
 " dently, piously and faithfully to his immortal ho-
 " nour did exercise the Government, you have since
 " the establishment encouraged and defended separa-
 tion (notwithstanding you did sometime seem
 to oppose it.) And now at last you proclaim the
 terms of our Communion, to be such as have in-
 creased an impossibility of Conforming. And why
 may I not now expostulate with you, as you do
 with those whom you thought guilty of the like
 evil, p. 14. of your answer to *Bagshaw*. *Is it possible*
for any sober Christian in the World to take them to be
blameless, or those to be little sins? what? both
 the violating the person, and the Life of (so good)
 a King? and the change of the fundamental Go-
 vernment or Constitution, and the Armies force
 upon the Parliament, which they promised Obedi-
 ence to, — the making their General, Protector; The
 making an instrument of Government themselves
 without the people; The setting up their second
 Protector, — The setting up the remnant of the
 Com-

Commons again, the pulling them presently down again, (of whom he said) that they had sworn, and sworn, and sworn again to be faithful to, and to defend them, and that they were the best Governours in all the World ; and such as 'tis forbidden Subjects to oppose upon pain of damnation ; Was all this lawful ? and to do all this with dreadful appeals to God, and as for God ? If all this was not Rebellion, or Treason, or Murder ; is there any such crime (think you) possible to be committed ? are Papists insulting over us in our shame ? are thousands hardned by these and such like dealings into a scorn of Religion ? are our Rulers exasperated by all this into the severities which we feel ? are Ministers silenced by the occasion of it ? are we made by it the by-word and hissing of the Nations, and the shame and pitty of all our friends ? and yet is all this to be justified or silenced, and none of it at all to be openly repented of ? I openly profess to you, that till this be done, we are never like to be healed, and restored, and that it is heinous, gross impenitence, that keepeth Ministers and people under their distress. And I take it for the sad Prognostick of our future Woe, and at best our lengthned affliction to read such writings against Repentance, and to hear so little open profession of Repentance, even for unquestionable heinous crimes, for the saving of those that are undone by these scandals, and for the Reparation of the honour of Religion which is most notoriously injured, to see Men still think that their Repentance is the dishonour of their party, and cause, whose honour can no other way be repaired, to see Men so blind as to think that the silencing of these things will hide them, as if they

were not known to the world ; That man or party that will justifie all those heinous crimes, and still plead Conscience or Religion for them, doth grievous injury to Conscience and Religion. I have told you truly that Gods way of vindicating the honour of Religion, is for us by open free Confession, to take all the shame to our selves, that it be not injuriously cast upon Religion ; And the Devils way of preserving the honour of the godly, is by justifying their Sins, and pleading Religion for them, that so religiousness it self may be taken for Hypocrisie and wickedness, as maintaining and befriending wickedness. — And *p. 12.* Is Repentance an unbecoming thing ? I hope the Act of Oblivion was not made to frustrate Gods Act of Oblivion ? which giveth pardon to the penitent, doth it forbid us to repent of sin, or to perswade our Brethren to repent ? where sin is hated, Repentance will not be hated, and if sin were as bitter as it must be, Repentance would not be bitter ; if I was guilty of such sins as you affirm, I do openly confess, that if I lay in Sack-cloth and in Tears, and did lament my sins before the world, and beg pardon both of God and Man, and intreat all Men not to impute it to Religion but to me, and to take warning by my fall, which had done such unspeakable wrong both to Christ and Men, I should do no more than the plain light of nature assureth me, to be my great and needful duty, *p. 17.* Now all that *Bagshaw* accused Mr. *Baxter* of, was *p. 1.* That he was as guilty of stirring up and fomenting that War, as any one whatever, concerning which if we take his own Confession, and consider his circumstances. being an Episcopal Ordained Minister, whose Office was to Preach Obedience and Peace, his

his applauding the first *Boutefeus*, as glorious Saints in Heaven, his vindicating the Authority and War of the Parliament against the King, his pertinacious adhering to the Covenant, crying down the Royal Martyr as a Papist, after he had sealed the sincerity of his heart to the Reformed Religion by his blood, and the crying up of his Murtherer for a prudent, pious and faithful Governour; His principles in his Holy Common-wealth, and his present practices in defending Schism, and so sowing Sedition, and reproaching the established *Laws and Government*, in Church and State; if these do not prove him guilty of what Mr. *Bagshaw* accused him, yet I am sure they cry aloud for his Repentance, and Retractions which he once promised the world (*p. 26, 27. of his Defence of the Principles of Love*) but never (that I hear of) hath been so ingenious to perform as he ought. It is an ill diversion for such a person to banish the thoughts of repenting for his own sins, by inquiring into the heinous sinfulness of Conformists. I wish heartily he could prove his innocency in the one, as easily as they can in the other; and if he cannot clear his innocence, that he would manifest his penitence, then would I as readily give him the right hand of fellowship, as he now denyeth it to others, and he might be as great an instrument of peace on earth among the Saints, as of joy in Heaven among the Angels of God. I shall only beseech Mr. *Baxter* to say that Prayer heartily, which he hath penned in the 251, and 252. pages of his *Cure of Divisions*, and then let him reply as he thinks fit.

“ Lord hide not my own miscarriages from my
 “ sight, and suffer me not to take any sin that I have
 “ com-

“ committed, to have been my innocency, or duty,
 “ lest I should dare to Father sin on God, and lest
 “ I should live and dye without repentance, and lest
 “ I should be one, that continueth judgments and
 “ danger to the Land; stir up some faithful friend to
 “ tell me with convincing evidence, where it is that I
 “ have miscarried, that contrition may prepare me for
 “ the peace of remission. O save me from the plague
 “ of an impenitent heart that cannot indure to be
 “ told of sin, and from that ungodly tolly, which
 “ taketh the shame which Repentance casteth upon
 “ sin, to be cast upon God and Religion, which bind
 “ us to Repentance and Confession. *Amen.*

Now when you have humbly and sincerely renewed this Prayer to Almighty God, I beseech you to consider seriously with your self, that it may be God hath in answer to your prayers, raised up so vile an instrument as I am to be your Monitor, that what you thought your *duty* is your *sin*, and that you are one that *still continueth judgments and danger to the Land*. For first, you seemed doubtful of it, when you prayed against it. 2. When after long and mature deliberation, you entred into Communion with our Church in all its Ordinances that concern Lay-Communion, and resolved together with other of your Brethren to continue in it, and by that practice of yours, as well as your Arguments, did influence many others to a like pious and peaceable behaviour; how can it be less than a sin against God, and a grieving and gravelling the Consciences of such well-disposed Christians, not only to withdraw your avowed Communion, but to practise that which directly tends to Division and Confusion? 3. That in the judgment of such as were very pious and
 learned

learned men (in your own Opinion) that practice of yours, which continueth and encourageth separation from our Communion, is sinful; such were *Cranmer*, *Ridly*, *Peter Martyr*, and others that compiled the Liturgy in King *Edward* the VI. days, and *Parker*, *Grindal*, *Horne*, *Jewel*, who reviewed and recommended it in Queen *Elizabeths* days. Such were *Usher*, *Davenant*, *Potter*, *Hall*, *Carleton*, and others in the days of King *James* and King *Charles* of Blessed Memory. What think you of all these sober and moderate Conformists, such as *Bolton*, *Whately*, *Fenner*, *Dent*, *Crook*, *Dike*, *Stock*, *Smith*, *Preston*, *Sibbs*, *Stoughton*, *Taylor*, &c. These you confess were no ignorant nor temporizing persons. What think you of *Jacob* and *Johnson*, who were Independents, yet wrote against separation? And what think you of the most learned and pious of the Non-conformists, such as *Cartwright*, *Egerton*, *Hilderham*, *Dod*, *Ames*, *Parker*, *Baines*, *Brightman*, *Ball*, *Bradshaw*, *Paget*, *Langly*, *Nichols*, *Hering*, who wrote more against separation than any of the Conformists themselves? (as Principles of you affirm.) What think you of the Assembly of Divines, *Twiss*, *Gataker*, &c. Among whom you say you never heard but of five Non-conformists? what think you of such as have Conformed since 1660. such as *Reynolds*, *Conant*, *Wallis*? and lastly what think you of the Father of all the Non-conformists Mr. *T. Cartwright*, who after he had written as much as he could against Conformity, saw so much of the weakness of his arguments, as that he repented and Conformed at last? If all these have judged a bare withdrawing of the people from our Communion to be unlawful, and against their duty; I wonder how you can still think your more

more positive opposing and hindring of it to be your duty. I considered again, that to live in the contempt of the Laws and lawful Authority both of Church and State, in a well established Kingdom, is a sin of no mean nature in it self, and by its effects may prove exceeding sinful; for *Schism* and *Division*, *Spiritual Pride* & *Censoriousness*, are as certainly sins, and perhaps greater than *Whoredom* and *Drunkennes*; and *Rebellion* is as the sin of *Witchcraft*. I considered also that you have had long experience of the evil of *Schism*, *how great a matter a little fire kindleth*, and did meditate and foretel (with what delign I know not) in the second paper to the King, p. 12. " That " if you should lose the opportunity of your desired " *Reconciliation*, *i. e.* if you could not obtain what you would, it astonished you to foresee what doleful effects your divisions would produce; These and such other motives prevailed with me to become your Monitor, that what you now take to be your duty is your sin, and that your present practice tends to the continuing of judgments and danger to the Land; and if my charitable admonition to you, and peaceable endeavors for unity and establishment in the Church and State be still despised; I can only continue my prayer to God, as well for my self as you in the Petitions above mentioned: *Lord, hide not our own miscarriages from our sight, &c.*

Cujus Aures clausæ sunt ut ab Amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est.

Cicero de Amicitia.

F I N I S.

